

**'GROSSLY MATERIAL THINGS': WOMEN AND TEXTUAL PRODUCTION IN
ENGLAND, c. 1550 – 1650**

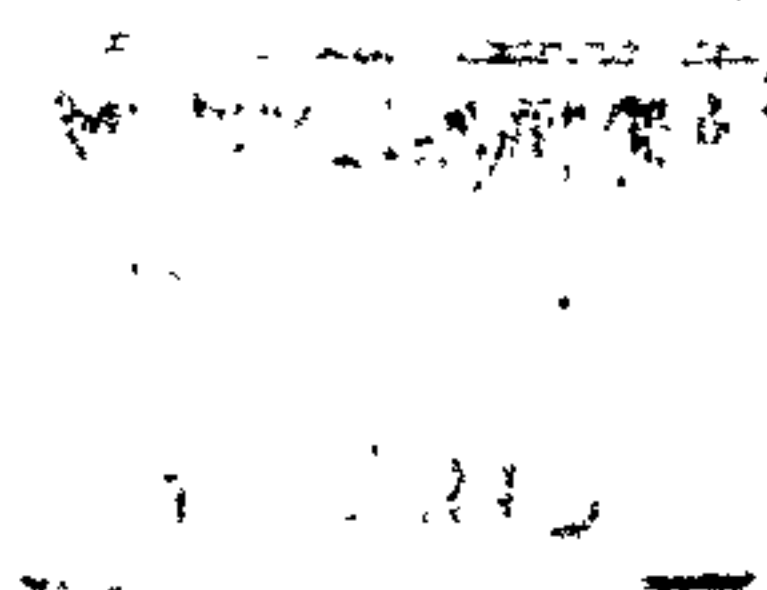
HELEN SMITH

PhD

THE UNIVERSITY OF YORK

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND RELATED LITERATURE

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, much work has been done to recover the presence of early modern women as authors of a range of texts. Nonetheless, the canon of works inherited from this period remains overwhelmingly male-dominated. My thesis, therefore, traces the ways in which women's engagement with the changing modes of literary production affected both the form and content of the male-authored texts of the period.

Examining the multiple roles played by women in the production, preservation, and dissemination of a vast array of writings, my thesis argues that the evidence of the physical text allows us to trace the contours of women's involvement in the economic and material processes of book production. Conversely, the insistent physicality of women is shown to alter the textual and material shape of the printed book, as the real interventions of women collide with their rhetorical and ideological representations. The diverse nature of women's participation in the mechanisms of textual production means that my thesis engages with many different forms and genres of text, and explores the widely varying histories of women at different levels of the social scale who published texts, sheltered secret presses and seditious authors, or were addressed as readers and patrons in prefaces and dedications.

Through the writings of authors as diverse as Ben Jonson, Edmund Spenser, John Lyly, and Nathan Field, religious writers from Campion and Persons to local ministers, and translators and nationalists like Edward Hoby, my thesis charts the tensions between the textual interpellation of women and their intransigent reality. Above all, I insist that the monolithic male tradition decried by some feminist critics has been, from its inception, shot through with the textual and material presence of women: a presence that transforms our understanding of male authorial subjectivity, and of the gendered nature of our literary inheritance.

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NOTE ON TEXT AND ABBREVIATIONS

In all direct quotations from early modern sources I have silently expanded contractions and suspensions and incorporated interlinear insertions. I have endeavoured throughout not to modernise 'u/v' and 'i/j' in direct quotations, although I have silently replaced the long 's'. In giving publication details of primary texts, I have included full details from the colophon or from the *STC*, as these are some of the few sites at which women working in the British book trades during this period become visible.

Due to concerns of size the font size and style within tables included in the appendices is not consistent with that in the body of the thesis.

The following abbreviations have been used:

DNB *Dictionary of National Biography*

ELH *English Literary History*

ELR *English Literary Renaissance*

MLR *Modern Language Review*

PMLA *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*

STC A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (eds.), *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, 2nd ed., rev. W. H. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and Katherine F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91).

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INTRODUCTION

TEARING THE WEB

What were the conditions in which women lived, I asked myself; for fiction, imaginative work that it is, is not dropped like a pebble upon the ground, as science may be; fiction is like a spider's web, attached ever so lightly perhaps, but still attached to life at all four corners. Often, the attachment is scarcely perceptible; Shakespeare's plays, for instance, seem to hang there complete by themselves. But when the web is pulled askew, hooked up at the edge, torn in the middle, one remembers that these webs are not spun in mid-air by incorporeal creatures, but are the work of suffering human beings, and are attached to grossly material things, like health and money and the houses we live in.

Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*

In 1928, Virginia Woolf invited a lecture theatre full of eager female students to imagine the fate of Shakespeare's gifted sister, driven to write by a burning talent, yet denied any opportunity for education or literary self-expression. Woolf's evocation of the fictional Judith Shakespeare has long served as both an inspiration and a provocation to feminist literary critics: on the one hand stimulating Elaine Showalter's search for *A Literature of their Own*, a tradition that will allow feminist scholars to, as Woolf puts it, 'think back through our mothers', and on the other motivating the insistence of critics like Margaret Ezell that women could and did write in the early modern period, that it is not true, as Woolf insisted, that 'any woman born with a great gift in the sixteenth century would certainly have gone crazed, shot herself, or ended her days in some lonely cottage outside the village, half witch, half wizard, feared and mocked at'.¹

This thesis, however, argues for an alternative response to Woolf's founding feminist fiction. Drawing on the theoretical and practical work of the rapidly-growing discipline of book history, I argue that a quantitative response, racking up the body-count of women authors in books, journals, on-line publishing projects, and innovations in

¹ Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1928, rpt 1993), pp. 76; 51.

pedagogy, whilst undeniably important, does not meet the fundamental challenges of Woolf's rallying cry.² After all, as Paul Salzman points out, although 'a bibliography of published and unpublished writing from Whitney to Behn would ... run to thousands of items', it remains the case that 'far fewer women wrote than men'.³ This thesis therefore turns away from the hunt for the female author, and, drawing on models of collaborative and social authorship offered by recent studies in book history, suggests that we should think again about our assumption that the literary canon against which feminist scholarship asserts its increasingly weighty lists and bibliographies is gendered male. In studying women's material and ideological interventions in the great variety of processes involved in early modern textual production, I argue that the male literary canon is revealed to be nothing of the sort, but is, and has always been, informed, influenced and profoundly shaped by the material and rhetorical presence of a multitude of women's hands and minds in a way that must transform our understanding both of the nature of authorship and of the early modern book.

² For detailed bibliographies of work by, as well as about, early modern women writers, including those concerned with teaching early modern women in the University classroom, see Elizabeth H. Hageman, 'Recent Studies in Women Writers of Tudor England. Part I: 1485 – 1603, excluding Mary Sidney Countess of Pembroke', *ELR*, 14 (1984), pp. 409-425; Josephine A. Roberts, 'Recent Studies in Women Writers of Tudor England. Part II: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke', *ELR*, 14 (1984), pp. 426-439; Georgianna M. Ziegler, 'Recent Studies in Women Writers of Tudor England, 1485-1603 (1990 to mid-1993)', *ELR*, 24 (1994), pp. 229-242; Sara Jayne Steen, 'Recent Studies in Women Writers of the Seventeenth Century, 1604-1674 (1990-mid-1993)', *ELR*, 24 (1994), pp. 243-274; Elizabeth H. Hageman, 'Recent Studies in Women Writers of the English Seventeenth Century (1604-1674)', *ELR*, 18 (1998), pp. 138-167; Micheline White, 'Recent Studies in Women Writers of Tudor England, 1485-1603 (mid-1993 to mid-1999)', *ELR*, 30 (2000), pp. 457-93. Two major publication series are currently publishing texts by early modern women writers in English: *The Early Modern Englishwoman*, a facsimile series produced by the Scholar Press, and *Women Writers in English, 1350-1850*, which is being published by Oxford University Press in co-operation with the Brown Women Writers Project, also making texts available on-line. For a useful survey of the current state of the field of book history see Cyndia Susan Clegg, 'History of the Book: An Undisciplined Discipline?', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54 (2001), pp. 221-45.

³ Paul Salzman (ed.), *Early Modern Women's Writing: An Anthology, 1560-1700* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), p. ix.

I. Books Are Not Written At All

In her call for a closer study of women's manuscript writings, Margaret Ezell suggests that recent scholarship on early modern women has devoted a disproportionate amount of energy to exploring why women did not publish their texts, as opposed to what and how women were writing at alternative sites. In her view, critics have placed undue emphasis on the 'means of repression', rather than on 'the modes of production'. This is an issue that her work, and the work of other scholars, particularly of women's manuscript writings, attempts to address through an attention to the material and social factors which informed and allowed such activity.⁴

Nonetheless, following the tradition established by Marxist critics such as Pierre Macherey and Terry Eagleton, students of women's experiences in and with literature, including Ezell, inevitably collapse textual production into the concerns of authorship, ignoring the more profound challenges laid down by recent work which stresses the importance of material processes to the production and transmission of literary meaning.⁵ Thus, Katie King, while calling for new research into 'a Feminist Apparatus of Literary Production' insists on the importance of learning 'about texts in a world of technology and commerce, about historical specificity and commodity formation from the studies, histories, editions, and commentaries produced in bibliographic practice', but uses these categories to interrogate the sites of writing, reducing the "making" of literature' to the authorial activity that has until now 'been reserved for specific,

⁴ Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History*, 45. See, for example, Elaine Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writing, 1649-88* (London: Virago Press, 1988), and those scholars whose work is included in *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, 9 (2000), a special issue devoted to women writers.

⁵ See particularly Terry Eagleton, *Marxism and Literary Criticism*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002) and Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production*, tr. Geoffrey Wall (London: Routledge, 1978).

authorized groups of literary practitioners', at the same time as she expands the bounds of that group.⁶

'It is ironic', as W. Speed Hill points out, 'that just as much of the profession professes skepticism about the ideology (or ideologies) of scholarly or critical editing – at least in its copy-text guise – feminist scholars are actively engaged in recovering texts by and about women, scaling the very intentionalist mountain the other side of which their male confrères are descending'.⁷ In the single-minded hunt for a multitude of Judith Shakespeares, feminist scholars insist on reproducing exactly the intentionalist and essentialist fallacies they would find deeply naive in the study of any dead white male.

In *Writing Women's Literary History*, Ezell deliberately sets herself against those critics, such as Elaine Showalter or Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, who have sought to establish a literary history, or rather 'herstory', that piles fore-mother upon fore-mother. Insisting that their teleological narratives of an evolving feminist consciousness continue to be informed by inherited male notions of tradition, authorship and the canon, Ezell suggests that such an approach ends by excluding much of women's writing from even the most fervently feminist account of the literary past. As she puts it:

By unconsciously permitting our perceptions of the past to be shaped by unexamined ideologies, perhaps unwittingly carried over from certain privileged texts or theories, we may have infused the values and standards of those texts and theories in our constructions of the past. The result could be that we have unintentionally marginalized or devalued a significant portion of female literary experience.⁸

⁶ Katie King, 'Bibliography and a Feminist Apparatus of Literary Production', *TEXT*, 5 (1991), pp. 92; 97).

⁷ W. Speed Hill, 'Editing Nondramatic Texts of the English Renaissance: A Field Guide with Illustrations', in Hill (ed.). *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts* (Binghampton, N.Y.: Renaissance English Text Society, 1993), p. 23. Parenthetically, I would take issue with Hill's apparent gender divide between mens and feminists, whilst still agreeing with the thrust of his argument.

⁸ Margaret Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996), p. 7.

For Ezell, the key intervention that must now be made by feminist scholars is a challenge to the generic conventions which insist that novels, plays and printed poetry may be canonical, but that many of the forms inhabited by early modern women, such as letters, spiritual autobiography, religious prophecy and pamphlet literature, are occasional, ephemeral and resolutely not a part of literary history. Although scholars of the early modern period have revealed women to be the writers of a remarkable range of texts, from plays and poetry to petitions and polemic, the most recent edition of *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women: the Traditions in English* nonetheless includes the writings of only eight women authors to represent the three centuries labelled 'the Middle Ages and the Renaissance'.⁹

Ezell argues urgently both for the recovery of more women writers, and for their admission to the ranks of authorship, forcing us to reformulate our ideas of what constitutes 'literature', and who can be an author. In the end, however, Ezell's manifesto seems eerily similar to the earlier revolutionary cries of Showalter or Gilbert and Gubar against which she tilts. All three seem to agree with Lillian S. Robinson that there are only two possibilities open to a feminist literary history that seeks to take on the challenges of historical canon formation. 'It can emphasize alternative readings of the tradition, readings that reinterpret women's character, motivations, and actions and that identify and challenge sexist ideology. Or it can concentrate on gaining admission to the canon for literature by women writers.'¹⁰

In the end, Ezell's plea for a reevaluation of 'the nature of authorship' is a call only to extend its franchise, not to question the ideological work that is, and has been, performed by the construction of the author as a controlling genius, whose intentions

⁹ Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women: The Traditions in English*, 2nd ed. (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1996).

¹⁰ Lillian S. Robinson, 'Treason our Text: Feminist Challenges to the Literary Canon', in Elaine Showalter (ed.), *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature, and Theory* (London: Virago, 1986), p. 107.

and experience can in some way be accessed through the medium of the literary text.¹¹

She is, as she explains in *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print*, committed to:

a history of authorship that is concerned with the author's, not the printer's or bookseller's, experience of writing in the material conditions of the times. Furthermore, we still need histories of authors and readers – often women – who resided away from the centers of publishing and the technology of “modern” authors. In short, we still need studies that are not focused on the “advanced” or modern concept of authorship during this period of transition but instead on all the varied aspects of the material culture of literature, especially as they are affected by geographic location and by the gender of the writer or the reader.¹²

Yet according to Roland Barthes, as well as to book historians following in the footsteps of D. F. McKenzie, it is this transcendent author that has been dead for the past thirty-five years, a revelation that would seem to reduce feminist scholars' ongoing projects of resuscitation to the systematic disinterment of a grizzly parade of literary corpses.¹³ Ezell's demand is for the rethinking of canonical constraints, rather than a call to grapple with the notion of authorship as, as Foucault puts it, ‘a function of discourse’, a construction of an impossible and implausible transparent subjectivity used to create legal culpability, guarantee authenticity, and fix certain texts within the bounds of the literary.¹⁴ This, however, is a challenge that has proved fundamental to book history as it approaches authorship through the careful evaluation of physical and material traces, and it is a challenge to which I believe students of women's literary history need to respond.

As Roger Stoddard states: ‘Whatever they may do, authors do not write books. Books are not written at all. They are manufactured by scribes and other artisans, by

¹¹ Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History*, p. 3.

¹² Margaret Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1999), p. 12.

¹³ Roland Barthes, ‘The Death of the Author’ in *Image, Music, Text*, tr. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana, 1977), pp. 142-48.

¹⁴ Michel Foucault, ‘What is an Author?’, tr. Josué V. Harari in Paul Rabinow (ed.), *The Foucault Reader* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), pp. 101-20.

mechanics and other engineers, and by printing presses and other machines'.¹⁵ Against the traditions of the New Criticism, accused of isolating 'textuality from the circumstances, the events, the physical sense that made it possible and render it intelligible as the result of human work', bibliographic critics from D. F. McKenzie onwards have argued that 'there is no text apart from the physical support that offers it for reading (or hearing), hence there is no comprehension of any written piece that does not at least in part depend upon the forms in which it reaches its reader'.¹⁶ While McKenzie, throughout his famous essay dissecting the interpretive history of four short lines from Congreve's *The Way of the World* argues in support of the 'intentionalist fallacy' that an attention to material form can recover something of the author's intentions, he ends by recognising the multiple agents who have influenced and altered the form that determines reading, and the way in which two particular readers, Wimsatt and Beardsley, provided Congreve's text with a new form, another moment in its material history. 'Bibliography, simply by its own comprehensive logic, its indiscriminate inclusiveness, testifies to the fact that new readers of course make new texts, and that their new meanings are a function of their new forms. The claim then is no longer for their truth as one might seek to define that by an authorial intention, but for their testimony as defined by their historical use.'¹⁷

The impetus of book history is to reveal textual creation as fundamentally collaborative, and the book as the product of multiple hands, minds, pens, and presses, in what Robert Darnton has influentially described as a 'communications circuit':

¹⁵ Roger E. Stoddard, 'Morphology and the Book Form: An American Perspective', *Printing History*, 17 (1990), p. 4.

¹⁶ Edward W. Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), p. 4, cited in D. F. McKenzie, 'The Book as Expressive Form', *The Panizzi Lectures, 1985: Bibliography and the Society of Texts* (London: British Library, 1986; rpt. in David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (eds), *The Book History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2002)), p. 37; Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, tr. Lydia G. Cochrane (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1994), p. 9.

¹⁷ McKenzie, 'The Book as Expressive Form', p. 37.

that runs from the author to the publisher (if the bookseller does not assume that role), the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader. The reader completes the circuit because he influences the author both before and after the act of composition. ... A writer may respond in writing to criticisms of his previous work or anticipate reactions that his text will elicit. He addresses implicit readers, and hears from explicit reviewers. So the circuit runs full cycle.¹⁸

Printing, bookselling, providing finance, buying a book, binding it, even lining a baking tin with a sheet of precious manuscript: these are some of Woolf's 'grossly material things', cited in the epigraph to this introduction, and they do, as she says they must, attach fiction, however tenuously, 'to life at all four corners'.¹⁹ Hidden from view by an insistence on textual production as the work only of the author, transmitting the unmediated flow of his or her genius direct from mind to bookshelf, these material interventions in fact play an essential part in producing both work and author. It is women's roles in these economic and material processes, revealed in their gross materiality when the web of authorship is ripped and torn, with which this thesis is concerned.

Rather than concentrating on the reasons for women's literary silence, or on the alternative sites of their writerly activities, if we take our lead from Darnton's communications circuit and pay attention to the contingencies and complexities of literary production, a third alternative is revealed. In order to make a real difference to the massively unequal balance of the scales that weigh women's literature against that of men, we must instead question the strategies that have transformed the trim figure of the writer, one crucial cog in the wheels of textual production, into the bloated behemoth that is the author. In breaking open the monolithic weight of the male tradition we will reveal that the mass that appeared to be solid iron, fixed and

¹⁸ Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1990), p. 111.

¹⁹ Woolf, *Room*, p. 43.

immovable, is in fact a complex alloy, an inextricable combination of interventions and contributions by both men and women.

As Maureen Bell proclaims in the new *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 'The history of the book offers feminist literary historians a model which allows us to test our assumptions by investigating the specifics of women's agency: as writers, scribes, patrons, dedicatees, translators, editors; as printers, booksellers, bookbinders, publishers, hawkers, mercuries and peddlers; and as owners, listeners, readers and collectors of books'.²⁰ Such a strategy has recently been adopted in Susan Broomhall's richly detailed study of *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth Century France*.²¹ Nonetheless, both of these writers ignore the substantial challenges posed to the notion of a male-gendered and exclusive literary tradition that are opened up by an attention to the history of the material text. Instead they return inevitably to the ways in which the physicalities of production shaped the literary experiences of the woman writer, adding an awareness of the presence of her printing and bookselling sisters, but refusing to fully recognise the productive capacities and potential inherent in women's involvement in the material and technological details of the literary process.

In Broomhall's words, 'Up until now, what women have said in their writings has been given priority over the contexts and conditions under which they entered the particular cultural phenomenon of publication at a moment of profound transition. By focusing on the latter issues here, I hope to demonstrate how these factors impinge upon what women could actually say within published texts'.²² Both Bell and Broomhall return implicitly to a structure of female experience and interaction that, by focusing on

²⁰ Maureen Bell, 'Women Writing and Women Written', in John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (eds), and Maureen Bell (assistant ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV, 1557-1695* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), p. 451.

²¹ Susan Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century France* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2002).

²² Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, p. 11.

women's relationships only with other women, continues to exclude them from mainstream literary experience despite their participation in every aspect of the production process.

In contrast, Wendy Wall has very influentially adopted a subtly different approach to the materialities of the printing press, seeking not to discover the details of women's engagement with this technology, but to establish the gendered *mentalité* that, she suggests, mediated men's class-based anxieties about entry into the world of print.²³ Still, however, she turns, at the end of her enormously influential study, to the different ways in which women writers might have negotiated this gendered mode of production, leaving the divide between the male and the female literary tradition as firmly in place as ever.

If we really desire to discover the extent and variety of women's involvement in and with literature, a concentration on female authorship, even on female authorship within a newly expanded range of genres, tied in to an awareness of the possible presence of a woman in the printing house, continues to obscure the real diversity of that experience. Attempting to load the scales with the assembled writings of more and more early modern women in a frantic struggle to 'counterbalance the canon', as Haselkorn and Travitsky put it, will never reveal the full scope of women's involvement in the opaque and many-layered processes of textual production.²⁴

When Elaine Showalter calls for a 'radical rethinking of the conceptual grounds of literary study, a revision of the accepted theoretical assumptions about reading and writing that have been based entirely on male literary experiences', she reveals the

²³ Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

²⁴ See Anne M. Haselkorn and Betty S. Travitsky, *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990).

extent to which feminist criticism has internalised the notion that the canon is both monolithic and male.²⁵ I argue, however, that the 'male literary experience' of the Renaissance is shot through with the material interventions of every woman who printed, patronised, published, edited, or simply read, a book. This thesis does not, and cannot, aim to discredit the hunt for a multitude of Judith Sidneys, or even Judith Spensers, Jonsons or Lylys. It does, however, insist that an anachronistic concentration upon the author as the privileged site of meaning obscures far more early modern women than it will ever discover. In conclusion, I argue that the deconstruction of the transparent author-subject, the tearing of Woolf's authorial web, reveals both the monolithic male tradition of English literature, and the compensatory women writers heaped upon the scales of literary history, to be, in Judith Butler's sense of the term, bisexual, neither male nor female, man nor woman, but discursive, performative, contingent, and provisional.²⁶

II. Grossly Material Things

The 'Grossly Material Things' of my title are thus the concrete foundations of textual production in its broadest sense: money and markets, paper and the printing press, binding and bookselling. I trace the different ways in which women's engagements with these structures shaped the male texts with which they came into contact, recognising, in D. F. McKenzie's foundational formulation, that 'forms affect meaning', that the material processes that shape the text change the conditions of reading and reception, and thus inevitably alter the text itself.²⁷ This fascination with the material extends beyond the technologies of production, however, to the social and physical realities of women's involvement with them, and the enormous range of socio-

²⁵ Elaine Showalter, 'Introduction' to Elaine Showalter (ed.), *The New Feminist Criticism*, p. 8.

²⁶ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1990).

²⁷ D. F. McKenzie, 'The Book as an Expressive Form', p. 29.

economic factors that affected and influenced the various women studied in this thesis.²⁸

As recent scholarship has reminded us, it is all too easy to collapse women's historical activities into a single, totalising experience of oppression that enacts the very strategies of categorisation and control it claims to expose.²⁹

While seeking to discover the detailed realities of early modern women's embodied experience, however, this thesis time and again runs up against a very different corporeality: that imagined and constructed by the male authors of the English Renaissance. On the one hand, I refer here to the ways in which some of the women in this study, particularly the patrons and readers of Chapters One and Five, were interpellated by writers into the very body of the material text; flattened on to the physical page, and tightly bound in and by the book as it entered into circulation. On the other, 'woman' as an ontological category, fantasised by male authors, is also revealed to be insistently and grossly material. Patricia Parker has carefully unpacked the dense and punning etymological links between woman as the matter of rhetoric, subject for and to interpretation, and 'that visually dilated *mater* whom Lisa Jardine has linked, in her massiveness of body or "grossesse," not just with copious fertility but with a threatening female sexuality as well'.³⁰ In this thesis, women appear both as the material grounds upon which male authors work out their relation to a range of national, economic and textual concerns, as the issue-bearing, pregnant figures upon whom chains of inheritance and transmission, both of property and of the text, are revealed to

²⁸ In this, I align myself with the school of historical or cultural materialism, described by Jonathan Dollimore in 'Shakespeare, Cultural Materialism, and the New Historicism', in Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (eds), *Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism*, 2nd ed., (Manchester: MUP, 1996), pp. 2-17. As Dollimore describes it, one important impetus for this movement was the determination of certain feminist scholars to recover 'the actual conditions of women and the altered understanding of their literary representations which this generates' (p. 3). See, for example, Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Brighton: Harvester, 1983).

²⁹ See, for example, Joan Wallach Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, 91 (1986), pp. 1053-75, and 'Introduction' to Scott (ed.), *Feminism and History* (Oxford: OUP, 1996), pp. 1-13.

³⁰ Patricia Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property* (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 18, citing Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters*, p. 131.

rely, and as the real women who participated in a range of social and economic activities.

Throughout, this thesis probes the tensions between women's lived experience and their fictional representation, struggling to understand the distances between the woman patron who secured a valued court position for a favoured writer, and her fictionalised counterpart on display in dedicatory materials; between the woman printer, trusted and accepted by her male colleagues, and the printing process imagined as female, gross, and threatening; between the careful conservers of husbands' posthumous texts, and the domestic harridans burning and baking manuscript and print material in the paranoid fantasies of some early modern men. In so doing, it describes two related circles, following Darnton's communication circuit from author to editor to printer to distributor to reader, and round again, and tracing too the wheel of socio-economic status as it moves from the aristocratic patron or dedicatee, down through the social ranks of writers' wives and female relations into the murky realms of the printing house, then back up through the privileged women who could afford the commitment and mobility to take risks in the service of a religious or political cause, and at last opening out into the variety of print readers addressed and imagined by early modern authors.

III. Miscellaneous Women

In 1962, Franklin B. Williams published his monumental *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books Before 1641*, and, as a result, was able to draw the attention of the world, or at least of that part of it which was in the habit of consulting *Notes and Queries*, to the existence of 'The Literary Patronesses of

Renaissance England'.³¹ In this brief article, Williams insisted that the realisation 'that patronage was more widespread among women than might be suggested' formed 'perhaps the most significant finding' of his *Index*.³² Williams describes the hierarchised breakdown of the 733 woman patrons he identifies in the following terms. 'By social status, then, the patronesses fall into these groups: Queens and princesses, 25; peerage and baronetage, 265; wives of knights, 215; gentry, 125; citizen, burgher, merchant or trading class, 33; nuns, 29; wives of the clergy, 25; miscellaneous, 13; unidentified, 43'.³³ This *Index* has provided some of the most intriguing clues to the presence of women in the realms of early modern textual production, revealing not only patrons, but women printers, wives, mothers, daughters, religious and irreligious women, and readers in a variety of forms. Provisionally noting little more than the presence of these women, Williams threw open the field for further research, with a barrage of questions.

In addition to the obvious study of individuals, coteries, or the London citizenry, several prospects open. What fresh insights can be gleaned on the intellectual positions and interest of women? Do women writers favour women as patrons? Was the reign of a queen reflected in any general increase in feminine patronage? What kind of books, apart from the Countess of Lincoln's little tract on breastfeeding, were addressed to women?³⁴

Forty years on, however, the scholarly ground so painstakingly broken by Williams remains bare. With no one to cultivate the field of female patronage, the meticulous seeds of his bibliographical toils have failed to germinate and lie dormant on the library shelves. It is with Williams' 'literary patronesses', therefore that my first chapter is concerned.

³¹ Franklin B. Williams, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books Before 1641* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1962), and 'The Literary Patronesses of Renaissance England', *Notes and Queries*, 9 (1962), pp. 364-66.

³² Williams, 'Literary Patronesses', p. 365.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

Some few furrows have of course been ploughed in this particular field, scratching lightly across swathes of parched soil, or digging deeply in one or two narrow corners, particularly around the shady roots of the Arcadian tree that is Mary Sidney. David Bergeron, for example, has briefly surveyed the activities of 'Women as Patrons of English Renaissance Drama',³⁵ while David Roberts has turned his gaze to a slightly later period for an unreconstructed survey of *The Ladies: Female Patrons of Restoration Drama*.³⁶ Some work has been done on the role of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, as a patron not only of individual authors, but of early printing and of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge,³⁷ and indeed on the similar activities of Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy.³⁸ Margaret Hannay's monumental study has effectively cornered the market on Mary (Sidney) Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, albeit leaving a little breathing space for the prior efforts of Michael Brennan and Gary Waller,³⁹ and Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, has been

³⁵ David Bergeron, 'Women as Patrons of English Renaissance Drama', in Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (eds), *Patronage in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J.: PUP, 1981), pp. 274-92.

³⁶ David Roberts, *The Ladies: Female Patronage of Restoration Drama, 1660-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). Deliberately eschewing any attempt to tease out the complexities of women's theatrical patronage or to read accounts of their shrieks and disapprobation with a critical and suspicious eye, Roberts instead re-enacts the exclusive and defensive strategies of the playwrights he studies, spiking the guns of potential critics with the disingenuous request, 'May no ladies shriek and call for a hanging if I make the following statement of policy: because the particular subject of this book – the female audience of Restoration plays – predates by many years the current interest in feminist criticism, and because the want of a proper study of it charges students of the period with neglect rather than prejudice, my purpose is not to attempt the overthrow of any patristic theory of scholarship, but to investigate the variety of interesting facts which lies behind the disappointingly thin collection of recent guesses at what women expected of the Restoration playhouses and how they behaved when they went to them' (p. 1).

³⁷ See William E.A. Axton, 'The Lady Margaret as a Lover of Literature', *The Library*, Second Series, 8 (1907), pp. 34-41; Pearl Hogrefe, *Women of Action in Tudor England: Nine Biographical Sketches* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa UP, 1975); Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991) and 'Lady Margaret Beaufort', *History Today*, 35 (1985), pp. 23-30; Jennifer Summit, 'William Caxton, Margaret Beaufort and the Romance of Female Patronage', in Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor (eds), *Women, the Book and the Worldly*, vol. II (Cambridge: Brewer, 1995), pp. 151-65. For an alternative view that stresses the limits of Beaufort's support of William Caxton see Russell Rutter, 'William Caxton and Literary Patronage', *Studies in Philology*, 84 (1987), pp. 440-470.

³⁸ See Muriel Hughes, 'Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, Diplomat, Patroness, Bibliophile, and Benefactress', *Private Library*, 3rd ser., 7 (1984), pp. 3-17, and Joel T. Rosenthal, 'Aristocratic Cultural Patronage and Book Bequests, 1350-1500', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 64 (1982), pp. 541-44.

³⁹ See Margaret P. Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (Oxford: OUP, 1990). Brennan explores the Countess's activities as a patron in the fourth chapter of his *Literary Patronage in the English Renaissance: The Pembroke Family* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 55-82, as does Waller in *Mary Sidney: Countess of Pembroke: A Critical Study of her Writings and Literary Milieu* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1979). T.S. Eliot inspired a concentration on the patronage circle and critical and literary tastes of the Countess in his 'Apology for the Countess of Pembroke', in *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism*, London: Faber and Faber, 1933), pp. 37-52, and she also

the subject of a number of studies, many as a result of her association with John Donne.⁴⁰ Lady Alice Stanley's patronage has been briefly examined alongside that of her second husband Sir Thomas Egerton,⁴¹ while Aemilia Lanyer's unusual position as a female author addressing female patrons has led to discussion of her dedicatory strategies, though critics remain baffled and disappointed by the failure of her addressees to respond with a sufficient level of sisterly solidarity.⁴² Finally, the status of Jonson and Spenser among the greats of Elizabethan and Jacobean literature has combined with the high visibility of their female patrons, particularly Lucy Russell, and, of course, Elizabeth I, to attract a more substantial degree of attention.⁴³

figures as heir to her brother Philip Sidney's patronal responsibilities in John Buxton's *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance* (London: MacMillan, 1954), esp. pp. 173-204. In her book on *Samuel Daniel: A Critical and Biographical Study*, Joan Rees examines the Countess's relationship with Samuel Daniel (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1964). Hannay describes Herbert's own exploitation of the conventions of the dedicatory epistle in her essay, "Doo What Men May Sing": Mary Sidney and the Tradition of Admonitory Dedication in Hannay (ed.), *Silent But For the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators and Writers of Religious works* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State UP, 1985), pp. 149-165, which also contains an essay by John N. King, 'Patronage and Piety: The Influence of Catherine Parr' (pp. 43-60).

⁴⁰ Russell's patronage activities are traced in Chapter Four of Barbara Lewalski's *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1993), pp. 95-123, which also contains a chapter on the patronage activities of Queen Anne. Russell and Anne are also discussed, along with the Countess of Denbigh, as part of Linda Levy Peck's analysis of the language of early modern patronage in *Court Patronage and Corruption in early Stuart England* (London: Unwin-Hyman, 1990). Margaret Maurer explores Russell's relationship with two poets in her articles, 'The Real Presence of Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, and the Terms of John Donne's "Honour is so Sublime Perfection"', *ELH*, 47 (1980), pp. 205-234 and 'Samuel Daniel's Poetical Epistles, Especially Those to Sir Thomas Egerton and Lucy, Countess of Bedford', *Studies in Philology*, 74 (1977), pp. 418-44. Russell's association with Donne is the subject of Patricia Thomson's article on 'John Donne and the Countess of Bedford,' *MLR*, 44 (1949), pp. 329-38, and Mary Hull Mohr's 'Lucy Harington and John Donne: Reinterpreting a Relationship', in Dennis M. Jones (ed.), *A Humanist's Legacy: Essays in Honour of John Christian Bale* (Decorah: Luther Coll., 1990), pp. 49-62.

⁴¹ French R. Fogle and Louis A. Knafla, *Patronage in Late Renaissance England* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1983).

⁴² In her *Oppositional Voices: Women as Writers and Translators of Literature in the English Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1992), Tina Krontiris presents Lanyer as a proto-feminist heroine, risking such radical statements in her support of women's rights that her snobbish addressees dared not condone her writing. 'Apparently, the women to whom the book was addressed objected to its bold statements. ... Lanyer miscalculated the extent to which she could employ feminist sentiment to her advantage. In her culture, feminism and respectability were not compatible' (p. 120). See also Pamela Joseph Benson, 'To Play the Man: Aemilia Lanyer and the Acquisition of Patronage', in Peter C. Herman (ed.), *Opening the Borders: Inclusivity in Early Modern Studies; Essays in Honor of James V. Mirollo* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 243-64; Mary Ellen Lamb, 'Patronage and Class in Emilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Res Judaeorum*', in Mary E. Burke, Jane Donawerth, Linda L. Dove, and Karen Nelson (eds), *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain* (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2000), pp. 38-57; Lewalski, *Writing Women*, Chapter Eight; and Susanne Woods, 'Aemilia Lanyer and Ben Jonson: Patronage, Authority, and Gender,' *The Ben Jonson Journal: Literary Contexts in the Age of Elizabeth, James and Charles*, 1 (1994), pp. 15-30.

⁴³ On Jonson's women patrons see Robert Evans, *Ben Jonson and the Poetics of Patronage* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1989); Lesley Mickel, 'A Learned and Manly Soul': Jonson and His Female Patrons', *The Ben Jonson Journal: The Ben Jonson Journal: Literary Contexts in the Age of Elizabeth, James and Charles*, 6 (1999), pp. 69-89; Susanne Woods, 'Aemilia Lanyer and Ben Jonson'. For Spenser see Judith M. C. Owens, *Enabling Engagements: Spenser, His Patrons, and the Poetics of Patronage*

A handful of articles then, on each of a handful of figures. Yet at least 1115 women, in one incarnation or another, were addressed in the dedications of printed books between 1475 and 1641.⁴⁴ Clearly, a discrepancy exists between the renaissance invocations of a multitude of powerful patronesses, painstakingly listed in Williams' *Index*, and the scant attention they have received as participants in the processes of early modern literary production. This chapter uncovers a deep discrepancy between the multitude of early modern dedications and commendatory verses, and the few identifiable instances of literary patronage transactions entered into by women. The lack of writing on female patronage can in part be attributed to the scanty and frustrating nature of the evidence of patronage relationships, whether understood as the extension of hospitality, an act of political intervention, the procurement of offices, or the giving of financial reward in exchange for a book.

One reason cited by several critics to explain the gap between extravagant early modern invocations of women as patrons and maecenas and the handful of examples of patronage transactions, is that concrete records of patronage are frustratingly hard to find. A significant factor behind this discrepancy may of course be that, as Mary Ellen Lamb points out:

(Montreal and Ithaca: McGill-Queen's UP, 2002), and Jon A. Quitslund, 'Spenser and the Patronesses of the *Fowre Hymnes*: "Ornaments of All True Love and Beautie"', in Hannay (ed.), *Silent But For the Word*, pp. 184-202. Spenser's relationship with his most visible female patron, Elizabeth I, has of course been examined in numerous places, though more often in terms of his status as courtier rather than client. See particularly Catherine Bates, *The Rhetoric of Courtship in Elizabethan Language and Literature* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992); Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London: Routledge, 1989); Jonathan Goldberg *Endlesse Worke: Spenser and the Structures of Discourse* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1981), esp. Chapter Four; Lin Kelsey and Richard Peterson, 'Rereading Colin's Broken Pipe: Spenser and the Problem of Patronage,' *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual*, 14 (2000), pp. 233-72; Willy Maley, *Salvaging Spenser: Colonialism, Culture and Identity* (London: MacMillan Press, 1997); Marion Wynne-Davies, "'If We Shadows Have Offended': Edmund Spenser and the Elizabethan World of Patronage," in William Zunder and Suzanne Trill (eds), *Writing and the English Renaissance* (London: Longman, 1996), pp. 1-32.

⁴⁴ This figure substantially exceeds the 733 women identified by Williams, partly due to a number of additions to the information given in his *Index* but primarily because I count both dedications to husband and wife which Williams includes only under the husband's name, and dedications to 'woman' or 'women' as a range of groups, abstractions, personifications, etc. For individual category totals, and details of the number of dedications received by any given individual, see Appendix 1.2.

Patronage was inevitably a discreet arrangement in the late sixteenth century as at other times. A writer's description of obligations attendant on his patron's gift would reveal rank ingratitude; a patron's description of his own generosity would betray an unthinkable lack of propriety. ... Thus, important questions, such as "What did authors actually receive?" "What determined which authors were patronized?" "How free were authors to write as they wished, and how much did they have to cater to what their patrons wanted?" are met with silence.⁴⁵

This general problem is compounded when we turn specifically to records of women's patronage. Letters and documents relating to women's activities are not only less likely to be preserved than those of men, they are less likely to be produced in the first place.⁴⁶ Taking into account the formal and rhetorical gestures of the Renaissance dedication, however, I argue that there is a more profound reason for the gaping discrepancy between the fulsome dedicatory rhetoric of Renaissance patronage and the narrow evidence for its material incarnations.

Female patronage, I argue, was at once less important than has been assumed as a series of material exchanges, and more important as a series of imagined engagements which allowed for the establishment of an English literary tradition. Discussing first the variety of ways in which noble women were interpellated in printed dedications, this chapter interrogates how and why authors addressed noble women as patrons, readers, and supporters of their work. Paying close attention to the material sites of women's textualisation as dedicatees, I suggest that they prove to be tightly bound by the physical margins of the dedicatory space, locked into subject-positions provided by the author in a fantasy of control over the vagaries of the patriarchal inheritance system.

In this analysis, patronage is revealed as a system of protection, the construction of an ideal readership, a prophylactic dampener on inflammatory texts, a means to advertise

⁴⁵ Mary Ellen Lamb, 'The Countess of Pembroke's Patronage', *ELR*, 12 (1962), p. 162.

⁴⁶ For a summary of these difficulties see Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 6-11. For an exhaustive compilation of possible sources of evidence see Georgianna Ziegler, 'Lost in the Archives: Searching for Records of Early Modern Women,' in Susanne Woods and Margaret P. Hannay (eds), *Teaching Tudor and Stuart Women Writers*, (New York: MLA, 2000), pp. 315-47.

or establish an author's particular social, economic or political position, a product of exile, even an entrance in 'the international competition in learned women'.⁴⁷ In all its complexity, a declaration of patronage is revealed to be very rarely reducible to 'a human relationship based on exchange, a relationship between a person with money and a person with a book'.⁴⁸

Above all, I suggest, female patronage is best understood as a series of enabling fictions, where a complex array of concerns around class, gender, language and the marketplace intersect, a theme to which I return in my final chapter. I argue here, however, that these intersecting strands become most clearly visible when authors attempt to negotiate the particularly intimate relationship of women dedicatees to the development of a vernacular literature. These women, whose educational and intellectual deficiencies could be, and were, argued to make necessary a range of translated texts, straightforward and easy to read religious instruction, and even the first monolingual English dictionaries, were established as the archetypal English readers, and it was on the printed pages of their textualised alter egos that authors struggled to establish English as both a national language and a national literature. Such a conclusion returns us, however, to the vexed question of agency: the ways in which women's active participation influenced the concerns of authors and changed the shape of texts, rather than providing the passive ground upon which a range of writerly fears, ambitions, and projects could be projected and explored. The dedicatory women forcibly inserted into stylised dedicatory postures at the front of books, altered, I argue, both the material form of the book and the ways in which it was read and experienced.

⁴⁷ Harriet Guest, *Small Change: Women, Learning, Patriotism, 1750-1810* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 15.

⁴⁸ Peter J. Lucas, 'The Growth and Development of English Literary Patronage in the Later Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', *The Library*, Sixth Series, 4 (1982), p. 223.

My second chapter turns to the women responsible for the publication of male texts, as opposed to their printing. Taking in to account the many women who ensured that a husband or family member's posthumous text found its way into print, this chapter raises the possibility that women may have been responsible for substantial editorial revisions in a wide range of texts, revisions now rendered invisible through the subsequent fetish of the author and, correspondingly, of the invisible editor, the scarcely corporeal conduit through which the text passes to the printed page. This chapter also, however, follows the printed text into circulation, exploring the way in which aristocratic women readers were situated as 'publishers' by the authors who addressed them, ensuring their reception and circulation within the confines of a friendship group, a religious network, or a wider, and potentially hostile, readership. The idea that books were on the move, as were the texts they contained, locked on to the printed page, is central to the concerns of this thesis. As 'value-bearing, circulating currency', books help to create and define social networks and interactions.⁴⁹ In exploring the giving of books by women, this chapter identifies the distinction between the material movement of a gifted book, and the fictionalised movement of a dedication that presents a text in a performative gesture lacking any material correlative, another moment of tension between material reality and authorial fantasy.

Chapter Three moves on to the women involved in the print trades of early modern England, and stresses the involvement of stationers' widows as printers, booksellers, publishers, and patentees. The chapter reflects on the troubled distinction between women and gender, the 'real' women of the book trade, and the strategic gendering of the publication process by the male author, as identified by Wendy Wall.⁵⁰ Turning to the figure of Perdita in *The Winter's Tale*, described by Paulina as 'the whole matter/

⁴⁹ Janice Radway, 'A Feeling for Books: The Book-of-the-Month Club, literary taste and middle-class desire', in Finkelstein and McCleery (eds), *The Book History Reader*, p. 360.

⁵⁰ Wall, *Imprint of Gender*.

And copy of the Father',⁵¹ this chapter probes the cultural weight with which the word 'copy' is freighted – not only as the rights in texts transmitted through an invisible female genealogy, but also as a figure for reproductive accuracy, an eternal concern in the ill-regulated world of the early modern book trade.⁵² Finally, 'copy' is revealed to stand also as a description of the stylistic excess symptomatic of the attempt to forge an English language capable of literary expression, bringing us back to the roles of women and gender in the development of English vernacular literacy already broached in Chapters One and Two.

While my third chapter reveals the economic basis of most women stationers' commitment to publishing, my fourth turns to women who worked to disseminate texts in the service of a politico-religious agenda, allowing for the printing and distribution of banned, illicit, and seditious printed writings. Central to this shift is a recognition of the widely varied privileges and concerns of women at different levels of the social and economic scale, with the 'witty, offending great ones' of this chapter revealed to possess a degree of freedom from financial concerns and from legal culpability that allowed a greater commitment to a partisan cause. Important to this chapter, as to Chapter Two, is the distinction between printing and publication, and I explore in detail the paradox of the privacy required for illicit printing, and the necessary publicity of its broader dissemination.

Yet it was not just texts that were made public in the service of a religious cause. Women, once again textualised in dedicatory spaces, and the subject of a vigorous range of textual representations in a religious debate that saw women's child-bearing bodies

⁵¹ William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, in *The Complete Works*, edited by Stanley Wells, Gary Taylor, John Jowett, and William Montgomery (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 2.3, 97-99.

⁵² For an influential account arguing that the fixity and credibility we now associate with the printed medium was by no means inherent in its early incarnations, and had to be constructed and policed by those involved in print production see Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1998).

as crucial to the propagation of 'right' religion, whether Catholic or Protestant, were published in vast numbers for the edification of both male and female readers. As Frances Dolan has argued, it was the susceptibility of women to ideological and physical penetration within the domestic context of the most private spaces that formed the stimulus for their repeated publication. As she points out 'Their straddling of spheres was so persistently demonized because, by the mid- and late seventeenth century, the domestic and the political were beginning to be constructed as separate; yet the border between the two was also perceived as unstable and at risk'.⁵³

The question of borders turns out to be central to my thesis, as women are time and again revealed to occupy not marginal but liminal spaces, borders between states not the boundaries that define them. As the transitional space between a series of dualities – public/private, male/female, Catholic/Protestant, French/English, father/son, writer/reader – women find themselves, as Roger Kuin puts it, 'living on what we might call an edge of two edges', so much part of the dividing Slash that they become correspondent with it.⁵⁴ These dualities, however, continually emerge as the sites through which books must travel, consubstantial with the geographical, linguistic, and formal boundaries across which books are revealed to move. As part of the answer to his self-imposed question, 'What is the History of Books?', Robert Darnton points out that once we begin to consider the material conditions in which books are produced and used, we realise that they are seldom confined within the kind of geo-political limits that map neatly onto the traditional concerns of literary and historical studies.

Darnton insists that a concentration on the materiality of books forces us to rethink the boundaries within which we work: to turn from literatures and histories understood as

⁵³ Frances Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1999), p. 10.

⁵⁴ Roger Kuin, 'Life on the Edge: A Response to Helen Smith, Jane Couchman and Guy Poirier', unpublished paper delivered at the *Sixteenth-Century Studies Conference*, San Antonio, Texas, October 2002. I thank Roger Kuin for permission to include his response.

being circumscribed by national and linguistic boundaries, and strive instead to emulate the texts themselves in a ceaseless movement across the barriers not only of geography and of politics, but of the mind. As he puts it:

Books themselves do not respect limits either linguistic or national. They have often been written by authors who belonged to an international republic of letters, composed by printers who did not work in their native tongue, sold by booksellers who operated across national boundaries, and read in one language by readers who spoke another.⁵⁵

Part of the purpose of this thesis, however, is to test Darnton's understanding of the footloose and fancy-free character of his personified book against some of the political, religious and geographical specificities surrounding the movement of knowledge in early modern England. I argue that while books did indeed pass across, or through, all sorts of barriers and boundaries, they did not always leap merrily across national borders and linguistic divides in the service of international scholarship, nor did they emerge unscathed or unaltered by their travels. They were, instead, transformed by their physical passage from one country to another; their intellectual journey from one language to another; their perilous movement from one religious context to its antithesis; and, crucially, their transgression of gendered divides.

The movement discussed in my final chapter is that from author to reader. Turning to the women who purchased, or otherwise acquired, and read a wide range of early modern printed texts, I return to the rhetorical play of the copious prefatory matter that stands at the front of so many printed books. Discussing both the real and imagined presence of women as members of a growing reading public, I trace the instabilities of tone in the rhetorical performances that claim to address a female readership, and the strategies through which authors attempt both to imagine and control the women into whose hands their books may pass. As Harriet Guest has done for the latter half of the

⁵⁵ Darnton, *Kiss of Lamourette*, p. 135.

eighteenth century, I discuss ‘the relation between the consumption of intellectual and material goods – learning and shopping’ and the ways in which women were both courted as members of a print economy, and, at the same time, displayed as marketing tools and as an embedded part of the pleasure of the text.⁵⁶

IV. From Judith To Perdita

Throughout this thesis run two parallel strands, which inform, and are in tension with, each other. On one level it examines the material ways in which women altered and shaped the male-authored texts of early modern England, whether as editors, publishers and protectors, by preserving texts, paying for them, or by creating the material conditions for their production. In this context, women’s experience is understood as a series of diverse and divergent experiences, rather than a gender-specific totality that can include every woman from the wealthy and privileged Countess of Bedford to the indigent printer Margaret Trundle, who died in poverty. Nonetheless, it does not forget that these women were also insistently textualised – trumpeted on title-pages, displayed in dedications, revealed (or reviled) as readers, fixed in the very fabric of early modern texts, tokens in an economy in which they were also players. Women are exposed as participants in, and providers of, ‘grossly material things’; they are also shown to *be* ‘grossly material things’, the necessarily lumpen and earth-bound other against which the figure of the author can emerge. In exploring the continuities and disruptions of these two levels of involvement, my thesis pays close attention to the ways in which material and economic conditions acted as a forcing-ground for the rhetorical play of the renaissance text.

⁵⁶ Guest, *Small Change*, p. 17.

Conversely, uncovering the multiple levels of women's material engagement with textual production also allows us to disrupt Darnton's circuit of communication, the processes of which have been the inspiration for so much of this research. From printers who had no contact at all with the authors they published, to patrons whose intervention was a pure fiction on the part of the author, Darnton's circuit, like the path of true love, is revealed to rarely run smooth. The presence of women, not as unitary subject-authors, but as the multitude of material events and processes that shape and create the early modern text, reveal how far that text is a product of contingency, dislocation, gaps, and accidents. The real meaning of women's interventions it seems may be found, in Frances Dolan's words, in 'ignoring the outcome to focus on the process', or, to borrow Adam Phillips' formulation of Freud, in 'privileging the obstacle over the way forward, what can't be done over what is to be done, by seeing the drama in the interruption'.⁵⁷

Those interruptions reveal women reading, printing, publishing, receiving, selling, giving, writing and rewriting, the male literary canon, and in doing so reveal the extent to which early modern male-authored texts were transformed by their physical and fictional travels through the hands, minds, and bodies of women. No matter how hard we search, we have yet to find a Judith Shakespeare to prove Virginia Woolf wrong. If, however, we are prepared to look away from authorship as the prescriptive guarantor not only of a text's meaning and status but as the rigid descriptor of the essential gender of any given text, we find that the English literary tradition has always been mediated through a host, not of Shakespeare's sisters, but of Shakespeare's daughters, crucial and dynamic sites for the transmission of literary property and of textual signification.

⁵⁷ Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*, p. 11; Adam Phillips, 'Bored with Sex?', *London Review of Books*, 25 (6th March 2003), p. 6.

CHAPTER ONE

PATRONISING WOMEN

The literature of Renaissance England has long been described as dependent upon, and defined by, the institution of patronage, a vital and complex system of sponsorship, exchange and promotion. While the flaws and virtues, and the precise effects and nature of this system have been represented in a variety of ways, its existence is often cited as a universal fact, 'a significant condition of publication in Elizabethan and Stuart times'.¹ This chapter therefore begins with an examination of the nature of early modern patronage and its relationship to the printed dedications that seem at first glance to be its most concrete incarnation and lasting memorial, before moving on to the particular experiences of women patrons and dedicatees. Several writers have already stressed the activity of women within systems of literary commission and exchange. As Tina Krontiris puts it, 'Patronage, especially self-interested patronage like that of Mary Herbert, was sometimes an indirect strategy of self-expression and challenging of creative energy.... Aristocratic patronesses were an exploitable group for male authors, but what apparently made them exploitable was the fact that patronage addressed particular female needs and sensitivities'.²

Less charitable about their subjects' anti-feminist submissiveness, Gilbert and Gubar nonetheless accept that 'the most learned ladies often assumed secondary positions in relation to literary tradition: talented though they might have been, many became translators (of male texts) and patronesses (of male artists)'.³ Even Linda Levy Peck, who draws a usually careful and detailed picture of the vagaries of *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England*, is happy to simply assert that 'women gave literary commissions to writers and painters for whom they might be both subjects and patrons. Leading aristocrats such as the Countess of Bedford, the Countess of Pembroke and the

¹ Graham Parry, 'Patronage and the printing of learned works for the author', in John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (eds), and Maureen Bell (assistant ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. IV, 1557-1695 (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), p. 174.

² Krontiris, *Oppositional Voices*, p. 22.

³ Gilbert and Gubar, 'Introduction', p. 12.

Dowager Countess of Derby created literary and political salons at their houses in Twickenham, Wilton, and Harefield'.⁴

This chapter argues that such a coherent picture of women's literary patronage is an illusion, created in the prefatory fictions of Renaissance writers and embraced and sustained by subsequent generations of authors and critics. Most of the evidence cited for women's enthusiastic patronage activity derives from the slowly-widening volume of secondary literature identified in my introduction, creating a self-perpetuating virtuous circle of patronising Renaissance women, and is bolstered by citation of the masses of dedications, 2281 in total, addressed to women in the early modern period, and first brought to our attention by Franklin B. Williams in his monumental *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses*.⁵

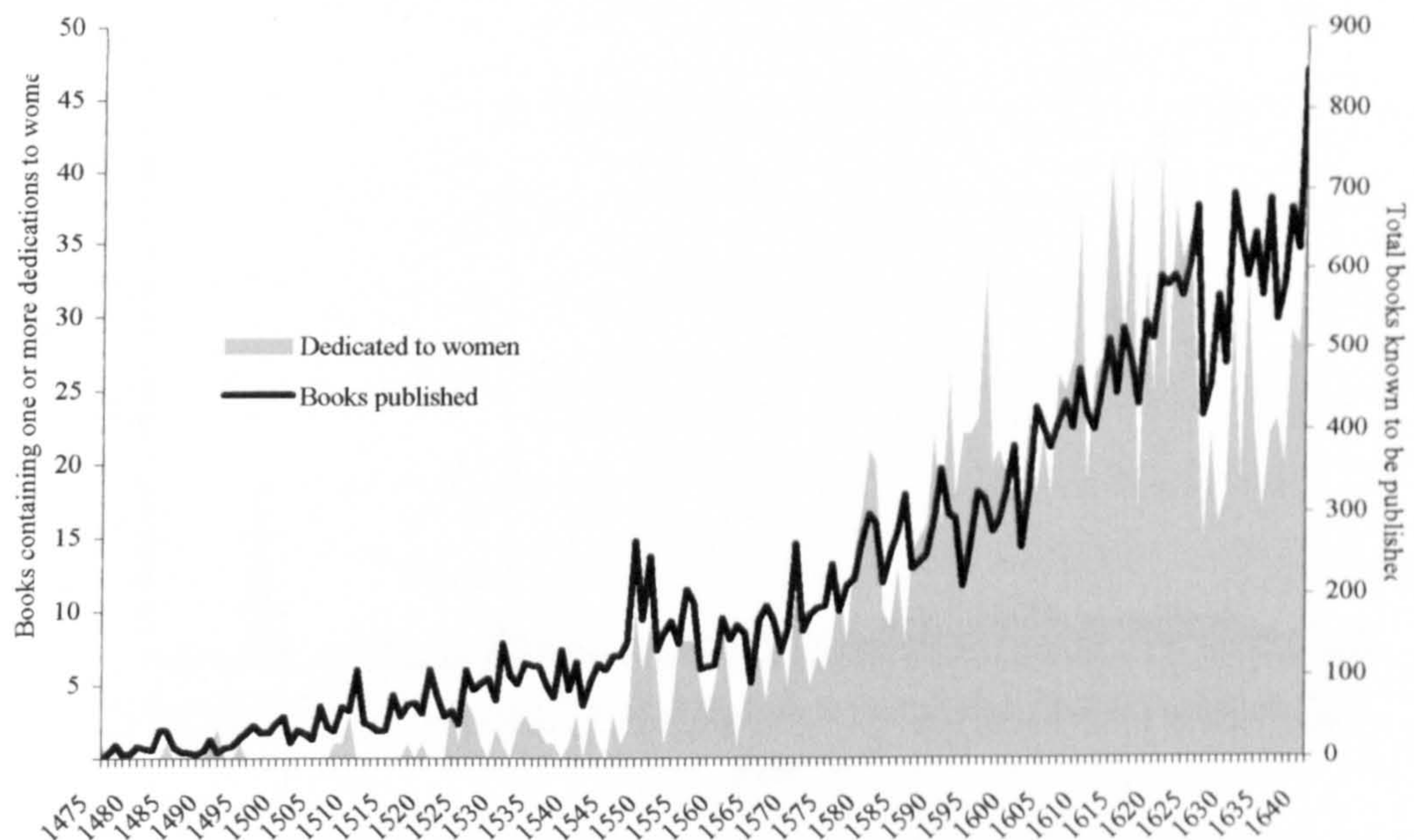


Figure One: Books containing one or more dedications to women, 1475-1640, and total book production for the same period.

⁴ Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption*, p. 68.

⁵ See Appendix 1.1 for a list of dedications, and Appendix 1.2 for details of this figure.

Figure One shows the volume of books containing dedications to women, remaining low and erratic in the early part of this period, beginning to rise during the period of Marian and Elizabethan rule, dropping off for a brief period in the mid- to late 1580s, and again during the last years of Elizabeth's reign, but not reaching a peak until 1620 (43 books), at the high point of the vigorous print controversy about women's unruly publicity stimulated by Joseph Swetnam's *The arraignment of lewd, idle, froward and unconstant women* (1615).⁶ As a proportion of total book production, however, the high point (excluding the anomalous early years) came in 1596 (10.44%), during a decade when the production of dramatic and fictional works also increased substantially. Overall, during this period a bare minimum of 4.7% of books addressed themselves to one or more female dedicatees.⁷

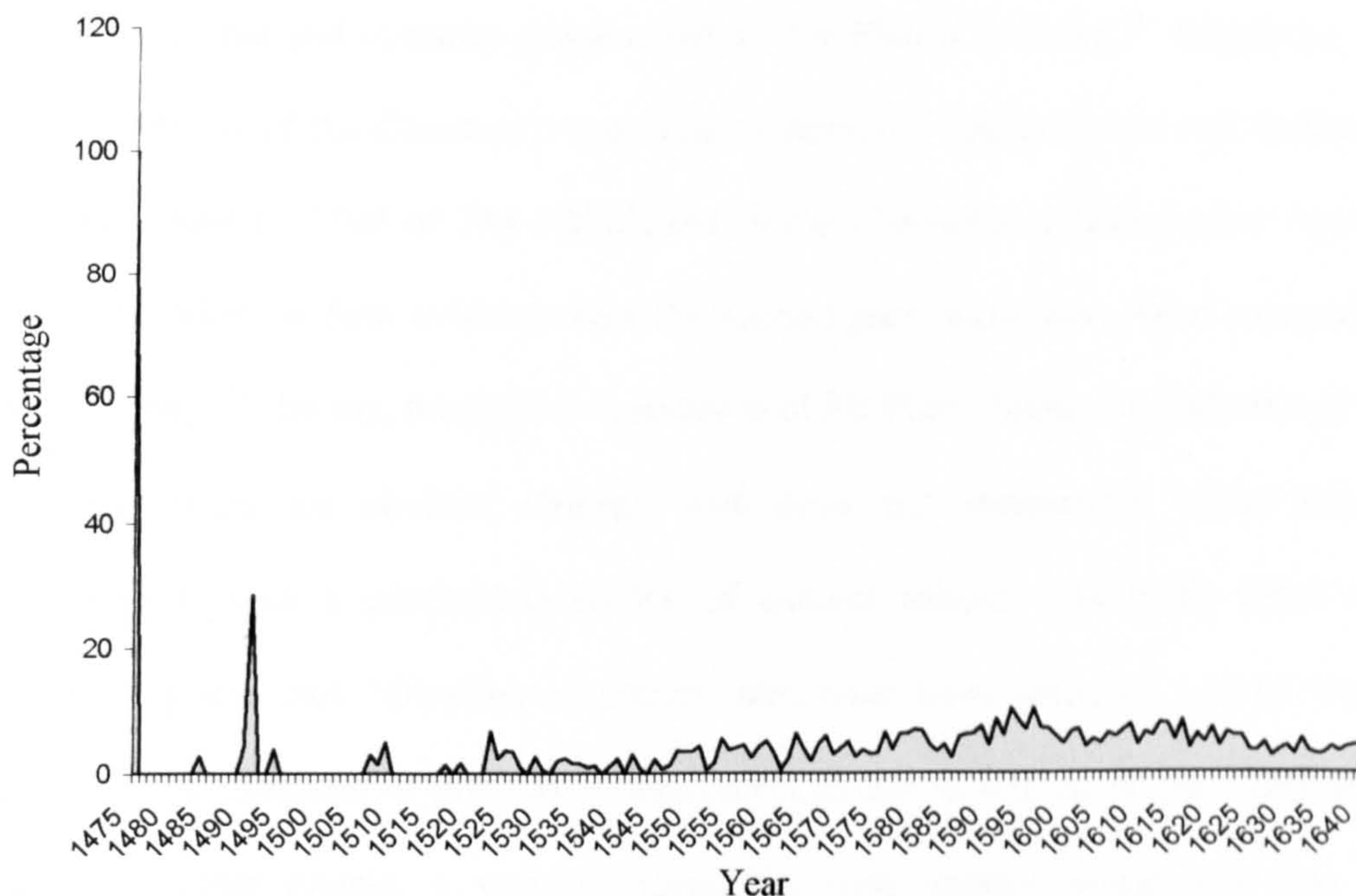


Figure Two: Books containing one or more dedications to women as a proportion of annual total book production. 1475-1641.

In most analyses, however, these multitudes of 'literary patronesses' boil down to a handful of candidates, especially to Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, and, above all,

⁶ Joseph Swetnam, *The arraignment of lewde, idle, froward, and unconstant women* (London: E. Alde f. T. Archer, 1615; STC 23533).

⁷ For details of these figures see Appendix 1.3.

to Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, whose links with, and patronage of, a range of authors have been consistently overstated by admirers from the Renaissance to the present day, in large part because of the volume of dedications (twenty-five, plus reprints in later editions) that address her as their subject. Yet as Elizabeth Eisenstein makes clear, 'All too often, titles and prefaces are taken as evidence of actual readership although they are nothing of the kind'.⁸

Too many non-sequiturs occur in the arguments of those who claim Mary Herbert as the leader of a coherent programme of literary reform for them to be convincing. Simply because 'both her son William and her niece (and goddaughter) Mary Sidney Wroth were poets' it does not follow that 'the countess ... encouraged the next generation of Sidneys and Herberts to write' even if 'all these family writings were in the Elizabethan modes of sonnet and romance popularized by Sir Philips's works'.⁹ Similarly, as we have no record of the Countess's response to Abraham Fraunce's several dedications, his publication in 1592 of *The Third Part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Ivychurch* cannot be taken as firm evidence that the second part 'must have been acceptable to Mary Sidney'.¹⁰ So too, the regular invocation of Sir Philip Sidney in dedications to the countess seems an obvious strategy and does not necessarily mean that she 'encouraged' such a predictable choice of subject matter. As Mary Ellen Lamb forcefully points out, 'Decades of literary historians have gathered writers into her group on the slimmest of pretexts: a dedication to her of one work also dedicated to thirty-four other people; a writer's friendship with another writer she may have patronized; patronage of a writer by her son William after the period of her own residence at Wilton'.¹¹

⁸ Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), p. 33.

⁹ Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*, p. 110.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 111.

¹¹ Lamb, *Gender and Authorship*, 68. See also her article, 'The Countess of Pembroke's Patronage', *ELR*, 12 (1962), pp. 162-79 for an important counter to the celebratory attitude often struck when writing of the Countess's patronage activity.

Few critics would consent to read any other literary or historical text so naively as a document of social and economic record as Suzanne Hull does, despite her carefully qualified prose, when she insists that 'This number of female dedicatees would seem to indicate broad acceptance of women as patronesses of literature. It also suggests that women who were designated in this way took some action on behalf of the authors, or they would not have been sought out so frequently'.¹² This chapter argues that there are numerous reasons for women to be addressed as patrons, which often have little to do with the hope of active advocacy or financial reciprocation on the part of the dedicatee.

Some evidence of women's patronage certainly does exist. We know, of course, that Spenser received a pension of £50 a year from Queen Elizabeth, yet still succeeded in feeling hard done by,¹³ that John Lyly was eventually allowed the privilege of calling himself 'Esq. of the body to Q. Eliz.', an unpaid sinecure,¹⁴ and that Samuel Daniel was tutor to Mary Sidney's son, William Herbert, possibly to Anne Herbert, and to Elizabeth Lady Russell's daughter Anne Clifford.¹⁵ We are told by Stephen May that Lady Kildare commissioned an epigram from Sir John Harington on the subject of her new straw hat, in return for which she spoke kindly of him to Elizabeth.¹⁶ We are confident too that Ben Jonson appealed to an unnamed noblewoman to engineer his release from prison when he was arrested for his part in the scandalous comedy *Eastward Ho* (1605),¹⁷ that Lucy Russell's promise to him of the gift of a buck elicited a witty

¹² Suzanne Hull, *Chaste, Silent and Obedient: English Books for Women, 1475-1640* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1988), p. 21.

¹³ For details of Spenser's pension see Willy Maley, *A Spenser Chronology* (London: MacMillan, 1994), p. 20.

¹⁴ See Steven W. May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and their Contexts* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), pp. 17, 35.

¹⁵ For details of his appointment as Herbert's tutor see Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*, pp. 162-3. For his work as Clifford's tutor see, for example, Lewalski, *Writing Women*, p. 137.

¹⁶ May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, p. 154.

¹⁷ Jonson wrote a vigorous letter to an unnamed lady, protesting his innocence and stating 'I wolde intreate some little of your Ayde, to the defence of my Innocence ... The cause we understand to be the Kinges indignation, for which we are hartelye sorie, and the more, by how much the less we have deserv'd it' (cited Lewalski, *Writing Women*, n.60, p. 107). Lewalski believes that it was Lucy Russell,

reminder of the necessity of transforming promise into reality,¹⁸ and that the same Countess may have been responsible for the appointments of John Florio and Samuel Daniel as grooms of Queen Anne's Privy Chamber.¹⁹ We certainly know that she offered to pay off Donne's debts as a result of his elegy upon her brother, but was ultimately, due to her financially precarious position, able to give him only £30.²⁰ A handful of additional examples are adduced in the later pages of this thesis, particularly in Chapter Four where I discuss the role of patron as protector and defender. Still more will undoubtedly come to light in the course of future studies. Yet this already skimpy list of examples is shown up in all its paucity if contrasted with the lengthy lists of dedications and commendations to women that make up Appendix 1; a list that nonetheless excludes the manuscript materials which surface briefly in their various incarnations throughout this thesis.

It has often been assumed, particularly in the older literature on the subject, that every dedication was an indication that a writer produced their work at a patron's request, or at least signified that the patron had been offered, and had accepted, perhaps even rewarded, the dedication prior to publication. Thus in his contribution to the monumental *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Graham Parry asserts that 'The usual procedure involved the author seeking permission from a patron to offer the dedication of a particular work; acceptance implied approval of the subject of the book,

Countess of Bedford to whom Jonson addressed this appeal, as does David Bergeron ('Women as Patrons' in Lytle and Orgel (eds), p. 284).

¹⁸ Ben Jonson, 'Epigramme 84. To Lucy Countesse of Bedford,' in *The Complete Poetry of Ben Jonson*, edited by William B. Hunter (New York: Norton), p. 35. For a fuller discussion of the dynamics of this poem, see p. 199 below.

¹⁹ Arthur F. Marotti, 'John Donne and the Rewards of Patronage' in Lytle and Orgel (eds), *Patronage in the Renaissance*, p. 223.

²⁰ In a letter to his friend, Henry Goodere, Donne complained, 'I am almost sorry, that an Elegy ['Obsequies to the Lord Harrington, brother to the Lady Lucy, Countesse of Bedford] should have been able to move her to so much compassion heretofore, as to offer to pay my debts; and my greater wants now, and for so good a purpose, as to come disingaged into that profession, being plainly laid open to her, should work no farther but that she sent me 30*l.* which in good faith she excused with that, which is in both parts true, that her present debts were burdensome, and that I could not doubt of her inclination, upon all future emergent occasions, to assist me'. Published in *Letters to severall persons of honour: written by John Donne sometime Deane of St Pauls London* (London: J. Flesher, for Richard Marriot, and are to be sold at his shop in St Dunstons Church-yard under the Dyall, 1651; Wing D1864), Sig. Ff2r.

and usually meant that the patron was willing to reward the author in some way, usually financial, as an acknowledgement for the honour implied by the dedication'.²¹ At least on occasion, this was indeed the case. In a gossipy, news-filled letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, the explorer Richard Hakluyt reminds him that:

I heare nothing from yo^w of the acceptation of my dedication of that noble historie of the eight decadcs of Peter Martyr, w^{ch} wilbe aboute the beginnige of march. Yf her majestie have of late advanced y^{ow}, I wold be gladde to be acquaynted with yo^r title, and if there be any thinge else that yo^w wold have mentioned in the epistle dedicatorie, yo^w shal doe wel to let mee understand of it betymes.²²

Peter Martyr was duly published with Raleigh's name and carefully delineated title standing proud at the head of the dedicatory epistle. There is, however, little evidence of such direct negotiations around women's dedicatory inclusion in early modern English texts, and some evidence that they were far from universal. We do know that Theodore de Bèze dedicated his *Chrestiennes Méditations* to Lady Anne Bacon, and followed the printed dedication with a gift copy sent via her son Anthony.²³ Richard Brathwait's *Ar't Asleepe Husband? A boulster lecture* is dedicated only to 'Dainty Doxes', yet fol. A2 bears the strange verse:

To you, this *Booke* may well addressed bee
Since none from *Bolster Lectures* is more free:
Be you then *patronesse* without offence,
And with a smile return me recompence.²⁴

The Huntington copy of this book, however, contains an additional dedication to Mrs. Catherine Fletcher, who is asked to bless the book with her approval. The omission of

²¹ Parry, 'Patronage and the printing of learned works for the author', p. 174.

²² 'Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Sir W. Raleigh, 1586' in E. G. R. Taylor (ed.), *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), II, p. 355. I thank Matthew Day for drawing this letter to my attention.

²³ See Lynne Magnusson, 'Widowhood and Linguistic Capital: The Rhetoric and Reception of Anne Bacon's Epistolary Advice', *ELR*, 31 (2001), p. 32. The English translation of this text was also dedicated to Anne Bacon, and proclaims itself to have been 'Imprinted in Bacon house by C[hristopher] Barker', suggesting a continuing relationship with, and interest in, Bèze's writings (Theodore de Bèze, *Christian meditations vpon eight psalmes*, tr. J. S[tubbs] (London: Imprinted in Bacon house by C. Barker, 1582; STC 2004).

²⁴ Richard Brathwait, *Ar't asleepe husband? A boulster lecture* (London: Printed by R. Bishop, for R[ichard] B[est] or his assignes, 1640; STC 3555), Sig. A2r.

this request from all other issues leaves us to wonder whether Fletcher recompensed Brathwait not with the hoped-for smile, but with a rebuke, demanding that he revoke his dedication, and leaving his free-standing verse as an unsolicited and vaguely puzzling address to any female reader. Anne Clifford is believed to have undertaken a similar course of action, demanding that Anthony Stafford remove the dedication to her that fronted part two of the second edition of his *Stafford's Niobe, or his age of Teares*.²⁵ As Eve Rachele Sanders describes it:

In a dedication apparently meant to flatter her, Antonie Stafford, a devotional writer, clumsily chose to use the opportunity to voice concerns about her transgressive assertiveness. "I am afraide," he acknowledged, "that (ere long) you will disable my sex, falsifie the Scriptures and make Woman the stronger vessel." The evidence suggests that Clifford had the dedication containing that line destroyed. Out of all the extant copies of Stafford's book ... only one includes the entire text of his unauthorized epistle to Clifford; the offending pages were ripped out of some nine other surviving copies.²⁶

Tactlessness, however, was far from uncommon in the Renaissance dedication (exemplified most blatantly in a dedication to Alice, Countess Dudley, praising her husband, Sir Robert Dudley, who had just run off to Italy with another woman, his cousin-german Elizabeth Southwell, disguised as a page-boy) and it seems likely that it was not Clifford's sensitivity to possible veiled criticism but the blasphemous extravagance of Stafford's praise that attracted her censure.

However, a patron's disapproval might instead prove entirely ineffective, with the dedicatee revealed as the hapless victim of her divorce from the matter of the printed text. In the dedicatory letter to his *Fowre Hymnes*, addressed to 'the Ladie Margaret Countesse of Cumberland, and the Ladie Marie Countesse of Warwicke' Edmund

²⁵ Anthony Stafford, *Staffords Niobe: or His age of teares*, 2nd ed. (London: Humfrey Lownes [for Mathew Lownes], 1611; STC 23130), Sig. A3r-A6r. The dedication, extant in full only in the Folger copy (STC), though part also remains in the Bodleian copy, is reproduced in the appendix to George C. Williamson's *Lady Anne Clifford Countess of Dorset, Pembroke & Montgomery. 1590-1676*, 2nd ed. (London: S. R. Publishers, 1967), where it is discussed on pp. 329-33.

²⁶ Eve Rachele Sanders, *Gender and Literacy on Stage in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), p. 194.

Spenser explains that he is painfully conscious that one of these patrons did not approve of the provocative subject matter of the first two hymns when they initially began to circulate in manuscript.

Having in the greener times of my youth, composed these former two Hymnes in the praise of Loue and beautie, and finding that the same too much pleased those of like age and disposition, which being too vehemently carried with that kind of affection, do rather sucke out poyson to their strong passion, then honey to their honest delight, I was moued by the one of you two most excellent Ladies, to call in the same.²⁷

Unfortunately (and perhaps unconvincingly), according to Spenser, there were already too 'many copies ... scattered abroad' for him to even attempt to follow his patron's urging and call in his verse, and so he instead 'resolved at least to amend, and by way of retraction to reforme them, making in stead of those two Hymnes of earthly or naturall loue and beautie, two others of heauenly and celestiall'. It is difficult to see, however, how any reader could accept the printed publication of the two 'earthly' Hymns, even with the addition of the new 'heauenly' poems, as in any way equivalent to their retraction from circulation, particularly as before 1596 they had appeared only in manuscript.²⁸

In effect, Spenser asks the two women to 'vouchsafe the patronage' of two published poems that one of them had already expressed the wish to see suppressed. Insisting on the value of his earlier works, and his own best judgement of what may be 'hony' rather than 'poyson' to the 'honest' reader, Spenser belies his stated respect for these women's judgement and critical abilities, effectively eluding the limits that one of them has tried to impose upon his verse. Indeed, Spenser goes so far as to insist upon his patrons'

²⁷ J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (eds), *Spenser: Complete Poetical Works* (Oxford: OUP, 1970), p. 587. The dedication of this text is also discussed in Jon A. Quitslund, 'Spenser and the Patronesses of the Fowre Hymnes', in Hannay (ed.), *Silent but for the Word*, pp. 43-60.

²⁸ Such a justification would presumably not have seemed quite so self-evidently inadequate to an early modern reader since one essential component of a convincing argument was held to be the adequate demonstration of an opposing view. Thus William Fulke's refutation of the Rheims Bible, discussed further in Chapter Three, conversely became the primary means of its dissemination in English, thanks to his strategy of printing the banned Rhemish testament and his own refutation in parallel columns.

implication in the earthly sphere of love and beauty, as well as their suitability as dedicatees for the two 'Heavenly' hymns. Describing them as 'the most excellent and rare ornaments of all true loue and beautie, both in the one and in the other kinde', he insists that these women can and do participate in the earthly pleasures which one of them has so ineffectually tried to suppress. Since, through their positioning at the front of his newly printed volume, both Warwick and Cumberland are claimed to have accepted the 'earthly' hymns along with the 'heavenly', Spenser's strategy in insisting upon the continuing value and circulation of the earlier poems is legitimated, disarming not only his proclaimed patron, but the possible attack of any ignorant reader of the printed book who might be tempted to join the critical countess in objecting to the first two poems.

The question of commission and acceptance is thus a vexed one, though this is not to say that no clear links can ever be found between patron and writer. In 1564, for example, Henry Myddelmore produced *The translation of a letter written by a Frenche gentilwoman upon the death of Elenor of Roye, princess of Conde*. While the text contains no dedication its title informs us that it was 'Doone by H. Myddelmore at the request of the ladye Anne Throckmorton', and the copy held by the Bodleian library bears the manuscript signature 'Throckmorton' on its title-page, suggesting that this book at least was owned and valued by the woman at whose request it was produced.²⁹

What is particularly intriguing is the lack of performativity on Middleton's part: no justification, no lengthy foundational narrative of Throckmorton's command, in other words none of the trappings that are to be found so plentifully in texts where the link between writer or writing and dedicatee seems to be tenuous or non-existent. In the light of the evidence of other texts where women paid for publication, or provided

²⁹ Henry Myddelmore, *The translation of a letter [signed I.D.V.] written by a Frenche gentilwoman vpon the death of Elenor of Roye, princess of Conde*. Doone by H. Myddelmore at the request of the ladye Anne Throckmorton (London: J. Daye f. H. Toye, 1564; STC 24565). The signed Bodleian copy is at BOD Bookstack 80 E 26 (3) Art.BS.

protection for printers and authors alike, discussed in Chapters Three and Four, it seems that 'real' sponsorship or defence is conversely less likely to be advertised or even mentioned than a fictionalised or overplayed connection. Perhaps the excessive verbosity of certain Renaissance dedicators should be our best guide to their lack of actual substance.

As part of his strategy for dealing with the uncomfortable level of dedicatory excess, and the scantiness of most of the evidence of patronage, Arthur Marotti suggests that:

The term "literature of patronage" should not be limited to complimentary works or to works provided with complimentary dedications designed to get financial and social favours, for almost all English Renaissance Literature is a literature of patronage. The poetry of Daniel, Drayton, and Shakespeare, the courtier verse of Oxford, Dyer, and Raleigh, elaborate productions like Harington's Ariosto translation and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, the numerous historical, scientific, and devotional books of the period – works in all forms and genres, whether intended for print or manuscript circulation, are related to the structure of patronage in the society.³⁰

Such an assertion, however, is as meaningless as it would be to state that all twentieth-century English literature is a literature of capitalism, and works only to suppress and deny the diversity of Renaissance texts, their authorising strategies, and even of the systems of patronage within which they can be contextualised. Patronage should not be understood as a monolithic entity, but as a series of overlapping structures, informing different texts in different ways. Certainly, 'literary' patronage did not yet have a coherent form, 'a local habitation and a name'. For one of the first things that must strike anyone casting their eye over the range of works that hailed women as their patrons is how few of these texts are likely to be described as 'literature' at all.

³⁰ Marotti, 'John Donne and the Rewards of Patronage', in Lytle and Orgel (eds), *Patronage in the Renaissance*, pp. 207-8.

The majority of books dedicated to women were religious texts, as indeed were most of the books published during this period.³¹ Many of these texts are indeed concerned with patronage, since the patron in this context is understood to be one 'that hath the right to gyve a benifyce', a clerical living.³² Yet many other texts, religious and otherwise, had the forms of patronage, particularly the dedication to a woman, imposed upon them in the service of national, political and religious ideals. The structures and discourses of patronage provided the space in which other contests could be played out, but while this formal inheritance is necessarily a comment on the currency and force of these various systems, it does not mean that all the writings that tricked themselves in the clothing of patronage were necessarily their products. Rather, in its unremarkable appearance, patronage became the sheep within whose ill-fitting fleece the wolves of social, political, and ideological argument merrily disported themselves on the printed page.

Where patronage relationships and networks can be traced in the dedications that address themselves to Renaissance women, they prove to be almost universally religious, political, or careerist; anything, in fact, other than literary. As J. W. Saunders puts it 'most of the writers whom we have regarded as pioneers of professional *belles-lettres* made use of their literary gifts as a means to an end rather than as an end in themselves, and were much more interested in social promotion at court, the *carrière ouverte aux talents*, than in literary independence'.³³ Conversely, however, where literary concerns can be traced they are to be found in the careful fashioning and textual

³¹ H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1475-1557* (Cambridge: CUP, 1952), p. 65; *English Books and Readers, 1558-1603* (Cambridge: CUP, 1965), p. 112; *English Books and Readers, 1603-1640* (Cambridge: CUP, 1970), p. 87.

³² John Palsgrave, *Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse* (London, [R. Pynson, c. 1524] (fynysshed by J. Haukyns,)1530; STC 19166). It is patronage in this sense which is the subject of enquiry in the only English Renaissance treatise to discuss the topic of patronage, Zachary Cawdrey's *A Discourse of Patronage* (London: John Leigh and Thomas Cockerell, 1675; Wing C1646). Laying out a basic history of Church patronage, and the contemporary abuses attached to it, Cawdrey adds 'a Proposal of some expedients for the regulating it, most agreeable to the Primitive Pattern: wherein at once the just Rights of Patrons are secured, and the Peoples liberty of Election of their own Minister, in a great measure indulged' (tp.).

³³ J. W. Saunders, 'Preface' to Phoebe Sheavyn, *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, 2nd ed., revised by J. W. Saunders (Manchester: MUP, 1967), p. viii.

positioning of the silenced bodies of Renaissance women imposed on or enshrined within the vocal bodies of Renaissance books, where patronage became not an economic reality, but a fiction, a way of conceptualising and justifying writerly activity within the models and structures visible and thus available for rhetorical colonisation elsewhere in the society. In the most extreme example, that of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, the text functions as a lyrical invocation of an ideal patronage relationship that struggles to create what it describes, and which, in its attempts to wrench a fully-fledged system of literary patronage out of the fictional and into the real, inevitably stumbles, buckles, and disintegrates. In the texts of Renaissance England, these two strands, of the fictional and the representational, are difficult to separate, and, under close scrutiny, often prove themselves to be so tightly woven that the individual threads cannot be unpicked.

To say that most patronage is a fiction is neither to deny its links to real networks of social, economic and political negotiation, nor to deny that women were important to its workings. In part as interpellated subjects, in part as active participants, women were central to the construction of the myth of literary patronage. Although the material interventions of women acting as patrons within a range of household, familial, political, or professional reticulations surface time and again throughout this thesis, this chapter focuses primarily on the ways in which noble woman patrons were imagined and made text by the authors who addressed them. I will thus explore the strange double occupancy of women in the space of the Renaissance dedication and the Renaissance text; their schizophrenic textualisation both as 'real' historical individuals and as authorial fictions.

Even the most 'real' of these women, those who can clearly be identified and were closely associated with the writers who addressed them are shown to be peculiarly

slippery and immaterial once captured within the bounds of the paratextual apparatus. Though spread across the title-pages and frontispieces of the early modern book, women dedicatees are remarkably insubstantial; fictions of the real that nonetheless empty their real subjects of all content. First, however, and in line with Richard Percyvall's early modern definition of a patron as 'the owner of a ship', we must turn to the question of why so many Renaissance texts launched themselves into the realms of print publication with an appeal to a woman standing proud at their helms.³⁴

I. 'It is seated by custome'

When Michael Drayton addressed part of the 1599 edition of his *Englands heroicall epistles* 'to his worthy and dearly esteemed friend, Master James Huish', he used the opportunity to take a swipe at the value, and indeed the validity, of dedicatory epistles that claimed 'great men' as their addressees and patrons:

It is seated by custome (from which wee are now bold to assume authority) to beare the names of our friendes vpon the fronts of our bookes, as Gentlemen vse to sette theyr Armes ouer theyr gates. Some say this vse beganne by the Heroes and braue spirits of the old world, which were desirous to bee thought to patronize learning; and men in requitall honour the names of those braue Princes. But I thinke some after, put the names of great men in theyr bookes, for that men should say there was some thing good; onely because indeede theyr names stode there; But for mine owne part (not to dissemble) I finde no such vertue in any of their great titles to doe so much for any thing of mine, and so let them passe.³⁵

Slipping across the linguistic and temporal divide between 'friend' in the first (though historically later) instance as an intimate acquaintance ('personal friends', as John Barrell puts it, 'the kind who help you through a bad patch by listening to your troubles

³⁴ Richard Percyvall, *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (London: John Jackson, 1591; STC 19169).

³⁵ Michael Drayton, *Englands heroicall epistles. Newly enlarged. With Idea*, 3rd ed. (London: J. R[oberts] f. N. L[ing.] 1599; STC 7195), Sig. H3r.

(lots of black coffee)³⁶), and in the second as an ally in high places (according to John Bullokar's 1616 *English Expositor*, a 'patrone' was properly defined as 'A defender, a great friend that supporteth one'³⁷), Drayton sets his personal and intimate dedication against the habitual and empty displays of other writers.³⁸

According to Drayton, most authors were happy to select noble names almost at random, tacking them haphazardly on to the front of any number of texts in blind submission to tradition and habit. Uniform only in their meaninglessness, such formulaic and deeply formal dedications could be no guide to relations of patronage or exchange, but only to the outmoded reliance of English writers on ancient models: examples of classical learning and erudition which early modern authors slavishly mimicked in their wearying reproduction of formal habits and tired paratextual routines. Forcibly imposed on the English literary landscape these dedicatory structures could only imitate, never create, the patronage economy of encouragement and exchange in which the Augustuses and Maecenases of a long-lost golden age had once participated.³⁹

If Drayton's accusations are true, and this chapter argues that, at least in part, they are, then it is easy to understand why so little evidence is available to link female dedicatees to the writers who addressed them in print. So too, if dedications are simply customary, inserted as an afterthought to the creative process, it is not surprising that the women in

³⁶ John Barrell, *Poetry, Language and Politics* (Manchester: MUP, 1988), pp. 35-6.

³⁷ John Bullokar, *An English Expositor* (London, Printed by Iohn Legatt, 1616; STC 4083); rpt. Menston: The Scolar Press, 1967.

³⁸ This linguistic tension between patron and intimate associate maps neatly on to Alan Bray's narrative of the changing nature of male friendship in early modern England, from a patron-client relationship to an affective and intimate (and thus more threatening) bond. See his 'Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England', *History Workshop*, 29 (1990), pp. 1-19. As John Barrell points out, many of the key terms of the Renaissance 'discourse of patronage', including 'friend', are 'now primarily incorporated within what are now liberal discourses on personal relationships ('friends', 'love'), on the creative artist ('art', 'scope'), and on individual subjectivity ('state' as 'state of mind')' (*Poetry, Language and Politics*, p. 39).

³⁹ For an exploration of the antique heritage of the renaissance preface see Kevin Dunn, *Pretexts of Authority: The Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface* (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford U P, 1994), especially Chapter One.

them should seem so insubstantial, the focus of none of the tremendous energy that writers like Donne or Spenser expended in investigating and stripping apart the women whose grossly material bodies are so central to the bodies of their texts.⁴⁰ Drayton was certainly not alone in acknowledging the empty formality of renaissance dedications, with Thomas Nashe launching a customarily blistering attack on Gabriel Harvey who, he claimed, ‘hauing found by much shipwrackt experience, that no worke of his absolute vnder his owne name would passe, he vsed heretofore to drawe *Sir Philip Sidney, Master Spencer*, and other men of highest credit into euerie pild pamphlet he set foorth’.⁴¹

The pseudonymous Lerimos, author of the *Fasciculus florum*, called on every dedicatory trope in the book, tropes which will re-surface time and again in the pages of this thesis, to make precisely Drayton’s point, agreeing that it is ‘Cvstome (one of the greatest Tyrants of the Earth)’, that ‘hath made it as common, as Writing of Bookes; for all *Paper-Parents*, (at the first sending forth the Infants of their Brain into the open Ayr) to commend them to the Protection of some good Patron or other, as to their carefull *Palmer*’.⁴²

Similarly, Thomas Heywood ruefully admitted that he would not have dedicated *The Golden Age* to anyone if it wasn’t for the fact that he was loath ‘to see it thrust naked into the world, to abide the fury of all weathers without either Title for

⁴⁰ Throughout *The Faerie Queene* Spenser slices open his women characters to reveal men, beasts, sprites, and demons, and dissects one ostensible man (Britomart) to reveal a matriarch who must eventually abdicate her power and accept her place in a patrilinear succession (a sensitive topic in the Elizabethan court). Donne too appears to have struggled with concepts of women’s authority. Achsah Guibbory argues that Donne’s vigorous dismembering and exploration of women both in the corrupted blazon of ‘Elegy VIII’ and in the colonial fantasies of ‘Elegy 39’, mark a direct response to the powerful women with whom he had dealings, and particularly to Elizabeth. As she puts it ‘Repeatedly, the attack on female rule in amatory relations spill over into an attack on female rule in the public world. Private love and public politics become subtly intertwined as Donne’s amatory elegies are inscribed in politically resonant language’ (‘Oh, let mee not serve so’: The politics of love in Donne’s Elegies’, *ELII*, 57 (1990), p. 814.

⁴¹ Thomas Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron-walden. Or, Gabriell Harueys hunt is vp* (London: John Danter, 1596; STC 18369), Sig. F2r.

⁴² Lerimos Uthalmus, *Fasciculus florum: or, a nosegay of flowers, tr. out of the gardens of severall poets* (London: A. Mathewes, 1636), Sig. A3r.

acknowledgement or the formality of an Epistle for ornament. Therefore rather to keepe custome, then any necessity, I haue fixt these few lines in the front of my Booke'.⁴³ In a period when books were generally sent out in to the marketplace 'naked' or unbound, Heywood's comment transforms the patron into a glorified dust jacket, indubitably decorative, and perhaps even able to protect the delicate sheets from wind or rain, but scarcely an intimate of the author, or his superior partner in a complex system of exchange and reward.

To accept unquestioningly these tales of absolute divorce between author and a merely nominal addressee is, however, to swallow the self-promoting fictions of authors who elsewhere were more than happy to pin 'great names' to the fronts of their books. Drayton's determined assertion of independence rings both hollow and absurd in the light of his numerous dedications of other texts, and indeed of other parts of the same book to 'the vertuous Lady, the Ladie *Anne Harrington*', 'the Right Honourable and my very good Lord, *Edward Earle of Bedford*', 'my honourd Mistres, Mistres *Elizabeth Tanfelde*', 'the Right Worshipfull Sir *Thomas Mounson*, Knight', 'The Right Worshipfull *Henry Goodere*, of Powlesworth, Esquire', 'my most deere friend Maister *Henry Lucas*, sonne to *Edward Lucas* Esquire', 'the modest & vertuous Gentlewoman, Mistres *Frauncis Goodere*', and finally to 'the excellent Lady *Lucie*, Countesse of Bedford', who also receives a dedicatory sonnet, as do Anne Harrington and Sir Anthony Cooke.⁴⁴ Perhaps his rejection of 'great titles' is more an indication of Drayton's failure to gain consistent support from any of these women, than of his proud and independent spirit, particularly when we bear in mind his unerring ability to offend those in high places.⁴⁵

⁴³ Thomas Heywood, *The golden age. Or The liues of Iupiter and Saturne, with the deifying of the heathen gods*. (London: Nicholas Okes for William Barrenger, 1611; STC 13325), Sig. A2r.

⁴⁴ Drayton, *England's heroicall epistles*, Sigs. Dr, Fr, I4v, K6v, L7r, M8r, O2v; unpaginated end-page; Q8r, Q8v.

⁴⁵ Jean R. Brink discusses the political foolishness of his continued choice of deposed kings and rebels as literary subjects in *Michael Drayton Revisited* (Boston, Mass.: Twayne's Publisher, 1990).

Nonetheless, Drayton's analysis is perceptive, particularly when he accuses his contemporaries of including habitual rather than significant dedications. In the years following the advent of English printing, dedications, along with title-pages, became a well-nigh ubiquitous part of any printed book with pretensions to seriousness, and indeed many without.⁴⁶ For the nervous author dedications ranked alongside commendatory verses from friends and fellow writers, illustrated frontispieces, and, increasingly, indices and tables of contents, as the material signs that transformed the printed product from text to book; from private writings to an object ready to enter into circulation through sale.⁴⁷ To a market-savvy author, or a publisher with a keen nose for the value added by the appropriate paratextual trappings, a book was incomplete without its dedication. As the Puritan divine and botanist William Turner admitted as he prepared his 1568 *Herbal* for the press:

The printer hath geven me warninge there wanted nothings to the settinge oute of my hole Herbal saving only a Preface, wherein I might require some both mighty and learned Patron to defend my laboures against spitefull and envious enemies to all mennis doyinges saving their owne, and declare my good minde to him that I am bound unto by dedicating and geveng these poor laboures unto him.⁴⁸

The fulsome dedication which follows, in which Dr. Turner expends many words in praise of the 'great man' Queen Elizabeth's linguistic ability and 'princely liberalitie', is

⁴⁶ As Franklin B. Williams puts it, 'The classes of publications quite immune to dedications are mostly ephemeral or austere. They include news pamphlets, corantos, chap-books, and broadside ballads. Of broadsides other than ballads, only a tiny fraction are dedicated ... and dedications are scarce in almanacs (the exceptional epistles always appearing in the prognostication half). Also without dedication are official publications, whether political or ecclesiastical, such as proclamations, documents, propaganda pamphlets, service books (from missals and printers to Common Prayer), general and diocesan visitation articles, &c. Many law books of quasi-official character are undedicated, as well as the serial statutes and year-books. In Stuart times nearly all other varieties of books were, if not regularly at least frequently, dedicated' (*Index*, p. xi). For a recent exploration of the early importance of the title-page see Margaret M. Smith, *The Title-Page: Its Early Development, 1460-1510* (London: British Library, 2000). The most substantial of older works on the subject is A. W. Pollard's *Last Words on the History of the Title-page* (London: J. C. Nimmo, 1891).

⁴⁷ For a discussion of the intricacies of these paratextual practices see Paul J. Voss, 'Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29 (1998), pp. 733-56.

⁴⁸ William Turner, *The first and seconde partes of the herbal of William Turner Doctor in Phisick, lately ouersene, corrected and enlarged with the thirde parte.... God saue the Quene* (Cologne: Heirs of Arnold Birckman, 1568; STC 24367), Sig. iir.

thus undermined at its very beginning by the author's disingenuous admission that it is a last-minute addition, included only at the insistence of a street-wise publisher. At once flattering his patron, and at the same time highlighting the secondary and market-contingent nature of his encomium, Turner both exposes and exploits a tradition, the continuing relevance of which was ensured, though transformed, by the demands of the market. As Kevin Dunn puts it, when speaking more generally of the Renaissance preface:

[I]t is "preposterous," composed last yet placed first, at once the open, inviting, unprepossessing and undetermined gesture to the public and at the same time the secretly prepossessing, overdetermined authoritative gesture of the writer who, having finished his work, commences to interpret it for the reader, disguising that interpretation as an inaugural moment.⁴⁹

In this instance the weight and length of Turner's subsequent praise draws much of the sting from its revelation of secondariness, but less earnest authors were happy to self-consciously exploit the almost-parodic nature of the standard dedication.

Indeed, the complaint at the custom-driven dedication quickly became an established trope, with George Wither, who specialised in the parodic dedication, closing his 1635 *A collection of emblemes, ancient and moderne*, which included dedications to Henrietta Maria, Mary Sackville, and Frances Stuart, with an address to those 'who importune *Authors* to give unto them their bookes', attempting a delicate balancing act between the legitimate demands of his other dedicatees and the importunate demands of the less-favoured.⁵⁰ Even these comic reflections on dedicatory practice, however, reinforce the tradition they mock, with each book that sported a dedicatory address prompting the next writer to indicate his own familiarity with convention, with the great, or, preferably, as for Wither, with both.

⁴⁹ Dunn, *Pretexts of Authority*, p. 33.

⁵⁰ George Wither, *A collection of emblemes, ancient and moderne* (London, 1635; STC 25900a, b, c and d), Sig. Oo2v. The particular dynamics involved in those dedications which rejected a patron in favour of a reading public are discussed in Chapter Five.

Significantly, this custom-driven tradition included dedications to women, for their sheer presence seldom appears as subject for comment within the dedication. Only two authors specifically discuss the propriety or otherwise of dedicating their texts to a group of women: Edward Hoby in his translation of Lancelot Voisin's *The historie of France: the foure first bookes* and the London minister Edmund Layfelde in his *The soules solace*.⁵¹ From where, though, does this habit of dedication derive? Though the misty realms of antiquity provided both a suitably learned and a safely distant justificatory narrative for writers like Layfelde who informed Susan Ferrers and her three daughters, along with Jane Gouldman and Anne Bromfelde that 'to silence a *million of modern's; venerable antiquitie* affords a cloud of learned *Divines*, whose *pens* have thorow *womens gentle-hands*, happily convey'd their *incomparable labours* unto the *Church of God*: and thereby have raised a *liberall contribution*, unto the felicity of this *present age*, and of succeeding *generations*' (*3r-*3v), a number of more immediate models were to be found much closer to home, in terms of both geography and chronology.

The first book printed in English, Caxton's translation of Raoul le Fèvre's *The recuyell of the historyes of Troye*, drew upon existing manuscript traditions in including a dedication to a woman, Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, sister to Edward VI.⁵² Accompanied by an elaborate illustrated frontispiece showing Caxton kneeling to present the Duchess with his finished work [Figure 3], this dedication establishes

⁵¹ *The historie of France: the four first bookes*, tr. Sir E. Hoby (London: J. Windet, 1595; STC 11276); Layfelde, Edmund, *The soules solace. A sermon at the funerall of W. Fawcitt* (London: M. F[lesher] f. G. Gibbs, 1632; STC 15334). Given that by the time of Layfelde's dedication some 1524 books, including one of his own, already bore the names of women on their title-pages or in their dedicatory matter (Appendix 1.3), it seems strange that he should feel the need to insist that 'seeing *Apollos* that *great textuarie*, blusht not to receive *instruction* from the hand of a *woman*: it doth not *lessen* the *greatest darke*, to *light* and carry a *lampe* of truth, before the *weakest-she* that truly and wholly *devotes* her selfe unto *God*' (Sig. *4r).

⁵² *The recuyell of the historyes of Troye*, tr. William Caxton mercer of ye cyte of London, at the comau[n]deme[n]t of the right hie myghty and vertuouse prynesse hys redoubtyd lady. Margarete by the grace of god. Duchesse of Bourgoyne of Lotryk of Braband [et]c., (Bruges: William Caxton and, probably, Colard Mansion, c. 1475; STC 15375).

Margaret of Burgundy as his employer and patron, both the knowledgeable mentor who commissioned and corrected his 'symple and pour' work, and the generous employer who provided him 'with a yerly Fee and other many goode and grete benefetes'.⁵³



Figure 3: Caxton presenting *The recuyell of the historyes of Troye* to Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy.

Both the dedication to a woman and the illustration of the act of giving appeared frequently in the works of medieval scribes in England and on the continent.⁵⁴ The women thus addressed were usually either royal or religious: 'anchoresses, abbesses,

⁵³ Caxton, *The recuyell*, Unpaginated.

⁵⁴ For the tradition of illustrated frontispieces and books dedicated to women in the medieval period, an excellent starting point is June Hall McCash (ed.), *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1996). This continuity with manuscript traditions links with the work of those critics who insist that print and manuscript cultures cannot be understood to have existed in monolithic opposition to each other, with printing technology creating the kind of epistemological transformation identified by Elizabeth Eisenstein in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: CUP, 1979) and Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962). Two writers who have done a great deal to establish the continuing relevance of manuscript traditions in the early modern period are Margaret Ezell, particularly in *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print*, and Harold Love in his *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), rpt. as *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

and queens' to use Madeline H. Caviness's formulation.⁵⁵ Addresses to women thus drew upon a long tradition of pietistic female patronage; a line which had, however, been forcibly disrupted by Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries. The continuing force of this tradition, despite its sometimes violent suppression, can be seen in the ongoing practice of dedicating religious texts to women (discussed further in Chapter Four), and of the flurry of dedications to the abbesses of the new English convents established in the contested territories of the Spanish Netherlands from the 1590s onwards.

Adopting the dedicatory traditions of medieval scribes, texts like Caxton's provide a powerful visual reminder of the liminal status of the early printed book; poised on the threshold of manuscript and print, but always gazing back towards the authorising strategies of manuscript production. As Evelyn B. Tribble points out, 'The obvious and profound importance of print culture has tended to obscure the seamlessness of the early printed book and its manuscript counterpart. At first, printers tended to reproduce books exactly as they were received from the manuscript tradition and generally were slow to introduce typographical innovations'.⁵⁶ Caxton's text is a prime example, printed in a batarde type face, a black letter form that mimics the handwriting of medieval scribes, and is described by John Lewis as 'a free letter with dagger-shaped descenders, based on the style of handwriting used in Bruges, where he lived for many years'.⁵⁷ Dedications were, as Marotti points out, used to facilitate 'the transition from manuscript culture to print culture', but they aided that transition by placing themselves firmly within the bounds of manuscript practice, signalling themselves as participants in

⁵⁵ 'Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons?', in McCash (ed.), *Cultural Patronage*, pp. 105-54. Caviness's lavishly illustrated essay provides numerous examples of the pictorial representation of women donors and patrons.

⁵⁶ Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1993), p. 59.

⁵⁷ John Lewis, *Printed Ephemera* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), p. 17.

long-established traditions of translation and copying in the service of noble, religious, and royal commissioners.⁵⁸

II. 'Now Naturalized By Mee'

Crucially for any discussion of women patrons, however, Caxton's text is a translation: an activity with strong links to the female in the early modern period. These links to the female were established in part because of the proclaimed need to provide English language texts for women, whose education and faculties did not and could not extend to reading foreign language originals. As Retha M. Warnicke points out most Renaissance women who received any education acquired 'an essentially vernacular education in the home', and, as the Counter-Reformation progressed, foreign language learning by women, particularly Latin, increasingly became increasing grounds for suspicion, as this was the language that facilitated Catholic meditations and faith.⁵⁹

While, as Warnicke points out, Mary, Countess of Pembroke, has often been cited as an able classicist thanks to her translations of the Psalms, she probably knew only vernacular languages, and took Theodore de Bèze's French translation as the source text for her accomplished versification.⁶⁰ So too, when Elizabeth Russell undertook the activity of translation in a religious cause, she translated a French version of a German text, dedicating *A Way of Reconciliation Touching the True Nature and Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament* (1605), to her daughter, Anne Herbert. Her

⁵⁸ Marotti, 'Patronage, Poetry, and Print', in Andrew Gurr (ed.), *The Yearbook of English Studies: Politics, Patronage and Literature in England, 1558-1658. Special Number*, 21 (1991), p. 26.

⁵⁹ Retha M. Warnicke, 'Women and Humanism in England', in Albert Rabil (ed.), *Renaissance Humanism: Foundation, Forms, and Legacy. Volume II: Humanism Beyond Italy* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1988), p. 51. At the same time, as Frances Dolan points out 'Latin was, however, troublesome as a marker of inferiority and backwardness, since it also continued to be the language of English universities and professions, a lingua franca uniting people by class and education across national boundaries' (*Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 25).

⁶⁰ Warnicke, 'Women and Humanism', p. 49.

description of the translation process is illuminating in what it tells us of the tensions between an intellectual continental heritage and an instinctive English nationalism. Encouraged in her translation activity by the multiple mirrors of French and English religious women writers and translators, she is nonetheless distrustful of the foreign, Catholic nature of the French language itself. The text was, she says, 'Made aboue fiftie yeeres since in Germanie, After by traueile a French creature, Now naturalized by mee into English like to his learned Author'.⁶¹ In part, Russell is calling attention to the English birthright of the anonymous author, yet at the same time the text's French incarnation comes about only through painful 'traueile' which leaves it tainted with the bestial and the foreign, 'a French creature'. In contrast, its further translation into English functions as a return to its native and proper form, free from the taint of suspect continental fashions and mores.

That hint of Catholic impurity also illuminates the ways in which women were central to the understanding of national boundaries. Like the Jesuit priests who were sometimes their authors, Catholic printed books were known to insinuate themselves into the most vulnerable places of the English social body – the mysterious holes and corners of women's private closets, even their 'beds and bosomes'.⁶² The cross-Channel movement of religious knowledge, facilitated as it was by women, could never quite be separated, in England, from the threat of corruption and pollution: the dual dangers of women opening the boundaries of the state, and opening their own weak and feeble minds.

⁶¹ *A way of reconciliation of a good and learned man touching the trueth, nature, and substance of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament*, tr. Elizabeth Russell (London: R. B[arker], 1605; STC 21456), Sig. A2v.

⁶² Letter from an unknown priest to Father Agazzari, Rector of the English College at Rome, cited in H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1558 to 1603*, p. 76. The link between women and Catholicism is explored further in Chapter Four.

Thus, where women's education and study were deemed acceptable, a heavy stress was often laid on their achievements in English, rather than in dangerous and seductive classical and foreign languages. Printed English language texts were associated with women from the very beginning, with Caxton's dedication of his *Recuyell* to Margaret of York. The original source of Caxton's text, however, Le Fèvre's *Recueil*, is dedicated to Margaret's husband, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and explicitly eschews the practice of translation in favour of commissioned creation. In Caxton's version of Le Fèvre's prologue, his author explains that he was loath to add to the volume of works available about the Trojan histories, all translations, and was at first tempted simply to engage with existing translations. 'But whan y consydere poyse & weye the dredfull comandement of the forsayde redoubtyd prynce whyche is cause of thys werke not for to correcte the Bookys late solemynly translated. But only for to augmente'.⁶³

It is not uncommon thus to find an original or foreign language text addressed to a man, while its translation, by another author, is dedicated to his wife. The protestant divine, Theodore de Bèze, for example, dedicated his Latin version of the *Psalms of David* to the Earl of Huntingdon in 1580, while in the same year his fellow in religion, Anthony Gilby, dedicated his English translation to the Countess, Katherine Hastings, who is represented as having a greater need for an English edition than would the Latin-speaking Earl. In his dedication, Gilby informs the Countess, 'Having gathered some profite my selfe, by a booke of that excellent man Theodore Beza written in latine, and dedicate to my most honorable Lord: so am I bold to put foorth some part of the same into englishe, which I thought most expedient for you, and to present it to your honour with this short preface'.⁶⁴ Similarly, J. W. Saunders calls our attention to what he

⁶³ Caxton, *Recuyell*, Unpaginated.

⁶⁴ Theodore de Bèze, *The Psalmes of David truely opened and explained by paraphrasis, according to the right sense of euery Psalme. With large and ample arguments before euery psalme, declaring the true vse therof*. Tr. Anthony Gilby (London: John Harrison and Henry Middleton, 1580; STC 2033), Sig. iiii. This is a translation of Bèze's *Psalmorum Davidis et aliarum prophetarum, libri quinque* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1580; STC 2032).

describes as 'the condescensions of Watson, who printed side by side a Latin poem *Meliboeus*, dedicated to a man, and its English equivalent, dedicated to a woman'.⁶⁵

This division between Latinate men and vernacular women is reinscribed in the twin frontispieces to Richard Brathwait's two conduct guides, *The English Gentleman* dedicated to Thomas Wentworth, and *The English Gentlewoman* dedicated to his wife, Arabella Wentworth, in which the eight miniature tableaux of the perfect gentleman are captioned in Latin, while the companionate miniatures of the ideal gentlewoman feature glosses in English.⁶⁶

In his essay on 'Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite', Walter J. Ong argues that Latin study was understood as a rite of passage that marked the adolescent's entry into the adult world, taking him away from the 'mother tongue' of female family members.⁶⁷ Such an argument is supported both by the practice of translation which claims to be 'for' a woman, and by those dedicatory addresses which stress the ability in Latin of a handful of early modern women, since this ability is usually described as a masculine, and masculinising, achievement. This is very obvious in William Turner's dedication of his *Herbal*, cited on pages 52-3 above, as he seeks for 'some both mighty and learned Patron ... that I am bound unto by dedicating and geving these labours unto him'. The great man he chose, marked and admired for his 'knowledge of the Latin tongue', was, of course, not a man at all, but that manly spirit, Queen Elizabeth.⁶⁸ Thomas Nashe, as keen an exposé of other people's dedicatory faults as he was a committer of his own, identified exactly this strategy, taken to its logical extreme, in the

⁶⁵ J. W. Saunders, 'The Stigma of Print: A Note on the Social Basis of Tudor Poetry', *Essays in Criticism*, 1 (1951), p. 162.

⁶⁶ Richard Brathwait, *The English gentleman: containing sundry excellent rules how to accommodate himselfe in the manage of publike or private affaires* (London: J. Haviland, sold by R. Bostock, 1630; STC 3563); Brathwait, *The English gentlewoman, drawne out to the full body: expressing, what habilliments doe best attire her* (London: B. Alsop a. T. Fawcet f. M. Sparke, 1631; STC 3565). This Latin / English divide is noted parenthetically by Eve Rachele Sanders in *Gender and Literacy on Stage in early modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), p. 6.

⁶⁷ Walter J. Ong, 'Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite', *Studies in Philology*, 56 (1959), pp. 103-24.

⁶⁸ Turner, *Herbal*, Sig. iivr.

work of his rival Gabriel Harvey who had dedicated his *Piers his supererogation* to an anonymous gentlewoman. 'Doth he when his owne wits faile, crie Da Venus consilium? Holy Saint Venus inspire mee? ... I beleue it is but a meere cobby of his countenance' declares his Grand Consiliadore.⁶⁹ In Harvey's praise, according to Nashe's fictionalised respondent, the anonymous woman who is so 'well seene in all languages' 'stands upon masculine and not feminine terms'.⁷⁰

France's geographical proximity meant that much religious knowledge travelled through France to reach England, as part of the route travelled not only by wealthy tourists, zealous Jesuits or weighty and learned Protestant thinkers, but by the books they produced, some of which reappear in Chapter Four. This identification of France as a place of transition was not, however, confined to physical geography, but was also a feature of the linguistic journey many texts had to make. French was the most available, and well-known, second language for native English speakers, and particularly for women, to whom many of the early French-English dictionaries are dedicated. This meant that in an age where accuracy was not necessarily the principal concern of translation, many works were translated into English from a French version of the Latin, Greek, Dutch or German original. Indeed, when Thomas North translated Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* (1579), he dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth, adding the caveat that he was well aware she could just as easily understand it in the original Greek. What he didn't highlight in his dedication was that she could probably do so better than he could since his text was in fact a translation of James Amyot's prior translation into French.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Nashe, *Haue with you*, Sig. R3r.

⁷⁰ Ibid., Sigs. R3r, R3v.

⁷¹ Plutarch, *The liues of the noble Grecians and Romanes*, tr. T. North (London: T. Vautrollier, 1579; STC 20065).

Women other than Elizabeth, however, still required assistance in properly grasping their own increasingly complex language, at least according to the compilers of the earliest monolingual English dictionaries. As Juliet Fleming has pointed out, these were intimately associated with addresses to, and the patronage of, women. A substantial number of dictionaries, foreign language teaching materials, orthographic and grammatical guides, and rules for letter writing were dedicated to women.⁷² The first monolingual English dictionary, Robert Cawdrey's *Table Alphabeticall of Hard Usual English Words* (1604) is dedicated to five sisters, Ladies Hastings, Dudley, Montague, Wingfield and Leigh, and states explicitly on the title-page that the words are listed

With the interpretation thereof by plaine English words, gathered for the benefit & helpe of Ladies, Gentlewomen, or any other vnskilful persons. Whereby they may the more easilie and better vnderstand many hard English wordes, which they shall heare or read in Scriptures, Sermons, or elsewhere, and also be made able to vse the same aptly themselves.⁷³

Quite how Cawdrey's patrons would have felt at seeing themselves thus included in the category of 'any other vnskilful persons' must be left to the imagination, but it was possibly much the same as the female readers of Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* felt on learning that that volume was 'chiefly intended for the more-knowing Women, and less-knowing Men'.⁷⁴ Henry Cockeram was more flattering (or at least less offensive) when he described his *English Dictionary* as 'enabling as well Ladies and Gentlewomen, young Schollers, Clarkes, Merchants, as also Strangers of any Nation, to

⁷² Juliet Fleming, 'Dictionary English and the Female Tongue', in R. Burt and J. M. Archer (eds.), *Enclosure Acts: Sexuality, Property and Culture in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994). See Appendix 1.1 for details.

⁷³ Robert Cawdrey, *A Table Alphabeticall of Hard Usual English Words* (London: I.R. for Edmund Weaver, 1604; rpt. Gainesville, Florida: Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints, 1966; STC 4884.5).

⁷⁴ Thomas Blount, *Glossographia* (London: Thomas Newcomb, 1656; rpt. Menston: The Scolar Press, 1969; Wing B3334).

the understanding of the more difficult Authors already printed in our Language, and the more speedy attaining of an elegant perfection of the English tongue'.⁷⁵

The earliest dictionaries, like many translated works, thus established a firm connection between women readers and vernacular English. In opposition to Tina Krontiris, who claims that 'In the patriarchal establishment of the early modern period (and arguably of later periods), the language of women was essentially the language of men and as such it incorporated a misogynist bias', I argue, *pace* Fleming, that the language increasingly adopted by the learned men of England was felt to be essentially the language of women, and that English literature therefore had to be established as a colonial discourse, inhabiting and reshaping the gossipy, garrulous, common and unlearned forms of the mother tongue.⁷⁶ After all, as Katharine Eisaman Maus points out:

In the English Renaissance, the creative imagination is commonly associated with the *female* body. In the first sonnet of *Astrophil and Stella*, Philip Sidney describes himself as "great with child to speak and helpless in my throes" (p. 12). Ben Jonson, often described as the most aggressively "masculine" of English Renaissance writers, nonetheless frequently depicts his own creativity as maternal. ...Milton, phallic poet *extraordinaire* in Gilbert and Gubar's account, makes anti-censorship arguments in *Areopagitica* that rely upon analogies between "the issue of the brain" and "the issue of the womb."⁷⁷

Rather than straightforwardly reflecting women's increasing interest in learning, and growing access to learned texts, Juliet Fleming argues that vernacular English was rhetorically constructed as female in the prefatory performances of early modern lexicographers in order to establish it as a secondary and defective language which could then be ordered, shaped and civilised by male authors.

⁷⁵ Henry Cockeram, *The English Dictionarie* (London: Nathaniel Butter, 1623; rpt. Menston: The Scolar Press, 1968; STC 5465).

⁷⁶ Krontiris, *Oppositional Voices*, pp. 19-20.

⁷⁷ Katharine Eisaman Maus, 'A womb of his own: male Renaissance poets in the female body' in James Grantham Turner (ed.), *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Images* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), p. 267.

It is my assumption that women were interpellated as users of hard word lists not because they cared to ascertain the correct use of English but because they could be used to represent its problems. The early English dictionary is a type of colonialist discourse, one that proceeds by the full exhibition of that which is to be effaced or repressed. The choice of woman to represent the lexical extravagance that would justify regulation is facilitated in early modern England both by the ancient misogynist stereotype of the loquacious woman, and by the traditional association of maleness with form and femaleness with matter.⁷⁸

More than this, the female patron became the prefatory pretext used to legitimate the extensive importation of learned works into a country which, if addressed in masculine terms, must have recognized itself as an isolated backwater.⁷⁹ Insisting through their dedicatory pretexts that vernacular English was necessary for women's ongoing education conversely allowed some writers to vaunt the achievements of their educated female patrons, and insist on the intellectual standing of a country in which even the women could read.

This is the behaviour that Harriet Guest, writing of the eighteenth century, describes as 'the international competition in learned women', in which each country sought to prove its cultural supremacy by flaunting the learning and abilities of its women.⁸⁰

Casting a wary eye over the achievements of Baldassore Castiglione's courtly Italian ladies, Nicholas Breton reflected:

Who hath redde the Duchess of Urbina, may saie, the Italians wrote wel: but who knows the Countess of Pembroke, I thinke hath cause to write better: and if she had many followers, have not you mo servants? and if they were so mindfull of their favours, shall we be forgetfull of our ducties? No, I am assured, that some are not ignorant of your worth, which will not be idle in your service: that will make a title, but a tittle, where a line shall put down a letter: and if she have received her right in remembrance, you must not have wrong in being forgotten: if

⁷⁸ Juliet Fleming, 'Dictionary English', in R. Burt and J. M. Archer (eds), *Enclosure Acts*, p. 295. Fleming also cites Ong's essay on 'Latin Language Study' to support her argument that vernacular English was constructed as a female space in order to provide ground for its ordering and production as a literary language.

⁷⁹ As Warren Boutcher puts it, 'In the new, 16th-c. western and northern European market of ideas, England is the biggest net importer, open to the widest range of foreign products' ('The Renaissance', in Peter France (ed.), *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, pb. (Oxford: OUP, 2001), p. 49.

⁸⁰ Guest, *Small Change*, p. 15.

shee were the honour of witte, you are the comfort of discretion; if shee were the favourer of learning, you are the maintainer of Arte; and if she had the beauty of nature, you beautifie nature with the blessing of the spirite: and in summe, if she had any true perfection to be spoken of, you have many mo truly to be written of....⁸¹

Breton's international contest, however, has a distinctly parochial flavour, written in English, and thus restrained to an English market, since few continental scholars would feel the need to familiarise themselves with English language texts. The movement of all but a handful of learned texts between England and the continent was entirely one way. Faced with the threat of continental learning, writers in the English vernacular on the one hand degraded their female readers in order to establish the mother tongue as a language to be polished and transformed, and on the other exalted the women patrons of England, creating a 'competition in learned women' of which the other contestants remained contentedly unaware.

Translations were not just addressed to women, however, but were themselves gendered female. Within the binary divisions of patriarchal Renaissance thought, translation occupied the same secondary, dependent position to its original as did subject to ruler, child to parent, wife to husband.⁸² In another inaugural moment, not the first printing in English, but the translation of Montaigne's new form, the essay, into English, John Florio used his often-quoted dedication to Lucy Russell, Elizabeth Grey, Anne Harington, Elizabeth Manners, Mary Neville, and Penelope Rich, to make the translation's 'defective', female status abundantly clear.

To my last Birth, which I held masculine (as are all mens conceipts that are their owne, though but by their collecting; and this was to *Montaigne* like *Bacchus*, closed in, or loosed from his great *Iupiters* thigh) I the indulgent father invited

⁸¹ Nicholas Breton, *The pilgrimage to paradise, ioynd with the Countesse of Penbrookes loue* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, and are to be solde in Paules Church-yard [London, by Toby Cooke], at the signe of the Tygres head, 1592; STC 3683), Sig. ¶2r.

⁸² However, Margaret Ezell's book on *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987) importantly questions the extent to which stated ideologies can be understood to accurately describe the position of women within patriarchal societies.

two right Honorable Godfathers, with the ONE of your Noble Ladyshipes to witnesse. So to this defective edition (since all translations are reputed femalls, delivered at second hand; and I in this serve but as *Vulcan*, to hatchet this *Minerva* from that *Iupiters* bigge braine).⁸³

The translation was female because it was, like *Minerva* (and like *Eve*), the product of an original and more perfect man. 'With this analogy', as Sherry Simon points out, 'John Florio ... summarizes the tradition of double inferiority which has relegated both translators and women to the lower rungs in their respective hierarchies. Translators are handmaidens to authors, women inferior to men'.⁸⁴ Florio, however, does not accept this subservient position. Instead he uses the secondariness of his translation to assert his masculine credentials, refusing the female-gendered position of the textual midwife (a trope to which I return in Chapter Three). While the infant *Minerva*, Florio's text, is indisputably female and hence defective, Florio establishes himself as a male *Vulcan*, brandishing his hatchet for the benefit of his fictionalised female reader. Indeed, the latter part of the sentence, rarely, if ever, reproduced, continues, 'I yet at least a fondling foster-father, having transported it from *France* to *England*; put it in English clothes; taught it to talk our tongue (though many times with a jerke of the French *Iargon*) would set it forth to the best service I might; and to better I might not, then Yov that derserve the best'. As Wendy Wall and subsequently Juliet Fleming have argued, the dedication of any text to a woman provides the means for a male author, threatened by the class improprieties of print, and the gendered dangers of exchanging the phallic sword for the less substantial pen, to determinedly assert his own masculinity.

⁸³ Michel de Montaigne, *The essayes or morall, politike and militarie discourses*, tr. John Florio (London: V. Sims f. E. Blount, 1603; STC 18041), Sig. A2r.

⁸⁴ Sherry Simon, 'Gender in Translation', in Peter France (ed.), *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), p. 29. Simon also points out the 'rich progeny' of Florio's characterisation of the translation as female. 'Whether affirmed or denounced, the femininity of translation is a historical trope which runs through centuries of Western culture. The authority of the original over the reproduction is linked with imagery of masculine and feminine; the original is considered the strong generative male, the translation the weaker and derivative female. We are not surprised to learn that the language used to describe translating draws liberally from the vocabulary of sexism, drawing on images of dominance and inferiority, fidelity and libertinage.'

Looking away from traditional sources of authority (the approval of other men, the example of “grave authors”) the ladies’ texts finds – or at least pretends to seek – its ratification in the approval of women. It thus displays, while making strange, the curious but commonplace logic ... whereby the company of women may “make” a man.⁸⁵

The practice of translation highlights another model for the English dedicator to imitate. English authors were both enthralled and threatened by the cultural profligacy of their continental neighbours, and there can be little doubt that the dedicatory practices of continental authors exerted a profound formal influence on English texts. Thus Thomas Lodge closes his dedication with an acknowledgement of the foreign models for his dedicatory courtesy. ‘I humbly kisse your most delicate hands, shutting up my English duety under an Italian copie of humanitie and curtesie.’⁸⁶ So too in the first of Florio’s dedications to women in the *Essais* he refers to Montaigne’s own dedication ‘to the Lady of *Estissac* (as if it were to you concerning your sweete heire, most motherly-affected Lady *Harrington*)’, and admits, in translating Montaigne’s praise of another woman ‘I thinke hee speakes to you my praise-surmounting Countesse of Bedford, what hee there speakes to the Lady of *Grammont* Countesse of Guissen’.⁸⁷ Both form and content of Montaigne’s dedications to women are translated into an English context to serve Florio’s own ends.⁸⁸

Translated texts then, were, as I pointed out in my introduction, texts that were on the move, crossing over not only national but linguistic and gender divides. A study of the movement of texts like Caxton’s, from France to England (via in that particular case, Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zeeland), from masculine original to feminine copy,

⁸⁵ Juliet Fleming, ‘The Ladies’ Man and the age of Elizabeth’ in Turner (ed.), *Sexuality and Gender*, p. 162.

⁸⁶ Thomas Lodge, *A Margarite of America* (London :[by A. Jeffes] for Iohn Busbie, and are to be sold in S. Dunstons church-yard in Fleet-street at the little shop next Cliffords Inne, 1596; STC 16660), dedication not paginated.

⁸⁷ Montaigne, *Essayes*, Sigs. A2r, A2r-v.

⁸⁸ For a similar transfer of praises by Sir John Harrington, this time from Cardinal Hippolyte to Queen Elizabeth, and from Vittoria to Lady Russell, see Tribble, *Margins and Marginality*, pp. 94-5.

and from male to female patron, illuminates many of the purposes of early modern dedications to a woman.

While the important part played by French noblewomen in the promotion and patronage of the Huguenot cause has been explored by several authors, particularly Nancy Lyman Roelker, their role in the movement of knowledge, both Protestant and Catholic, across the English Channel (or, from the French point of view, across La Manche), has been little studied.⁸⁹ From Jeanne d'Albret to René de France, Eléonore du Roy to Charlotte de Bourbon, the women whom J. H. M. Salmon describes as the 'Calvinist *femmes fortes*' of early modern France have long been recognised as important promoters of the protestant faith, and as the yet more important protectors of those who attempted to spread the reformed Word throughout France during the late-sixteenth-century Wars of Religion.⁹⁰ Their patronage, however, was not confined to providing hospitality and hiding places, particularly when it came to their English neighbours who, after all, no longer had any reason to suppress their adherence to the Protestant faith. When the anonymous author of *A Dictionarie French and English* attempted to translate the phrase 'le Patron de quelque chose' in 1571, he did not include any reference to the patron's defensive, protective, fiscal or hospitable function, but simply explained the phrase to mean 'a patern or example of any thing'.⁹¹

The literary and pietistic work of French Protestant noblewomen provided one such pattern for the aristocratic women of an England re-reformed by Elizabeth, who threw themselves with vigour into the task of translating the holy Word as expressed in the French language. Translation is again tied to the female because it was one of the few areas of print activity open to women, although, as Tina Krontiris points out 'the

⁸⁹ See Nancy Lyman Roelker, *Queen of Navarre: Jeanne d'Albret, 1528-1572* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard UP, 1968) and 'The Role of Noblewomen in the French Reformation', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 63 (1972), pp. 168-94.

⁹⁰ J. H. M. Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1979), p. 120.

⁹¹ *A Dictionarie French and English* (London: Henry Bynneman f. Lucas Harrison, 1571; STC 6832).

permission to translate did not also carry with it a licence to cross the boundaries of gender and subject matter. [Margaret] Tyler's stout defence of her right to translate a love story is evidence of that, as is also the fact that most translations by women of that period are within the area of religion'.⁹² In perhaps the best-known example, the princess Elizabeth's translation of Marguerite de Navarre's spiritual meditations, *The Glass of the Sinful Soul*, Navarre's text provided not only a mirror in which the future queen could scrutinise her own sinful nature, but 'a patern or example' of Protestant learning and commitment in the person of the determined author who maintained her religious commitments in the face of a prosecution for heresy.⁹³

The understanding of the patron as pattern, an example to be displayed and emulated, was widespread in English dedicatory materials. In Drayton's dedication to his *Matilda*, for example, the author, still enthusiastically dedicating to nobles and aristocrats, elides his heroine and his prospective patron, Lucy Harington (later Russell, Countess of Bedford), to create a single example of female virtue.

Vouchsafe therefore noble Mistres LUCIE, your selfe beeing in full measure, adorned with the like excellent gifts, both of bodie and minde: graciously to patronize MATILDA. A mirror of so rare chastitie, as neither the fayre speeces, nor rich rewards of a King, nor death it selfe, could ever remove from her own chast thoughts: or from that due regard which shee had of her never-stained honor.⁹⁴

The fact that his dedicatee was a bare thirteen years old may lead the reader to suspect that Harington's chastity was unlikely to have been vigorously tested by the time she received Drayton's text, but such scepticism illuminates the complex way in which the literary model could be supposed to function, providing an exemplary pattern, 'the faire

⁹² Krontiris, *Oppositional Voices*, p. 17.

⁹³ For details of Elizabeth's translation see Anne Lake Prescott, 'The Pearl of the Valois and Elizabeth I: Marguerite de Navarre's Miroir and Tudor England' in Hannay (ed.), *Silent But For the Word*, 61-76, and Francis Teague, 'Princess Elizabeth's Hand in *The Glass of the Sinful Soul*', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, 9 (2000), pp. 33-48.

⁹⁴ Michael Drayton, *Matilda. The faire and chaste Daughter of the Lord Robert Fitzwater* (London: J. Roberts f. N. L[ing] and J. Busby, 1594; STC 7205), Sig. A2r.

and chaste Daughter of the Lord *Robert Fitzwater*', which could be studied and assimilated by the recipient. The text, in other words, becomes the patron for the patron, who then constructs herself as another such pattern of excellence.⁹⁵ Such an understanding is reminiscent of Laura Mulvey's version of Lacan's concept of the mirror-stage in which the subject is both structured and constrained through their perception of a gap between their fragmented, dilatory selves and the at once similar and more perfect *gestalt* they see in the mirror.⁹⁶

With the reflexive duality of Lucy and Matilda held up as patron-pattern before yet another audience, the female readership of Drayton's text is trapped in an endless hall of mirrors, faced with the symmetrical patterns of the subject of the dedication and the body of the text. In Drayton's text both patron and female reader are confined within the bounds established by the poet, in an endlessly reflexive construction of ideal womanhood. By providing a model of female perfection, as Luce Irigaray has pointed out, writers within the patriarchy inevitably circumscribe women, presenting them as and with mirrors of masculine values in a way that robs them of self-definition and agency.⁹⁷ In *The English Gentlewoman*, Richard Brathwait makes this exemplary (and panoptical) function explicit. 'Set alwayes before your eyes, as an imitable mirror, some good woman or other, before whom you may live, as if she ey'd you, she view'd you'.⁹⁸ The search for the origins of the habit of dedication has thus led us to the controlling strategies of the author who asserts the primacy of the individual woman as

⁹⁵ It is this sense of patron as example that Spenser intends in his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, when he tells his defender that 'In the person of Prince Arthure I sette forth magnificence in particular, which vertue for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and conteineth in it them all, therefore in the whole course I mention the decdes of Arthure applyable to that vertue, which I write of in that booke. But of the xii. other vertues, I make xii. other knights the patroncs, for the more variety of the history' (p. 16). In fact, given that Spenser's stated aim in *The Faerie Queene* was 'to fashion a gentleman', the text as a whole is seen to function as patron to every individual reader, including Queen Elizabeth.

⁹⁶ Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', in *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1989), pp. 14-26.

⁹⁷ Luce Irigaray, *Speculum of the Other Woman*, tr. Gillian C. Gill (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).

⁹⁸ Cited in Sanders, *Gender and Literacy*, p. 67.

a pattern of vernacular achievement, who recognises either the fact or the possibility of her assistance as a real patron, yet also exploits the encomiastic traditions of the dedication to create strictly delimited models of female behaviour that rhetorically constrain the possibilities of female activity. As the next section will show, the bounding strategies of the dedication were not only rhetorical but physical, and a close attention to material concerns illuminates how few early modern dedicatory women, divorced from their 'real' significance, attained even the shimmering illusion of agency and definition provided by a mirror.

III. Paratextual Trappings

The dedicatory epistles of Renaissance texts identify real woman after real woman, reading like entries in a *Who's Who* of the Renaissance aristocracy. Yet these 'real' women are often remarkably insubstantial, disappearing rapidly beneath the weight of description, apology, or justification that front-load so many texts. Unlike the women blazoned in lyric poetry or cut apart in the anatomy books that followed Vesalius, the women of Renaissance dedications are incorporeal, not material, displayed but not dissected.⁹⁹ The level of detail that might be expected about the woman to whom the dedication is addressed: her interests, her connection with the writer, even her appearance, are conspicuous by their absence in almost every case.

⁹⁹ For the dissection of women in lyric poetry see especially Nancy Vickers "'The Blazon of Sweet Beauty's Best": Shakespeare's *Lucrece*', in Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (eds). *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory*. New York and London, 1985, pp. 95-115, and 'Diana Described: Scattered Woman and Scattered Rhyme', *Critical Inquiry*, 8 (1981), pp. 265-79. For the medical attention paid to women's dissected bodies see Katharine Park, 'Dissecting the Female Body: From Women's Secrets to the Secrets of Nature', in Jane Donawerth and Adele Seeff (eds), *Crossing Boundaries: Attending to Early Modern Women* (London: Associated University Presses, 2000), pp. 29-47, and Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned* (London: Routledge, 1995). For a less violent view of Spenser's probing of the distinction between women's 'warmly eloquent surface and protected interior', see Theresa Krier, *Gazing on Secret Sights: Spenser, Classical Imitation, and the Decorums of Vision* (Ithaca: Cornell U P, 1990), esp. p. 129.

This seems so unexpected in part because dedicatory epistles, as a genre, draw heavily upon the forms and traditions of the familiar letter, a form, as Lisa Jardine points out, that relies upon the notion of communication, exchange, and the embodiment or conjuring of the absent addressee.

By definition, epistolary correspondents are known to each other, they address each other as individuals: that knowledge determines the tone and manner of persuasion of the letter. By extension, where the letter is addressed to a general recipient ('ad lectorem studiosum'), or where an apparently fictional addressee is specified (as in a number of Erasmus's longer letters, like the *De contemptu mundi*), there is nevertheless an expectation that the reader will engage with the legible text as an intimate – expecting to be instructed or entertained on a more domestic and private scale than in the oration.¹⁰⁰

Printed Renaissance dedications, however, mimic these structures of intimacy only to deny them. Many attempt to imitate the 'significant space' of the familiar letter in a typographical reproduction of holograph norms, signing the letter with appropriate formality, and including both place and date of composition.¹⁰¹ Conjuring forth a private conversation that invokes the presence of the dedicatee and excludes the reader, these letters suffer from a crisis of circulation, performing an intimate relationship that is both called into being and denied substance by its print incarnation.

Most Renaissance epistles cast their patron in entirely formulaic terms, in a way that, as we have seen in the case of William Turner's 'great man', Elizabeth, can even transport their addressees across gender boundaries.¹⁰² Though displayed on and in numerous

¹⁰⁰ Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton: PUP, 1993), p. 151.

¹⁰¹ Thus Edmund Layfelde, dedicating his *Soules solace* to a group of women, signs off with the declaration, 'S^t Leonards-/ Bromley./ From my study./ Iune 20.1632' on the left-hand side of the page, and the words 'Your Worships/ daily Orator./ and Servant./ / Edmund Layfelde' on the right, moving gradually further out toward the margin (Sig. A3r). For a discussion of the importance of the layout and spacing of addresses, dates, and signatures in manuscript letters, see Jonathan Gibson, 'Significant Space in Manuscript Letters', *The Seventeenth Century*, 12 (1997), pp. 1-9.

¹⁰² See p. 53. This was not necessarily a one-way process in which a learned woman crossed over to become a manly soul. In 1565 Thomas Stapleton dedicated his translation of the Venerable Bede's *History of the Church of England* to 'The right excellent and most gratiouse princesse, Elizabeth by the grace of God Quene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defendour of the Faith' (*The history of the Church of Englande. Compiled by Venerable Bede, Englishman*. Antwerp: John Laet, with priuilege, 1565; STC 1778). A second issue in 1622, however, while containing the same dedication initialled by T. S., was

title-pages, dedications and epistles, the women of Renaissance prefatory materials were not subject to the impulse to blazon and dissect that informs much of the poetry of the period. Instead these noble and aristocratic women were framed within tight physical, generic, and familial boundaries that were described and further reinforced by the form and content of the dedications that addressed them. The male writer at once displayed the aristocratic woman he addressed, incorporating her into his book as a frontispiece and shield, the most public of print spaces, and shut her off, clamping down on that unruly publicity by enclosing her tightly within a confined paratextual space.

For one, the majority of these women were tightly encapsulated within the carefully separated space of the dedication. Most, though not all, dedications appear at the front of the book of which they are part, and even those placed within the body of the text, as is often the case, for example, when different parts of a larger work are dedicated to different recipients, are marked out by their typographic difference from the main body of the book, with many epistles set in italic rather than roman fonts, or in larger or smaller type.¹⁰³ Like today's prefaces, most of the dedications placed at the front of the book are numbered according to a different scheme than the body of the text, with page 1, or folio A appearing either after, or sometimes halfway through, the dedicatory epistle. Printing house practice, which meant that many texts were printed on several presses, either within one business, or very often, distributed among several printing houses (particularly if the text was either a particularly substantial piece of work or in

instead addressed to the new reigning monarch, 'the right excellent and his most gratiouse soueraigne James, by the grace of God Kinge of great Brittainy, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith (*The historie of the Church of England*. S. Omers : Charles Boscard for John Heigham, 1622; STC 1779). The dedication, though set in a larger type, is identical in its wording, save for the occasional substitution of a suitably masculine noun on the few occasions when Elizabeth is addressed in distinctly gendered terms. Thus, when Stapleton in the first version spoke of his boldness in attempting 'to talke with a right mighty Princesse and his lerned Souuerain', the second approaches with the same trepidation 'a right mighty Prince and his lerned Souerain' (Sigs. *2 and A2v). In 1626, however, the dedication reverted to Elizabeth, and to the 'mighty princesse', though type and layout remained identical with that of the second edition (*The historie of the Church of England*. S. Omers: Charles Boscard for John Heigham, 1626; STC 1780).

¹⁰³ The examples are numerous. See, for two examples already cited in this thesis, Breton's *Pilgrimage to paradise* and Thomas Lodge's *Margarite of America*.

some way dangerous or seditious), meant that dedications could even be printed in a different location than the text with which we suppose them to have a much more intimate relationship. Thus while John Wolfe printed the main text of Jean de Fregeville's *Palma Christiana*, Thomas Scarlet printed the preliminary materials including the dedication to Elizabeth I.

Trapped within these paratextual bounds, these women occupy a liminal space, 'a *threshold*, or – a word Borges used apropos of his – a "vestibule" that offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back'.¹⁰⁴ The strategic positioning of women both as implied readers and as marketing tools is explored further in my final chapter. Here, however, we see women firmly located 'in the Slash' as Roger Kuin puts it, textualised as a space through which the reader must travel, an entrance hall in which they can pause to wipe their readerly feet, and abandon their damp umbrellas, before entering and admiring the architectural grandeurs of the text.¹⁰⁵ Like the bodies and minds of the women imagined by the religious writers of my fourth chapter, early modern dedicators fantasised their addressees as infinitely permeable, 'shifty, leaky, mysterious, inviting or repelling various sorts of border crossing'.¹⁰⁶ At the same time they were tightly locked in the trappings of the paratext, an entrance point to the distant world of elite reading that is nonetheless strictly policed and subject both material and imaginative fantasies of control. As Peter Stallybrass puts it:

Like the members of the male elite, the class aspirant has an interest in preserving social closure, since without it there would be nothing to aspire *to*. But at the same time, that closure must be sufficiently flexible to incorporate *him*. His conceptualization of woman will as a result be radically unstable: she will be perceived as oscillating between the enclosed body (the purity of the elite to which he

¹⁰⁴ Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, tr. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), p. 2. The conceit of the paratext as vestibule was not however unique to Borges, since in 1623 Francis Bacon described these elements as being like 'Vestibula, Posticae, Ante-Camerae, Re-Camerae, Transitus, &c.' (cited in Randall Anderson, 'The Rhetoric of Paratext in Early Printed Books', in John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (eds) and Maureen Bell (assistant ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, p. 636).

¹⁰⁵ Kuin, 'Response'. See p. 30 above.

¹⁰⁶ Anne Lake Prescott, 'Introduction', to Donawerth and Seeff (eds), *Crossing Boundaries*, p. 12.

aspires) and the open body (or else how will he attain her?), between being “too coy” and “too common”.¹⁰⁷

Dedications, as we have already seen, could even be temporally separate from their dedicatees, with Elizabeth I receiving at least seven dedications, including the reinstated words of Thomas Stapleton, after her death. On a more personal level, Richard Brathwait dedicated his two *Anniversaries upon his Panarete* to the memory of his wife, Frances Brathwait, who is commemorated by a memorial black page that anticipates both the wildest of Sterne’s paratextual games and the more recent ‘humuments’ of artist Tom Phillips (Figure Four).¹⁰⁸

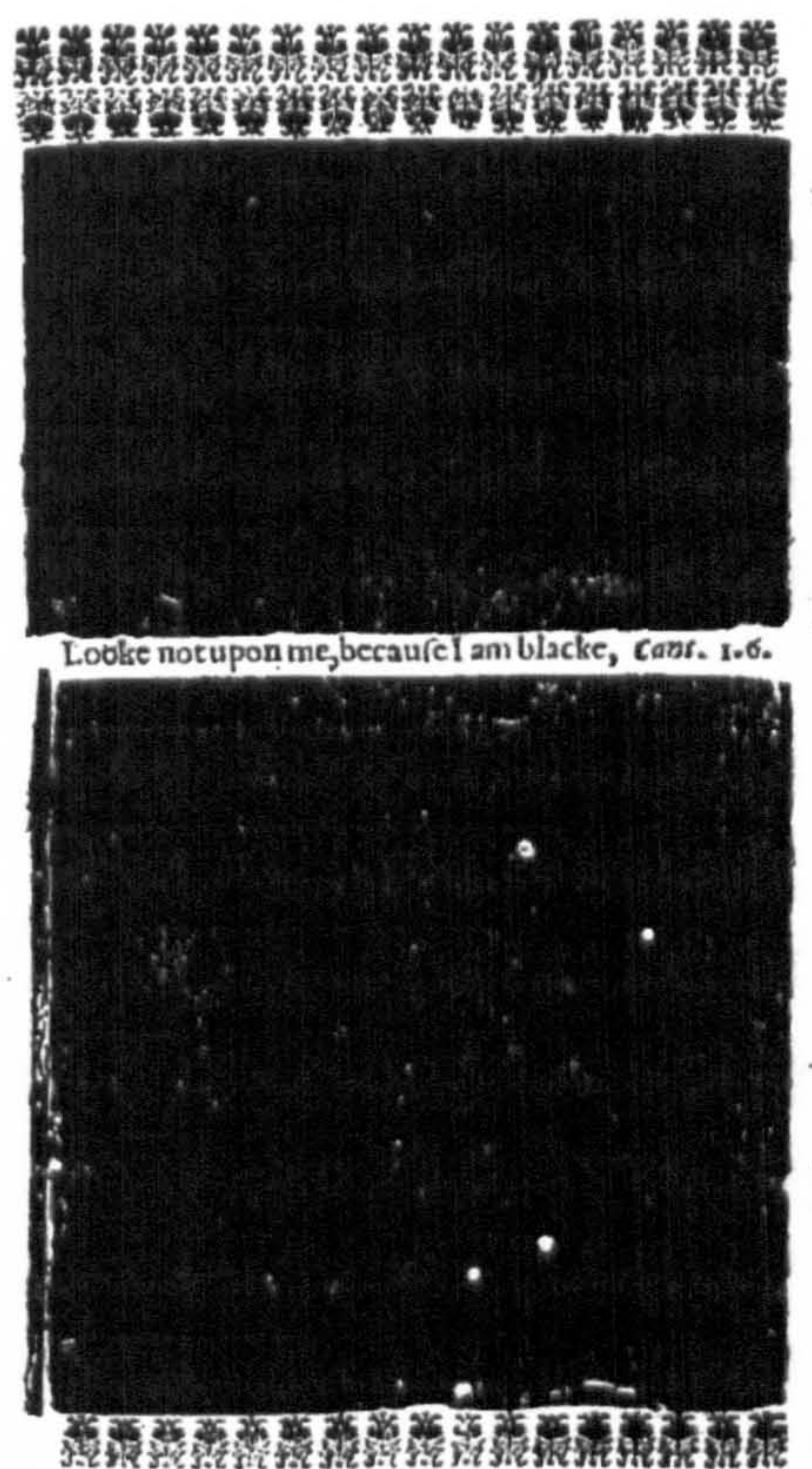


Figure Four: Richard Brathwait, *Anniversaries upon his Panarete* (1634), Sig. Av.

¹⁰⁷ Peter Stallybrass, ‘Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed’, in Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (eds), *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 134.

¹⁰⁸ Richard Brathwait, *Anniversaries upon his Panarete* (London: F. Kyngston, sold by R. Bostock, 1634; STC 3553); Richard Brathwait, *Anniversaries upon his Panarete; continued: with her contemplations. The second yeeres annivers* (London: F. Kyngston, sold by R. Bostock, 1635; STC 3554).

The role of printers, publishers, and booksellers in the composition of dedications meant that new dedications could be produced even after the (literal) death of the author. Substantial numbers of Renaissance dedications to women were written by the printer, publisher, editor, or bookseller, and the extent to which dedications may reveal patronage or employment connections sought or exploited by these figures, rather than by the author, has still to be explored.¹⁰⁹ Dedications could also be ghostwritten, anonymous, or plagiarised. In the eighteenth century, for example, Samuel Johnson regularly composed dedications on behalf of other authors including Charlotte Lennox and Mary Leapor.¹¹⁰

These material bounds, firmly delimiting the space and influence available to the dedicatee, are further reinforced by generic constraints that enclose the addressee in a series of generic tropes and formulations that drain the last vestige of the personal from the apparently most intimate address. Some addresses, even those that appear tender and private, were in fact so conventional that they could be applied to more than one woman without any alteration. Lambeth Palace Library, for example, holds six copies of Abraham Darcie's *The honour of ladies* which contain blank spaces at the head of the epistles, waiting for the addition of dedicatees who later included Anna Sophia Dormer, Susan Herbert, Bridget Norris, and Elizabeth Stanley. So too, Margaret Maurer reports:

Six years ago, readers of Samuel Daniel's verse epistles had to acknowledge an embarrassing discovery. Arthur Freeman published evidence in *Library* that the epistle to Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, was at one time, and with very few changes, intended for another noblewoman, Lady Elizabeth Hatton of Purbeck. What had seemed an improbable possibility was a demonstrable fact. Daniel's

¹⁰⁹ Where authorship can confidently be attributed to one of these figures, it is marked in the Details column of Appendix 1.1. In the search for patronage or employment links we might turn, for example, to John Charlewood who styled himself 'Printer to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Arundel, while Patrick Collinson identifies Francis Walsingham as the patron and sponsor of Christopher Barker, 'lending his device of a tiger's head to [his] premises in St Pauls Churchyard' (*The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Cape, 1967), p. 165).

¹¹⁰ Griffin, *Literary Patronage*, p. 207.

epistles, elevated and apparently so heartfelt, were capable of, if not designed for, dedication to whatever person suited the poet's needs.¹¹¹

The physician Walter Baley's medicinal pamphlet *A short discourse of the three kindes of peppers in common vse*, published in 1588, contains a printed dedication with gaps both for the appropriate rank and title of his dedicatee and for his or her name so that it might be presented to several recipients as an individualised New Year's gift.¹¹² The British Library copy, for example, bears a manuscript superscription 'To the right honorable my very good Ladye the countesse of harforde', who is addressed in ink additions as 'your honor' and 'right honorable' (Figure Five). The dedication is signed 'Your honors always to comaunde, Walter Baley'.¹¹³

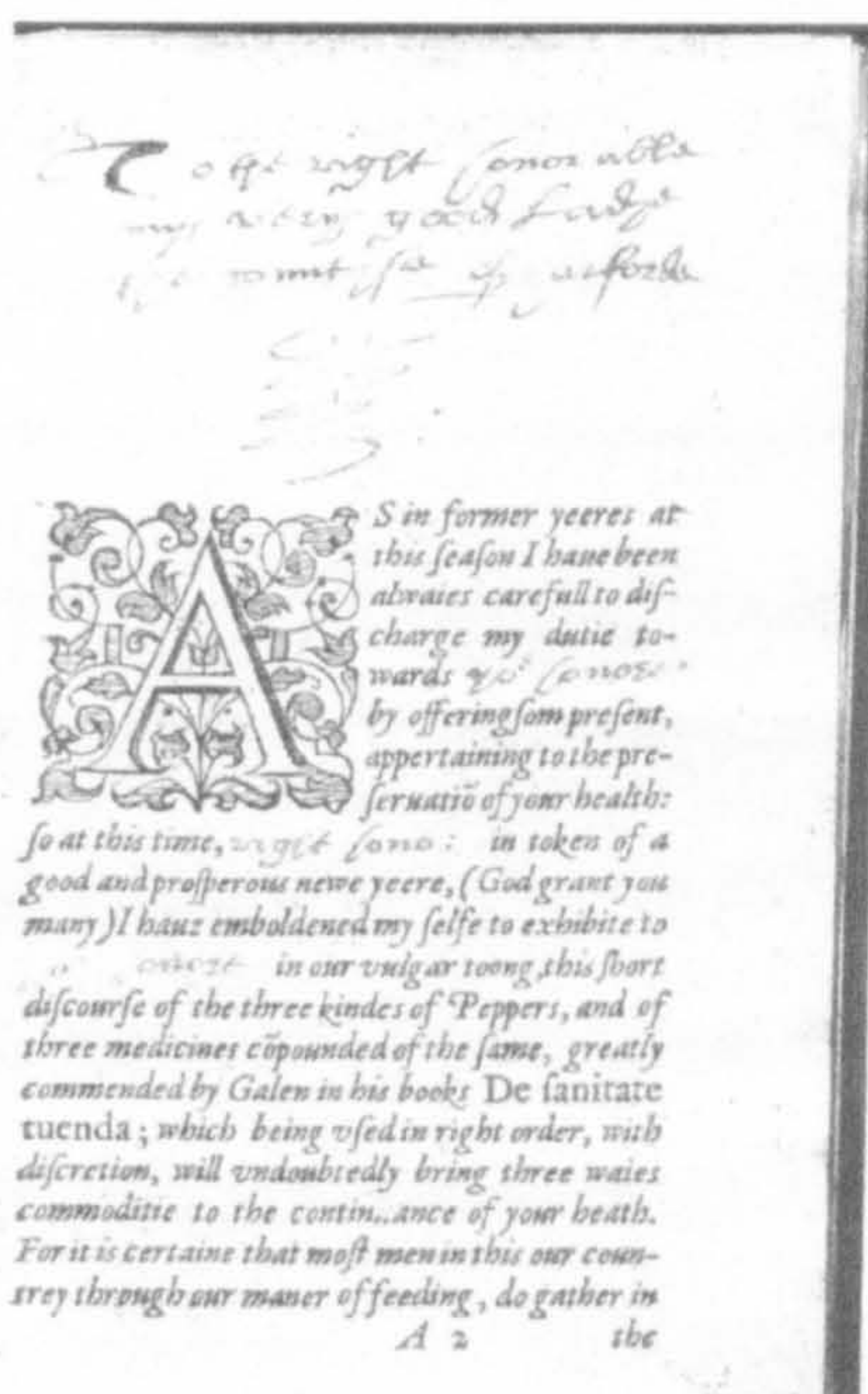


Figure Five: Walter Baley, *A short Discourse*, Sig. A2r.

¹¹¹ Margaret Maurer, 'Samuel Daniel's Poetical Epistles, Especially Those to Sir Thomas Egerton and Lucy, Countess of Bedford', *Studies in Philology*, 74 (1977), p. 418. The article she cites is Arthur Freeman, 'An Epistle for Two,' *Library*, Fifth Series, XXV (1970), pp. 226-36.

¹¹² Baley, Walter, *A short discourse of the three kindes of peppers in common vse, and certaine special medicines made of the same, tending to the preseruatiō of health* (London?: Eliot's Court Press?, 1588; STC 1199). For details of the practice of giving books as New-Year's Gifts, along with a bibliography of sixteenth-century examples see Edwin Haviland Miller, 'New Year's Day Gift Books in the Sixteenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography*, XV (1962), pp. 233-41.

¹¹³ Baley, *A Short Discourse*, Brit Lib. Shelf Mark 546 B. 34; Sigs. A2r; A2v.

In contrast the copy held at the Huntington library, inscribed to Thomas Egerton, has the word 'special' scribbled out from his standard printed text in the sentence 'I haue been alwaies careful to shew my ~~special~~ affection towards [your honor] by offering som present, appertaining to the preseruacion of your health'.¹¹⁴ This presumably is a strategy on Baley's part rather to ingratiate himself with the Lord Keeper by not claiming too great an intimacy, than to offend him by excluding him from the inner circle of his 'special' friends in a way that might today seem tactless at best.

Other editions of the same text bear an address 'To the friendly Reader' in place of this lacuna-packed printed epistle, driving home the peculiar status of Baley's dedications as intimate, private copies of a public text, that nonetheless highlight their contingent nature. Once again the dedicatee is not central to the text but secondary, unquestionably added, in this case, after both writing and printing were complete. In opposition to the usual fully printed dedication, as F. P. Wilson points out, 'the fact that his name was written not printed would indicate to any man that the dedication was not peculiar to himself'.¹¹⁵ However, unlike William Turner's apparently naive insistence that his post-printing, or at least post-writing dedication was included at the insistence of his market-aware printer, these dedications clearly shun the market, addressing their particular 'friendly reader' in markedly different terms and thus attaining an absolute privacy next to Turner's very public address. Yet conversely, it is Turner who makes specific reference to his personal and long-standing acquaintance with his royal mistress, and to specific traits of her position and ability that establish a detailed relevance, albeit a formulaic one, for her inclusion as a patron. In contrast, in their

¹¹⁴ Baley, *A Short Discourse*, Huntington Rare Books 60323, Sig. A2r.

¹¹⁵ F. P. Wilson, 'Some Notes on Authors and Patrons in Tudor and Stuart Times', p. 559. Wilson notes the manuscript dedication to the Countess as an example of what he describes as an 'honest' form of the multiple dedication, as opposed to an author like Thomas Jordan who used a hand-stamp to add dedicatees names to pre-printed epistles, thus giving at least the surface appearance that they were the only dedicatee (pp. 558-9).

proforma invocations of the personal Baley's texts ram home their own lack of intimacy and the interchangeable nature of their addressees, containing nothing of the personal save names and titles. In contrast to the linguistically and contextually detailed proclamation of the addressee's personality in Turner's public praise, the personal and private nature of Baley's address renders his dedicatees both faceless and impersonal.

The bounds of the Renaissance dedication were physical, formal, and generic, characterised by certain key tropes and concerns. One of the most important functions of the dedicatory epistle was its invocation of the patron as someone who could defend the text. It is this definition of patronage which recurs more frequently, and with more force, than any other in the dictionaries of the period, receiving perhaps its fullest exposition in Thomas Thomas' *Dictionarium Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae*.

Patrocinium, nij. n.g. Refuge in trouble of sute, supportation, bearing out, protection, safegard, defence, maintenance.

Patrocinor, aris, depon. Quint. To defend them that be poore or falselie accused: to vphold, supporte, beare out, or maintaine ones right & quarrell.

Patrona, ae, f.g. Shee that defendeth: a patronesse, a defendresse.

Patronatus, us, m.g. Paul. The acte of patronage, protection, &c.

Patronus, ni, m.g. An aduocate, one that speaketh for him that is accused: an attorney, a spokes man: a patron: he that in trouble or perill defendeth. Also he that manumiseth or maketh free a servant or bondman.¹¹⁶

Time and again in early modern dictionaries we come across the idea of a patron as someone who acts in defence of a suitor or client. Yet in the dedicatory texts of the Renaissance, this defence increasingly becomes a rhetorical turn mapped on to the paralysed body of the female dedicatee.

¹¹⁶ Dictionary evidence cannot of course be assumed to necessarily reflect contemporary usage. Most of the earlier dictionaries studied were intended for a very narrow scholarly audience, and drew their content from a wide range of classical texts, often giving only the more esoteric or difficult definitions. Even though we see a shift during the period towards the inclusion of a much less learned audience, dictionaries were often highly derivative of older texts, and it is possible to trace certain definitions as they appear almost unaltered in dictionary after dictionary. Nevertheless, when examined in the context of other contemporary texts, they can be a very useful guide to certain important ways in which words were both used and understood in the early modern period.

Having decided, for example, that Elizabeth was the only possible candidate who, as well as demonstrating the necessary mastery of Latin, would be able ‘to defend my laboures against spitefull and envious enemies’, William Turner went on to give a full and detailed account of the criticisms his work would face, and of how they could best be answered, forgetting, it seems, in the process, that it is his patron and not himself who he says may be required to make such an answer.

For some of them will saye, seyinge that I graunt that I have gathered this booke of so manye writers, that I offer unto you an heape of other mennis travayles, and that a booke intreating onelye of trees, herbes, and wedes, and shrubbes, is not a mete present for a prince. To whom I annswere, that if the honye that the bees gather out of so manye floures of herbes, shrubbes, and trees, that are growing in other mennis medowes, feildes and closes; maye iustelye be called the bees honye: and Plinies book *de naturali historie* may be called his booke, although he have gathered it oute of so manye good writers whom he vouchsafeth to name in the beginninge of his worke: so may I call it that I have learned and gathered of manye good autores not without great laboure and payne my booke.¹¹⁷

The invocation of a protectress became so commonplace that it was satirised by John Taylor in a comic appeal for ‘protection’ to Martha Legge, laundress of the Middle Temple, suggesting that such a request was as much part of the parodied conventions of dedicatory epistles as their distance from their ostensible dedicatee.

I haue presumed to consecrate these vnpolish’d lines to your vnspotted Cleanlesse, not doubting but the lathering suds of your lennitie, will wash away all such faults as are not herein committed through want of ignorance; and with the white Starch of your firme constancy, you will stiffen the weaknesse of my feeble and limber labours, that it may be able to stand like a stout Mastiffe Dogge, against the opposition of all detracting Nungerels.¹¹⁸

While Turner’s defence seems more the result of a charmingly disingenuous indignation, than of a determined authorial strategy, increasingly it became the norm for an author to set forth his own defence in a much less off-the-cuff fashion, a tradition that informed and overlapped with the alternative paratextual genre of the rejection of

¹¹⁷ Turner, *Herbal*, Sig. iiv.

¹¹⁸ John Taylor, *The praise, of cleane linnen. With the commendable use of the laundresse* (London: E. All-de f. H. Gosson, 1624; STC 23787), Sig. A3v.

patronage discussed in Chapter Five. In Book One of his 1605 *The Advancement of Learning*, for example, itself, in formal terms, a copious and overblown dedicatory epistle, breaking all bounds to overwhelm the body of the text, Francis Bacon declared 'Neither is the moderne dedications of Bookes and Writings, as to Patrons to bee commended: for that Bookes (such as are worthy the name of Bookes) ought to haue no Patrons but Truth and Reason'.¹¹⁹

To me it seems that this is because every writer, turning to the repeated formulas of the dedication, felt himself to be peculiarly alienated from the structures of patronage that were so frequently invoked. Just as, for J. W. Saunders, 'The modesty of the typical Tudor poet, in print, seems to arise from his feeling that he lies *outside* the literary tradition', so too, his invocation of the intimate ideals of patronage lay in his feeling that he remained isolated from the structures he described; invoking a tradition of sympathy, response and protection that always proved a chimera.¹²⁰ It is in large part this sense of exile, the suggestion of a deep-rooted need to conceive of, or to write into existence, a concrete structure of support and legitimation that lead me to describe the dedicatory epistle as a genre in its own right, 'a challenge', as Claudio Guillén puts it, 'to match an imaginative structure to reality'.¹²¹ The wordiness of the Renaissance dedicatee comes from his struggle not to exploit but simply to imagine a cultural economics reliant on patronage, courtesy, and control.

For the new breed of semi-professional writer, the dedication becomes a site in which the author can present their defence of the text, either in an open address to the reader, or still sheltered beneath the name of their talismanic patron, whose textual presence

¹¹⁹ Francis Bacon, *The Oxford Francis Bacon, vol. IV: The Advancement of Learning*, edited by Michael Kiernan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 20.

¹²⁰ J. W. Saunders, 'The Stigma of Print: A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry', *Essays in Criticism*, 1 (1951), p. 147.

¹²¹ Cited in Rosalie L. Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance*, edited by Barbara K. Lewalski (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California P, 1973), p. 26.

imposes a degree of cultural authority that demands respect. It is just such a strategy of which Thomas Nashe accuses Gabriel Harvey in *Haue with you to Saffron-walden*. The unnamed female patron of Harvey's *Piers his Supererogation* is revealed to be Harvey himself, barely disguised in a clumsy and unconvincing attempt at drag.

Bentiu: I haue found him, I haue the tract of him: hee thinkes in his owne person if hee should raile grosely it will bee a discredit to him, and therefore hereafter hee would thrus foorth all his writings under the name of a Gentlewoman; who howsoeuer shee scolds and playes the vixen neuer so, wilbe borne with: and to preuent that he bee not descride by his alleadging of Authors (which it will hardly bee thought can proceed from a woman) hee casts forth this Item, that she hath read these and these books, and is well scene in all languages.¹²²

Denied of their personality, and packed with the obsessions of their authors, the women of Renaissance dedications become ciphers, ways of reading that construct at once an author and an audience, cross-dressed authorial personae that construct at once a way of reading and a system of literary circulation.

According to Walter J. Ong this is, at least in part, because in order to create an authorial voice every public writer must first fictionalise his real reader:

If the writer succeeds in writing, it is generally because he can fictionalize in his imagination an audience he has learned to know not from daily life but from earlier writers who were fictionalizing in their imagination audiences they had learned to know in still earlier writers, and so on back to the dawn of written narrative. If and when he becomes truly adept, an "original writer," he can do more than project the earlier audience, he can alter it.¹²³

Thus in order to find a voice with which to preface his text, the Renaissance writer must imagine his dedicatee as a fictionalised reader, asking the appropriate questions, providing the appropriate response that models the reaction of a larger readership. There is a distinct tension here between liberation and paralysis, women's fictionalisation as

¹²² Nashe, *Saffron-walden*, Sigs. R2v-R3r. Nashe also accuses Harvey of already having masked himself under Nashe's name by the choice of a title featuring the *Piers Penillesse* name with whom Nashe was so explicitly linked in the public mind.

¹²³ Walter J. Ong, 'The Writer's Audience is Always a Fiction', *PMLA*, 90 (1975), p. 11.

active readers teaching others how to construe meaning and providing what Ong describes as ‘unpublished directives for readers’, and their publication, their flattening into signification, textbooks to read from, rather than readers who teach.¹²⁴

However, the sheer presence of an aristocratic woman at the head of the text can still be understood to shape its readership, for, as Margaret Ezell points out (though in a very different context), the aristocratic woman is inextricably associated with manuscript culture. Ezell makes this observation while castigating historians of authorship, like Mark Rose, for a narrative in which ‘print publication takes on the heroic role of the revolutionary force, usually represented by male writers eager to seize new opportunities, while manuscript culture has the role of the villain – the elitist, snobby aristocrat, very often a woman, clinging to long-outmoded forms in a futile attempt to retain control and power’.¹²⁵ This was not the conception of the early modern reader, fascinated by the cultural capital accruing to texts with a strictly delimited reading circle, in daily intercourse with the grand and distant ladies of the court. Instead, in addressing a woman dedicatee, a male writer offered his reader access to the secrets of the female aristocracy, to an imagined world of polite intercourse and feudal service far distant from the lived realities of most authors.

The women who received dedications in the early modern period were not only physically restrained within the tight boundaries of the prefatory material, but had all life and liveliness squeezed from them by their forced insertion into the conventional postures of benign recipient, interested reader, and knowledgeable defender. Their horizons are yet more firmly trammelled by their enmeshment within familial bonds. A glance at the dedications addressing multiple women listed in Appendix 1.1 show how often dedicatory groupings reflect kinship networks. In some instances dedications

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 12.

¹²⁵ Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History*, p. 11.

stress the parentage or marital status of their dedicatee in great detail. Lucy Harington, for example, is addressed by Claudius Holiband as 'The Yong Gentle Woman, Mistris Lvce Harington: Davghter to the right vvorshipfull and most vertuous Gentle-man, Maister Ihon Harington Esquier'.¹²⁶

In other texts, the name of the father or husband is more subtly present, not least in the name and title of any noblewoman, which inevitably reflects her husband's or father's estate. Edward Hoby's translation of *The historie of france* is addressed to 'the right excelent and vertuous Lady, the Lady Anne Countesse of Warwicke: and to the right Noble, and worthie *Ladie, my Ladie and Mistrisse, Katherine, Barones Howard of Effingham*; and to the rest of the illustrious Ladies of her sacred Maiesties most Honourable priuie Chamber'.¹²⁷ At first glance, we appear to be living in a matriarchy, the women invoked and praised because of their positions within the court of their Queen, and their roles as members of the Privy chamber. Yet as the dedication progresses, the translator begins to justify the fitness of his violent and bloody subject matter for the eyes of ladies, and in doing so firmly returns the Countess of Warwick to her position within the patriarchal lines both of her own family and that of her husband:

*The subiect whereof, though loftie in managing the glorious actions of anointed Soueraignes, and representing the fierce exploits of vnmercifull and bloudy warres, can no waies yet be strange, or dissonant to your eares, daughter to so great an Earle of Bedford, graue Councillor, commander and gouernour, sometimes of that Royall towne and Garrison, which bordereth on the Scottish soyle:and deare wife to that redoubted Ambrose, Earle of Warwicke, expert and faithfull Councillor, (Sonne to so puissant and Magnanimous a Duke) his name, his fame, his valor resounding in foraine Regions, while he had the honour to bee commaunder and Lieutenant generall ouer a Royall English armie, by your birth and Marriage seeming to be chosen, and consecrated to Mars himselfe.*¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Desainliens, Claude or Sainliens, Claude de [= Claudius Holyband]. *Campo di fior or else the flourie field of foure languages of C. Desainlines, alias Holiband* (London: T. Vautrollier, 1583; STC 6735), Sig. *iiv.

¹²⁷ *Historie*, Sig. A2r.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, Sigs. A3r-v.

This encapsulation of the woman within the bounds of the patriarchal family is replicated in Williams' *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Epistles* where the majority of dedications shared between husband and wife are listed only under the husband's name, obscuring another 201 women from his list of 733 patronesses.¹²⁹ In his reinscription of renaissance noblewomen's textualised submission to the patriarchy, Williams unwittingly highlights the importance of familial concerns to most patronage negotiations of the period. Of the female dedicatees listed in the Williams' *Index* only a handful were unmarried or of uncertain marital status. With the obvious exception of Elizabeth I, most of those who can clearly be identified as unmarried were nuns, and most female dedicatees, even when not usurped entirely under the name of their dedication-sharing husband, are immediately identified by the tell-tale genealogical shorthand that insists, for example, that 'Dudley [Russell], Anne = Ambrose, Earl of Warwick'.

It seems that despite the findings of recent work that stresses the greater legal and social freedoms enjoyed by widows or unmarried women whose fathers had died, these *femmes soles* were of little interest to writers, who addressed themselves almost universally to married women in an imaginative oscillation between access to, and exclusion from, the aristocratic families of Renaissance England.¹³⁰ Most women's fictionalised ability to exercise patronal power was fundamentally tied to their position within a series of patriarchal structures. Both patron and patriarch, after all, return us to the same

¹²⁹ See Appendix 1.2. The flip side of this editorial decision, which excludes so many women from Williams' own count, is his listing as dedicatees several women who actually wrote, rather than being addressed in, dedicatory materials, conversely depriving them of the agency which most criticism allows to authors rather than dedicatees. Many of these women, like Joan Broome, Hester Ogden, and Margaret Ascham are discussed in future chapters.

¹³⁰ For a clear general survey of the status and self-perception of widows in the early modern period see Mendelson and Crawford (eds), *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 174-84. A recent and detailed case study of the freedoms and restrictions faced by one woman in the period is available in Lynne Magnusson's article on 'Widowhood and Linguistic Capital', *ELR*, 31 (2001), pp. 3-33. For a detailed argument that we should pay attention to all single women, see Susan Whyman, 'Gentle Companions: Single Women and their Letters in Late Stuart England', in James Daybell (ed.), *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 177-93.

etymological root, 'back to the father' as Hélène Cixous puts it.¹³¹ To take the most renowned example, Mary (Sidney) Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, has been celebrated by many later critics as the 'truest patron of the arts'.¹³² Nonetheless, of the 30 dedications of printed works received by the countess, 29 were issued during her husband's lifetime and only one after his death in 1601. Still glorying in the myth of the Sidneys so successfully promulgated by those who addressed the Countess, commentators and critics insist on naming her 'Mary Sidney' in discussions of her patronage and literary endeavours, ignoring the fact that for that portion of her life during which she occupied the enviable position of 'patroness of the muses', the Countess was Mary Herbert, and it was as a Herbert that her goodwill and assistance was so fervently sought.

Upon the death of her husband, the Countess experienced a marked contraction of her influence, as her patronal mantle passed to her eldest son, William Herbert, who bore with him the goodwill of those authors who had once addressed his mother, along with the majority of the Herbert inheritance.

The switch occurred with startling speed. Assuming the role his mother had prepared for him, the third Earl of Pembroke encouraged such writers as his kinsman George Herbert, John Donne, Ben Jonson, William Browne, William Drummond, and probably William Shakespeare. ... In the three years after Henry Herbert's death, there was a flurry of dedications to the new Earl of Pembroke. Writers might appeal to him by mention of his mother, but they rarely address her directly.¹³³

Like the wives of printers, publishers, and patentees discussed in my third chapter, the Dowager Countess of Pembroke found that her husband's death compelled her to

¹³¹ Hélène Cixous, 'Sorties', in Rice and Waugh (eds). *Modern Literary Theory: A Reader*, 3rd ed. (London: Arnold, 1996), p. 139. According to Carla Freccero 'The "pater" in patronage suggests to us all, in this time of intense speculation about gender difference, that the relation between women and this act or condition of fathering was and is problematic' ('Gender Ideologies, Women Writers, and the Problem of Patronage in Early Modern Italy and France: Issues and Frameworks', in Jonathan Hart (ed.). *Reading the Renaissance: Culture, Poetics, and Drama* (NY and London: Garland Publishing, 1996), p. 65).

¹³² Felix Schelling, 'Sidney's Sister, Pembroke's Mother', in *Shakespeare and the Demi-Science* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania Press), pp.124-25. Cited in Lamb, *Gender and Authorship*, p. 68.

¹³³ Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*, p. 184.

become closely involved in business and financial concerns. Administering her own jointure alongside the newly inherited estate of her son who had not yet reached his majority, the Countess was far from enjoying a quiet and secluded retirement. Conversely, however, where female stationers usually experienced an expansion of their public role as a result of their wage-earning activities, proclaiming their individual identities on title-pages, and entering into complex business negotiations and legal suits, the Countess of Pembroke's tangled involvements in administrative activity led to a reduction in her public and cultural visibility. Of the many writers who had addressed Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, only Samuel Daniel dedicated one further work to the abandoned Dowager, released from the patriarchal restrictions of the family and thus dropped from the dedications that adorned and advertised that patrilinear lineage.¹³⁴

In their endless and multiplying productions and reproductions, Renaissance dedications mimic and consequently reinscribe the patriarchal networks that structured social and familial life in early modern England. Occupying crucial positions at the interstices of those nets, as the necessary link for an unbroken male inheritance, Renaissance noblewomen never possessed a name of their own, their identities at all times subsumed within those of a father or a husband. The dedications that address them drag to the surface the integrity of these women to the structures that they inhabit, at the same time repressing the traces of individuality or the personal that might allow their addressees to erupt from the firm bounds of the dedication and infiltrate or pollute the text to which

¹³⁴ To say this is not to claim that the countess's influence only ever derived from her perceived access to the resources of her husband. During his lifetime she wrote several letters in which she sought favours, forgiveness, or preferment for her husband, drawing upon her familial ties and personal friendships in a way that Vivienne Larminie and Rosemary O'Day have identified as typical of early modern women's epistolary activity (Vivienne Larminie, 'Fighting for Family in a Patronage Society: the Epistolary Armoury of Anne Newdigate (1574-1618), in Daybell (ed.), *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing*, pp. 94-108, and Rosemary O'Day, 'Tudor and Stuart Women: their Lives through their Letters', *ibid.*, pp.127-142. So too, Linda Levy Peck observes that many women 'followed suits for their husbands such as Lady Raleigh who wrote on behalf of Sir Walter to Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, to protest her husband's imprisonment' (Peck, *Court Patronage*, p. 72). Nonetheless, most of this activity was undertaken on behalf of her husband, and the degree of literary discretion Pembroke was able to exercise is questionable, with many writers continuing to invoke the Countess's dead brother as their preferred tutelary spirit.

they were, finally, though at the first, affixed. Just as Lisa Jardine has pointed out that the threatening centrality of women to changing patterns of inheritance was performed and exorcised on the sixteenth-century stage, so too the openness and visibility of the powerful women incorporated and displayed in dedications was undercut by their encapsulation within kinship networks that return inexorably to the male.¹³⁵

Perhaps this is the fate that befell Spenser's *Faerie Queene* when the recalcitrant dual-gendered body of Elizabeth refused to be inscribed as marriageable or as procreative, when the lines of patrilineal transmission came to an abrupt halt in the multiple female bodies that litter Spenser's literary landscape. Not for him Samuel Daniel's confident invocation at the beginning of his dedication of the *Historie of England* to Queen Anne, of the importance of 'Queenes, the Mothers of our Kings, by whom is continued the blessing of succession that preserves the Kingdome'.¹³⁶ The dedicated women of the English Renaissance appeared as the material bodies through which the patrilinear line must pass (though not always, as we shall see in Chapter Two, unscathed), as well as the textualised spaces through which the reader must travel to reach the literary inheritance their dedicatory presence helped to legitimate and secure. Just as 'every relationship between male kin is defined by the woman between them', so too any approach to the early modern authors who prefaced their texts with the invocation of a woman must first negotiate that tightly controlled presence.¹³⁷

IV. Conclusion: The myth of literary patronage

In his study of *Literary Patronage in England, 1650-1800*, Dustin Griffin suggests that 'The "golden age" of literary patronage, in which all the best English poets enjoyed

¹³⁵ See Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters*, pp. 68-102.

¹³⁶ Samuel Daniel, *The collection of the historie of England* (London: Nicholas Okes, dwelling in Fosterlane for the author, 1618; STC 6248), Sig. A2r.

¹³⁷ Gayle Rubin, 'The Traffic in Women: Notes on the "Political Economy" of Sex', in Rayna Reiter (ed.), *Toward An Anthropology of Women* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), p. 192.

handsome pensions from the court or from aristocrats with literary tastes, is a myth fostered by disappointed writers in later years who assumed that things *must* have been better in the past, and that England *must* have once been as enlightened in this respect as Louis XIV's France'.¹³⁸ The myth-makers of the eighteenth century, like critics ever since, derived support for their claims from the copious dedications and commendations of previous generations of writers. Yet, as I have argued in this chapter, these dedications were deeply formal phenomena, adopting, and sometimes exploiting, the customary trappings of classical, medieval, and continental texts, and, along the way, forcing their addressees into a range of bizarre and stylised postures that tell us little about the historical figure, and everything about the dedicatory concerns of the early modern writer.

The women-oriented dedications of Renaissance England tread a fine line between form and meaning; made customary by the practices of medieval and continental writers, a tradition of female piety, and the necessity of mediating the potentially servile and feminising practice of translation, yet nonetheless packed with bids for jobs as tutors, or as clerics, advertisements of socio-political affiliations and abilities, and engagements with a wider paying readership. These dedications are fascinating documents revealing a great deal about the social and textual positioning of early modern women. They give us an insight into England's complex relations with its continental neighbours, and with its medieval past. They provide clues to socio-political aspirations and manoeuvrings. They even hint to us about systems and structures of patronage. But what they reveal most of all about literary patronage is a profound lack. English Renaissance literature was neither a literature of patronage, nor yet a literature. Writers borrowed the ill-fitting rhetoric and trappings of patronage in an attempt to establish a framework for their

¹³⁸ Griffin, *Literary Patronage*, p. 10. The ubiquity of this narrative is illustrated, for example, in F. S. Schwarzbach's assumption that 'The slow but steady collapse of patronage and the growth of the literary market economy left authors more and more dependent upon the sale of copyrights for income ('London and literature in the eighteenth century', *Eighteenth-century Life*, 7 (1982), p. 101.

activities. In their struggles to legitimate their fictions, the authors of early modern England ended by creating one of the most compelling and most lasting fictions of the early modern period; the fiction of a coherent system of literary patronage, supporting the poet and exalting the benevolent woman. The transformations undergone by texts when they really did pass through the hands of women who were not always generous or encouraging, are the subject of the next two chapters.

CHAPTER TWO

'THOROW WOMEN'S GENTLE HANDS'

When Edmund Layfelde wished to defend his decision to dedicate his *Soules Solace* to a group of women, he insisted, as we have seen, that ‘*venerable antiquitie* affords a cloud of learned *Divines*, whose *pens* have thorow *womens gentle-hands*, happily convey’d their *incomparable labours* unto the *Church of God*’.¹ The women’s hands in this instance are the hands of female readers to whom religious writings have been addressed, establishing an intimate and epistolary tone, although the mechanisms of their subsequent transmission to a wider audience remain unclear. Layfelde bolsters his claim, which becomes rapidly less flattering to the abilities and worth of his female dedicatees, with the example of St. Paul who ‘stooped so *low*, as to recommend one of his *Catholicke Epistles*, unto an *elect Lady*, and therein for ever to *Canonize* her for a *she-saint*’.² While the previous chapter explored some of the ways in which books were represented as moving through the hands of women patrons, at the same time as the reader travelled through the literary space of their textualised bodies, this chapter looks for other hands that left their traces on the early modern book.

Just as those hands turn out to be rarely so gentle as Layfelde claimed them to be, women, it seems, were not unquestioning conduits of male-authored texts. Once again we see, as Darnton has insisted, that early modern texts can only be understood as books that are on the move, ‘not’, as Janice Radway insists, ‘eternal treasures in some literary museum but value-bearing, circulating currency’.³ Nonetheless that circulation is once again shown to have been more painful, more contingent, more liable to disruption, than studies of the male literary republic have sometimes led us to believe. Those vagaries are nowhere more clearly enshrined than in the first and most basic question of transmission: the survival of the text.

¹ Layfelde, *Soules Solace*, Sigs. *3r-*3v.

² *Ibid.*, Sig. *3r.

³ Janice Radway, ‘A Feeling for Books: The Book-of-the-Month Club, Literary Taste and Middle-Class Desire’, in Finkelstein and McCleery (eds). *The Book History Reader*, p. 360.

I. Between The Roasting-Tray And The Fire

One crucial role undertaken by women was, as we shall see, the preservation of the text; the transmission of a husband or family member's work from the study to the printing press. Conversely, however, a common cultural fantasy which gained an almost pathological status for some writers of the period was the prospect of women baking, burning or otherwise destroying valuable manuscript papers. John Aubrey, in his garrulous recollections of his renaissance predecessors, returns time and again to this trope, telling us that Thomas Hobbes and Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, among others, saw their precious writings used to line baking-tins, while after George Herbert's death a precious 'folio in Latin was ... condemned to the uses of good housewifery'.⁴ In Aubrey's schema the creative imagination and its products are eternally under threat from the figure of the efficient housewife; putting to use every scrap of paper in a flurry of domestic activity, or taking malicious action against the text that monopolises an author's attention and disrupts the quiet functioning of the home.

These fears were not altogether unjustified. Paper was in short supply and a valuable commodity, as is evidenced by the common use of flyleaves and blank pages in early modern books for a whole host of additional purposes, including household accounts, family records, and handwriting practice. Thomas Nashe, however, was unusual in wholeheartedly approving a text's culinary desecration, at least as long it was written by his arch-enemy Gabriel Harvey. He gleefully described the treatment of one of Harvey's works: 'manie cholericke Cookes about *London* in a mad rage haue dismembred it, and thrust it piping hot into the ouen vnder the bottomes of dowers, and

⁴ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives: A selection based upon existing contemporary portraits*, edited by Richard Barber (London: The Folio Society, 1975), pp. 157; 308; 144.

impiously prickt the torne sheetes of it for basting paper, on the outsides of Geese or roasting Beefe, to keepe them from burning'.⁵

Despite these fears, however, women's role in the life or afterlife of texts was not only that of the domestic enemy; the jealous shrew determined to destroy the threat of learning at all costs. Sometimes, burning books was a necessary act of defense against the dangerous presence of the (usually religious) text that infiltrated and threatened not marital harmony but the safety of the family home. In *One foot out of the snare* John Gee explains that one Master Middleton's texts had to be destroyed. 'Immediately after hee was dead, his wife burned certain books or writings, to the quantity of some two bushels, as is witnessed by some who stood by; and shee saith, her husband often charged her to burne them as soone as hee was dead: and it is verily beleueed, they were Popish books'.⁶ Not all attempts to destroy texts were successful, however. Although James Duckett, a Catholic bookseller, was reported to have asked his wife to 'burne all such books of theirs as were in his house', Father Persons later reported that 'they [the books] were all taken almost', by pursuivants in the employ of the Crown.⁷

In a less dangerous social context, the writings of John Hall, Shakespeare's son-in-law, were preserved from the destruction he himself wished upon them by the intervention of his wife. In his will, Hall stated that he wished his medical observations to be burned. Not recognising her husband's handwriting (or in Richard Wilson's more judgemental terms 'pretending' she did not recognise it), Susanna Hall sold his notebooks to James Cooke in 1644, who translated them from the Latin, and eventually had them printed by

⁵ Nashe, *Haue with you*, Sig. Cr. For details of the scarcity of paper in early modern England see D. C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry, 1495-1860: A Study in Industrial Growth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

⁶ John Gee, *One foot out of the snare The fourth edition* (London: H. L(ownes) f. R. Milbourne, 1624; STC 11704), p. 10.

⁷ Cited in Leona Rostenberg, *The Minority Press & the English Crown: A Study in Repression, 1558-1625* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1971), p. 63.

John Sherley in 1657.⁸ While it may seem odd to the modern reader that Susanna Hall would not recognise her own husband's writing, we must remember that these notebooks were in Latin and were, according to Cooke, mixed in with other manuscript writings collected by Hall's husband. As Keith Thomas reminds us 'The existence of ... different scripts meant that it was perfectly possible in the Tudor and early Stuart period for someone to be able to read print fluently, but to be quite incapable of deciphering a written document'.⁹ Thus, especially if John Hall adopted a different and particular script for his Latin observations it is entirely possible that Susanna Hall really did not know they were his. In his address to the reader, Cooke is certainly clear on this point, though possibly not entirely truthful. 'I being acquainted with Mr. *Hall's* hand, told her that one or two of them were her Husbands, and shewed them her; she denyed, I affirmed, till I perceived she begun [sic] to be offended.'¹⁰

Susanna Hall was not the only woman who played a substantial role in conveying her dead husband's or relative's writings to the printing presses, not always in such direct opposition to his dying wishes, but often with a degree of intervention that meant that these texts' passages 'thorow women's gentle-hands' did not leave them entirely unchanged. The most famous example of course is that of Mary (Sidney) Herbert, who substantially revised her brother's *Old Arcadia* to produce a more conservative text than the cross-dressed and polymorphous pleasures of Sir Philip Sidney's first version.¹¹ The extent of these changes are suggested by John Florio's bad-tempered reference, in the dedication of part of his *Montaigne* to Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland, and to Penelope Rich, to 'that perfect-unperfect Arcadia', and his insistence that 'this end we

⁸ John Hall, *Select observations on English bodies, or, Cures both empericall and historicall performed upon very eminent persons in desperate diseases*, tr. by James Cooke (London: John Sherley, 1657; Wing H356). These observations are discussed in Richard Wilson's article, 'Observations on English Bodies: Licensing Maternity in Shakespeare's Late Plays', in Burt and Archer (eds), *Enclosure Acts*, esp. p. 122.

⁹ Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in Gerd Baumann (ed.), *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 100.

¹⁰ Hall, *Select Observations*, Sig. A3v.

¹¹ For a detailed account of Mary Herbert's editorial interventions see Mary Ellen Lamb, *Gender and Authorship in the Sidney Circle* (Wisconsin: U of Wisconsin Press, 1990), Chapter Two, pp. 72-114.

see of it' was by no means 'answerable to the precedents'.¹² Herbert, however, while perhaps the most visible, was far from being the only woman who played a crucial role in escorting an authorised edition of a male relative's work to the printing presses and into the public arena.

II. Dead Men Don't Write

Roger Ascham's *The scholemaster*, for example, contains a dedication to Sir William Cecil written by Margaret Ascham, his widow, and reminding Cecil of his former acquaintance with her husband and of her new status as a 'poore widow [with] a great sort of orphanes'.¹³ Ascham carefully negotiates the traditions of the dedication, reminding Cecil of his association with her husband, and commenting little on the work itself, content to present herself as the faithful conduit for her husband's text. Anne Austin, widow of William Austin, was even more self-effacing. Although the title-page of his 1635 *Devotionis Avgvstinianae flamma* declares itself to have been 'Set forth, after his Decease, by his deare Wife and Executrix, Mrs. Anne Austin, as a *Surviving Monument* of some part of the great worth of her ever-honoured husband', it bears no dedication or justificatory comment by her or on her behalf.¹⁴ And although the STC, following Sanders, suggests that Austin's *Haec Homo* was also published posthumously by his widow, that text makes no statement at all about her role in its production, and contains a perhaps tactless dedication, signed I. A., which informs Mary Griffith that

¹² Montaigne, *Essayes*, Sig. R3r.

¹³ Roger Ascham, *The scholemaster or plaine and perfite way of teachyng children, the Latin tong*. Edited by Margaret Ascham, (London: Iohn Daye, 1570; STC 832), Sig. ijr.

¹⁴ William Austin, *Devotionis Avgvstinianae flamma, or, Certaine devout, godly, and learned meditations* (London: [John Legat] for I[ohn] L[egat] and Ralph Mab, 1635; STC 972).

'The Authour of this Essay made you his Patern, which (being a Posthume) begs you the Patronesse', since 'the intended ayme of the Author was particular, your praise'.¹⁵

In contrast, when Dorothy Lily dedicated her husband's *Two Sermons* to 'The Religious and Noble Lady, the Lady Barbara Villiers', she made no claim of acquaintance, and leant heavily upon the convention of 'the modesty prologue', asserting the inadequacy of her gift: a usual pose for the mock-humble author, but, from a wife or editor, a strategy that may more insistently undermine the value and status of the text.¹⁶

*Seeing the importunities of many great and worthy Persons will not suffer the Authour of these Sermons to lie hid in obscuritie; I doe heere present you with a mite of his Labors: your Vertues iustly challenging at my hands richer returnes, then a handfull of Lilies.*¹⁷

The suggestion of marital discord continues as Dorothy Lily eulogises 'the admirable height of iudgement, and depth of learning that dwelt within the lowly minde of this true humble man! great in all wise-mens eies, except his owne', a hint perhaps of frustration at her husband's lack of sufficient ambition.¹⁸ The irony is further intensified by the long 's' used in the printing, meaning that Lily becomes great not only in all wise, but 'in all *wife*-mens eies, except his own'.¹⁹ Seeing more clearly than her husband the commercial, if not the religious, value of his writings she is at last able

¹⁵ William Austin, *Haec homo wherein the excellency of the creation of woman is described, by way of an essay* (London: Richard Olton for Ralph Mabb, and are to be sold by Charles Greene, 1637; STC 974), Sigs. A3r, A3v.

¹⁶ For the conventionality of the 'modesty prologue', along with that of 'dedicatory flattery', see Lucas, 'The Growth and Development of English Literary Patronage'.

¹⁷ Peter Lily, *Two Sermons*. Edited by Dorothy Lily (London: Thomas Snodham, 1619; STC 15600), Sig. A2r. The execrable 'Lily' puns continue in an unattributed verse (possibly by Dorothy Lily, beginning 'The Lilies pure, delight in waters pure' (Sig. A4r).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Sig. A2v.

¹⁹ A precedent for this pun-ridden reading appears in the notorious 'wise' / 'wife' crux in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, where Ferdinand exclaims: 'Let me live here ever! / So rare a wondered father and a wise / Makes this place paradise' (4.1.122-4). Following Rowe, several editors, particularly those working within a feminist framework, have read the long s of the line as a broken f. For a clear survey of the textual history of this crux see Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan (eds), 'Introduction' to William Shakespeare, *The Tempest* (London: The Arden Shakespeare, Third series, 1999), pp. 136-8. For a feminist reading choosing the 'wife' option see Stephen Orgel, 'Prospero's Wife', in Ferguson, Quilligan, and Vickers (eds), *Rewriting the Renaissance*, pp. 50-64. I thank Ann Thompson for drawing this crux and the surrounding debate to my attention.

to usher them into publication with the appropriate paratextual apparatus provided by her dedication and by her daughter Maria's jangling commendatory verses.

I loy that I haue found him whom I lost,
Whose death so many teares mine eies hath cost;
I lost a Father, but haue found him be,
A Father to the Church, as well as me:
The Church yet calls him *Father*, so will I,
His Workse doe liue, and he shall neuer die.
I Grieue that I haue lost him, whom I had,
Life of my life, who so my soule did glad:
But doe I grieue, or am I rather glad,
That such a peerelesse Father once I had?
Yet doe I grieue, and yet againe am glad,
That I shall finde in heau'n him, whom I had.²⁰

Through her thumping repetitions, and strained conceits, Maria Lily highlights the importance of the paternal role, and, in a conventional trope, expresses the conviction that her father will achieve immortality through the preservation of his works.

When she dedicated her husband's *Commentary: or, Sermons vpon the second chapter of the first Epistle of Saint Peter* to Sir Horatio and Lady Mary Vere, however, Elizabeth Byfield, taking on the title of 'your humble Oratrix', added a new twist to this metaphor of paternity. Suggesting that her dedicatees rather than his text would be the ones to pass on and perpetuate her husband's fame, she reminded them: 'It pleased you to take into your Family a childe of his *body*: be further pleased (I pray you) to take into your Patronage this childe of his *soule*; which, as an *Orphane*, yea, as a *Posthumus*, is presented vnto you'.²¹

The employment of children in noble households was a mark of great favour in the early modern period, indicating a strong link of patronage and service, here reinforced by Elizabeth Byfield's knowledgeable references to Vere's 'late imployment in the

²⁰ Lily, *Two Sermons*, Sig. A4v.

²¹ Nicholas Byfield, *A Commentary: or, sermons vpon the second chapter of the first epistle of Peter*. Edited by W. Gouge, (London: Humfrey Lownes for George Latham, 1623; STC 4211), Sig. A3v.

Palatinate' and the 'tender fears' of his wife.²² The dedication also, however, offers a prime example of the feminised position into which, according to Wendy Wall, the painful birth of a creative original forced the male author. In aligning the issue of her husband's brain with one of the fruits of their marital union, displacing all responsibility for the 'childe of his body' as well as the 'childe of his soule', Byfield places her husband in the awkward position of both mother and father to child and text. Whereas for Wall, the male exploitation of a string of generative female metaphors for textual production (explored further in the next chapter) allowed authors to displace class anxieties about the activity of print publication on to the definitional other of the early modern woman, Elizabeth Byfield, writing as a recent widow, leaves her husband prostrate on the birthing couch, literarily, if not literally, dead in childbirth. If producing a text and dedication to celebrate the patriarchal lineages of England's ruling families conversely left the male author in the uncomfortable position of the aristocratic wife, subservient guarantor of the family name, when the situation was reversed and the patriarchal family asked to perpetuate the issue of the author, the very act of creative conception placed him once again in the domains of the female, a mother to his infant text.

Frustratingly, in most cases it is impossible to judge how far texts were shaped or altered by the women who ensured or enforced their publication. Like the women who made subtle but intriguing alterations in the texts they translated, did these women's hands do more than pass on the texts?²³ Unlike Sidney's *Arcadia* in which both the old and the new versions are available for comparison with several extant manuscripts, we have no manuscript version of Nicholas Byfield's *Commentary* or of Peter Lily's *Two*

²² For an intriguing account of the parallels and interconnections of this tradition and the mechanisms of literary circulation see Patricia Fumerton, 'Exchanging Gifts: The Elizabethan Currency of Children and Romance', in *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago and London: U of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 29-66.

²³ Women's activities as translators have been discussed by Margaret Hannay and Anne Lake Prescott, among others, in Hannay (ed.), *Silent but for the Word*. See also Eve Rachele Sanders, *Gender and Literacy*, Chapter Three.

Sermons. The brief 'Epistle to the Christian Reader' that prefaces the latter text, nonetheless suggests that Dorothy Lily may have played a substantial role in its creation:

Reader, this Booke was pen'd with single heart,
But yet this Booke was pen'd with double Art;
And therefore, reade this Booke with single eie,
And it with double honour dignifie.²⁴

Couched in the language of the ideal Protestant marriage, Lily's brief verse suggests that she and her husband shared a partnership in which they contributed their 'double art' to the book within the context of the 'single heart' of their marital union, giving both gentle hands an equal status. Whether that double art was synchronic or diachronic, that is a collaborative writing process or a posthumous editing, cannot, however, be determined. Indeed, the extent to which any of these women's interventions can be classed as editorial remains an intriguing question.

Elaine Hobby is in no doubt that these women should be considered authors. 'The existence of [prefatory texts by women], and the assumption it makes about a widow's right to her husband's work, alerts us to the existence of what might turn out to be a huge number of neglected texts by women; those prefacing works by men, especially their husbands.'²⁵ The activities of wives and widows, however – writing prefaces, arranging work, transmitting manuscripts – fall more clearly into the province we would now describe as editorial.

According to the *OED* an editor is 'one who prepares the literary work of another person, or number of persons for publication, by selecting, revising, and arranging the material; also, one who prepares an edition of any literary work'. Yet to use the term

²⁴ Lily, *Two sermons*, Sig. A3v.

²⁵ Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity*, p. 204.

'editor' in this modern sense is, if we trust the OED's dating, anachronistic before 1712, when Addison announced in the *Spectator* that 'when a different Reading gives us ... a new Elegance in an Author, the Editor does very well in taking notice of it'.²⁶ This dating fits very neatly with Robert Iliffe's contention that the very idea of the editor was a product of what he calls the "author-mongering" of the eighteenth century. Insisting that 'the manifestation of the "editor" was intimately bound up with the appearance of the "author," and should be taken into account in the history of the latter', Iliffe argues that 'The roles and functions of those individuals designated by their contemporaries as "editors" were connected by virtue of their ability to make "names" for their authors and construct public "identities" for them'.²⁷ In this way, editors participated in the manufacture of authorial 'credit' that Adrian Johns has identified as being so central a concern of early modern printing.²⁸

But just as authorship did not appear with the suddenness of a genie conjured in the exotic steam of the London coffee houses, so too certain practices we now describe as 'editorial' – the transcription, selection, revision, and arrangement of texts, as the *OED* puts it – clearly existed in the early modern period, and women like Mary Herbert, Dorothy Lily, and Margaret Ascham took on at least some of those roles. In this context, it is helpful to take on board Iliffe's Foucault-haunted suggestion that editorial practice can most helpfully be thought of as a series of 'editor functions', allowing us to conceive of 'editing' as a range of interventions that shape a text, and, in so doing, construct an author. The presence of women in the early modern text, however, forces

²⁶ As John Jowett puts it, 'The term 'editor' is in fact anachronistic: ... the usual modern sense is first recorded in 1712, significantly close to other developments in the emergence of the modern, formalized chart of textual production such as the 1709 Copyright Act' ('Henry Chettle: "Your Old Composer"', forthcoming in *Text: An Interdisciplinary Annual of Textual Studies*, 15 (forthcoming 2003). I thank John Jowett for allowing me to consult this article prior to publication.

²⁷ Robert Iliffe, 'Author-Mongering: The Editor Between Producer and Consumer', in Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (eds.), *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 167; 168.

²⁸ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*.

us to turn to the pre-history of the editorial functions that Iliffe describes as current in the eighteenth century.

Driving home the 'grossly material things' – wives, children, employment, even cooking – that underpin the Renaissance text, early modern women editors join Virginia Woolf in ripping the web of textuality and authorship down the middle, revealing the contingent corporeality both of texts and of 'suffering human beings', disrupting any notion of an 'incorporeal', transcendent author. While Edward Said traces all authorial authority back to 'paternity, or hierarchy', early modern texts, particularly those in which women had some editorial hand, reveal how tenuous an authority the early modern author exercised over his text.²⁹

Just as Dorothy Lily makes an implicit claim for her own creative authority, so too, recognition of Mary Herbert's editorial role led Hugh Sanford to claim her as inspiration and author of the *Arcadia*. As Eve Rachele Sanders points out, 'The 1593 preface unpacks the double entendre of the possessive case used in the book's title, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*. Foregrounding Mary Sidney's "honourable labor" in repairing the "ruinous house" of Philip's unfinished manuscript, the preface concludes that the work "is now by more than one interest *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*: done, as it was, for her: as it is, by her".³⁰ Similarly, as Stephen Orgel points out, Edmund Spenser, perhaps the prime example of the Elizabethan professional poet, 'continually asserts that the *authority* of his text derives not from his genius but from the poem's subject and patron, the queen'.³¹ As recipient, proof-reader, ideal reader,

²⁹ Edward W. Said, *Beginnings: Intention and Method* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), p. 83.

³⁰ Eve Rachele Sanders, *Gender and Literacy on Stage in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), p. 91. The same point is made by Suzanne Trill et. al., when they declare that 'the *Arcadia* was not simply written for the Countess of Pembroke, it was also edited, revised and published by her, leading Hugh Sanford to point out in his preface that the *Arcadia* "is now by more than one interest *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* – done, as it was, for her; as it is, by her"' ('Introduction' to Suzanne Trill, Kate Chedgzoy, and Melanie Osborne (eds), *Lay By Your Needles Ladies, Take the Pen: Writing Women in England, 1500-1700* (London: Arnold, 1997), p. 1).

³¹ Stephen Orgel, 'What is a Text?', *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 24 (1981), p. 4.

and posthumous editor, Mary Herbert's contribution to the *Arcadia* was profound and essential, lending her an enormous textual authority.

Nonetheless, the degree to which even this most famous of women's editorial commitments has been ignored or erased by subsequent generations of critics can be seen in Henry Woudhuysen's insistence that:

The editor of the 1593 volume was the learned Hugh Sanford, the Earl of Pembroke's secretary and tutor to his son. He included in it an address to the reader which severely criticized the editorial work which had gone into the Greville-Gwinne-Florio edition of 1590. Complaining of its 'disfigured face', Sanford went on to say that the Countess started by 'wiping away those spotted wherewith the beauties therof were vnworthely blemished', but found that where she had 'begonne in correcting the faults', she 'ended in supplying the defectes; by the view of what was ill done guided to the consideration of what was not done'.³²

While he does not for a moment question Sanford's assertion that it was the Countess who 'begonne in correcting the faults' and 'ended in supplying the defectes', he nonetheless suggests only that Sanford 'implied' that 'the Countess herself also took some part in the production'.³³ From a scholar so determined to recover the presence of even the meanest scribe, this wholesale erasure of Herbert's editorial and creative authority seems all the more bizarre.

This jostling for authorial primacy must also remind us that the line between author and editor was not so clearly demarcated as Iliffe suggests, even as late as the early eighteenth century, when, according to print history's progressivist schema the editor first emerged as a self-reflexive member of the literary establishment. In 1699, Lady Grace Gethin's commonplace-book collection of other people's writings was published under the title *Misery's Vertues Whet-stone. Reliquæ Gethinianæ*. Yet nowhere in the

³² Henry R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 228-9.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

preliminary materials is Gethin identified as editor or compiler. Instead, the text is claimed to be her 'private undigested Thoughts and first Notions hastily set down, without Method or Order', and she is implied to be a member of the company of 'Authors'.³⁴ Gethin's fame as an author was celebrated in the 1703 second edition when in his 'Verses Sacred To the Memory of Grace Lady Gethin Occasioned by reading her Book, Entitled, Reliquiæ Gethiniæ', William Congreve remembered her as 'Th'Ætherial Source from whence this current flows!'.³⁵ The already indistinct boundary between author and editor is further blurred on the title-page of Gethin's book which initially declares that it was 'Written by Her for the most part, by way of Essay, and at Spare Hours', and posthumously 'Published by her nearest Relations to preserve her Memory, and Digested for Method's sake under proper Heads'. Yet at the foot of the page the text is claimed to have been 'Printed by *D. Edwards*, for the Author', knocking both Gethin's sources and herself from the supposedly exalted authorial position, and moving Gethin's grieving relatives, the orderers of the text, into that prime place (Figure Six).

³⁴ Grace Gethin, *Misery's virtues whet-stone reliquiae Gethinianaë, or, Some remains of the most ingenious and excellent lady, the Lady Grace Gethin, lately deceased* (London: D. Edwards, for the author, 1699; Wing G625), Sig. Ar. I thank Harriet Guest for drawing this text to my attention.

³⁵ William Congreve, 'Verses To The Memory of Grace Lady Gethin Occasioned by reading her Book', *The Works of William Congreve*, ed. Montague Summers, vol. 4 (London: The Nonesuch Press, 1923), p. 60.

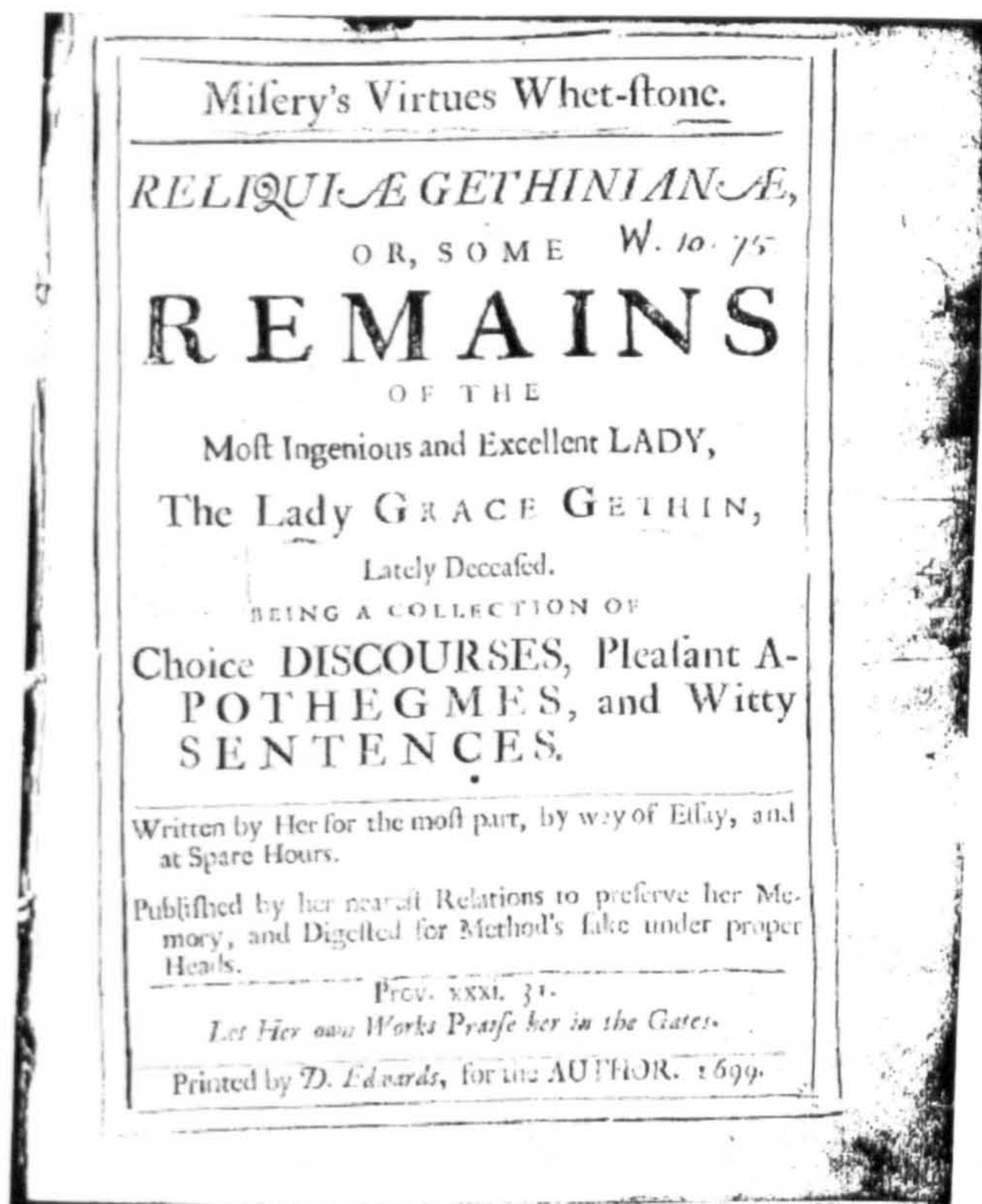


Figure Six: Title-Page to Grace Gethin, *Misery's Vertues Whet-stone*, 1699.

Linguistic confusion continues to abound when we remember that the word 'editor' dates back to at least 1649, deriving from a sense of 'edition' that can be traced to 1551. This is, again according to the *OED*, 'the action of putting forth, or making public; publication'. It seems then that early modern editing must be understood as an activity embracing a wide range of practices embedded in the institutions of friendship, family, patronage, and the print trade, as well as in the realms of literary connoisseurship and scientific antiquarian interest. Recognising this allows us to begin to trace the outlines of women's place in an ongoing tradition of editorial activity that clearly pre-dates the 1710 Copyright Act invoked by Iliffe as the key moment that pulled the editor out of the ether and into the literary process. From managers of printing houses, like Anne Griffin and Joan Broome, determined and financially needy wives like Margaret Ascham or Susanna Hall, to generous patrons, like Dorothy Evans who sponsored the publication of William Byrd's *Parthenia*, women were consistently involved in the editorial

practice of bringing texts to a wider audience.³⁶ The dissemination of texts did not necessarily have an economic base, however, as one of the primary functions of the aristocratic reader, invoked time and again in dedicatory epistles to women, was the circulation and promotion, the controlled publication, of the text, and it is to this process that I now turn.

III. Rare Books Ask Rare Friends

When John Bullokar dedicated his *English Expositor* to the Lady Jane Viscountess Montague, continuing the association between women and vernacular literacy identified in chapter one, he expressed his hope that she would transmit his printed text to the members of her immediate acquaintance, making his work known within an influential courtly circle.

*I am emboldned to present this little Pamphlet vnto your Honour, with hope that by your Patronage it shall not onely bee protected from iniuries, but also finde fauourable entertainment, and perhaps bee gracefully admitted among greatest Ladies and studious Gentlewomen, to whose reading (I am made beleeeue) it will not prooue altogether ungratefull.*³⁷

In this brief sketch of an early modern women's book club, we gain a picture of the patron as an active promoter of the text entrusted to her care. The Viscountess is asked to introduce the timid débutante text to her circle of reading friends, and to recommend it as a popular and useful tool for the would-be literary lady. In befriending the text, however, she is also assumed to be capable of 'protecting it from injuries' upon its graceful admission to the company of its select readership.

³⁶ For a detailed discussion of women as printers and booksellers see Chapter Three. For Dorothy Evans see pp. 132-33 below.

³⁷ Bullokar, *An English expositor*.

That readership could take many different forms. In M. Pinkney (alias M. Car)'s dedication of Jean Camus's *Spirituell combat* to Mary Percy, he acknowledges that his dedicatee, the busy and well-informed Abbess of the Benedictine convent at Gillow, will scarcely have time to read his book herself. 'I will not dare so much to distract you in your more serious affaires, as to inuite you to become a spectatrix of the Battell, since there is in it no feate you alreadie know not.'³⁸ He does, however, ask that she circulate it among other members of her religious community. 'Your Honour will vouchsafe to patronise this poore peece, and propose it to your pious childrens viewes.'³⁹

For Arthur Marotti this demand for dissemination is often merely talismanic.

Willingly or not, members of royalty and the aristocracy found themselves portrayed in print as the authorizers, protectors, even owners of a wide variety of religious, historical, scientific, polemical, and literary texts, though, it should be noted at the outset, in many cases their connexion with the authors or publishers was slight or non-existent and their names mainly functioned as (misleading) signs of celebrity-endorsement.⁴⁰

If, however, we look at the kinship networks connecting a number of authors to the dedicatees they addressed, we see that at least some printed texts were being circulated within a specific coterie or family network, at the same time as they were made more widely available in print. Thus when William Vaughan dedicated the fourth edition of his *Approved Directions for Health both Naturall and Artificiall* to the Lady Lettice, wife to Sir Arthur Chichester, he reminded her:

MADAME, it hath ever beene a customary fashion among Students, to chuse out some noble Personage, eminent for vertue, vnder the glory of whose name, their Bookes might walk vp and downe on the worlds Theater, secured from that

³⁸ Jean Pierre Camus, *A Spirituell combat: a tryall of a faithfull soule, or consolation in temptation*, tr. M. Car, P[riest] [i.e. M. Pinkney] (Douai: Widow of Mark Wyon, 1632; STC 4553), Sig. *4v.

³⁹ Ibid. See Chapter Four for a further discussion of the invocation of pious women as model readers.

⁴⁰ Arthur Marotti, 'Poetry, Patronage, and Print', in Andrew Gurr (ed.), *Yearbook of English Studies*, 21 (1991), p. 2. Marotti's article, of course, goes into much more detail than do these bold opening statements, and he concludes that 'In the case of published lyric poetry, patrons served multiple purposes: not only were they actual or wished-for dispensers of money, social or political support and favour, offices and employment but also, as ideal readers and celebrity-endorsers, they were symbolic or mediatory figures, facilitating the transition from manuscript culture to print culture' (pp. 25-6).

*spitefull Spirit of Detraction whose blustering blasts of Blasphemie, I lately endeoured to coniure and convict.*⁴¹

Equally as important to Vaughan's publication project as his claims for Lettice Chichester's 'glory' and 'eminence', are the claims of family and acquaintance. The dedication is addressed to Vaughan's powerful mother-in-law, and participates in the family and kinship networks around which authors like Marotti, Love, and Ezell have shown manuscript texts to circulate.⁴²

This crossover between the assumed publicity of print and the coterie circulation of manuscript is most insistently suggested by the variety of presentation and gift copies of early modern books.⁴³ The most extreme, and most touching, example is now to be found in the Folger Shakespeare Library, and is believed to be a proof sheet designed to accompany a copy of John Norden's *A Progresse of pietie*. The single printed sheet consists only of a letter written by one 'R.M.', 'To his most loving wife'.

My Sweete hearte, knowing by experience the inwarde griefcs, and greivous perturbations of the mind, wherewith all the true children of God either have, are, or shall bee exercised in this life, which causeth oftentimes unto them much heaviness and Pensiveness of hart, (wherof in great mercy you have had some portion) I have therefore sent you for a token this Harbour of heavenly harts-case, being the sweete, and sound labours of one godly disposed, and Dedicated (as you see) to the worthiest of your sexe in this world, and the wisest of all women living under the heavens: Use it, turne it, teare it with turning, to God's glory and your owne comfort. From London, the 21. of Ianuarie. 1597.⁴⁴

⁴¹ William Vaughan, *Approved directions for health, both naturall and artificiall. Newly corrected and augmented. The fourth edition* (London: T. S[nodham] f. Roger Jackson, 1611; STC 24614.5), Sig. A2v.

⁴² See Ezell, *Social Authorship*; Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts*; Arthur F. Marotti, *John Donne: Coterie Poet* (Madison, Wis.: U of Wisconsin P, 1986), and *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995).

⁴³ For a provisional check-list of presentation epistles addressing both men and women see Franklin B. Williams, 'Special Presentation Epistles before 1641: A Preliminary Check-list', *The Library*, 5th series, 7 (1952), pp. 15-20.

⁴⁴ Folger Shakespeare Library. Shelved at STC 18863, copy 2, John Norden, *A Progresse of Pietie. Or, the harbour of heauenly harts ease* (London: I. Windet for I. Ox-enbridge, and are to be soulede in Paules Church yarde at the signe of the Parrot, 1596).

Looking at this fragment, the reader feels themselves to be intruding on an extremely intimate moment. Discounting the possibility that R.M. was an enthusiastic bigamist in the best Falstaffian mode, this letter must have been printed for one reader and one reader only and was used to preface another man's text. Why did R.M. go to the time and expense of commissioning a printed sheet to have bound in with a book he was sending to his wife in the provinces? We assume she would not pay for it, he needed no defence for another's man's text, and this can scarcely be described as celebrity endorsement. This intimate yet opaque document leaves us questioning the boundaries of print and script, of public and private, of dedicatory epistle and personal letter, and encapsulates many of the complexities of the dedicatory epistle. Nonetheless, where R.M. encourages his wife to destroy her book through the repetitive intensity of her private reading experience, other women, whether through recommendation or association, could play a carefully negotiated role in the dissemination of texts to a range of audiences.

This is the central point of Ben Jonson's famous 1616 verse addressing the Countess of Bedford, which was enclosed with a copy of Donne's *Satires*. Jonson tells the countess:

Lucy, you brightness of our sphere, who are
Life of the Muses' day, their morning star!
If works, not th'authors their own grace should look,
Whose poems would not wish to be your book?
But these, desired by you, the maker's ends
Crown with their own. Rare poems ask rare friends.
Yet satires, since the most of mankind be
Their unavoyded subject, fewest see:
For none e'er took that pleasure in sin's sense,
But, when they heard it taxed, took more offense.
They then that, living where the matter is bred,
Dare for these poems yet both ask and read
And like them too, must needfully, though few,
Be of the best: and 'mongst those, best are you.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Ben Jonson, 'Epigramme XCIV. To Lucy, Countesse of Bedford, with Mr. Donne's Satyres' in *Complete Poetry*, p. 42.

As several commentators have pointed out, Jonson's praise of the countess is double-edged. The ostensible message may be that she is so far removed from courtly viciousness that no satire could implicate her, yet at the same time, in speaking of her 'daring' in adventuring to read these poems, Jonson suggests that she risks finding elements of her own corruption exposed therein. The poet retains the complimentary edge, however, by insisting that Bedford is an astute enough reader and critic to appreciate the writing whatever dangers it may conceal.⁴⁶

Pressing harder still on the meaning of the word 'dare', Jonson touches briefly upon the real political risks associated with satire. The poet is right to remind the countess that satires are dangerous, a reminder to which his own prison experience eleven years before must have added a more urgent edge, and his implicit suggestion is therefore that in 'befriending' Donne's verses Russell is prepared to countenance and protect them against those courtly readers who find that they hit a little too close to the mark. As Annabel Patterson reminds us, 'In the second satire ... Donne concludes an extended attack on the misuses of words, language, in his society ... with a piece of self-reassurance: "but my words none drawes/ Within the vast reach of th'huge statute lawes." The implication is that satire is a safe mode of self-expression so long as it remains private and unpublished'.⁴⁷ Yet, as several critics have recently reminded us, the line between privacy and print publication is an illusory one.⁴⁸ Circulating in manuscript, Donne's poems were 'published', though never printed during his lifetime. It is this element of risk and protection that adds a particular point to the much-quoted line, 'Rare poems ask rare friends', and highlights the extent to which the countess's

⁴⁶ See, for example, Marotti, 'John Donne and the Rewards of Patronage', in Lytle and Orgel (eds), *Patronage in the Renaissance*, esp. 226-7. For a reading which stresses the complimentary nature of the poem along with the dangers of satire see George Ernest Rowe, *Distinguishing Jonson: Imitation, Rivalry and the Direction of a Dramatic Career* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), pp. 8-9.

⁴⁷ Annabel Patterson. *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Wisconsin: U of Wisconsin P, 1984), p. 92.

⁴⁸ See particularly Margaret Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print*, Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts*, and Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*.

patronage of Donne, so often discussed in the financial and political terms of her £30 gift and his desire for help towards 'a graver course than that of a poet', also functioned as a protection and defence of this daring satirist who so seldom resisted the opportunity to comment upon the vices of the court.⁴⁹ A 'rare friend', able to offer a sympathetic interpretation of Donne's dangerous verse might prove a real boon in the closed atmosphere of the Jacobean court.

There is little doubt that a sensitive and informed reading might be understood to both reform and re-form a dangerous text. How else can we describe the active readings that some authors ascribe to early modern women? Sir John Harington told Queen Elizabeth that her tongue transformed his writings into gold – an obvious comment on his fiscal hopes, as Jason Scott-Warren has pointed out, but also an awareness of how mutable texts might be in a period where oral culture was an essential part of literacy. Jokingly, Harington suggested:

Euer most deare, euer most dredded Prince,
Yow read som verse of myne a little since,
And so pronounc't each word, and euerie letter,
Your gracious reading grac't my verse the better;
Since then your Highnesse doth by guift exceeding
Make what yow reader the better in the reading,
Lett my poore Muse your paines thus farre importune,
To leaue to reade my verse, and reade my fortune.⁵⁰

William Alexander went even further in suggesting to the Lady Agnes Dowglas, Countess of Argyle, 'that as no darkness can abide before the Sunne, so no deformitie can be found in those papers, over which your eyes have once shined', suggesting that

⁴⁹ For a detailed reading of the ways in which Donne and Bedford both understood and exploited the courtly business of risk, see Margaret Maurer, 'The Real Presence of Lucy Russell'. As Maurer explains it: 'Much in Donne's poems to the Lady Bedford that seems designed to serve his particular integrity or his pious regard for her virtue in the abstract becomes more crucially appropriate to them both when we assume that they would share a concern for one another's behavior. In effect, then, his poems to her seek to bring their interests together. Donne's purpose is to justify – account for as well as prescribe – courtly behaviour in the Lady. They must agree on how and when to dare' (p. 222).

⁵⁰ John Harington, 'To hir Maiestie', cited in Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), p. 153.

even a silent reading – a reading of the eyes, not of the mouth, could physically alter the shape of the words on the page, proofreading and correcting in one wordless process.⁵¹

IV. To Read and Write in English

Given the still relatively small-scale economies of much print production, one woman's promotional activities could conceivably make a real difference. For an instance of a powerful woman forcibly sharing her literary tastes with those around her, we need look no further than Anne (Clifford) Sackville, later Herbert, who records on a variety of occasions her reading with a substantial number of servants and other acquaintances. In September 1616 she heard 'Mr. Dumbell' read 'a great part of the History of the Netherlands' whilst in November 'Rivers and Marsh' read Montaigne's *Essays*. Assistants including 'Moll Neville', 'Mr. Ran', 'Kate Buchin', 'Wat Coniston', 'My Coz. Maria', 'my Coz. Mary' (possibly the same person), 'Sir Francis Slingsby' and 'the Steward' read her books as diverse as *The Faerie Queene*, the *Arcadia*, *The Bible*, 'a book of the preparation to the Sacrament', 'The Turkish History and Chaucer', St. Augustine's *Of the City of God*, 'my Lady's Book' (Harington's manuscript *In Praise of a Solitary Life* (Hothfield MSS)), Saragol's *Of the Supplication of the Saints*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Parson's *Resolutions*, 'the Sea Papers about my Father's Voyages', and 'a Book called *Leicester's Common Wealth*'.⁵²

As Stephen Orgel pointed out in a recent discussion of Clifford's annotated copy of *The Mirror for Magistrates*, the Countess was a careful and methodical reader, who recorded (or required others to record) the dates on which she had read certain items and

⁵¹ William Alexander, *Aurora. Containing the first fancies of the authors youth* (London: Richard Field for Edward Blount, 1604; STC 337), Sig. A2v.

⁵² Anne Clifford, *The diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. by D. J. H. Clifford (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1990) pp. 41; 47-8; 54; 61; 68; 70; 76; 81 and 82.

added explanatory notes and detailed information, particularly around any passages relating, however tenuously, to her family history.⁵³ It is hard not to feel that the job of Anne Clifford's reading companion must have been a wearing one at times, yet her diary entries insist upon the literacy not only of household and visiting clergy, but also of her female relatives, and of both male and female servants whose choice (or lack of choice) of reading material must often, of necessity, have been the same as that of their social superior.

On several occasions Clifford made substantial gifts of books, receiving twenty-four volumes for £4 2s from William Smith of Appleby which she gave to servants at Easter 1670 when they received the sacrament with her.⁵⁴ She also bought thirty-five books of divinity on 22nd June of the same year which she distributed to the servants of Lady Alethea Compton as well as her own, at a cost of £6 4s 7d.⁵⁵ In 1675, she purchased '55: Bookes of Devotion of Mr John Rawlet's writeing who is now minister of Kirby Stephen which I buy to give away comes to Three Pounds Five Shillings & Four Pence'.⁵⁶ Similarly, on 10th January 1676, some two months before her death, Clifford recorded in her diary that 'about 5 of ye clock this evening did George Goodgion bring me 28 bookes of Devotion hee bought for mee at Penrith, and I then saw them paid for & gave them all away but six to my domestick servants'.⁵⁷ This flurry of devotional book-presenting once again highlights the tension between women's dedicatory representations and their 'real' activities. Having refused to play the dedicatory game by appearing as a prophylactic talisman at the head of *Stafford's Niobe* (see p. 42),

⁵³ Stephen Orgel, 'From the Gutters to the Margins: How to do things with books'. Unpublished paper. *Re-Ma[r]king the Text Conference*, University of St. Andrews, July 2001. For another reading of Clifford's literary tastes and activities see Mary Ellen Lamb, 'The Agency of the Split Subject: Lady Anne Clifford and the Uses of Reading', *ELR*, 22 (1992), pp. 347-68.

⁵⁴ Cited in Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, p. 159.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 510.

⁵⁷ Clifford, *Diary*, p. 235.

Clifford was deeply concerned to promote, even to enforce, appropriate texts, particularly those with local connections, like the work of John Rawlet.

The 'book as gift' has been a popular topic among students of patronage, who have drawn heavily upon the anthropological and sociological work of practitioners like Marcel Mauss and Eisenstadt and Roniger to find a model for early modern structures of literary exchange.⁵⁸ According to these critics 'Essentially, patronage was a form of the socially coded gift-giving that is termed prestation, defined by Louis Adrian Montrose as "a tacitly coercive and vitally interested process predicated on a fiction that it is free and disinterested".⁵⁹ Thus when the early modern author presented a text to a patron they initiated a cycle of gift exchange in which their gesture of presentation demanded an equal or more generous return, which in turn inspired another text, and so on, in an almost inescapable circle. Sadly, the disruptions and dislocations of patronage, discussed in my first chapter, along with authors' willingness to chop and change their dedicatees with remarkable regularity, suggests that such a model rarely underlay the economics of early modern dedications. Instead, these may be understood as investments in an otherwise unattainable level of cultural and social capital, or in what Laura Hutson describes as a 'prodigal' economy, adventuring a dedication in hope of a reward, and moving rapidly from dedicatee to dedicatee while keeping more than half an eye on a paying readership.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ S. N. Eisenstadt and Louis Roniger, 'Patron-Client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange', *Journal for the Comparative Study of Society and History*, 22 (1980), pp. 42-77; Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, tr. Ian Cunnison (London: Norton, 1967). For an exhaustive survey of the earlier sociological and anthropological literature see Hermani Befu, 'Social Exchange', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 6 (1977), pp. 255-81. For the application of these models to the literary domain see, for example, Werner L. Gundersheimer, 'Patronage in the Renaissance: An Exploratory Approach', in Lytle and Orgel (eds), *Patronage in the Renaissance*, pp. 1-20; Lewis Hyde, *The Gift: Imagination and the Erotic Life of Property* (New York: Random House, 1983); Louis Adrian Montrose, 'Gifts and Reasons: The Context of Peele's *Araygnement of Paris*', *ELH*, 47 (1980), pp. 433-71.

⁵⁹ Coppélia Kahn, "'Magic of Bounty": Timon of Athens, Jacobean Patronage, and Maternal Power', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 38 (1987), p. 42.

⁶⁰ Lorna Hutson, *The Usurer's Daughter: Male Friendship and Fictions of Women in Sixteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1994).

If we wish to understand the cultural economics of the 'book as gift', Natalie Zemon Davis suggests, we would do well to look beyond studies of gifts of libraries and 'the dedicated book in search of patronage', and turn instead to material gifts of books, like those presented by Anne Clifford to her servants in a performance of her manorial obligations, and patronal concern for their spiritual well-being.⁶¹ By limiting ourselves to book dedications, Davis suggests, 'we may have been missing some significant elements in the intentions of authors and publishers and in the experience of readers and book-owners. The printed book may be able to tell us more than we have realised about property and possessiveness, markets and gifts'.⁶² It certainly stands in significant tension to the 'gift' proclaimed by the early modern dedicatee, which, publicised in print, loses all substance. Unlike the physical books handed out as gifts by Anne Clifford, or the concrete manifestations of presentation copies, it is the text rather than the book that was gifted to most dedicatees, proclaiming their absolute ownership of an airy nothing that slipped through their fingers in the uncontrollable movements of its circulation, whether in the marketplace, or within a range of reading communities.

Gifts of books by early modern women were not confined to their social inferiors. In the early seventeenth century, for example, Frances Egerton, Lady Brackley, wrote to Anne Fitton, thanking her for the gift of a book, while Frances (Stanley) Egerton, Countess of Bridgewater recorded in her library catalogue that she gave a book of prayers, *The Enemy to Atheisme* 'to my Lady Penelopie', her daughter, and that a 1612 Bible was 'sent to my lady Ma[?]e beinge the 16 of No: 1628'.⁶³ Bridgewater did not

⁶¹ Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 33 (1983), p. 70.

⁶² Ibid. For a more nuanced account of book-giving in early modern England, which retains a sensitivity to the patronage context, see Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift*.

⁶³ Vivienne Larminie, 'Fighting for Family', p. 97; Heidi Brayman Hackel, 'The Countess of Bridgewater's London Library' in Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (eds), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 146.

just give books but also received them, recording that an English Bible had been 'giuen by Mrs Bagner', and that *The New Covenant* was a gift from 'my Sister Huntington'.⁶⁴

This Katherine (Dudley) Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, sister to the Mary Dudley addressed by Spenser in the *Fowre Hymns*, was another woman renowned for her determined imposition of literacy on those around her.⁶⁵ Childless herself, the countess was responsible for the education of a large number of female relatives taken into her husband's household, including Penelope Devereux (later Rich) and Margaret Dakins (later Devereux, Sidney and Hoby). Conscious of her educational role she proudly claimed in 1618 that 'I think there will none make question but I know how to breed and govern young gentlewomen'.⁶⁶ Crucially, women's involvement in the dissemination of books, and of knowledge, was intimately tied to an increasing concern for vernacular literacy. As we have already seen in chapter one, when Anthony Gilby dedicated his translation of Bèze's *Psalmes* to Katherine Hastings, he stressed the ready accessibility of his work:

as a preparative to move your godly mind to the more diligent meditation of these arguments of the psalms, which are very profitable, and to this paraphrasis, which is a brief and a plain declaration of the meaning of the Holy Ghost, who did indite the psalms, and set them forth by his secretaries, David and others, as shall appear in their places.⁶⁷

Under the talismanic banner of its dedicatee, the protestant word of God was made available not only to her infant charges but to the much wider market for printed texts. Hastings both played an active role in the domestic dissemination of knowledge, and was, at the same time, embodied as a passive and receptive textual figure in the attempt to open that knowledge to a much wider vernacular audience. On the active side of this

⁶⁴ Hackel, 'The Countess of Bridgewater', p. 142.

⁶⁵ From her earliest childhood, Dudley was close friends with the Cooke sisters, and like them, benefitted from the educational mores of Catherine Parr.

⁶⁶ Claire Cross, *The Puritan Earl: The Life of Henry Hastings, Third Earl of Huntingdon, 1536-1595* (London: MacMillan, 1966), p. 57.

⁶⁷ Bèze, *Psalmes*, Sigs. iir-iiiv.

equation, however, women's promotion of vernacular literacy was not always confined to members of their immediate households. On a more public level than the book-giving noted earlier, illuminating her concern with local patronage, and the good management of her estates, the elderly Anne Clifford recorded in her diary that:

did I upon the 12th day of this Januarie [1664] purchase of Reynold Cocke of Cawtley neere Sidbergh in Yorkshire, Landes to the value of £11 per annum for which I payed two hundred and twentie poundes, which Landes I gave for the maintenance of a parson qualified to read praiers & the Homilies of the Church of England & to teach the Children of the Dale to write and read English in Mallerstang Chapell for ever, and I did putt in, to officiate in the sayd Chappell of Mallerstang, Rowland Wright who had bin at the same Chappell some 3 or 4 yeares before, to teach Scollres there.⁶⁸

Combining her right of clerical patronage with a concern for local education, Clifford specifically declares her intention that the 'Children of the Dale' should be taught 'to write and read' *in English* by a trusted and experienced instructor. These instructions demand a basic vernacular education for local children, rather than any advanced programme for the sons and daughters of the elite, although Clifford helped to ensure their continuing advantages by contributions to the upkeep of the Grammar School in Appleby.⁶⁹

Perhaps, however, greater freedom was given to Clifford's servants, as well as to local schoolchildren, to take away their gifted books and read them (if they could) than Clifford was always able to exercise herself. On 27th March, 1617, she records in her diary that 'My Lord found me reading with Mr Ran & told me it would hinder his Study, so as I must leave off reading the Old Testament till I can get somebody to read it with me'. Did her husband's intervention indicate that he thought it inappropriate for his wife to read the scriptures without appropriate guidance, or gesture towards

⁶⁸ Clifford, *Diary*, p. 169.

⁶⁹ See Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, p. 383.

Clifford's inability to read both well and effectively on her own?⁷⁰ Two sentences further on she records 'This day I made an end of reading Deuteronomy'.⁷¹ Whether Clifford had time to finish her text before her husband's interruption, found another reading partner almost immediately (after all on April 18th she records that Kate Buchin read the Bible to her), or simply continued to read despite her husband's instructions to the contrary, must remain an open question.

V. Conclusion

Despite the prevalent cultural fantasies of women's domestic destruction of manuscripts and printed books, women often played a crucial role in ensuring that texts, especially those that were posthumous, reached the printing presses, even if, like Susanna Hall, they contradicted their husband's dying wishes to do so. The possible extent of their interventions, their participation in the processes of creation and production, must also prompt us to re-think the category of editorial interventions, and suggests the need for a detailed study of women's varied editorial roles as printers and publishers, transcribers of sermon literature, commonplace collectors, participants in games of manuscript exchange, and agents in the publications of family members and friends. It is in highlighting, not stripping away, Fredson Bowers' 'veil of print' – the gaps and disruptions that not only cloud but transform authorial intention – that we see most clearly the presence of women that shapes and creates the early modern text.

⁷⁰ Nearly all of Clifford's references to reading (19 of the 22) include either direct mention of a companion or of being read to, while those that don't name another reader are vague about the specifics of her reading practice. Thus, for example, on March 11th, 1617, Clifford 'spent my time in reading & working as I used to do' (*Diary*, p. 50), whilst on the 26th April she recorded 'I spent the evening in working and going down to my Lord's Closet where I sat and read much in the Turkish History and Chaucer' (p. 54).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Once that book had gone through the presses, as we have seen, women also played a substantial part in its dissemination. Aristocratic and noble women could help to provide a text, especially a devotional text, with at least a potential readership, whether solicited from a circle of like-minded friends, or demanded from their social inferiors in an act of local patronage. As the next chapter will show, the widows of printers and booksellers also played a major role in the continuing transmission of the early modern book, being central to structures of inheritance that underlay and determined the textual afterlife of writers from Bacon to Shakespeare, along with a host of minor writers, busy sermonisers and anonymous balladeers. Unlike aristocratic readers and book-givers, however, the motivation behind these women's commitment to textual transmission are revealed to be overwhelmingly economic. While this chapter has hovered on the threshold of the early modern printing house, tracing some of the journeys undertaken by books either to enter its confines, or after they had issued forth in printed form, the next chapter plunges into its dark and odiferous rooms, investigating the activities of women as printers, publishers, booksellers, and patentees.

CHAPTER THREE

'THE WHOLE MATTER / AND COPY OF THE FATHER'

In the years between 1550 and 1650, at least a hundred and thirty-three women were involved in the production or sale of books aimed at the British market.¹ Working primarily in London, but also in destinations as far-flung as Oppenheim, Frankfurt and Nürnberg, these women made up approximately eight percent of stationers in the British book trades.² Thus far, however, they have received relatively little attention, and are notable mainly for their absence from most accounts of printing and bookselling in this country. One reason for this may be their self-effacement from the available spaces of the paratext. Although many woman printers and some booksellers included their names on title-pages they did not visibly participate in the dedicatory writings or printerly self-justification so popular among male printers.³ In his *Index*, Franklin B. Williams identifies only two prefatorial items as having been composed by women printers. The first brief address 'to the reader' appears at the beginning of John Lyly's *Endimion, or The Man in the Moon*, advertising Joan Broome's possession of 'certaine Commedies ... which were presented before her Maiestie at seuerall times by the children of Paules'.⁴ She offers to print more of these plays if this, her first production in the series 'may passe with thy good lyking', suggesting a degree of accessibility and responsiveness to the demands of her readers who could identify her from the title-page. Since Broome went on to publish another three of Lyly's plays we can perhaps assume that her advertising strategy was a successful one.⁵

The tone of the advertisement, however, is determinedly impersonal and anonymous, signed with a simple 'Farewell' and no name, nothing like the vigorous games and ploys of many male printers. The second address by a woman, which Williams

¹ See Appendix Two for a list of these women.

² This figure is a tentative figure extrapolated from a 10% sample of the *STC* Index.

³ John Jowett explores some of the self-presentational strategies of one of the most intriguing of early modern publishers in his article on 'Henry Chettle: "Your Old Compositor"'.
⁴ John Lyly, *Endimion, the man in the moone* (London: J. Charlewood f. the widdowe Broome, 1591; *STC* 17050), Sig. A2r.

⁵ *Gallathea* (London: J. Charlwoode f. the widdow Broome, 1591; *STC* 17080); *Midas. Plaied before the queenes maiestie* (London: T. Scarlet f. J. Broome, 1592; *STC* 17083); *Sapho and Phao. Played before the queenes maiestie* (London: T. Orwin f. W. Broome, 1591; *STC* 17087).

identifies as by Elizabeth Purslowe, is written in similar style, informing the reader of the process by which a collection of memorial verses for Ben Jonson came into her hands, and again closing her unsigned statement with a brief, 'farewell'.⁶

This self-effacement, however, was a far cry from the determined and vocal activities of the handful of women patentees who fought fierce and convoluted legal battles to protect their rights, even when others had a more legitimate claim to the literary property they contested. Nonetheless, these women, with whom I open my chapter, are linked to their printing sisters as well as to the women of my previous chapters, through the crucial issues of transmission and inheritance, which prove to be enshrined in compact form in one single and densely-packed four-letter word: copy. Combining property rights in texts, accuracy of reproduction, and the threatening and inherently female copiousness of the uncontrollable word, the issue of copy was central, both to the transactions of real women in the British book trades, and to the textual concerns of the early modern male author.

One valuable exception to the silence of print historians on the subject of women is to be found in the work of Maureen Bell, who has explored in some detail the independent publishing careers of women from 1557 to 1700.⁷ Throughout her writings, Bell remains primarily concerned with women whose activities could be, and were, described as “scandalous and reflecting”, “low indigent”, “seditious”, “fantastick”, “crackbrained”, and otherwise impolite’, dealing largely with those, like Hannah Allen and Elizabeth Calvert, whose clandestine or partisan activities in the latter half of her

⁶ *Jonsonus Virbivs: or, The memorie of Ben: Johnson revived by the friends of the muses* (London: Printed by E. P. for Henry Seile, and are to be sold at his shop, at the Tygers Head in Fleetstreet, over-against Saint Dunstons Church, 1638; STC 14784), Sigs. A2r-v.

⁷ Maureen Bell, ‘Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700’ *Liepziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte*, 6 (1996), pp. 13-45; ‘Hannah Allen and the Development of a Puritan Publishing Business, 1646-51’, *Publishing History*, 26 (1989), pp. 5-66, ‘Elizabeth Calvert and the “Confederates”’, *Publishing History*, 32 (1992), pp. 5-49, and “‘Her Usual Practices’: The Later Career of Elizabeth Calvert, 1664-75”, *Publishing History*, 35 (1994), pp. 5-64.

chosen period so frustrated and incensed the Surveyor of the Press, Sir Roger L'Estrange.⁸ These were women who were well aware of the ideological and religious implications of their activities as publishers of protestant and puritan materials, and who were, at the same time, increasingly conscious of the possibilities allowed by their gender in exploiting the laws of coverture.

They endured the cat-and-mouse arrests, which very rarely resulted in prosecution, numerous fines, interrogations and indefinite periods of imprisonment as part of the process, and when they were cornered used their legal position as 'innocent, silly women', claiming ignorance, promising not to reoffend – and then doing just that. Not only did they maintain the means of opposition publishing in the earliest years of the Restoration, but they established ways of frustrating the authorities which had become more or less traditional in the trade twenty years later.⁹

In contrast, this chapter explores female activity in the print trades during the first part of Bell's chosen period, before it became commonplace, or at least not unusual, for women thus to take advantage of their gender in the propagation of a religious or partisan ideal. Examining the nature of women's participation in the publishing trade, this chapter maps out their location, not only in geographical terms, but also in terms of their ideological commitments and position in relation to Company and familial structures. Once again, however, such an investigation leads to a consideration of the distance between 'real' women's material interventions in the day-to-day workings of the book trade and an authorial discourse freighted with concerns about the processes of textual reproduction. The final section of this chapter explores the extent to which the presence of women in the printing house or behind the book-stall collided with

⁸ This string of adjectives is listed by Paula McDowell in *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace, 1678-1730* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 11.

⁹ Maureen Bell, 'Seditious Sisterhood: Women Publishers of Opposition Literature at the Restoration' in Kate Chedgzoy, Melanie Hansen and Suzanne Trill (eds), *Voicing Women: Gender and Sexuality in Early Modern Writing* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1996), p. 193. For a clear summary of the laws of coverture, see Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 24-25. A detailed account of the impact of the laws of coverture on women's printing activity in the late seventeenth century can be found in McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street*, which also raises the vital question of how far women in the print trade were likely to have been aware of themselves as possessing a gendered, as well as a partisan, identity.

masculine anxieties about the productive process to shape and alter the texts which, in Anthony Scoloker's words, 'underwent a pressing' in their business.¹⁰

I. 'Prime Forts and strongest Bulwarks': Patrons and Patentees

Before we enter the cramped and fetid rooms of the printing house, we must return to some of the concerns of my first two chapters, exploring the role of patentees and patronage in the early modern book trades. In Margaret of Burgundy's command to William Caxton, requiring him to complete his youthful translation of *Le recueil des histoires de Troyes*, a publishing profession was born that was to be profoundly influenced by the religion and politics of two female monarchs.¹¹ In 1553, Mary Tudor appointed the first Queen's printer, although as early as 1508, Wynkyn de Worde had chosen to style himself 'Printer to the Mother of the King'.¹² This position guaranteed certain privileges, such as the right to print certain classes of books, and was a role which continued under the patronage of Elizabeth I. Mary, however, also proved herself to be patron to the entire collective of stationers, when, in 1557, she and King Philip incorporated the Stationers' Company, granting them the right to limit the number of printers in England, as well as search and seize provisions where the printing of illicit, heretical or seditious works was suspected.

The monarch, inspired by the precedent of Henry VIII, was also active in granting a number of lucrative patents for the printing of certain classes of books. Through the

¹⁰ Anthony Scoloker, Introduction to *Daiphantus* (1604), cited Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender*, p. 1.

¹¹ The importance of Margaret's role as Caxton's patron has long been assumed to have been profound. However, in his 1987 article, 'William Caxton and Literary Patronage', Russell Rutter provides not only a valuable review of previous scholarship on the subject, but also casts doubt on the importance of any individual patrons for Caxton's printing career.

¹² This claim appears in the colophon to Bishop Fisher's treatise on *The fruytfull saynges of Dauyd the kynge [and] prophete in the seuen penytenyall psalmes* (London: In the fletestrete at the sygne of ye sonne by wynkyn de worde, 1508; STC 10902). The title of 'Printer to the King' was already a familiar one by the time of Mary's accession, having been first adopted by William Facques around 1501 (see E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1905), p. xiii).

award of such privileges, the monarch assumed the protective role of the patron, granting not only the talismanic influence of their name, but also, on those occasions when their prophylactic force was ignored or circumvented by the pirates, having the capacity to intervene on behalf of their chosen printer or patentee. However, these monarchical powers and interventions were far from universally appreciated. By the late 1570s, some stationers and booksellers had begun to pirate patented books, in an attempt to undermine the privilege system. Feeling the monopolies to be restrictive and unfair, they aimed to break the patentees' hold on potentially lucrative texts, and to subject them instead to the registration system of the Stationers' Company.

In 1583, the Privy Council set up a commission to investigate the dispute between the patentees and the Company. In its instructions to the commission, the Council declared that the patent holders were to be 'drawne within the compasse of the Lawes, and thereby the poorer sort relieved', indicating perhaps some sympathy with the view that the monopolies led to an unfair distribution of potentially lucrative texts. In the end, however, the commission upheld the rights of the patentees, although they were compelled to surrender some of their copyrights to the Stationers' Company, establishing a system of relief for its poorer members. According to Hunt:

The real winner was the company itself, which, by reconciling its members, had succeeded in consolidating its own authority. The instrument of that authority was the English Stock: in effect, a company within the Stationers' Company, set up in 1603 to manage the Company's patents and divide the proceeds among its shareholders. Not only did it give the senior members of the Company a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, but there was enough money left over to provide charitable relief for its poorer members, and to buy off any malcontents who might try to break into the club.¹³

Such a triumphalist viewpoint would not have been shared by many members of the Stationers' Company. Whatever licensing rights the fledgling company may have been

¹³ Arnold Hunt, 'Book Trade Patents, 1603-1640', in Arnold Hunt, Giles Mandelbrote, and Alison Shell (eds), *The Book Trade and Its Customers, 1450-1900: Historical Essays for Robin Myers* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), p. 28.

granted, the Commission on Privileges of 1583 still declared that 'we think her maiesties grauntes most meete to be mainteined aboue all other'.¹⁴ This declaration could mean that the rights of patentees were protected even when members of the Company seem to have had a considerably more compelling claim to ownership of the disputed texts.

On January 12th 1558/9, Richard Tottel's patent to print books of English Common Law, first granted by Edward VI in 1553, was renewed for life through the patronage of Elizabeth I. Some eighteen years later, on November 18th, 1577, the Queen granted a similar patent, effective upon Tottel's death, to Nicasius Yetsweirt, her Secretary for the French tongue and Clerk of the Signet. The profits to be made in printing books of common law were substantial, and a royal patent provided only limited protection against the pirates of the early modern publishing trade, who deeply resented this lucrative patent.¹⁵ As a result, after the death of Nicasius Yetsweirt, his son Charles, the third holder of the patent, found that he had a hard fight on his hands to maintain his inherited privilege. On March 27th, 1595, the Earl of Essex wrote to Lord Keeper Puckering in support of Yetsweirt's grievance against the pirates, which was, he indicated, the substance of a case due to come before the Lord Keeper in the near future.¹⁶

Yetsweirt's case was successful, and Puckering ordered that the stationers involved should 'forbeare ... the impression they are nowe in hand with'.¹⁷ It seems however, that the pirates paid little attention to Puckering's command. Before he could pursue his

¹⁴ Cited in Hunt, 'Book Trade Patents', p. 29.

¹⁵ In 1557, the year in which Yetsweirt received his patent, although not the year in which it became effective, certain 'printers glasse sellers and cutlers' appealed to Lord Burghley for assistance, complaining that Tottel's monopoly was damaging to their trade, and that since he began 'the printinge of all kindes of *lawe bookes*, which was common to all Printers / who [Tottel] selleth the same bookes at excessive prices, to the hinderance of a greate number of pore studentes...' their own trade had been badly affected (Lansdowne Ms. 48, f180-81, cited in Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967), vol. I, p. 111).

¹⁶ BL MS Harley 6997, f.2.

¹⁷ This agreement is cited by Jane Yetsweirt in her later letter, BL MS Harley 6997, f. 10, to Robert Cecil, discussed below.

case any further, Charles Yetsweirt had followed his father to the grave, but was succeeded in the publishing business by his equally, if not more, determined wife, Jane. On May 7th, the Earl of Essex wrote again to Puckering, this time appealing for justice on behalf of Jane Yetsweirt. The first of Essex's letters, written for Charles, is in the hand of an anonymous secretary, albeit with a scribbled postscript in Essex's own hand, stating 'My L. I pray of you favor this gentlemans cause for he is my very good frend and his cause very just'.¹⁸ The second, however, designed to plead for Jane, is entirely in Essex's own hand, indicating perhaps a greater personal commitment to her cause. In it he informs Puckering:

Mrs Yetsweirt the poore widow of my honest frend is to have the cause betweene her and the incroching printers of London herd before yr Lp. very shortly, for the cause your L's prerogative, (her title being derived from her ma'ties (...) patents and the clearnes of the question). ... These I say for her cause do pleade sufficiently, for her self her poverty, sex, and widowhood do speak.¹⁹

Clearly though, Jane Yetsweirt felt it would be wise to speak not only with the passive weapons of her widowhood and economic vulnerability, but with as many tongues as she could muster. On the same day that Essex wrote to Puckering, Yetsweirt composed a letter, written by a secretary, to the Lord Treasurer, Robert Cecil, informing him that, because of the activities of the pirates, her estate was running dangerously low at 'eight or nine hundred poundes', and claiming that she expected further losses of 'fower of fyve hundred poundes ... which my poore estate which I am left will hardlie beare'.²⁰ Despite the claim of poverty, an estate of some nine hundred pounds was a substantial one, and even with the potential losses she describes, Jane Yetsweirt would have remained a far from destitute widow, whatever lifestyle changes she may have been forced to accept. There can be no doubt, however, but that Jane Yetsweirt had a clear grasp of her own financial and business situation, along with a good working knowledge

¹⁸ BL MS Harley 6997, f. 10.

¹⁹ BL MS Harley 6997, f. 9.

²⁰ BL MS Harley 6997, f. 10.

of the contemporary legal situation, and previous agreements and negotiations connected with the case. In her letter to Puckering, discussed below, she also shows herself to be well aware of the business activities and negotiations of those printers whom she felt to be 'incroching' so brazenly upon her rights.

At around the same time as she wrote to Cecil, Yetsweirt also wrote directly to Lord Keeper Puckering, in a letter dated only 'from my poore house at Sunberie 1595'. It is perhaps in this letter that the extent of her determination and of her attempts at political manoeuvring are most vividly evident. In a defensive tone, she stresses her own absolute probity, insisting that she has always attempted to work in line with the overruling principles of 'Truth and peace', and that she has never 'lacked to give it [the dispute with the printers] that dilligence in following and care to bring it to an honest christian ende'.²¹ At the same time, however, as she states, or perhaps overstates, her absolute dependence on the goodwill of Lord Puckering (coupled with her straightforward and unbending honesty), she admits to an awareness that several other influential figures, including the Queen herself, as well presumably as Robert Cecil and the Earl of Essex, have already intervened with Puckering on her behalf.

If in this my (...) carefullnes your Lp have ben much importuned by her ma'tie my good ladie and Mrs. and other my honorable good Llp and frende it may please you, impute it not to any diffidence that might be in me or them, of your honorable forwardnes and readiness to yeald unto me all possible favor.²²

The evasive tone of this communication suggests that the Lord Keeper may not have been impressed by Jane Yetsweirt's attempts to manipulate both the patronage system and his own influence in her favour, and her not unsuccessful political manoeuvrings

²¹ Ibid.

²² BL MS Harley 6997, p. 11. These letters are quoted extensively (and inaccurately) by Susan Allen in her article 'Jane Yetsweirt (1541-?) Claiming her Place', in which she describes this letter as having preceded both Yetsweirt's letter to Cecil, and Essex's communication with Puckering (*Printing History*, 9 (1987), pp. 5-12). There is, however, no evidence to confirm this chronology, and Yetsweirt's slightly embarrassed recognition of Puckering's awareness of her other manoeuvrings may in fact suggest that this letter was subsequent both to that of Essex, and to her own missive to Cecil.

may have cast something of a shadow on her self-positioning as a poor and dependent widow. Certainly if she insisted to Puckering as strongly as she did to Cecil that he was 'the sole authour of my good, and staie of living', some degree both of scepticism and of impatience on his part might be easily understood when pressure was applied from Yetsweirt's other 'frende' and 'Mistress'.²³

The final outcome of Yetsweirt's representations is not entirely clear, but there is no doubt that she continued to print books of common law until shortly after her second marriage to Philip Bottoler, in 1597, after which time she resigned the letters patent into the hands of the Queen.²⁴ In her earlier struggles, however, Yetsweirt, as we have seen, utilised the same rhetoric of deprivation and poverty that Margaret Ascham exploited in her dedication of *The Scholemaster*, a discourse which was elevated into a distinctly female epistolary tool in countless petitions of the period.²⁵ As Lucio teaches Isabella (though with unforeseen consequences) in *Measure for Measure*,

Go to Lord Angelo,
And let him learn to know, when maidens sue,
Men give like gods; but when they weep and kneel,
All their petitions are as freely theirs
As they themselves would owe them.²⁶

The language of female poverty was also adopted by those who were not supplicants but patrons, with James I and VI issuing a patent in 1621 for Helen Mason to print the abridgement of the Book of Martyrs and other ecclesiastical histories compiled by her husband, and stating that:

²³ BL MS Harley 6997, f. 10.

²⁴ The subsequent history of the patent provides further evidence of the active involvement of women in this aspect of the printing trade. Some years after the civil war, Lady Martha Acheson, daughter and heir to John More who received a reversionary patent in 1629, sued Miles Flesher, to whom More had farmed out a substantial proportion of his privilege, claiming that his defection on the agreed annual payment in 1640 (when, inevitably, the royal patent lost much of its force), meant that printing rights should return to her.

²⁵ See p. 96 above.

²⁶ William Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, in Wells, Taylor, Jowett, and Montgomery (eds), *The Complete Works*, I.iv, 79-83.

wee are credibly informed that before the said Thomas mason could cause any more of the said bookes to be imprinted he departed this life leaving his wife and children in necessitie and want And whereas helen mason widowe late wife of the said Thomas mason hath thereuppon made her humble petition unto us to be releved of the labours and studies of her said husband, knowe ye that wee in tender commiseration of the said widdowe and her children and for the encouragement of other our loving subiecte to imitate the said Thomas mason in the like godly and pious indeavoures of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere motion have giuen and graunted and by these presente for us our heires and Successors doo give and graunte full free and solo liberties licence power priviledge and authoritie unto the said helen mason widowe her Executors Administrators and Assignes.²⁷

This rhetoric was also used with a level of tragic detail by Hester Ogden when in 1616 she applied to James for a patent to print her father William Fulke's *Confutation of the Romish Testament*. In a petition to the Bishop of London she explained:

one Adams a Stacioner in London hath printed divers of the said bookes, hauing by sinister meanes, gotten a Copie of them from yo^r Supp^{tes} father in law (who had no right in them, they being giuen by will as aforesaid) to the preiudice of his Ma^{tie} for the moytie of the benefit of the said license; and to the vtter vndoing of your poore Suppt^e, and her 8. small children; 2 of w^{ch} haue perished even through famine (as God and her neighbo^{rs} can can witness) to the vnspeakable troble & torment of her heart.²⁸

This pathetic and unfortunate story, however, belies both Ogden's iron will and the tenuous nature of her claim. While she insisted that her father had bequeathed the book to her, the stationers Thomas Adams, John Bill and Bonham Norton asserted that, as successors to Fulke's original publisher, George Bishop, the copy actually belonged to them. In 1618, after a protracted debate, Ogden was awarded the patent in the names of two assigns, although it seems that the stationers' claim was actually the more legitimate of the two, since they had a long established right to print translations of the Bible.²⁹ Ogden did not stop there. She next sued Bills, Adams and Norton for the stocks of the book which the three already possessed, and then returned to lobbying

²⁷ Patent Rolls C66/2258/1.

²⁸ Folger mss. G.b.10, f. 105v.

²⁹ For the printers' rights to the edition, see Sir Walter Greg, *A Companion to Arber* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 57-59.

James for a royal proclamation 'for the furnishinge of every Parish Church with one of the said Bookes', a tactic which would undoubtedly boost the sales and circulation of her new edition.³⁰

In her preface to subsequent editions of Fulke's text, Hester Ogden is careful to make no reference to her determined struggles against the Stationers' Company, or to the potential profitability of the volume, although the reference on the title page of the second edition to the fact that there are 'many grosse absurdities corrected' must be seen as a none-too-subtle dig at the previous edition of Adams, Bill and Norton. In appealing for Charles to continue the patronage and protection offered by his father, Ogden makes it clear that the book itself must act as a worthy defender of, and pattern for, the Christian faith, describing it as being 'one among others of those prime Forts and strongest Bulwarks your Maiesties Kingdome hath to withstand the common in-rode and invasion of a Troupe of Romish and Rhemish Iesuites, who endeauoured by this, as the most subtile and plausible way that euer yet they enterprised, to build up the walls of *Rome in England*'.³¹ She is also, like the women editors of my second chapter, careful to stress family ties, claiming in the dedicatory epistle to the Fourth edition, presented to Charles I, that she is not only Fulke's daughter, but also 'the neerest allyed to this Everliving Issue of his Mind'.³² It is her position as Fulke's descendant within structures of familial inheritance that Ogden employs to buttress her claims as the only legitimate transmitter of his textual progeny.

Not only do the cases of Ogden and Yetsweirt provide evidence of resourceful and determined widows taking on, and succeeding in, complex legal battles, they also highlight the tension between the complexities of the patronage system, and the

³⁰ Cited in Arnold Hunt, 'Book Trade Patents, 1603-1640', p. 32.

³¹ William Fulke, *The text of the New Testament of Iesus Christ Translated out of the vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traiterous seminarie at Rhemes* (London: Augustine Mathewes on of [sic] the assignes of Hester Ogden. Cum priuilegio Regis, 1633; STC 2947). Dedication not paginated.

³² *Ibid.*

opportunities offered by the burgeoning market for printed texts. Within the printing trade, those stationers and others like Jane Yetsweirt who held royal patents were supporters and beneficiaries of a patronage system which others, led by John Wolfe, John Charlewood and Roger Ward felt to be outmoded and unjust within a market system regulated by the complex registration and honour protocols of the Stationers' Company itself.³³

This tension between structures of patronage and the market economy of print could lead to a blurring of the boundaries between the protective function of patronage, and the wider circulation of print that led to the representations of print as patron; the text as its own most compelling defender (see p. 81 above). On occasion the printer could usurp the role of patron when their good name (admittedly something of a rarity in the often acrimonious world of early modern printing) was used to guarantee the probity of a particular publication. As John Dunton said of Richard Chiswell, 'His NAME at the Bottom of a Title Page, does sufficiently recommend the Book'.³⁴ Alternatively, a patron might decide to use their protective influence to step, however fleetingly, into the role of printer or publisher. This was the step taken by Dorothy Evans when in 1613 she paid for the publication of a fully engraved copy of William Byrd's *Parthenia or the maydenhead of the first musicke that ever was printed for the virginalls*, a text that bears the colophon 'Ingrauen by William Hold for Dorethie Euans. Cum Priuilegio', as well as an engraving of a heavy-handed young woman (possibly Evans herself), modestly tinkling the ivories (Figure Seven).³⁵

³³ In 1581 the three men joined with other members of the Company to print and distribute titles which fell within the most lucrative patents. When Christopher Barker, then the Queen's printer, remonstrated with Wolfe for his continued insistence upon printing Francis Flower's Latin Grammar as well as such popular books as John Day's *ABC and Little Catechism*, Wolfe retorted that the Queen did not have the right to grant privileges, and that he would reform the printing trade just as Luther had reformed religion (see R. B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557 to 1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910), p. 297).

³⁴ Cited in Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, p. 147.

³⁵ William Byrd, *Parthenia or the maydenhead of the first musicke that ever was printed for the virginalls* (London: printed for M.ris Dor: Evans, to be sould by G. Lowe, 1613; STC 4251.5).



Figure Seven: Title-page to William Byrd's *Parthenia*, 1613.

The most effective means of promotion and dissemination is no longer to recommend the already-printed text to an intimate circle, but to sponsor its print production and entry into the marketplace for printed books. Conversely, success in the print trade could allow a woman to take on the traditional patronal roles of hospitality and poor relief herself. The prolific Elizabeth Purslowe, for example, printed one issue of Bishop George Downame's *A Treatise of Justification* 'for Nicholas Bourne, and part of the

Impression made over for the benefit of the children of Master *John Minshew*, deceased'.³⁶

II. Sussex Serpents and Lowestoft Ladies

Unlike Dorothy Evans, Hester Ogden, and Jane Yetsweirt, Elizabeth Purslowe was a recognised member of the Stationers' Company, appearing several times in the register and maintaining a prolific output. The contrast between her steady trade, Dorothy Evans' occasional visit to the world of print, and Ogden and Yetsweirt's determined oppositions to the mores and inheritance mechanisms of the Stationers' Company, highlights the diversity of women's experiences within the print trades. From a modern perspective it is easy to identify women in these trades as a distinct group within the stationers' community - a group whose members, thanks to the vagaries of the historical evidence, often seem to occupy a very tenuous position, surfacing only briefly, if at all, in the records.³⁷ To themselves, however, and to their contemporaries, these women appeared neither as a specific and separate community, nor as particularly marginal figures.

Any printer's widow who was left in financial difficulties upon the death of her husband was certainly seen as a continuing member of the Stationers' community. As was the

³⁶ George Downame, *A treatise of justification: wherein is first set downe the true doctrine according to the word of God* (London: E. Purslow f. N. Bourne, and part of the impression made over for the benefit of the children of J. Minshew, deceased, 1639; STC 7123).

³⁷ As Chandra Talpade Mohanty puts it in her essay on 'Feminist Encounters: Locating the Politics of Experience' (in Michèle Barrett and Anne Philips (eds), *Destabilizing Theory: Contemporary Feminist Debates* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992)), 'Gender is *produced* as well as uncovered in feminist discourse, and definitions of experience, with attendant notions of unity and difference, form the very basics of this production' (p. 76). I wish therefore to highlight the effect of the story I am telling, in creating an illusory community or category of 'female stationers' by making them the subject of this chapter, at the same time as I tell it. As Katie King makes clear, '*stories about the production of stories* require feminists to engage in this story-making, not merely to analyze it: there are no innocent positions from which one can only look on' ('Bibliography and a Feminist Apparatus of Literary Production', p. 91).

case in other trades, female names appear with monotonous regularity in the Company Poor Books.³⁸ More significantly, women were never officially excluded from the freedom of the Stationers' Company, although it was not until the 1660s that four women were admitted to the company by redemption and Elizabeth Latham became the first woman to be admitted by patrimony. In line with the ancient customs of the City, however, widows of stationers were automatically made free of the Company with the right to take apprentices and hold shares in the English Stock.³⁹ Rather than creating a distinct, and perhaps troubling, category of 'freewomen' it seems that widows were subsumed into a model of citizenship that was nonetheless constructed on the basis of a gendered division.⁴⁰ Thus, in 1564, both Anne Heister and Jone Marten could be described in company records as 'Cytizen and stacioner of London', while in 1566, the recently deceased Elizabeth Toye was identified as 'Wydowe late of London stacioner Deceased'.⁴¹ It was not until 1936 that, as a result of an administrative error, women were admitted to the livery and thereby became entitled to hold office in the Company.

A woman's position was potentially an ambiguous one, recognised and accepted by the Stationers' community, yet excluded from office-holding or any position of responsibility in a way that we might be tempted to assume left her free to work outside the regulations and restrictions of the trade. The valuable work of Paula McDowell and Maureen Bell may lead the reader to assume that nearly all women stationers were

³⁸ Craig W. Ferguson, 'The Stationers' Company Poor Book, 1608 – 1700', *The Library*, 31 (1976), pp. 37-51.

³⁹ Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403 – 1959* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960), p. 162. Elizabeth Latham was made free of the Company in 1668, two years after Joanna Nye, the daughter of a provincial clergyman became the first female apprentice to be formally bound to a member of the Stationers' Company. Neither Nye, however, nor any of the thirty-four other women bound as Stationers' apprentices before 1700, ever appear to have been freed from their indentures (see Margaret Hunt, 'Hawkers, Bawlers, and Mercuries: Women and the London Press in the Early Enlightenment', *Women and History*, 9 (1984), pp. 41-68).

⁴⁰ Speaking of a slightly later period, Kathleen Wilson points out that 'long before the 1790s, the commercialized nature of English politics and culture provided middle class women with wider opportunities to act like political subjects and appropriate the mantle of citizenship for themselves; the injunctions to "manly rationality" could not be bounded by biological sex and were a source of identity for women as well as men' ('Citizenship, Empire, and Modernity in the English Provinces, c.1720-1790', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 29 (1995), p. 79).

⁴¹ Arber, *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 251; 257; 390.

marginal and transgressive figures, heavily involved in controversial or illicit printing, and exploiting the laws of coverture to protect and disguise their activities. In fact, there is little evidence that this was the case for the majority of female stationers during the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. Such activity put both life and livelihood at risk, and therefore tended to be the province of these women's social superiors, the aristocratic recusants and puritans discussed in my next chapter: women whose entrenched social standing and wealth provided something of a safety net.

It is, however, difficult to establish quite how far, or how directly, women were involved in the businesses with which they were associated, and almost impossible to identify if and when they acted as editors or compositors, shaping and altering the texts that passed through their presses. Many women assigned away rights and property with relative speed, indicating no intention of continuing in the business, while others held on to valuable copies, but either did not inherit, or quickly sold, the business premises and seem to have taken no hands-on role in the printing or bookselling trade. Upon Walter Burre's death in 1622, for example, his widow transferred her rights in Raleigh's *History of the World* to Matthew Lownes and George Latham, yet held on to the rest of the copyrights, which included works by Middleton and Jonson, for a further eight years.⁴² The fact that these women did not necessarily have ink on their fingers, however, should not be assumed to indicate that they didn't have an important role to play in the business. Those stationers who negotiated financial investments and controlled rights in copies and stock, were increasingly those who also controlled the trade, and it is salutary to remember that by 1644 a quarter of shares in the English Stock (the Stationers' Company's own collection of patents and monopolies) were held

⁴² On the other hand Katherine Bentley, widow of Richard, assigned away her husband's copyrights eighteen months after his death in 1697, but excluded the books held in the shop from the transaction, suggesting that she had every intention of continuing in that aspect of the trade (Giles Mandelbrote, 'Richard Bentley's Copies: The Ownership of Copyrights in the Late 17th Century', in Hunt, Mandelbrote, and Shell (eds), *The Book Trade and Its Customers*, p. 59).

by women, making them massively over-represented in this particular area of trade activity.⁴³

Most of the women I have traced surface abruptly in the records upon the death of their husbands, only to disappear just as suddenly upon remarriage or their own subsequent death. Several of these women, however, can be identified as substantial figures in the stationers' community, even within this limited period. Heading the list is Elizabeth Purslowe who printed at least one hundred and sixty-four items in the fourteen years following her husband's death, an output which dwarfs that of many male printers. Elizabeth Alde, a publisher, can be clearly connected with one hundred and twenty-three works, while nine women produced between fifty and a hundred publications, and a further twenty-one can be associated with between ten and forty-nine imprints.⁴⁴ How far these figures, gleaned primarily from the *STC* and *Wing*, can be taken as an accurate measure of these women's outputs is, however, questionable. Margery Trundle, for example, is listed as the publisher of only thirteen items in the *STC*, yet the Stationers' Company Registers indicate that at the time of her death she was the owner of at least thirty items.⁴⁵ Similarly, Elizabeth Toy is now associated with only three imprints, yet in 1557, along with John Wallye, she entered thirty-one ballads in the Register.⁴⁶ Any figures that are given for book production must therefore be assumed to be at best a bare minimum, and very possibly a substantial under-representation.

Female printers and stationers were certainly not confined to the geographical margins. Like their male counterparts, the majority of these women were clustered around the recognised centres of the London book trade, with 17 working either in or very close to

⁴³ This figure is taken from Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, p. 260.

⁴⁴ See Appendix Two.

⁴⁵ On 1 June 1629 the Register records the payment of four pounds, seventeen shillings and eight pence, in return for six books and twenty-four ballads 'Together with all other Booke and Ballades, that belonged of Right to the said Marg. Trundle' (Arber, *Transcript*, vol. IV, p. 213).

⁴⁶ Arber, *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 75-6.

St. Paul's Churchyard, described by Thomas Nashe as 'the peruser of euerie mans works, & Exchange of all Authors', and others grouped around Westminster Hall, the main concourse leading from Cheapside to Cornhill, and the far less salubrious areas of Little Britain and Smithfield, associated with the production and sale of ballads and other forms of cheap print.⁴⁷

Women's activity in the British book trade was by no means, however, limited to the capital. Within England it's possible to identify one woman working in Cambridge (before moving to London), another in Lowestoft, two in Oxford, and one female peddler wandering the roads of Staffordshire.⁴⁸ North of the border another eleven women were working in the Scottish capital, whilst Issobel Aitcheson worked in Glasgow for a short period after her husband's death, before relocating to Edinburgh.⁴⁹ Over in continental Europe a further twenty-two women were involved in the production or sale of books in English or Latin, which were intended for dissemination within Britain.⁵⁰ These continental women are absent from Bell's accounts of female stationers, yet all of the women clustered around the seminaries of St. Omer and Rouen were involved in the production of Catholic texts and propaganda for dispersal across

⁴⁷ Thomas Nashe, *Strange newes, of the intercepting certaine letters* (London: J. Danter, 1592; STC 18377), Sig. D3r. 59.4% (79) of the women I identify in Appendix Two were definitely based in the capital at some point in their careers, whilst a further 12.03% (16) are not associated with a definite address but very probably also based in London. These figures are based largely on the addresses given in the *STC Index*, McKerrow, *Dictionary* and H. R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1907). For a detailed discussion of the character of the different London neighbourhoods and the type of print most often associated with them see Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, esp. Chapter One.

⁴⁸ All of these women were booksellers, a fact which is scarcely surprising given that in 1577 printing in England was officially restricted to London. In 1586, a Star Chamber decree allowed provincial printing in Oxford and Cambridge but nowhere else outside the capital (Felicity Hunt, 'The London Trade in the Printing and Binding of Books: An Experience in Exclusion, Dilution and De-skilling for Women Workers', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 6 (1983) p. 517). These women's position in the provinces placed them, to some degree, outside the jurisdiction of the Stationers' Company, yet, as Paul Morgan has pointed out, the importance of strong links with London among provincial traders should not be underestimated ('The Provincial Book Trade Before the End of the Licensing Act' in Peter Isaac (ed.), *Six Centuries of the Provincial Book Trade in Britain* (London: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), pp. 31-39).

⁴⁹ Plomer, *Dictionary* and Harry G. Aldis, *A List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700, Including Those Printed Furth of the Realm for Scottish Booksellers*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1970), listed under Anderson, heirs of G. See also Alastair Mann, 'Embroidery to Enterprise: the Role of Women in the Book Trade of Early Modern Scotland', in Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M. Meikle (eds), *Women in Scotland c. 1100 – c. 1750* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 1999), pp. 136-51.

⁵⁰ See Appendix Two for details.

the Channel as well as in their native country, as were Françoise Blageart in Paris, and the women printers of Brussels, Middelburg and Würzburg.⁵¹

But how did books, and the religious knowledge they contained, get from the printing houses of Rouen, Tours, and Paris across the Channel to an English audience? In the light of Henry VIII's 1534 proclamation prohibiting the importation of bound books from abroad, and the increasing sensitivity to questions of licensing and control embodied in Mary Tudor's grant of a charter to the Stationers' Company in 1557 (a sensitivity that continued to grow during the early years of Elizabeth's reign), the question of how books crossed borders becomes important. This is particularly true when we consider a female readership, since even aristocratic women were less likely to visit the continent than their husbands or brothers, and were thus unlikely to gather the kind of impressive personal libraries some men were able to form during the course of their travels. Women thus relied more on the fortuities of the book trade: what could be smuggled in, or legally imported; what was brought home by a male relative; what circulated second-hand on the bookstalls of St. Paul's.

The role of noblewomen as translators and dedicatees of foreign religious knowledge has already been explored in Chapter One, and those who participated in the illicit trade in banned, and particularly Catholic books, are the subject of my next chapter. At least some of the movement of religious knowledge across the seas, however, was human. Huguenot refugees who fled the bitter fighting carried with them not only religious beliefs but a degree of technical knowledge that was both valued and feared by the still precariously established Stationers' Company. The printer Thomas Vautrollier, and his wife Jacqueline, for example, were Huguenot printers who fled France at the first hint of

⁵¹ For details of their publications in English see A. F. Allison and D. M. Rogers, *A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England, 1558 - 1640* (Bognor Regis: The Arundel Press, 1956). The one exception to this rule is the widow of Lodowick de Winde who remained briefly in Douai after the death of her husband, but probably moved to Antwerp soon afterward (see entry in *STC Index*).

civil disturbance, taking out English letters of denization on 9 March 1562. They brought with them not only the technical expertise that allowed Vautrollier to establish his own printing house, but a keen interest in the religious affairs that were throwing their French homeland into turmoil.

While her husband was exiled in Edinburgh as a political refugee, Jacqueline Vautrollier continued to print under his name, although the main source of evidence for her activities is the Star Chamber decree that eventually forbade her to run the printing shop in her husband's absence. She was nonetheless allowed to complete 'this present impression which shee is in hand withall in her husband's absence, of Tullie's Epistles with Lambiri's annotations'.⁵² It seems likely from her competence at managing affairs in his absence that Jacqueline Vautrollier and her husband worked closely together, and between them they published a lengthy list of titles, most of which were strongly Protestant in tone, including translations of works by Calvin, Luther, and Philippe de Mornay. Often, these works, like *The edict or proclamation set forthe by the Frenche Kinge vpon the pacifying of the troubles in Fraunce, with the articles of the same pacification* (1576), directly addressed the contemporary political situation that their publishers had left behind.⁵³

Upon her husband's death, Jacqueline Vautrollier was prohibited from printing by the Company of Stationers. In 1588, however, the company did allow her to finish a leaf of the Greek Testament and to complete the printing of Luther's Commentary upon Galatians, but did not permit her to undertake anything more until she procured authority to print according to the decree of the Star Chamber.⁵⁴ This proved

⁵² Cited in Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd., 1919), p. 163.

⁵³ Henry III, King of France, *The edict or proclamation set forthe by the Frenche Kinge vpon the pacifying of the troubles in Fraunce, with the articles of the same pacification* (London: Thomas Vautrollier dwelling in the Blacke Friers, 1576; STC 13091).

⁵⁴ McKerrow, *Dictionary*.

unnecessary when she married her husband's apprentice, Richard Field, the following year, an unusual inversion of the standard practice by which foreign printers achieved denization by marrying the widows of stationers.

In England, of course, Protestant books were far less likely to be considered seditious or dangerous than they were in France, although the perils of too strong a political and religious commitment were painfully learned by a number of activists, famously including de Mornay's friend, Sir Philip Sidney. Orthodox Protestant religious works were, however, the bestsellers of the day, and, whilst many English printers were involved in the publication of vigorously Protestant works, it is important to remember that this was a situation in which religious commitment fitted well with hard-headed business pragmatism. Thus, when Thomas Vautrollier printed Calvin's *The Institution of Christian Religion* at the behest of the bookseller widow of Reginald Wolfe, both were participating in a sound business venture, rather than undertaking a daring attempt to circulate illicit knowledge. Indeed, it is this day-to-day concentration on succeeding in a competitive and financially unstable business that characterises the Protestant print productions of most English woman printers before around 1640.

The importance of the religious context of print production is illustrated if we trace the history of works printed by French widows, aiming at the English market. During the first part of the sixteenth century clear trade links can be easily established. Both Yolande Bonhomme and Madeleine Boursette, for example, were printers of Catholic breviaries and English service books, yet, for obvious reasons, the demand for these declined rapidly after Elizabeth's coronation in 1558. Established business and religious links were decisively disrupted by the death of Mary Tudor, and the period of the French Wars of Religion, following as it did close upon its heels, was thus also a period in which the relation between the bodies of knowledge held by each country had

to be rethought and renegotiated. Any woman, indeed any printer, who had previously had a satisfactory business exporting the staple texts of the Catholic religious diet was unlikely to have either any ideological sympathy for the English change of religion, or the stock in trade to cater to an entirely new religious market.

Such disruptions were only compounded by the eruption of the religious wars in France. Those widows who attempted to maintain an inherited printing business struggled in the volatile economic climate of the serial civil wars, and business ventures involving the exportation either of books which had suddenly become seditious and illicit in their country of destination, or of an entirely new trade list of Protestant texts, which were anyway just as illegal even closer to home, seemed unlikely to be high on the list of anyone's priorities. Even those women who were enthusiastic members of what Natalie Zemon Davis has characterised as a largely Protestant print community were likely to find a more than sufficient local arena in which to demonstrate their political and religious commitments, without attempting to intervene in the international promotion of the Protestant cause.⁵⁵ Thus Genevieve Landry, wife of the Paris printer Charles Langelier, worked anonymously to publish a number of Protestant pamphlets between 1561 and 1564, during which time her husband was first absent, fighting for the Protestant cause, and then (and as a consequence) dead.⁵⁶ With their gaze fixed firmly either on the balance sheets or on local religious, social, and political struggles, these women remind us how ideal Darnton's invocation of an 'international republic of letters' really is, and to how small and privileged a circle even the imagined possibility of such an ideal was restricted.

⁵⁵ See Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Strikes and Salvation at Lyon' and 'Printing and the People', in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays by Natalie Zemon Davis* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1975), pp. 1-16; 189-226.

⁵⁶ Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, p. 62.

Yet on a national level, women's trade activities seem, at least sometimes, to have covered a great deal more ground than might be expected. The printer Anne Griffin, for example, was at the centre of an extensive distribution network throughout the South of England. Griffin produced one edition of Niccolo Balbani's *The Italian Convert* (1635) of which variant issues claim to have been sold by 'H. Hammond of Salisbury', 'W. Browne of Dorchester', 'J. Cartwrit of Coventry', 'E. Dight of Exeter', 'P. Whaly of Northampton', 'M. Sparke' [Michael Sparke senior?] and 'A. More', presumably in London.⁵⁷ Another of the works printed by Griffin, *A true and certaine relation of a strange-birth, which was borne at Stone-house in the Parish of Plinmouth*, was produced in two variant issues, one sold by her long-term associate Anne Boler and another clearly intended for the local audience catered for by 'W. Russell in Plinmouth'.⁵⁸

The name of Margery Trundle was also recognised far beyond her London bookshop. Trundle, who lived and worked in Smithfield, published a range of ephemeral works, including many ballads. Her name, however, appears not only in her own publications, but also in one other ballad with which she had no publishing connection, and which was designed to be sung by chapmen or women to advertise their stock and attract an audience. One of their marketing strategies, indeed the punch-line of the verse, was to reassure the potential purchaser 'Heer's no sussex serpent to fright you here in my Bundle, nor was it ever printed for the widow Trundle'.⁵⁹ Such a precise identification

⁵⁷ Niccolo Balbani. *The Italian convert newes from Italy of a second Moses Or, The life of Galeacius Caracciolus the noble Marquesse of Vico* (London: Anne Griffin, 1635; STC numbers 1235 -1235.7 for variant issues).

⁵⁸ Thomas Bedford, *A true and certaine relation of a strange-birth which was borne at Stone-house in the parish of Plimmouth, the 20. of October. 1635* (London: Anne Griffin, 1635; STC 1791; 1791.3).

⁵⁹ 'Will You Buy a New Merry Booke', reproduced in Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen and Co., 1981), p. 95. Mention of the 'Sussex Serpent' indicates a reference to the equal notoriety of Trundle's husband, John, who in 1614 published a report by 'A. R.' on the appearance of 'a monstrous serpent (or Dragon)' near Horsham in Sussex. Clearly, however, not all of Trundle's readers were prepared to accept unquestioningly such an unlikely appearance, with Ben Jonson, for one, referring to the pamphlet in *News from the New World* (acted 1620) as 'Newes, that when a man sends them down to

suggests that a rural audience was expected not only to be familiar with Trundle's name (and that of her husband before her), but also to know that she was associated with the production of ballads and other ephemeral works, and to understand this tongue-in-cheek reference to her evident notoriety.

Printers like Trundle seem to have made up a sizable minority of women in the book trades. Of those women identified in Appendix Two, 31.2% (43) can be identified with reasonable confidence as printers, while 39.4% (52) were booksellers, like Anne Griffin. I suspect that the imbalance was, however, greater than it appears. A few printers, like Joan Bourne, appear never to have used their own names on title-pages, but most women printers did use a separate imprint, whether name or initials, while a bookseller could deal entirely in old or second-hand stock, or stock produced with no specific dealer in mind, and their name would never need to appear on title-pages or in Company records. The Lowestoft widow, mentioned on page 138, is known about only through her inventory. No mention is made of her in any of the records of the printing trade, or on any title pages, and yet she is known to have held seventy-nine books, mainly ABCs and primers, in her shop at the time of her death.⁶⁰ So while it seems not unlikely that there remain a handful of women printers hidden behind initials, or the option of anonymity, it is probable that there was a much more substantial number of booksellers who quietly continued in business and whose activities simply went unrecorded, particularly of course if they were working outside London or Edinburgh, or were members of lower status groups like street hawkers or rural peddlers.

The outputs of most female publishers reflect little in the way of ideological purpose or partisan engagement. Instead, their primary interest seems to have lain in cheap reprints of popular works, guaranteed to sell. However, like the books of the Bibliothèque bleue

the Shieres where they are said to be done, were never there to be found' (cited Gerald D. Johnson. 'John Trundle and the Book Trade 1603-1626', *Studies in Bibliography*, 39 (1986), p. 193).

⁶⁰ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 125.

in France, these texts often 'belonged to all the genres of learned literature' and had 'an earlier publishing existence and often a long publishing history before they entered the repertory of books for a wide audience'.⁶¹ Books published by women included the works of Aristotle, Cicero, Ovid and St. Augustine, as well as several reprints of works by more recent authors such as Erasmus and Francis Bacon. Thus, while most women's canons depended largely on inherited copies, or on texts judged likely to be popular, the net result was their participation in the broader dissemination of many classical and learned works to a vernacular audience. The second- (or even, in some cases, sixteenth- or seventeenth-) hand nature of this material also highlights the lack of any intimate relationship between most authors and their female printers, particularly if, as in many cases, the author was dead long before his text became the property of a female publisher.

It was of course possible for market forces to combine with religious or ideological affiliations in the formation of a woman's canon. One example is the staunchly protestant Anne Griffin whose productions included the only English editions of the *Proclamations* of Charles Louis, the Elector Palatine, as well as the works of Richard Baker, Arthur Dent and Paul Baynes.⁶² In 1637, Griffin was reprimanded by Archbishop Laud, who threatened to put down her printing house for her part in the production of Thomas Becon's *Displaying of the Popish Masse*.⁶³ By January 1643, however, public and parliamentary opinion had swung her way, and she deposed to the earlier incident as a witness in the trial against Laud, a trial in which Mary Okes, the widow of printer Nicholas Okes, also appeared as a witness.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Chartier, *The Order of Books*, p. 13. See also Robert Mandrou, *De la culture populaire aux 17e et 18e Siècles: La bibliothèque Bleue de Troyes* (Paris: Stock, 1975).

⁶² See, for example, STC 5049.5-50.5; 5046; 5047; 1223; 1224; 6667; 1627; 1633.

⁶³ Plomer, *Dictionary*.

⁶⁴ PRO SP16/500/6.

Even in the last decade of the period I have surveyed, during the turbulent years of the Civil War, Griffin remains part of a tiny minority of women who printed any overtly controversial or seditious texts, although this fact relies at least in part on rapidly changing notions of sedition. Just as Anne Griffin's output was gradually redefined by an increasingly puritan establishment, so too Elizabeth Calvert, who comes into focus after the Restoration as a major printer of what Roger L'Estrange referred to as 'confederate' literature, was active with her husband in the publication of Parliamentarian literature right through the interregnum. It was only in 1662 that the couple's continued output – the same texts – became both controversial and dangerous. Nevertheless, after the Civil War period, the accepted, everyday presence of women in the printing trade seems to have declined. Although there is evidence of more women becoming directly involved in illicit printing and in the sale of controversial or illegal books, thanks to the still turbulent political climate of the 1660s, their participation in the trade decreased after the Restoration. Paradoxically, of course, this decrease meant that those women printers there were, subsequently became more rather than less remarkable to contemporary eyes, creating the perception, studied in detail by Paula McDowell, of a group of 'scandalous and reflecting' women.⁶⁵

It seems that women were more likely to demonstrate an ideological focus if they were working as booksellers, although this was by no means always the case. Four of the twenty-two catholic booksellers identified in John Gee's 1624 *One Foot Out of the Snare* were women, one of whom was listed as 'a famous dealer', and another as 'one that trades much to St. Omer's'.⁶⁶ Similarly in the preface to *An Answer to a Romish Rime lately printed*, John Rhodes complains:

⁶⁵ McDowell, *Women of Grub Street*, p. 11.

⁶⁶ John Gee, *The foot out of the snare ... The third edition* (London: H. L[ownes] f. R. Milbourne, 1624; STC 11703), Sigs. Tr-Tv. Gee's text, with its accompanying lists of Catholic priests and booksellers, is a wonderful example of the peculiarly Renaissance tactic of discouraging people from purchasing Catholic texts by indicating precisely which addresses they shouldn't be going to, in order to find the booksellers

I am persuaded, there are many such Pamphlets, together with other like Romish wares that are sent abroad amongst the common people, both Protestants and Papists in London and in the country, and that, by certaine women Brokers and Peddlers (as of late in Staffordshire there was) who with baskets on their arms, shall come and offer you other wares under a colour and so sell you these.⁶⁷

This is the Staffordshire woman mentioned earlier, offering a tantalising glimpse of a potentially widespread provincial female distribution network now rendered almost invisible. Perhaps it is to women like this that Falstaff refers when he begs of Mistress Quickly: 'But what says she to me? Be brief, my good she-Mercury'.⁶⁸

The social status of female booksellers of course varied widely from these now obscure mercury-women, street-hawkers and rural peddlers, up through the band of 'She-Shopkeepers in *Westminster Hall*' later described by Richard Atkyns, to the wealthy and successful Joan Broome, bookseller in London, and for the five years prior to her death, London agent for the sale of books printed in Oxford.⁶⁹ Perhaps inevitably, the more successful these women were, the more widely recognised and accepted their position was within the trade. Only rarely do female stationers appear in sources as subject for comment during this period, and when they do, their aberrant or improper behaviour is rarely associated with their gender. John Rhodes' assertion that Catholic propaganda should be specifically associated with female dealers is unique in the sources I have examined, and may have more to do with the perceived gendering of Catholicism and recusancy in this country, than with specific concerns about the possible activities of female booksellers. Elizabeth Purslowe was criticised by Richard Montagu for her negligent printing, while Mrs. Bradford was cited by John How as a resourceful pirate, but both were noticed and notable for their activities as printers or

they oughtn't be visiting so as to be sure not to buy the books that they shouldn't anyway be reading. Women's links to continental printers and booksellers are explored further in my next chapter.

⁶⁷ Spufford, *Small Books*, p. 11.

⁶⁸ William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in Wells, Taylor, Jowett, and Montgomery (eds), *The Complete Works*, 2.2, 75-6. I thank John Jowett for drawing this reference to my attention.

⁶⁹ Cited in Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, p. 310.

vendors, not as women.⁷⁰ The only example I can find of a sexual slur in this period was cast upon the wife of Thomas Danter by Gabriel Harvey as part of one of his verbose and vicious spats with Thomas Nashe, who revealed:

My Printers Wife too hee hath had a twitch at in two or three places about the midst of his booke, and makes a *maulkin* & a shoo-clout of her, talkes of her *moody tung*, and *that she wil teach the storme winde to scolde English*; but let him looke to himselfe, for though in all the time I haue lyne in her House, and as long as I haue knowen her, I neuer saw anie such thing by her, yet since hee hath giu'n her so good a cause to finde her tung, and so vniustly & despitefully provokt her, shee will tell him such a tale in his eare, the next time shee meetes him, as shall bee worse than a Northern blast to him.⁷¹

Neither their contemporaries nor these women themselves saw the female printers and booksellers of the renaissance trade as a separate grouping or one with a distinct ideological agenda. Most of the books that women printed were consistently popular texts, guaranteed to sell, and often published several times before, either by their husbands or by other printers. There are occasions on which more than one woman was involved in the production of a text – Anne Griffin and Anne Boler, for example, worked together on a regular basis – but they both also worked in partnership with a number of male contemporaries, and the books they produced, like those printed or commissioned by other women, made no direct appeal either to a female reader or to a proto-feminist consciousness. Indeed sometimes quite the opposite is true. Margery Trundle, for example, published one ballad, *The unnatural wife*, which enjoins ‘hasty, harebrained’ wives never to offer violence to their drunken and abusive husbands, whilst, given the desirability of marriage to a stationers’ wife as a way of entry into the trade, it is impossible not to wonder what passed through Elizabeth Toy’s mind when she entered the ballad, ‘I will have a Wydow / yf ever I marye’ in the Stationers’

⁷⁰ On the title-page to the third printing of the 1638 *Norwich Visitation Articles* (STC 10300), Montagu disavows Purslowe’s previous two printings as being so ‘negligently printed [that he had it] printed again at Cambridge’. How’s mention of Mrs. Bradford appears in his *Some Thoughts on the Present State of Printing and Bookselling* (London: John How, 1709), p. 10.

⁷¹ Nashe, *Haue with you*, Sig. Sr.

Register.⁷² There were also a number of family networks within the trade, linking women like Anne Griffin and her daughter-in-law Sarah Griffin, the widows Boscard in St. Omer, or the families involved in the production of nonconformist literature in Edinburgh, yet these networks involved both men and women and consistently reveal a partisan or religious inheritance, rather than a self-consciously female one.⁷³

It is, nonetheless, these family ties that bring us to another important aspect of women's involvement in the stationers' community. The whole of the printing and bookselling trades was predicated upon a pervasive genealogy of wives and widows, upon whom the inheritance and transmission of stock, patents, equipment, and, of course, the printing houses themselves, was often dependent. The example of the woman who eventually established herself as the printer Joan Orwin is instructive. She first entered the Stationers' Community through her marriage to John Kingston, and upon his death, inherited the business. Soon after, she married their apprentice, George Robinson (also a common pattern), but after his death, the property returned to her, and one title survives from this period bearing the imprint of Joan Robinson. Her final marriage was to Thomas Orwin, and upon his death, once again in sole possession of the printing house, she went on to print sixty-eight titles as Joan Orwin. When she died, she left the entire business to Felix Kingston, her son by her first marriage.⁷⁴ It is at least tempting to assume that Orwin continued to play an active role in the trade during the tenures of

⁷² *The unnaturall wife: or, the lamentable murther, of one goodman Davis, who was stabbed to death by his wife, on the 29. of June, 1628* (London: f. M. T[rundle], widdow, 1628; STC 6366); Arber, *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 75.

⁷³ As Alastair J. Mann points out, 'Across Scottish society political and religious controversies were certainly fuelled by print of ink as well as word of mouth, although the general involvement of women in the dissemination of nonconformist literature is not immediately obvious. Again the key to understanding is the family. A continuous line of book merchants can be traced from the clerical subscription crisis of 1584-5 to the covenanting revolution of 1638-30' ('Embroidery to Enterprise', pp. 141-2).

⁷⁴ See McKerrow, *Dictionary*, and the *STC* Index under Orwin and Robinson. Joan Orwin is one of the most visible female printers of the period, with 69 titles to her name, and it is at the least very tempting to assume that she must have remained deeply involved with the printing business throughout its various legal permutations of ownership and control. Her case forms a striking contrast to that of another thrice-married woman, mother of the bookseller Simon Waterson by her first marriage, and subsequently married to Francis Coldocke and then Isaac Bing. Unlike Orwin we have no record of this woman's name or of any active involvement with the book trade, yet her presence was clearly essential to a structure of inheritance and association that tied together Bing, Waterson, Coldocke and Coldocke's son-in-law, William Ponsonby.

her various husbands. Further evidence of marital partnerships in printing and bookselling businesses appears in my discussion of Catholic booksellers and importers in the next chapter.

For Margaret Hunt, “the very pervasiveness of the family connection tells much about the trade.... The necessity that a woman be born into a publishing family or that she marry a man in the trade, or both, before she had even a small chance of serious involvement in the book or newspaper business severely limited most women’s access to the trade”.⁷⁵ It is also true, however, that a man’s access to the trade was substantially limited by familial and marital connections, at least if he aspired to become more than a journeyman printer or to inherit the substantial stock, copies, and status of an established stationer.

Again, however, the gendered basis of inheritance within the trade does not appear to have been the subject of speculation or anxiety among male or female printers or other contemporaries. It was accepted that widows often inherited, and that they might well choose to continue in business either on their own account or by remarriage within the trade. If an apprentice wished to expand his stock, or establish himself as master of a printing house, then marriage to a printer’s or publisher’s widow was a recognised mechanism for doing so, particularly when strict limits were set on the number of printing houses and presses allowed to be in operation.⁷⁶ In contrast to the verbose and dramatic strategies employed by early modern authors to contain and control the fertile sexuality of aristocratic women, no author (save the endlessly vitriolic Gabriel Harvey) appeared concerned about the reproductive bodies of women printers, despite their centrality to inheritance networks. Perhaps this is because, as Patricia Crawford

⁷⁵ Hunt, ‘Hawkers, Bawlers, and Mercuries’, p. 56.

⁷⁶ As Susan Lenkey points out, however, ‘It is an other [sic] question if all their marriages to associates of their fathers or of their earlier husbands were acts of love or transactions of business’ (Susan V. Lenkey, ‘Printers’ Wives in the Age of Humanism’, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, (1975), p. 331).

suggests, noble and aristocratic women 'were less likely to be engaged in economic production, and consequently more emphasis was placed on their reproductive labour', while the labouring printers found their mothering function less of an object of their concern thanks to their economic productivity.⁷⁷ Fantasies and fears of reproduction do, however, return with a vengeance when we turn away from the real women of the book trade, to the repeated invocations of the printing press and the printing process as a sexualised and gendered technology.

III. Print[ing] your Royal Father Off

For Wendy Wall, the discourse of birthing and reproduction is part and parcel of an assertion of masculine authorship which relies on the construction of a submissive femininity in order to establish its own authority, and justify its dangerously déclassé emergence into print. As Gerald MacLean puts it: 'Sexual reproduction provided one of the more persistent (and therefore, presumably, most compelling) metaphors for expressing social contempt for the activities of the press'.⁷⁸ According to Wall, Anthony Scoloker's declaration in the Introduction to *Daiphantus* (1604) that the author is 'A man in Print, and tis enough he hath under-gone a Pressing (yet not like a Ladie) though for your sakes and for Ladyes, protesting for this poore Infant of his Brayne, as it was the price of his Virginitie borne into the world in teares' indicates 'a highly confused gendered authorial position, paradoxically becoming vulnerable and impressionable while guarding against the effeminacy entailed in such a transformation'.⁷⁹ Scoloker's bracketed insistence, however, that he is 'not like a Ladie' reveals not a tidy foreclosure

⁷⁷ Patricia Crawford, 'The Construction and Experience of Maternity in Seventeenth-Century England', in Valerie Fildes (ed.), *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 14.

⁷⁸ Gerald MacLean, 'Literacy, Class, and Gender in Restoration England', *TEXT*, 7 (1994), p. 332.

⁷⁹ Wall, *Imprint of Gender*, p. 1.

on the author's implication in a discourse of feminine weakness, but rather a deep-rooted anxiety about precisely that possibility, which finds expression in denial.

As Patricia Parker points out, a bawdy connection between the printing press and the sexual act is established by Shakespeare in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* as Mistress Page complains, 'Here's the twin-brother of my letter; but let thine inherit first, for I protest mine never shall. I warrant he hath a thousand of these letters, writ with blank space for different names (sure, more!), and these are of the second edition. He will print them, out of doubt; for he cares not what he puts into the press, when he would put us two'.⁸⁰ Later, in *The Winter's Tale*, Shakespeare makes explicit the link between book production and human reproduction, when Leontes declares to Florizel, 'Your mother was most true to wedlock, prince; / For she did print your royal father off, / Conceiving you'.⁸¹ Earlier in the play, Paulina has already made this connection in relation to the baby Perdita, representing her as the cheaper octavo descendant of her father's royal folio. 'Behold, my lords, / Although the print be little, the whole matter / And copy of the father' (2.3, 97-99). The term 'copy' here is tremendously significant, taking us back to the valuable rights in texts which were transmitted through a matrilineal system of inheritance.

Into this one word is packed, not merely the question of accurate transcription, but the very content of what is to be transcribed, since copy refers not only to the 'manuscript (or printed) matter prepared for printing', but to the 'Copiousness, abundance, fullness, richness' of the matter contained therein.⁸² matter that is, as Patricia Parker points out, repeatedly associated with female speech as the threatening grounds of literary discourse.

⁸⁰ Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 2.1, 79, cited Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies*, p. 74.

⁸¹ Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, 5.1, 123-5.

⁸² *OED*, Definitions 9a, 1c.

The supposed copiousness of the female tongue, epitomized in the admission of Shakespeare's Rosalind ("I am a woman ... I must speak"), ... has its textual counterpart in the danger of losing the thread of a discourse and never being able to finish what was begun, the specter of endlessness or inability to come to a point which hovers around the edges of all these characterizations of a female speech as "penelopes webb ... [that] never makes an end".⁸³

So too, the word copy necessarily invites association with the inheritance and transmission of property; not only in the rights of literary copy held by so many stationers' widows, but also the rights in land and financial interests transmitted through the carefully guarded bodies of the noblewomen of my first chapter, whose exemplary reflective function is also described and connected to the notion of accurate reproduction through the word's early modern meaning of 'Pattern, example'.⁸⁴

It is important not just that Perdita is an accurate material reproduction of Leontes, but that she's bound up with a system of possession, investment and inheritance, which is entirely dependent upon the accuracy and faithfulness of the woman, in whose body the valuable rights of Copy are invested. Yet the same suspicion about honesty and accuracy that attended the reproductive space of women's bodies was also focused around the imaginative gendering of the printing process, and thus the accurate transmission of literary property. The fear of inaccurate reproduction that surrounded the productive process, twinned with a potential ambiguity around the domestic spaces of the printers' or booksellers' premises (which very often were both home and business), raised the stakes on questions of authorship and possession, and conjured, of course, the ghoulish spectre of monstrous births, particularly to be feared in a period when the textual accuracy which Paulina celebrates in the baby Perdita was by no means guaranteed. Indeed, as a 'copy' of Leontes' physiognomy, Perdita highlights the

⁸³ Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies*, p. 26.

⁸⁴ OED 5b, 8c.

possibility of trickery and deception, since to present the 'copy of one's countenance', meant, in the early modern period, to deceive.⁸⁵

We have already seen that Hester Ogden seized upon the rhetoric of birth and inheritance when she presented her father's *Rhemish Testament* as 'this Everliving Issue of his Mind', and in choosing to assert her own publishing rights, she went on to position herself as the willing midwife, publishing forth her father's child to its rightful place in the world. So too, Elizabeth Byfield, the wet-nurse of her husband's infant text, gave it up to a more noble family at the same time as she transmitted it to the world of print readership (see pp. 98-9 above). The connection with the birthing process, and the link between the figure of the printer and that of the midwife was later made explicit by John Dunton when he declared that the printer Sarah Malthus had 'Midwiv'd so many Lyes into the World' as to 'deserve Whipping till the Blood comes'.⁸⁶ As McDowell points out, however, 'in all his vitriolic attacks on Sarah Malthus, John Dunton never once suggested that this woman publisher's sex inherently disqualified her for successful independent business'.⁸⁷ Midwifery was certainly a gendered function, yet in discussions of the printing trade the strongly marked language of midwifery was used rather to negotiate and express concerns about accurate reproduction and faithful transmission than about the actual gender of any individual stationer.

As Elaine Hobby points out 'Women's inheritance rights were inextricably bound up with their ability to produce at least one living child, so it was always possible that a still-born baby would be secretly exchanged for another child. The midwife's oath included an undertaking to prevent such deceit, and her employment was dependent upon the reliability of her word'.⁸⁸ Similar anxieties were often expressed about the

⁸⁵ *OED*, 11c.

⁸⁶ McDowell, *Women of Grub Street*, p. 252.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁸⁸ Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity*, p. 9.

possibility of duplicity, alteration or piracy once the author's text was surrendered to the hands of the printer. Thus, for example, Margaret Cavendish complained in the letter to *The Worlds Olio* (1655) that 'by the false printing they have not only done my Book wrong in that, but in many places the verse Sense is altered ... so that my Book is lamed by an ill Midwife and a Nurse, the Printer and Overseer'.⁸⁹ The unreliability of the midwife as a guarantor at least of textual probity is mocked in *The Winter's Tale*, when Autolycus responds to Mopsa's breathless question, 'Is it true, think you', with the clearly worthless guarantee, 'Here's the midwife's name to't, one Mistress Taleporter, and five or six honest wives that were present. Why should I carry lies abroad?'⁹⁰

Their role as guarantors of, or threats to, textual accuracy, however, was not the only structural similarity between the midwife and the printer. Both were also responsible for bringing to light something that had been hidden; making public what had been private. Thus in 1595, Henry Olney, the male printer of an edition of Sidney's *Defence of poetry*, positioned himself as the 'poore Midwife, whose daring aduventure, hath deliuered from Obliuions wombe, this euer-to-be admired wits miracle', submitting himself at the same time to that feminised 'Defendresse' 'Excellent Poesy'.⁹¹ Printers, however, were not the only men to take a hands-on part in the messy delivery of a good story, and the congruity between the gossipy midwife, and that other early modern 'taleporter', the author, highlights the male fear, identified in chapter one, of the abundant, unrestrained, nature of the English vernacular; the female-gendered mother tongue.

When, in 1646, Jane Coe published the Minister Edward Fleetwood's *A Declaration of a strange and wonderfull monster: Born in Kirkham Parish*, she was in fact the second midwife of what presents itself determinedly as a male-authored text, belonging solely to Fleetwood. In fact, the minister first became aware of the story of the birth through the

⁸⁹ Cited in Ezell, *Social Authorship*, p. 93.

⁹⁰ Shakespeare, *Winter's Tale*, IV.iv, 266; 270-3.

⁹¹ STC 22534, cited in Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 232.

personal communication of the midwife, Mrs. Gattaker, who initially published the story in the heavily female domain of gossip and oral communication. This precious child of Fleetwood's mental labours, thus wrested from the domain of the female gossips, had then to be delivered to the hands and the presses of a second female midwife, Jane Coe, to be ushered into the social space of the literary marketplace.⁹² Again we must ask how this convoluted path to publication affects our understanding of gendered authorship, and how far Fleetwood's infant text can be understood as univocally male, having passed through the mouth of Mrs. Gattaker and the (possibly editorial?) hands of Jane Coe.

Thomas Bedford's monstrous birth pamphlet, the *True and certaine relation*, cited earlier as being published by Anne Griffin and Anne Boler, further illuminates the discomfort of the male author implicated in this gendered environment. The author, a minister in the Church of England, is quick to assert his superior knowledge over that of the gossips who first brought him to the side of the struggling mother, refusing, for example, to accede to their credulous assertions that the children, siamese twins, were born with teeth in their heads.⁹³ The author bemoans the idle tendencies of the gossips and complains that 'The common sort make no further use of these Prodigies and Strange-births, than as a matter of wonder and table-talk: looke upon them with none other eyes, than with which they would behold an African monster, a mishapen beast. It was not thus in the better ages of the world'.⁹⁴ Bedford is not content to accept the position of one of the chattering gossips surrounding the birthing-couch. Rather than

⁹² Edward Fleetwood, *A declaration of a strange and wonderfull monster: born in Kirkham parish in Lancashire (the childe of Mrs. Haughton, a Popish gentlewoman) the face of it upon the breast, and without a head (after the mother had wished rather to bear a childe without a head then a Roundhead) and had curst the Parliamnet [sic]* (London: Jane Coe, 1646; Wing D603).

⁹³ 'I was about to aske the women whether, the mother felt them living in the wombe; when presently I corrected my selfe, seeing each part and limbe, yea, and the whole body of either growne (as indeed it was) to a iust maturity: each by himselfe, had they been sundered, had been a iust birth; having haire on the heads, nailes on their hands and toes, nay which is more (except the women were much deceived they had some teeth in their head: and to confesse the truth, I thought so too, till others that had more skil and experience perswaded me to the contrary).' Bedford, *A true and certaine relation*, p. 6.

⁹⁴ Bedford, *A true and certaine relation*, p. 18.

accede to his place as one of the narrative's many midwives in the arena of local gossip and lore, he insists on extending the male authorial principle, the hand of God, right into the fertile, creative womb. 'Well may wee say, The hand of God hath beene there', 'Well may wee say, *Digitus dei*, It is the finger of God that hath beene here, and manifested his presence.'⁹⁵

The author, it seems, is aware of his attempted usurpation of the creative, storytelling function and his inevitable implication in the garrulous and extravagant world of female oral culture. Belittling the folk knowledge and the tall tales of the women that surround him, Bedford struggles to envisage a substantially different mode of 'taleportering' that will allow him to separate his discursive activity from the oral, feminine language and culture from which his stories spring. Nonetheless, however far he attempts to escape the position of the female bedside spectator, the tempting world of tall tales and local gossip insists on intruding, even onto the page itself.

Figure Eight shows the most extreme example of all, with Bedford's supposedly rigorous and religious interpretation squeezed right in to the centre of a double-page spread by the threatening margins, themselves annotated with secondary printed marginalia. These far-from marginal spaces are crammed with the combination of scurrilous tales, ('Notorious and in the mouth of every man is that story of *Margaret*, Sister to Earle *Floris* the fourth ... who being of the age of two and forty yeeres, brought forth at one birth three hundred three score and five children, halfe of them males, halfe females, and the odd one an *Hermaphrodite*'), local knowledge ('Such was that woman which wee saw heere the last yeere, who wanted hands, and supplied the want of them in many particulars by her feete'), and the occasional tenuously applied

⁹⁵ Bedford, *A true and certaine relation*, pp. 10-11.

biblical reference (mention for example of the giant from 2 Sam. 20), which the author claims to so despise.⁹⁶

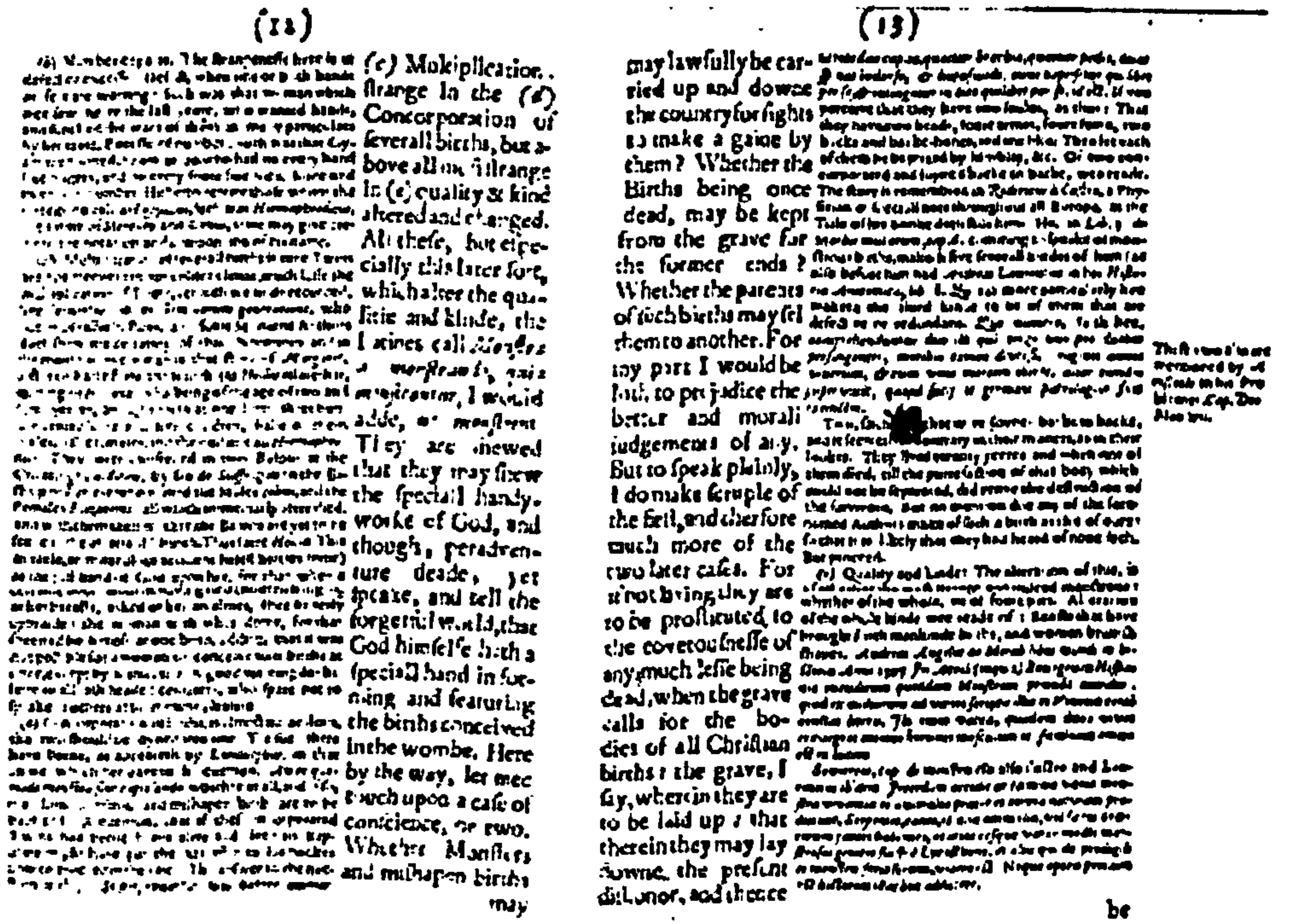


Figure Eight: Thomas Bedford, *A true and certaine relation*, pp. 12-13 (mispaginated).

The line between procreative femininity and creative ability was, for authors like Bedford and Scoloker, a fine one, and the anxious negotiations of male authors around the effeminising perils of the literary profession surface in and shape not only the prefatory and justificatory material but also the vulnerable infant bodies of many early modern texts.

IV. Conclusion

Like the aristocratic and noble women interpellated by so many early modern dedications, the women printers and booksellers of early modern England drive home

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 11-12 (mispaginated).

the extent to which systems of patriarchal inheritance relied on the marriageable bodies of women, inheriting and passing on printing house, press, and copies. At the same time, book-trade women were continually effaced by the fulfillment of that function, surfacing in records and on title-pages only in their widowhood and disappearing again upon remarriage. That structural invisibility is reinscribed in the texts that these women produced which bear no concrete mark of their interventions except, of course, for the name on the title-page. Like the women, often also widows, who ensured that many posthumous texts reached the presses in the first place, these women donned a mantle of invisibility, leaving no easily identifiable mark on the texts that passed through their presses or across their stalls. In the words of Virginia Woolf, 'Anonymity runs in their blood'.⁹⁷

Yet in stripping away this cloak of invisibility we may begin to reveal much about the gaps, discrepancies, and contingencies of early modern textual production. Women printed what they possessed, or what they hoped would be profitable. Producing sixteenth and seventeenth editions of popular texts, they often had no knowledge of, or association with, the authors they published. A far cry this from Elizabeth Eisenstein's invocation of the omnipotent, omniscient master printer:

As the key figure around whom all arrangements revolved, the master printer himself bridged many worlds. ... In those places where his enterprise prospered and he achieved a position of influence with fellow townsmen, his workshop became a veritable cultural center attracting local literati and celebrated foreigners, providing both a meeting place and message center for an expanding cosmopolitan Commonwealth of Learning.⁹⁸

A detailed analysis of the involvement of women in the material processes of book production reveals how far ideal invocations of the 'Commonwealth of learning', a

⁹⁷ Woolf, *Room*, p. 52.

⁹⁸ Eisenstein, *Printing Revolution*, p. 25.

democratic and enlightened system of international exchange, fall short of the messy, opportunistic world of the production and dissemination of the early modern book.

Nonetheless, like their later historians, early modern authors also fantasised a closer relationship with the material means of production than many actually experienced. It is deeply ironic that it should be Shakespeare, notoriously careless of the print publication of his texts, who so compactly diagnosed this cultural anxiety, in Leontes' paranoid concern for 'the whole matter / And copy of the father'. As David Scott Kastan puts it, 'Performance was the only form of publication he sought for his plays. He made no effort to have them published and none to stop the publication of the often poorly printed versions that did reach the bookstalls'.⁹⁹ This divorce between the material facts of publication and the cultural fantasy of inheritance, of accurate transmission that recreated both the 'matter' of the father, his material form, and the 'copy', the rights and property in his immaculately reproduced body, place these women in a similar position to that of aristocratic dedicatees, whose real activities were far divorced from the cultural fantasies that surrounded them.

At the same time, the fact that most women printers were widows illuminates the difference of their experience from the primarily aristocratic women who received dedications. While noble and aristocratic women ceased to signify upon the death of their husbands, guarantors of that significance in a patriarchal society, women in the printing and bookselling trades were only made public, framed on the early modern title page once they became widows. Where Mary Herbert and Anne Clifford disappeared from the frontispiece into the absorbing routines of estate management, the visibility of printers and booksellers was a sign of their commitment to economic possibilities and

⁹⁹ David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), pp. 5-6. This view has recently been challenged in Lukas Erne's provocative book on *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), which argues that Shakespeare pursued an active policy of seeking publication for his plays, and conceived of himself as much as a literary dramatist producing reading texts for the page, as a playwright producing texts for the stage.

business routines as they struggled to survive in the precarious world of their trade. The next chapter, however, examines those women who chose to produce, disseminate and transport texts for ideological (primarily religious) reasons, and probes further the way in which status difference informed women's abilities to contravene the law, desire to do so, and, crucially, their chances of getting away with it.

CHAPTER FOUR

'A DAME, AN OWNER, A DEFENDRESSE'

When John Florio dedicated the second edition of his *New World of Words* to Queen Anne, he punningly requested that:

it dare be entitled QUEEN ANNA'S New World of words, as under your protection and patronage sent and set foorth. It shall be my guard against the worst, if not grace with the best, if men may see I bear Minerva in my front, or as the Hart on my necke, I am Diana's, so with heart I may say, This is QUEEN ANNA's, as the Author is, and shall ever be.¹

The author proclaims his book and his self to belong not to him, but to his patron, and claims her protection for his volume as he exposes it to the gaze of the critical reader. Any criticism of the text must thus engage in a quarrel not with the author, but with his defender, or, in this instance, his defendress. Queen Anne is also praised in a number of commendatory verses which preface the volume, including the following delightfully bitchy lines from Samuel Daniel, in which he suggests that a worthier but less favoured (and perhaps a younger) author might have found it difficult to find time for such a mammoth undertaking as the dictionary, and effectively accuses Florio of shirking his regular duties. In attributing an equal degree of astonishing productive and inspirational power to the patron, he reveals the flip side of Florio's dedicatory strategies of submission as all praise gravitates inexorably towards the generative Queen, literalising Florio's renunciation of authorship and leaving the older writer an uninspired and time-serving clerk.

... I wonder how
You could substract so many serious howres
From that great summe of seruice that you owe.
But that it seemes the beaming Gracefulnesse
That lightens from the most refulgent QVEENE
Our sacred Mistris, work's that ablenesse
As mak's you more, then els you could haue beene.
Wherein the power of Princes well is seene
That can infuse such force, and make age greene.²

¹ John Florio, *Queen Anna's new world of words, or dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues* (London: Melch. Bradwood [and William Stansby], for Edw. Blount and William Barret, 1611; STC 11099), Sig. ¶2v.

² *Ibid.*, Sig. ¶4r.

As we have already seen in Chapter One, and as anyone who plows their way through the frothy sea of renaissance dedications will quickly discover, protection and defence are terms that recur almost interminably in addresses to a dedicatee. As H. S. Bennet puts it, 'Of all the reasons given for soliciting patronage perhaps the most common is the desire for protection. In book after book the fear of harsh criticism is reiterated, and a patron who could protect the author from "the poyson of Momus and Zoilus, and others of that viperous brood" is sought for'.³ The insistent recurrence of a theme of protection and defence, however formulaic, should remind us that the conditions of publication in early modern England were not without their perils, as the experiences of Ben Jonson, arrested for his part in the *Isle of Dogs*, John Stubbes, who lost his right hand for *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf* (1579), and William Prynne who had his ears clipped for the anti-theatrical posturings of his dense and weighty *Histriomastix* (1633), should remind us.⁴

In the *New World of Words*, Florio is also careful to pay proper attention to the gender of his dedicatee within the body of his dictionary, showing a determination for continuity and relevance that only rarely marks the relationship between seventeenth-century dedication and text. Defining a 'padrona' as 'a patronesse, a mistris, a dame, an owner, a defendresse', exactly the terms in which he has already conjured Queen Anne, Florio highlights the possibility that women could and did act as protectors in early modern England. Yet as we have seen in previous chapters, the functions of protection and publication increasingly overlapped, with broad dissemination an essential shield upon which a text could write its self-evident and self-reflexive worth, and seek out a sympathetic readership. Nowhere was this more necessary than in the propagation of

³ Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1603 to 1640*, p. 29. Bennet is quoting William Ward's *Gods arrowes, or, two sermons, concerning the pestilence* (London: H. Ballard, 1607; STC 25057), and lists numerous other examples, which are nonetheless by no means exhaustive of this interminably repeated trope.

⁴ For a detailed discussion of the cases of Stubbes and Prynne see Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation*, esp. pp. 9-10.

religious or political ideals. This chapter thus explores what Frances Dolan identifies as 'the oxymoron of the "secret press"'; the tension between the essential privacy of illicit print production and the imperative of its widespread, though carefully targeted, publication.⁵ Here, as elsewhere, women are revealed to occupy a transitional space: at once the most secret though penetrable places of sedition, and the public and publicised sites upon which religious commitment was written and contested.

I. 'Secretly Do They Creep Into Houses'

Inevitably, given the period of this study, most of the women described in this chapter as being involved in the production and dissemination of illicit religious texts were Catholic, and it is Catholic women who are the prime focus of this chapter, in part because their status as criminals and religious dissidents paradoxically creates a more coherent series of links and networks than the dispersed mechanisms of Protestant print distribution. These women, however, were continuing a Henrician and Marian tradition of Protestant and Puritan defence and commitment which ran as an undertow throughout the reign of Elizabeth and beyond. In his essay, 'Patronage and Piety: the Influence of Catherine Parr', John N. King traces a tradition of active female protection to the latter years of the reign of Henry VIII.⁶ At one stage, the women of Parr's circle went so far in their discussion and patronage of topical and contentious religious questions that a group of conservatives including Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, were almost successful in an attempt to implicate the women in the heresy accusations levelled against Anne Askew. At least according to John Foxe, it was only Catherine and Anne Parr's humble and public apology to their sovereign lord, along with a solemn promise to avoid debating certain matters, that

⁵ Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*, p. 30.

⁶ The following account draws heavily on King's essay on 'Patronage and Piety', in Hannay (ed.), *Silent But for the Word*, pp. 43-60.

saved them and members of their circle from a dangerous prosecution, and was possibly one important reason that Parr at last succeeded in outliving her husband.⁷

Nevertheless, women continued to engage in the active patronage of radical Protestant writers. Mary Fitzroy and Anne Seymour, for example, appointed John Bale and Thomas Becon, both authors of prohibited books, into their households as tutors. In this instance, material support becomes in itself an effective mode of protection, in part an act of physical sustenance, and, at the same time, an assertion of interest in, and a determination to defend, the author. Both Catherine Parr and Catherine Brandon, later mythologized by Foxe and others, were active in promoting the production and dissemination of protestant works. The translation of the first volume of Erasmus' *Paraphrases of the New Testament* was sponsored by Parr, whose son, Edward VI later required every church to purchase the volume, whilst the translation of the second volume took place under the impetus of Anne Seymour's patronage. Catherine Brandon, meanwhile, received the dedications of fourteen printed books, and Nicholas Lesse's insistence that she was a patroness 'at whose handes ... the common people hath receiued already many comfortable & spirituall consolations, instructions, & techinges' suggests a role in the promotion of these works that extended far beyond a circle of élite lady readers.⁸

The young Princess Elizabeth acknowledged something of this influence when she translated Marguerite de Navarre's *Le miroir de l'âme pécheresse* as a gift for Parr. In its original French, this text was condemned by the Sorbonne, and it was only the

⁷ Brennan, *Literary Patronage*, p. 23.

⁸ John Epinus, *A very fruitful & godly exposition vpo[n] the. xv. Psalme of Dauid called Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle*, tr. Nicholas Lesse (London: John Daye, 1548; STC 166.5), Sig. A5v-A6r. Fourteen dedications is, according to Franklin B. Williams, the eleventh highest number of dedications of printed books received by any woman between 1475 and 1641, and is a far higher figure than the two received by Catherine Parr herself. In the light of the proliferation both of printed texts and of dedications during and after the reign of Queen Elizabeth, this figure becomes even more remarkable. For the fourteen dedications to Brandon see Appendix 1.2.

patronal protection of Navarre's brother, Francis I, that enabled her to avoid prosecution for heresy.⁹ In making a gift of this text, itself a product of a protective act which may well have saved Navarre's life, Elizabeth was contributing to an active tradition of female involvement in the production, translation, and dissemination of controversial religious texts and ideas, a tradition that had at one stage placed her step-mother's life in danger. An active cultural legacy was thus transmitted to those Elizabethan and Jacobean women like the Duchess of Suffolk, who extended her hospitality to the Biblical translator Miles Coverdale, and such concrete acts of support lend force and credence to later authorial appeals for protection.¹⁰

Two other, and very differently committed, writers who enjoyed the assistance of female protectors, were the Jesuit priests Father Robert Persons and Father Edmund Campion. Soon after his arrival in England, Persons and a lay gentleman named Stephen Brinkley established a secret press at Greenstreet house in East Ham.¹¹ After a succession of alarms, including the arrest of a priest named Father Briant, it was found necessary to move the press, first to a house provided by Francis Browne, brother of Lord Montague, where the journeymen printers were provided with clothes and horses to make them appear like gentlemen, and then, according to Person's memoirs, to 'a house belonging to a widow, by name Lady Stonor, in which she was not living at that time. It was situated in the middle of a wood about twenty miles from London'.¹² Lady Stonor herself was at that point living at Stonor Lodge in the nearby village, and, while the press was being established, Campion was resident with a succession of recusant

⁹ Carla Freccero, 'Gender Ideologies, Women Writers, and the Problem of Patronage in Early Modern Italy and France: Issues and Frameworks', in Jonathan Hart (ed.), *Reading the Renaissance: Culture, Poetics, and Drama* (London and New York: Garland, 1996), p. 72.

¹⁰ Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p. 50.

¹¹ For the following account I am indebted to A. C. Southern's *Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559-1582* (London: Sands, 1950), pp. 354-9.

¹² Cited in J. H. Pollen's 'Introduction' to Edmund Campion, *Ten Reasons*, tr. J. H. Pollen (London: Manresa Press, 1914), pp. 14-15.

and converted families, including the houses of Mrs. Brideman, Lady Babington, and Mrs. Pollard.¹³

The number of female names that appear in contemporary and subsequent accounts of early post-reformation Catholicism highlights the importance of recusant women as religious protectors, as well as the degree to which those noble and aristocratic women were able to exploit the laws of coverture which seem to have been substantially irrelevant to the lower-status, and considerably less well off women printers of my previous chapter. As Frances Dolan explains, 'Conceptually eclipsed and subsumed, recusant wives might evade scrutiny; they might find an advantage in "covert" operation. Catholic wives might thus play one set of legal disabilities against another, the "feme covert" against the recusant, sometimes defining a status for themselves as legal untouchables'.¹⁴ Thus in many accounts of Priest-hunts and recusant hospitality, the husband or man of the household is revealed to be away from home, leaving the business of household religion and political commitment to his wife and daughters, who were less liable to prosecution than he was.

It was at Stonor Hall in Henley-upon-Thames, under the protection of Cecilia Stonor's thick trees and recusant household that Campion's famous *Decem Rationes* was printed in 1581. To be printed, however, was not the same as to be published. Hidden in the most secret spaces of Stonor Hall, both Campion and his book found themselves trapped in the narrative positions assigned to them by Protestant writers. As a result of their fugitive life both books and authors were forced to creep into nooks and crannies, and share the most intimate of spaces with their female hosts; penetrating both their

¹³ Richard Simpson, *Edmund Campion: A Biography* (London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1867), pp. 283; 305.

¹⁴ Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*, p. 65. For an earlier exposition of this idea see Marie B. Rowlands, 'Recusant Women, 1560-1640', in Mary Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society*, pp.149-80.

supposedly unsearchable bedchambers, and, it was suggested, their hosts themselves.¹⁵ As the rabidly anti-Catholic John Gee puts it, 'Easily can they steale away *the hearts of the weaker sort*: and secretly do they creep into houses, *leading captiue simple women loaden with sinnes, and led away with diuerse lusts*'.¹⁶ In a leery and jocular passage that neatly illustrates the fascinated prurience of certain Protestant writers, he explains

I beleeeue, many houses in England, within these forty yeeres, especially those that pertained to the friends and wel-wishers of *Parsons* and his fellowes, haue beene much haunted with sprites, not of the kind of *Fairies*, but of those of whom ingenuous *Chaucer* speaketh; that where the *Limiter Exorcising Priest* went vp and downe, within his station, there were no diuels nor Hobgoblins to molest, especially the weaker sex in the night time; the reason he giues is demonstratiue, For *See*,

*There n' is is none other Incubus but hee.*¹⁷

Such privacy, while necessary to the maintenance of Catholic worship in England, perversely undermined the Catholic cause, '[forcing] Catholic men to be as "covert" as their wives, both by excluding them from official public action and by making secrecy and duplicity the only available avenues for action. This survival strategy, the only alternative for maintaining some political influence, might itself be viewed as feminizing Catholic men'.¹⁸

¹⁵ For the most detailed and compelling account of Protestant writers' gendering of early modern Catholicism see Frances Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*, especially Chapters One and Two. It was not, however, only religious literature that was believed to thus penetrate the rooms and bodies of impressionable women. In *The English Gentleman*, Richard Brathwait ascribes the same worrying mobility to Shakespeare's poetry. 'To what height of licentious libertie are these corrupter times growne? When that Sex, where Modesty should claime a native prerogative, gives way to foment of exposed looseness; by not only attending to the wanton discourse of immodest Lovers, but carrying about them (even in their naked Bosomes, where chastest desires should only lodge) the amorous toyes of *Venus and Adonis*: which Poem, with others of like nature, they heare with such attention, peruse with such devotion, and retaine with such delectation, as no Subject can equally relish their unseasoned palate, like those lighter discourses ...' (*The English Gentleman*, pp. 28-9).

¹⁶ John Gee, *The foot out of the snare: with a detection of sundry late practices of the priests and jesuits* (London: H. L[ownes] f. R. Milbourne, 1624; STC 11701), p. 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 30. Gee's intemperance was fuelled by his own flirtation with Catholicism, the ostensible starting-point of his text. Anxious to prove his recovered orthodoxy and zeal, Gee sets about exposing Catholic practices with a rare and remarkable energy.

¹⁸ Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*, p. 73. Dolan goes on to point out that 'The Catholic men most consistently described as effeminate were priests. Their vows of celibacy and poverty made them the exact opposite of "married, property-owning men," who, according to Susan Amussen, were the only ones who were recognized as "'real' men"' (p. 85, citing Amussen, 'The Part of a Christian Man': The Cultural Politics

Publication, therefore, meant not to print, but to make public; not to insinuate texts and bodies into nooks and crannies but to flaunt them in altogether more exposed locations. The means by which Jesuit priests achieved this publicity, illustrates the difference, and the distance, between print and publication in early modern England. In a letter to Father Agazzari, rector of the English College in Douai, one English priest explained:

So much for the books, which are as difficult and dangerous to publish as to print. The way is, all of them are taken to London before any is published, and then they are distributed by hundreds or fifties to the priests, so that they may be published all together in all parts of the realm. And the next day, when the pursuivants usually begin to search the Catholics' houses, it is too late; for during the night the young gentlemen have introduced copies into the houses, shops and mansions of the heretics, and even into the court, and the stalls in the streets, so that the Catholics alone cannot be accused of possessing them.¹⁹

Exactly these tactics were employed by Father William Hartley when he smuggled Campion's *Decem Rationes* to Oxford. Partly by gifting copies to sympathetic readers, and partly by placing copies upon the seats of St. Mary's church, Hartley disposed of over four hundred copies of the book in a single night, making it temporarily ubiquitous among university churchgoers.²⁰

Printed at Henley, Campion's book was only published upon its overnight arrival in Oxford. Discovered upon the seats of St. Mary when the congregation came to morning service, the *Decem Rationes* caused an uproar, contributing both to Campion's contemporary notoriety and to his continuing fame as a Catholic martyr. Publication was thus not the same as printing, but was understood to be both temporally and physically separate; a step taken some time after printing, and at a safe distance from the illicit press. To take an example from the other side of the religious divide, John

of Manhood in Early Modern England', in Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky (eds), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics: Essays Presented to David Underdown*, (Manchester: MUP, 1995), p. 223).

¹⁹ Cited in Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1558-1603*, p. 76.

²⁰ See Simpson, *Edmund Campion*, p. 299.

Strowd, an itinerant preacher and printer, printed copies of a range of Protestant texts by John Field, Thomas Wilcox, and Thomas Cartwright 'one hundred miles off' from London, from whence they were smuggled to London and sold by Lady Martin, wife to the London goldsmith and Warden of the Mint, Richard Martin.²¹

This distinction between print and publication further reinforces the difficulty of establishing any clear boundary between print and manuscript circulation in the period. Just as critics like Harold Love and Margaret Ezell have shown that manuscript texts could be as 'public' or as published as printed ones, so too a text's entry into print did not necessarily make it public or exclude it from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century circles of coterie circulation. Thus while a text like William Fulke's *Confutation of the Rhemish Testament* was, thanks to the lobbying of his daughter, supposed to be purchased by every Parish Church (see p. 131), Thomas Nashe in *Haue with you to Saffron-Walden* could refer to having had his previous texts 'privately printed' so as to keep them away from the unsympathetic eyes of Gabriel Harvey.²²

Dame Cecilia Stonor did act as 'a dame, an owner, a defendresse' for Parsons, Campion, Brinkley and the other printers of the *Decem Rationes*. However, unlike the glorious 'protectors' displayed at the head of so many printed texts, Stonor was never addressed in any dedication, and received no decorative supplications for her textualised protection. Once again this drives home the contrast between the verbose invocation of women defenders in the wordy dedications of many writers and the private and silent

²¹ Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p. 140; Rostenberg, *The Minority Press and the English Crown*, p. 172.

²² In contrast to D. F. McKenzie's assertion that 'A book printed for the author might run to 100 copies [since this was] probably the minimum number for which it was worth going to a printer as distinct from a scribe' ('Printing and Publishing, 1557-1700', in *Camb. Hist.*, p. 559), James I had 'only permitted seven of them [his *Basilicon Doron*] to be printed and these seven I dispersed among some of my trusted servants to be kept closely by them' (cited in Rostenberg, *The Minority Press*, p. 149). Thus for a variety of reasons – the cultural capital of certain forms of print, the display of excessive expenditure, the 'charisma' of print, identified by Lisa Jardine as its 'freight of "worth" in excess of any use value' (*Erasmus: Man of Letters*, p. 77) and, particularly earlier in the period, the very novelty of the medium – uneconomic private printings were by no means unusual.

nature of 'real' women's patronal activities. Of course Campion had no wish to have his printed text protected from discussion and from vigorous readings: it was intended to attract both interest and censure, and it did. The human actors behind its publication were also, however, victims of torture and punishment, whose bodies and actions were read and re-written by Elizabethan pursuivants when the dramatic and effective publication of Campion's text made their continued privacy untenable.

Campion was captured at the house of the widowed Mrs. Yates, another female protector who sheltered him in her priest holes whilst her son was imprisoned in London for his Catholicism.²³ An intriguing tension in the Catholic martyrology is evident, however, in the fact that, in some versions of the story, she is also presented as Campion's unintended betrayer; a weak and vulnerable woman whose looks and confusion eventually gave away the presence of Campion and two other priests in a chamber behind the stair-wall. The same narrative twist is repeated in the story of the later Jesuit Robert Southwell. Once again, a woman, this time the Countess of Arundel, provided a house to shelter a secret press, probably in Spitalfields.²⁴ Again, the publicity of publication intensified the hunt for Southwell, who was finally captured in the house of Richard Bellamy, away from home while his wife and two daughters sheltered the Priest. In the colourful description provided by Christopher Devlin, Mrs. Bellamy stood in staunch defiance of the searchers until, as she 'repeated, "I know no man of that name" ... her voice faltered, and the changed countenances of all were obvious', and Southwell was quickly discovered, arrested and eventually hung.²⁵

²³ Simpson, *Edmund Campion*, pp. 314-20.

²⁴ See Nancy Pollard Brown, 'Paperchase: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100 - 1700*, 1 (1989), pp. 120-43.

²⁵ Christopher Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell, Poet and Martyr* (London: Longmans, 1956), p. 280. The secret press is also mentioned by Rostenberg who believed it to have been operated by John Charlewood, printer to the Earl of Arundel. See also Arthur F. Marrotti, 'Alienating Catholics in Early Modern England: Recusant Women, Jesuits and Ideological Fantasies', in Marotti (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1999), esp. p.17.

Under torture, Campion confessed his activities and gave the names of his associates.

On August 4th the Privy Council wrote to Sir Henry Neville, ordering him to:

search Lady Stonor's house for copies of the Latin books, which Campion has confessed to have been printed there in a wood, and for other books of Persons, and the press thought also to be there remaining, and to examine such persons as they shall find in the house as to what Masses have been there said, what reconciliations used, and of their conformity in religion.²⁶

Brinkley and his journeyman printers, the four Johns - Harris, Harvey, Tucker and Compton - were arrested and sent to the Tower. The pursuivants then rushed to Stonor Lodge, where they arrested John Stonor (who later escaped to Douai), and placed Lady Stonor under house arrest. One of the journeymen printers recanted and returned to the established church, while Brinkley, after two years in the Tower, was discharged and fled to Rouen, where he continued to produce Catholic books. Lady Stonor remained under house arrest, and in later years was repeatedly fined for recusancy, until she was finally taken into custody. She was over 70 years old when she was imprisoned, and there are no further records to attest to her eventual fate.²⁷ Campion was executed at Tyburn on December 1st 1581, alongside his fellow Priest Father Briant whose arrest in London had made the move to Stonor Hall imperative.

Despite the dispersal and destruction of the Stonor family from whose home it sprang, the extent to which books like Campion's could still become intimate members of a Catholic household is highlighted in the binding of one of the few extant copies of his *Decem Rationes*. The cover of Bishop King's copy at Winchester is formed from an old parchment deed relating to the property and domestic arrangements of the Bellamy family of Uxenden Hall.²⁸ Enfolded in their family concerns, the book immediately,

²⁶ Cited Simpson, *Edmund Campion*, p. 344.

²⁷ See Robert Julian Stonor, *Stonor. A Catholic Sanctuary in the Chilterns From the Fifth Century Till To-day* (Newport: R. H. Johns, 1958), esp. pp. 256-67.

²⁸ Edmund Campion, *Rationes decem quibus fretus, certamen aduersarijs obtulit in causa fidei* (Henley-on-Thames: Stephen Brinkley, 1581; STC 4536.5). Copy held in Winchester Cathedral Library.

and dangerously, since seditious and Catholic books were one of the prime targets of the pursuivants, identified itself as a cherished member of the Bellamy household.

It was not, however, only Catholic women like Stonor or the Countess of Arundel who might host a secret press and its workmen. When the Puritan printer Robert Waldegrave's press was destroyed around 7th April 1588, Lord Burghley later received report that 'he saved these letters [type] in a boxe vnder his Cloke and brought them to Mistris CRANES howse in London, as is allso confessed'.²⁹ Elizabeth Crane, living at East Moseley Priory, near Kingson-on-Thames was the widow of Anthony Crane, master of the Queen's household, and was later to marry the Northamptonshire puritan M.P., George Carleton.³⁰ A new press was established and there Waldegrave printed William Udall's *A demonstration of the truth of that discipline* (1588) along with another 'Libell'.³¹ Patrick Collinson suggests that it was here that Waldegrave also printed the first of the Martin Marprelate tracts, *The epistle to the terrible priests*, 'which announced itself as "printed overseas, in Europe, within two furlongs of a bouncing priest, at the cost and charges of Martin Marprelate, gentleman". "Europe" was Mrs Crane's establishment at Molesey, and little more than two furlongs away, over the Thames, was Hampton Court Palace. The printer was Waldegrave, using a new and distinctive font of continental black-letter type'.³² Soon after this, Waldegrave became disillusioned with the Martinist programme and moved to Scotland, where he later became King's printer to James VI.³³ His successors, Hodgkins, and his assistants Tomlyn and Symmes, were later arrested and tortured, and Hodgkins may have been

²⁹ Lansd., MS.61, Art. 22, cited in Arber, *Transcript*, II. 816. For details of Waldegrave's earlier Puritan printing, including the works of William Fulke, and the first English edition of the Geneva Prayer Book, see Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p. 274.

³⁰ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p. 138.

³¹ See J. N. McCorkle, 'A Note Concerning "Mistress Crane" and the Marprelate Controversy', *Library*, 4th ser., xii, pp. 276-83. The report to Lord Burghley specifically mentions the 'two last Lebells in a litle Romaine and Italian letter', although it names only the *Demonstration*.

³² Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p. 391. For details of the Marprelate controversy see W. Pierce, *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts* (London: Archibald Constable, 1908) and John Dover Wilson, *Martin Marprelate and Shakespeare's Fluellen* (London: Alexander Moring, 1912).

³³ McKerrow, *Dictionary*.

executed.³⁴ Elizabeth Crane, however, was imprisoned in the Fleet for a short space of time and fined a thousand marks.³⁵

All the women mentioned thus far in this chapter, have been of a relatively exalted social status, and this, along with their gender, may well have contributed to their ability to act decisively in support of their chosen religious cause, as well as the comparative lenity of their sentences (Cecilia Stonor, after all, was imprisoned after repeated refusals to conform in later years, and not as a direct result of her part in the Henley printing). While only the Countess of Arundel would have been officially protected by the laws of coverture (while her husband was imprisoned in the Tower for recusancy), even noble widows appear to have enjoyed a degree of immunity to a legal system that had no wish to encourage representations of itself as the scourge of widows and elderly ladies. It is possible too that noble women's greater access both to literacy and to printed and manuscript texts, in their own libraries or those of their husband's, in the courtly world of coterie exchange, and in the relative freedom from pressing financial concerns that might make reading an unaffordable luxury to others, meant that they felt themselves to have a closer relationship to the traditions and concerns of the English printed word, and therefore a greater ideological commitment to its publication.

Four years prior to his death, Henry VIII enacted legislation forbidding 'women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men of the rank of yeomen and under, husbandmen and labourers' from reading the Bible in English.³⁶ Noblewomen, however, were excluded from this prohibition, allowed to read the holy text to themselves, though not to others. This suggests that the female nobility had a level of privileged access to vernacular religious texts, denied both by law and by socio-economic factors to less well off, and less high-ranking women, and that they may

³⁴ Rostenberg, *The Minority Press*, p. 180.

³⁵ *Ibid.*; Collinson, p. 497, n. 19.

³⁶ Cited in Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1475 to 1557*, p. 27.

therefore have had a greater commitment to its dissemination, feeling themselves to be part of a tradition of religious debate and controversy which did not open itself to other women until much later in the early modern period. While David Zaret expresses the view that religious debate in the early modern period allowed for the emergence of a Habermasian public sphere well before the eighteenth century, arguing that 'religious discourse was a, if not the, predominant means by which individuals defined and debated issues in this sphere', the upper-class status of the women who followed and acted in the cause of religious debate, reveals how exclusive that sphere of discussion and exchange remained, at least until the early part of the seventeenth century.³⁷

II. 'One That Trades Much To St. Omers'

The cases of Cecilia Stonor and Elizabeth Crane serve to highlight the slipperiness of the boundaries between patronage and publication in an expanding print culture. To be a noble protector for these two women meant to ensure the printing of a textual defence, whose publication would both promote and enshrine the views of its creators. With the possibilities of a print marketplace in tension with the ideals of patronal hospitality and service, a patron's most committed act might be to ensure the emergence of a printed text, whether on to the seats of St. Mary's Church in Oxford, or the booksellers' stalls that crowded the churchyard at St. Paul's. While the primary role of these two women was the aristocratic and hospitable defender who allowed the physical act of printing to take place, other women played an important part in the dissemination and sale of many Puritan and, especially, Catholic texts produced both in Britain and overseas.

³⁷ David Zaret, 'Religion, Science, and Printing in the Public Spheres in Seventeenth-Century England', in Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Ma. and London: MIT Press, 1997), p. 213.

One, Anne Fowler, a noted recusant, is identified, as mentioned in my last chapter, in the third 1624 edition of John Gee's rapidly reprinted *One Foot out of the Snare*, as 'Mistris Fowler in Fetter-Lane, one that trades much to Saint Omers'.³⁸ Like many other women of the London book-trade, Anne Fowler appears to have inherited her husband's bookselling business. The couple are listed in the Middlesex County Records for 1604, where Bills are recorded against 'John Fowler stationer, his wife Anne *alias* Anne Fowler spinster, Katherine Ashley spinster (servant of the same John Fowler) ... for not going to church, chapel or any usual place of Common Prayer during the six months next following the 10th Dec'.³⁹ Also indicted for recusancy with monotonous regularity was Ann Douce, listed by Gee as a 'famous dealer', and by Julius Caesar in August 1608 as 'a widow in High Holbourne against the turning stile into Lincolnes Inn Fields. She selleth Popish Books'.⁴⁰ In the same pages appear John and Margaret Coe, stationers, and Peter and Joan Smith, printers, suggesting a substantial level of recusancy, as well as the recognition of strong marital partnerships among certain sectors of the London book trade. It is certainly the trade in Catholic books that most clearly provides evidence of spousal co-operation, paving the way for the widow to continue the trade she and her husband had exercised together.

In April 1606, for example, Julius Caesar was told that Fowler was sending his wife 'fowr cases of books from Paris' which he had previously transported to St. Omer. Anne Fowler was interrogated and admitted that she had received 'a portmanteau' of Catholic texts, including works by Thomas More, and Robert Persons' *Christian Directory*.⁴¹ Similarly, the exiled John Heigham was reported by William Udall to have sent his wife, Marie Boniface, dressed in the 'habite of a Dutche woman' to act as his receiving agent for Catholic texts in England. In his report Udall declared of Boniface,

³⁸ Gee, *Foot*, 3rd. ed., Sig. Tr.

³⁹ J.C. Jeaffreson, (ed.), *Middlesex County Records*, 3 vols. (London 1974 (1886-92)), vol. 2, p. 10.

⁴⁰ See Jeaffreson (ed.), vol. 2, pp. 79, 107, 110, 114 (twice!), 127, 128, 134, 144, and 146. For the comment by Caesar see Lansdowne MS 153 ff. 30,31.

⁴¹ Rostenberg, *The Minority Press*, p. 102.

and of Joan Dabscot, another receiving agent, and wife of John Dabscot, that 'two more dangerous women for these causes [are] hardly to be found'.⁴² The third of Gee's four women stationers, 'Mother Trucke, dwelling in South-warke' has not been identified, but 'Mistris Bullock, in Fetter-Lane' was most probably the widow of the bookbinder Peter Bullock who was executed on April 19th 1601 for selling Popish books, suggesting that she too may have been involved in her husband's trade before his death.⁴³

Anne Fowler, however, appears to have taken on the role not only of bookseller but of protector, sheltering Catholic priests as well as imported texts, from the eyes of the London pursuivants. She is associated in all three 1624 editions of the *Foot* with 'Two Priests, lodging in Mistris Fowlers house in Fetter-Lane, whose names I cannot learne'.⁴⁴ A similar dual role was played by Lady Gray, wife of Sir Thomas Gray of Chillingham who sheltered Catholic refugees in her three London mansions, and was reported by Udall as a receiver and disperser of controversial books.⁴⁵

It seems though that it was not only real women who could protect both books and bodies. Appearing in imprints from Amsterdam, London and Edinburgh, the name of Margery Marprelate prefaces five texts in the years 1640 to 1641. Identified as Margery Mar-Prelat (actually the Cloppenburg Press in Amsterdam), 'Pasquin, Deputy to Margery Mar-Prelate', and 'Amidst the Babylonians [i.e. London or Edinburgh]: printed, by Margery Mar-Prelat, in Thwackcoat-lane, at the signe of the Crab-tree Cudgell; without any priviledge of the Cater-Caps', Martin's female successor was proclaimed as a printer's widow, rather than the authorial force her fictive husband of

⁴² P. R. Harris, 'The Reports of William Udall, Informer 1605-1612', in *Recusant History*, vol. VIII (London, 1966), no. 29, cited in Rostenberg, *The Minority Press*, p. 129.

⁴³ McKerrow, *Dictionary*.

⁴⁴ Gee, *Foot*, 1st ed., Sig. P4v. (Pagination alters in later editions.)

⁴⁵ Harris, 'Reports', no. 32, cited in Rostenberg, *Minority Press*, p. 105.

the 1580s and 90s had been.⁴⁶ Perhaps it was the visible involvement of widows in the dissemination of controversial religious texts, and particularly the association of women like Mrs Crane and Mrs. Margaret Lawson, 'the shrew of Newgate', instrumental in the distribution of the Martinist tracts, with the Marprelate controversy, that prompted the reincarnation of the Marprelate imprint in female guise in the early 1640s. Certainly, this self-conscious and joyfully fictitious imprint afforded absolute protection to the male authors and (presumably male) printers of at least three of these pamphlets, at the same time as it allowed those printed in Amsterdam to pretend to a native origin in Martin's old London and Midland haunts.

Margery Marprelate was not the only continental woman aiming her pious paper bullets at the English market. The widows of Hubert Antony (alias Velpius), Pierre Auroi, Jerome Blageart, Jacques and Charles Boscard, Nicolas Courant (alias Fournières), Laurence Kellam, Jan Mommaert, Johann Volmar, and Marc Wyon all continued in their deceased husband's businesses, producing Catholic texts either for the recusant market in Britain, or, increasingly, for the expatriate communities of the Spanish Netherlands. Geographically close to England and France, territorially contested between France and the Hapsburgs, and the site of an uneasy alliance between the English army and the Protestant soldiers fighting on behalf of the French Catholic Crown, the Spanish Netherlands became the home to many of the earliest of the post-Reformation English nunneries, described by Claire Walker as little pieces of England.

⁴⁶ Scottish Army, *The lavvfulnessse of our expedition into England manifested*, (Printed, first in Scotland, by Robert Bryson, and now reprinted in England, by Margery Mar-Prelat [i.e. Amsterdam, at the Cloppenburg Press], 1640; STC 21924); Scottish Army, *Our demands of the English lords manifested, being at Rippon Octob. 8. 1640 With answers to the complaints and grievances given in by the Bishop of Durham, Northumberland, and some of Nevvcastle; said to be committed by our Army*, ([Amsterdam]: Printed, by Margery Mar-Prelat [i.e. the Cloppenburg Press], 1640' STC 21926); *Questions to be disputed in counsell of the lords spirituall after their returne from their visitation*, (Printed at London: by Pasquin, Deputy to Margery Mar-prelate, 1641; Wing Q187); *Vox borealis, or the northern discoverie: by way of dialogue between Jamie and Willie*, (Amidst the Babylonians [i.e. London or Edinburgh]: printed, by Margery Mar-Prelat, in Thwackcoat-lane, at the signe of the Crab-tree Cudgell; without any priviledge of the Cater-Caps, 1641; Wing V712); George Walker (attrib. by Wing), *A sermon preached in London by a faithfvll minister of Christ, and perfected by him and now set forth to the publike view of all for the ivstification of the truth and clearing the innocencie of his long suffering for it*, ([London?]: Printed by Margery Mar-Prelate, 1642; Wing W363).

Significantly, these cloisters recruited almost solely from among their own countrywomen. They were positioned in towns with sizeable expatriate English populations, and drew pupils for their schools and women for their noviciates from among these exiles. However, they attracted most of their inmates from England itself. Such biased recruitment patterns determined the insular nature of the cloisters, some of which actively discouraged local townswomen, described as “foreigners” from joining. This exclusivity reflected the nuns’ close identification with the plight of their co-religionists in England.⁴⁷

Indeed when he wrote a parodic covering note ‘To all Romish Collapsed Ladies, of Great Britanie’, accompanying his *Letter to Mr. T. H. Late Minister: Now Fugitiue*, Edward Hoby facetiously admitted that he had not known how to communicate with his exiled opponent until he learned ‘there was no way sooner to conuey it to S. Omers, then by your Ladiships meanes, as hauing weekely newes from the English house, which wil hardly admit any stranger’.⁴⁸ Hoby thus identifies a news network that suggested that the nuns of St. Omer and their female correspondents might also have a role in the transportation of texts. Within the walls of the convent, the nuns certainly participated in the movement of texts across linguistic boundaries, translating and copying texts for their fellow religious.⁴⁹ While they may not have accused the Germans of trying to steal the deckchairs, the nuns of the Spanish Netherland communities otherwise behaved in all the best traditions of the English abroad, cutting themselves off from the local community, and talking loudly and endlessly in English through their activity of scribal translation, and their construction of manuscript narratives of their histories and traditions.

⁴⁷ Claire Walker, ‘Doe not suppose me a well mortified Nun dead to the world’: Letter-writing in Early Modern English Convents’, in Daybell (ed.), *Early Modern Women’s Letter Writing*, pp. 160-1.

⁴⁸ Edward Hoby, *A letter to Mr T.H. late minister now fugitive* (London: F. K. for Edward Blount and William Barret, 1609; STC 13541), Sig. A2v.

⁴⁹ See Heather Wolfe, ‘The Scribal Hands and Dating of *Lady Falkland: Her Life*’, *English Manuscript Studies*, 9 (2000), pp. 187-217. As Wolfe points out, ‘Manuscripts produced by these nuns are still extant – ranging from book-length devotional works and personal collections of assorted contemplative material (of religious verse, prose, song, drawings, and engravings) to letters, chapter speeches, medical receipts, and financial accounts. ... [T]his wealth of material is virtually untrawled and often unrecognized (p. 207).

III. 'Worldly Friends and Temptations'

The very women whose extensive communication networks Edward Hoby feared were opening up the boundaries of the English state and the minds and bodies of English women conversely understood themselves as the maternal bastions of the English nation. As Walker puts it, 'Founded by the female relatives of Elizabethan and early Stuart Catholic stalwarts and martyrs and populated by the daughters of the recusant gentry, the religious institutions were established in preparation for the inevitable toleration of Catholicism, upon which they would return the monastic tradition to England's shores'.⁵⁰ Thus, in Francis Bell's translation of Antonio Daca's *The historie, life, and miracles, extasies and revelations of the blessed virgin, sister Ioane, of the crosse*, he tells the Mother Superiors of an English Monastery that they must 'hope hereafter to transplant the same in to your owne [country], where Religious discipline is so decayed'.⁵¹ These women took seriously the tradition of training the young women who joined them from England, and whose escape from English shores may have been assisted by Ursula Taylor, who lodged Catholic children in her South Shields home as they waited to board ships bound for the continent.⁵²

In his reply to Hoby, Theophilus Higgons plays upon the denigration of women inherent in his opponent's insistence upon their ignorance and susceptibility. Where Hoby has argued that 'You may wel thinke, were their grounds of such soundnes, as they beare you in hand, they would not so busilie swarme about your sexe, which, by reason of your lesse abilitie of iudgement, is soonest inueigled with their wiles', Higgons launches an 'appeale vnto you (religious, and prudent LADIES) and assigne you (with your faorable leaue) to be my Iudges in this triall; since my CAVSE is honest, and

⁵⁰ Walker, 'Doe not suppose', p. 161.

⁵¹ Antonio Daca, *The historie, life, and miracles, extasies and revelations of sister Ioane, of the Crosse*, tr. Francis Bell (St. Omer: [C. Boscard] f. John Heigham, 1625; STC 6185), Sig. *3r.

⁵² R. A. Roberts, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. Marquis of Salisbury ... Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, vol. 10 (London: HMSO, 1904), p. 203.

your selues are iust'.⁵³ The contrast between Hoby's abrupt remonstrance, and Higgons' persuasive solicitation serves primarily, however, to illustrate the extent to which women were understood to be the site of religious conflict, at once easily persuaded and highly influential in their transmission of religious ideals to the children they bore or cared for within a patriarchal lineage.

The question of England's religious future was by no means settled. Religious change had taken place with remarkable rapidity, as Henry Barrow made clear when he complained that 'All this people, with all these manners, were in one day, with the blast of Queen Elizabeth's trumpet, of ignorant papists and gross idolators, made faithful Christians, and true professors'.⁵⁴ Who knew when the pendulum of religious change might swing again? For this reason, Elizabeth I became one of the most closely observed of woman religious readers, and attempts to maintain her on the right path to a true religion were numerous. Even texts traditionally interpreted as pure hagiography, like Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, reveal themselves, in the recent close reading of Thomas S. Freeman, to both praise and prescribe, encouraging religious reading, but at the same time struggling to control interpretation.⁵⁵

Large numbers of religious texts were dedicated to women, many of which were sermons, produced by a local minister and dedicated to important members of his pious congregation, and reflect, as noted in chapter one, the important role women played in religious patronage, often having responsibility for, or significant influence on, the gifting of local livings and clerical benefices. A substantial number of religious texts dedicated to women, however, are included in Allison and Rogers' *Catalogue of*

⁵³ Hoby, *Letter*, A2v; Theophilus Higgons, *The apology of T. Higgons lately minister, now Catholique* (Rouen: John Machvel, 1609; STC 13452), unpaginated.

⁵⁴ Cited in Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p. 25.

⁵⁵ Thomas S. Freeman, 'Providence and Prescription: The Account of Elizabeth in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'', in Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (eds), *The Myth of Elizabeth* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2003), pp. 27-55.

Catholic Books, indicating a less parochial, and less acceptable, form of religious involvement.⁵⁶ Many of these texts are dedicated to abstractions (like Hoby's 'Romish Collapsed Women') or to unnamed recusants, or women identified only by their initials, highlighting the danger of identifying a known recusant in print. To take one example, given by Franklin Williams, 'The dedication has been excised from some copies of the recusant translation of *The Angel-Guardian's Clock*. The other copies have an epistle to a distinguished lady identified only by a monogram readable as either A. W. or W. A. With some confidence one selects A. W., chiefly because Henry Hawkins dedicated his *Life of S. Aldegond* to the noble and pious Lady A. W.'⁵⁷

This need for protection, and an appropriate dedicatory mask, did not, however, apply when the women in question were safely immured within the walls of a convent, and large numbers of Catholic texts address themselves to abbesses, prioresses or nuns, including Mary Percy, the Benedictine Abbess at Gillow, Eugenia Poulton, the Abbess at Ghent, Frances Gawen, Abbess at Cambrai, and Elizabeth Tyldesley, Abbess at Gravelines.⁵⁸ Constructing their dedicatees as patterns and patrons for their faithful countrywomen to emulate, many of these texts are clearly aimed at an English market, despite addressing women who have already crossed the seas.

Since the model readers represented for the Catholic reader or the hoped-for convert were thus often single women, cut free, at least in theory, from patriarchal and familial ties by their immolation in continental monasteries, they are necessarily constructed as 'independent readers rather than readers [like Anne Clifford] reliant on husbands for

⁵⁶ I have endeavoured to indicate this information in the Details column of Appendix 1.1.

⁵⁷ Franklin B. Williams, 'An Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses', *The Library*, 5th ser., X (1957), p. 20.

⁵⁸ Albertus Magnus, *The paradise of the soule*, tr. T. Everard (St. Omer: English College Press, 1617; STC 269); Benedict, *The rule of the most blisshed father saint Benedict*, tr. A. Gray (Ghent: J. Dooms, 1632; STC 1860); Bernard, *A rule of good life: ...*, tr. A. Batt (Douai: Lawrence Kellam, 1633; STC 1923); Jacques Brousse, *The life of the reverend Fa. Angel of Joyeuse*, tr. R. Rookwood (Douai and St. Omer: Mark Wyon and Charles Boscard f. John Heigham, 1623; STC 3902).

interpretations of their reading'.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, the Fathers who translated and copied works for their benefit often employed a range of clearly stated prefatory strategies to try and shape an appropriate reading, since the didactic dedication was, as Margaret Hannay has pointed out, considered peculiarly appropriate for works of a religious nature.⁶⁰ Whether admonished or celebrated, however, the religious women of dedications are used to shape an explicitly female reading community which may move women towards (right) religious thought. John Falconer, for example, hopes that 'English gentelwomen also, hapning by this occasion to read this history of your exemplar Vocation to Religion' may be encouraged to follow the chosen course of Agnes Rosendale, and 'may learne therby, how to leaue worldly friends, and temptations behind them, to enioy abroad, such sweet retyrements, & strait imbracings of their Heauenly Spowse, as their owne Homes cannot now affoord them'.⁶¹

Once again, in the case of the religious text, we see how deeply complex women's relationship with the book was in early modern England. Sometimes tremendously committed on a personal level to the material details of print production and distribution so necessary for the success of a religious cause, women were also used as the textual ground for religious debate, and as real and imagined readers crucial to the continuation of a religious inheritance. Yet as Lamb also makes clear, religious texts could be highly profitable for the printer. 'It is ironic that the religious book, which signified for Katherine Stubbs a retreat from worldliness, had become, for the publishing industry, a profitable commodity. Pious women readers were now influential consumers, and ultimately would become producers, of the written word.'⁶² As well as being active readers and consumers, and the sites for the construction of religious identity, nuns,

⁵⁹ Mary Ellen Lamb, 'Constructions of Women Readers', in Woods and Hannay (eds), *Teaching Tudor and Stuart Women Writers*, p. 19.

⁶⁰ Hannay, "'Doo What Men May Sing'", in Hannay (ed.), *Silent But for the Word*, pp. 149-65.

⁶¹ John Falconer, *The mirrour of created perfection. Or the life of the virgin Mary* (St. Omer: English College Press, 1632; STC 10677), Sig. *5r.

⁶² Lamb, 'Constructions of Women Readers', pp. 19-20.

recusants, pious women and other female dedicatees were a highly profitable commodity at the front of a devotional text. It is this paradoxical relationship between readership and being read, being a literary purchaser, and being purchased as literature, that forms the subject for my next, and final, chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

'ONE DISH FOR YOUR OWN TOOTH'

In the epistle 'To the Gentlewomen Citizens of London' which closes Stephen Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* (1579), the author warns his female readers to shun the theatre at all costs if they wish to retain a reputation for chastity. However virtuous a woman may be, if she chooses to display herself in the public theatre, she should expect to be judged accordingly: 'For this is generall, that they which shewe themselues openly, desire to be seene'.¹ One of the central tenets of attacks on the theatre of the 1590s was that audiences used the space of the playhouse to flout both sumptuary laws and moral prescriptions, displaying themselves in extravagant and expensive costumes with as much vigour and imagination as the lavishly-dressed actors themselves.²

In particular danger were women, who, increasingly visible as consumers of sumptuous clothing and luxurious fashions, attended the public theatre not only to see but, at least according to their critics, to be seen. A female audience member, Gosson insisted, deliberately laid herself open to having her activity and appearance witnessed and interpreted by the searching eyes of the male theatregoer. In a language suffused with references to opulent clothing, from a 'soft shoe' to a 'pearl crowne', he warned the female playgoer that both her costume and the bare fact of her presence in the literary marketplace exposed her to the charge of being, and thus to the abuses targeted at, a wanton and abandoned woman. 'If you doe but ... ioyne lookes with an amorous Gazer, you have already made your selues assaultable, & yelded your Cities to be sacked'.³

Such a fate very publicly befell one theatrical woman of the 1560s, as John Day, the printer of Norton and Sackville's *Gorboduc* or *The tragidie of Ferrex and Porrex*

¹ Stephen Gosson, *The shoole [sic] of abuse, conteining a plesaunt inuectiue against poets, pipers, plaiers, iesters, and such like caterpillers of a commonwelth* (London: Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcocke, 1579; STC 12097), Sig. F2v.

² As Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass comment in *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 'Attacks upon the acting companies combined a critique of the actors as shape-shifters with an awareness that the theater staged and marketed new fashions in clothes through actors and audience alike' (p. 188).

³ Gosson, *Schoole*, Sig. F2v.

revealed in the preface to his 1570 edition. The title-page of this work declares that the play was presented at court, 'before the Queenes Maiestie, about nine yeares past, ... by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple', although this Whitehall performance was actually the play's second staging, the first having occurred two weeks earlier at the Inner Temple as part of the Twelfth Night celebrations.⁴

According to John Day, some considerable time after the play's performance, a young man 'that lacked a litle money and much discretion', sold a manuscript copy of the text to a printer, 'W.G.' (William Griffith), who went on to issue an 'exceedingly corrupted' edition.⁵ Day describes the scandalous treatment of the play in terms that are not only highly physical and clearly gendered, but also distinctively dressed, explaining that Griffith has behaved:

euen as if by meanes of a broker for hire, he should haue entised into his house a faire maide and done her villainie, and after all so bescratched her face, torne her apparell, berayed and disfigured her, and then thrust her out of doores dishonested. In such plight after long wandring she came at length home to the sight of her frendes who scant knew her but by a few tokens and markes remaying.⁶

The book's shame and status as a victim are to be read in its, or rather her, torn clothing, yet, conversely, it is also the rags and shreds of her original dress – the 'few tokens and markes remaying' – that allow *Gorboduc's* 'frendes' to recognise their former courtly companion at all. Having identified her:

They, the authors I meane, though they were very much displeased that she so ranne abroad without leave, whereby she caught her shame, as many wantons do, yet seing the case as it is remedillesse, have for common honestie and

⁴ The court performance took place on January 18th 1561/2, and was, perhaps surprisingly for a play concerning 'matters of governance', performed by royal command. For a reading of the play's political topicality see Mark Breitenberg, 'Reading Elizabethan Iconicity: *Gorboduc* and the Semiotics of Reform', *ELR*, 18:2 (1988), pp. 194-217.

⁵ Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, *The tragidie of Ferrex and Porrex* (London: John Daye, 1570; STC 18685), Sig. A2r.

⁶ *Ibid.*

shamefastnesse new apparelled, trimmed, and attired her in such forme as she was before.⁷

In 'running abroad without leave' the text participates in an uneasy discourse about female verbosity and an active participation in the marketplace in which the relationship of text and author is figured in precisely the same terms as that between father and daughter, husband and wife. As Diane Purkiss describes it, 'This troubling openness is also signified by the unruly publicity of the wife; she circulates among her friends, instead of remaining stored up at home to signify her husband's ownership of her'.⁸

Both the feminised printed text and its female purchaser transgress the bounds of their socially defined and appropriate place: the woman in crossing the doorstep, the text in stepping out from the enclosed world of coterie circulation. As Wendy Wall points out: 'Given that part of the threat of publication was its encouragement of a female readership, it is hardly surprising that gender served as an important idiom for managing and organizing anxieties about the press'.⁹ In authorial representations of both women and texts, real unease becomes most evident when the bearer of a male-authored signifying system (the well-fashioned wife, or the carefully shaped text) is imagined as circulating outside the control of author, husband, or father. This concern, as this chapter will show, was fundamentally connected to concerns about the control of language, and the possibility of a range of readerly interpretations that could not be altogether circumscribed by the author.

Rather than heed Stephen Gosson's stringent recommendation that the gentle female theatregoer should 'close vp your eyes, stoppe your eares, tye vp your tongues' and

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Diane Purkiss, 'Material Girls: The Seventeenth-Century Woman Debate', in Claire Brant and Diane Purkiss (eds), *Women, Texts and Histories, 1575-1760* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 79.

⁹ Wall, *Imprint of Gender*, p. 15.

'keepe home', Gorboduc's 'frendes' chose instead to re-clothe their text and release her again onto the literary marketplace, Day insisting:

I do not dout her parentes the authors will not now be discontent that she goe abroad among you good readers, so it be in honest companie. For she is by my encouragement and others somewhat lesse ashamed of the dishonestie done to her because it was by fraude and force.¹⁰

Still, the imagined maiden remains ashamed and dishonoured: her case is remediless. In an environment where piracy and plagiarism were felt as an ever-present threat, the appearance of sartorial probity was an essential marketing tool for both book and printer, yet as Day was uncomfortably aware, such an appearance could never remain entirely under the printer's control, certainly after it left his or her workshop, and often before, according to the evidence of errata lists and compositorial mistakes. It is only the text, and not the wrongs she has suffered that can hope to be re-dressed, and Day is left uncomfortably aware that a second fall into dishonest company is made more likely as a result of the first.

Such a fate must be made yet more probable by the fact that Day's claims to a renewed textual probity are spurious. As Sir Walter Greg and I. B. Cauthen have shown, the only substantial change Day made to Griffith's text was the excision of an eight-line passage in Act 5 dictating absolute submission to a monarch.¹¹ Both Greg and Cauthen conclude that Day set his version of the play (Q2) from a copy of Griffith's Q1, either repeating, in the terms of his own prefatorial strategy, the violence of his predecessor upon the manuscript body of the text, or unjustly slandering the vulnerable female theatregoer who had dared to expose herself to public view.

¹⁰ Norton and Sackville, *Gorboduc*, Sigs. F4v, F4r.

¹¹ Sir Walter Greg, *A bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration* (London: Bibliographical society, 1970), vol. I, p. 115, and I. B. Cauthen, Jr., 'Gorboduc, Ferrex and Porrex: The First Two Quartos', *Studies in Bibliography* 15 (1962), pp. 231-33.

If her second exposure to the readerly gaze, 'new appalled' in the type and printer's marks of John Day should lead to a second fall from grace, her publisher insists:

the poore gentlewoman wil surely play Lucreces part of her selfe and die for shame, and I shall wishe that she had taried still at home with me, where she was welcome: for she did neuer put me to more charge, but this one poore blacke gowne lined with white that I haue now geuen her to goe abroad among you withall.¹²

The delightful invocation of a 'poore blacke gowne lined with white' has clear connotations of modesty and sobriety: an appropriate item of apparel for a retiring gentlewoman. More concretely, however, Day's carefully chosen phrase is a literal and precise description of the appearance of the printed page and one that attaches the text to a specific readership. The text is printed in black letter, 'an all-encompassing term', as Bain and Shaw define it, 'used to describe the writing of the Middle Ages in which the darkness of the letters overpowers the whiteness of the page'.¹³

If Day's edition is compared with a modern version of the text it is easy to see the accuracy of Day's description. In the most recent edition, that of Irby B. Cauthen Jr. for the *Regents Renaissance Drama Series*, a predominantly white page bears traces of black, while in Day's version an overwhelmingly black body is surrounded by only a thin lining of white space.¹⁴ Griffith, however, also used a black letter font, dressing his text in the same sombre garment, so that the slippage in Day's text between the torn apparel, original attire, and 'new' black gown of the book, becomes more revealing of his own textual sharp practice than of Griffith's alleged acts of violence.

Continuous blocks of black letter type, used by Gutenberg in an attempt to mimic as closely as possible the manuscript productions of medieval scribes, were gradually

¹² Norton and Sackville, *Gorboduc*, Sig. A2r.

¹³ Peter Bain and Paul Shaw, 'Black letter: An Overview', *Printing History*, 19 – 20 (1998), p. 4.

¹⁴ Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton, *Gorboduc, or, Ferrex and Porrex*, edited by Irby B. Cauthen, Jr. (London: Edward Arnold, 1970).

displaced by the roman and italic fonts introduced by Aldus Manutius in imitation of the new and fashionable humanistic script.¹⁵ By the late sixteenth century, black letter was intricately entangled with basic literacy and the vernacular, and was used extensively for ballads, pamphlets, schoolbooks and horn-books. English readers with only a limited education and rudimentary reading skills often had access solely to black letter, characterised by Keith Thomas as 'the type for the common people'.¹⁶ Thus, in 'dressing' their texts in a black letter font, Day and Griffith appealed to a popular audience, not to the educated humanists who, along with the Queen, had witnessed her initial courtly appearance.¹⁷ As the tale of the 'young man' indicates, the text was disseminated among a courtly audience much more quickly after its initial stagings thanks to the strong continuing tradition of manuscript circulation. The very fact of its appearance as a printed text, let alone a black letter one, already indicated a marked shift in audience.¹⁸ It is a shift that this chapter will follow; moving from the enclosed spaces and limiting strategies of texts proclaiming themselves to be written and circulated within a patronage economy to those which dress themselves to appeal to a

¹⁵ For a detailed analysis of the gradual displacement of black letter fonts by roman and italic fonts, see Stanley Morison, *Politics and Script: Aspects of authority and freedom in the development of Graeco-Latin script from the sixth century B.C. to the twentieth century A.D.*, edited and compiled by Nicolas Barker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), particularly Chapter Six.

¹⁶ Keith Thomas, 'The meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England' in Gerd Baumann (ed.), *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 99. As Charles Mish is careful to point out, 'the change-over from black letter to roman in the history of English printing has not, to my knowledge, ever been carefully documented or dated' (Charles C. Mish, 'Black Letter as a Social Discriminant in the Seventeenth Century', *PMLA*, 68 (1953), p. 628. Mish tentatively concludes that the change probably took place around 1590, twenty years after Day's *Gorboduc* ventured onto the market, but suggests that in play quartos the change took place somewhat earlier, probably around the time that Day's *Gorboduc* was issued.

¹⁷ This is not to suggest that Day deliberately chose a black letter font specifically for this particular text. Although he was quick to follow continental models for roman fonts, in part thanks to his own expertise as a type-founder (Geoffrey Dowding, *An Introduction to the History of Printing Types* (London, Wace & Company Ltd., 1961), p. 53), Day was still, in the early 1570s, primarily using black letter fonts, with roman letters reserved for title pages and prefatory material. This reflects his core output of the ABC and Catechism and the Sternhold and Hopkins metrical Psalms for which he held the patents, and which were targeted at a less readily literate audience and does at least perhaps indicate that Day felt *Gorboduc* was likely to appeal to a readership that associated him with such accessible works.

¹⁸ For a detailed discussion of the different modes of textual circulation during this period Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric*. Other useful sources include Roger Chartier, *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern England*, tr. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989); Anthony Ian Doyle, et. al., *Manuscript to Print: Tradition and Innovation in the Renaissance Book* (Durham: University of Durham Library, 1975) and Anthony Grafton, 'The Importance of Being Printed', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 2 (1980), pp. 265-86.

wider print readership, risking dishonour in the process. In particular, I turn to those texts which address themselves to a readership imagined and constructed as female.

There is little doubt that women made up a substantial proportion of the audience for the public theatre. Andrew Gurr stresses that 'Women from every section of society went to plays, from Queen Henrietta Maria to the most harlotry of vagrants. Evidence for a plentiful supply of women playgoers is there throughout the period', while Stephen Orgel agrees that 'The theatre was a place of unusual freedom for women in the period; foreign visitors comment on the fact that English women go to theatre unescorted and unmasked, and a large proportion of the audience consisted of women'.¹⁹ In recent years more and more women have also been identified as purchasers not only of these plays but of a wide range of other texts when they were presented for sale in the print marketplace.²⁰ Suzanne Hull insists that an identifiable female readership was increasingly in evidence as the market for printed books expanded.

¹⁹ Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987), p. 57; Stephen Orgel, *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespearean England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), p. 10. Gurr's example of Henrietta Maria refers to her four visits to the Blackfriars Theatre during the mid-1630s. In Appendix 1, along with a substantial number of other contemporary references to female playgoers, Gurr cites the following extracts from the accounts of the Master of the Revels. 'The Queene was at Blackfryers, to see Messingers playe ... Blake Friers, where the Queene saw Lodwick Carlile's second part of Arviragus and Felicia acted, which is hugely liked of every one' ... The 5th of May at the Blackfryers for the Queene and the prince elector ... Alfonso ... At the blackfryers the 23 Aprill for the queene ... the unfortunate lovers' (196). See also Richard Levin, 'Women in the Renaissance Theatre Audience', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 40 (1989), pp. 165-74, and Ann Thompson, 'Women/women' and the Stage', in Wilcox (ed.), *Women and Literature*, pp. 100-116. For a nuanced re-working of the question of women spectators and the extent to which their exclusion from the stage worked to inscribe female audience members in certain subject-positions, see Dympna Callaghan, *Shakespeare Without Women: Representing Gender and Race on the Renaissance Stage* (London: Routledge, 2000), esp. Chapter Five.

²⁰ Other than authorial addresses, of which there are a substantial number, the evidence for a female readership is fragmentary, but increasingly substantial. Paul Morgan's article on 'Frances Wolfreton and 'Hor Books': A Seventeenth-Century Woman Book-Collector' (*The Library*, 6th ser., 11 (1989), pp. 197-219), and Sister Jean Carmel Cavanaugh's 'The Library of Lady Southwell and Captain Sibthorpe' (*Studies in Bibliography* 20 (1967), pp. 243-54), provide two detailed studies of seventeenth-century women's libraries. Useful surveys of women's reading are Jacqueline Pearson, 'Women reading, reading women', in Wilcox (ed.) *Women in Literature*, pp. 80-99, and Maureen Bell's essay 'Women Writing and Women Written'. An intriguing example of female ownership is the case of Elizabeth Josselyn, wife of the stationer Samuel Josselyn, who, in 1629, deposed to having lent some of her books to her lodger, John Felton, the Duke of Buckingham's assassin (*CSPD* 118 (1628-29), p. 343). This loan took place prior to Josselyn's marriage, while she was still living with her mother, indicating that this was indeed her personal, rather than her husband's, collection.

Discussions of women readers inevitably come up against the question of how many women in the early modern period were able to read. While David Cressy is pessimistic about literary rates among women (*Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: CUP,

A small but steady stream of books for a female audience began to appear on the English book market in the 1570s, approximately one hundred years after Caxton printed the first book in the English language. In the period from 1475 through 1640 at least 163 books in some 500 editions were specifically directed to or printed for women readers. Eighty-five per cent of them were published after 1570.²¹

The criteria that Hull uses to define books for a female audience are flexible, but even so, she does not include dramatic works, or raise the question of how far the female reader might have enjoyed texts that addressed themselves simply 'to the reader', or even to the male reader.²² In an analysis of 'The Countess of Bridgewater's London Library', for example, Heidi Brayman Hackel points out that 'Of the Countess's 241 volumes, only six books appear in Hull's list of 163 "Books for Women". In fact, the Countess shared more titles with one of her male relatives, the Earl of Huntingdon, than she does with this list of women's books'.²³ On the other hand, Hackel agrees that there was a deliberate attempt to shape and control women's reading in the early modern period, an assumption that has led many writers on female reading to concentrate on proscriptions against women's reading or prescriptions of appropriate texts than on the available evidence of what women did read.²⁴

'Hull's finding list', argues Hackel, 'usefully records what authors and publishers hoped women would read; lists of women's holdings show the extent to which early modern women contested these constraints'.²⁵ Importing a proto-feminist consciousness into the mind of her aristocratic female reader, staunchly resisting interpellation into the

1980), later writers have pointed to evidence of wider reading ability, questioning Cressy's use of signatures as a marker for literacy. See, for a clear summary of the debate, Frances E. Dolan's article on 'Reading, Writing, and Other Crimes', in Valerie Traub, M. Lindsay Kaplan, and Dymphna Callaghan (eds), *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), esp. pp. 143-4.

²¹ Hull, *Chaste, Silent and Obedient*, p. 1.

²² As Heidi Brayman Hackel points out, the Countess of Bridgewater possessed books addressed both to 'the vulgar sort' and to 'young gentlemen' ('The Countess of Bridgewater's London Library', in Andersen and Sauer (eds), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, p. 144).

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ A different approach, drawing on court records and representations of women's reading in witchcraft trials to understand what literacy meant for women within a specific social context informs Dolan's article on 'Reading, Writing, and Other Crimes'.

²⁵ Hackel, 'The Countess of Bridgewater', p. 144.

subject-position of cook, midwife, or seamstress, Hackel, like Hull, assumes that her broad reading was an act of resistance, rather than a usual and accepted sign of interests outside the conduct books, domestic tomes, and satirical tracts that dominate Hull's list. On the other hand, Jacqueline Pearson's contrast between 'those books women were encouraged to read and the fiction they actually enjoyed' seems equally anachronistic, as there is plenty of evidence, as, for example, in the book-littered *Diary* of Anne Clifford, or in women's commitment to religious publication, that women could and did enjoy religious reading.²⁶

Neither do Hull, Hackel or Pearson question the extent to which texts ostensibly addressed to women might be aimed at a male or gender-neutral readership. In other words, neither raises the possibility that these texts fictionalise a female readership not in order to control women's reading but to exploit the imagined figure of the woman reader, for as Wendy Wall points out in relation to *Gorboduc*, once a woman entered into textual circulation she was assumed to be available for sale. 'When the publisher describes the book as a ravished, half-clad maiden, he suggests that the reader's very act of buying the text is complicitous in a power relationship dependent on the trafficking in female sexuality.'²⁷

The imagined, indeed the real, female readership invoked by early modern authors was not a monolithic entity, but ranged, in the dedicatory epistles of the period, from 'ladies and gentlewomen' (in numerous examples) to 'bawds', 'maids', 'housewives', 'midwives', 'widows', even 'malapert mistresses'.²⁸ Much more wide-ranging than

²⁶ Pearson, 'Women Reading', in Wilcox (ed.), *Women and Literature*, 83.

²⁷ Wall, *Imprint of Gender*, 5.

²⁸ R. C. *A new booke intituled The blasinge of bawdrie, daylie procured by beldame B. principall broker of all iniquitie* (London: R. Jhones, 1574; STC 4295); Christopher Goodwyn, *The maydens dreame compyled* (London: R. Wyer f. R. Bankes, 1542?; STC 12074); Torquato Tasso, *The housholders philosophie. Wherein is perfectly described, the true oeconomia of housekeeping* (London: J. Charlewood f. T. Hacket, 1588; STC 23702); Jacob Rueff, *The expert midwife, or an excellent and most necessary treatise of the generation and birth of man. Six bookes* (London: E. Griffin for S. Burton, sold by T. Alchorn, 1637; STC 21442); Robert Copland, *The seuen sorowes that women haue when theyr*

dedications to a specific female reader, these addresses nonetheless struggle to pigeonhole and define the almost unimaginable concept of a dispersed female readership. As Alexandra Halasz convincingly argues of early modern pamphlet literature, 'what stands out are [sic] not so much invocations of a specific audience – whether a patron or readers of a certain status – or of a simple abstract “reader” as the efforts to imagine unknown and unknowable readers: “To al yoong Gentlemen, marchants, citizens, apprentices, yeomen, and plaine countrey farmer;” “To ... the most honourably renowned No-body;” “To the world”’.²⁹ Struggling to understand a fragmented, indefinable readership, authors created groups that strained at the boundaries of definition; a motley rabble of bawds, witches, housewives, and gentlewomen.

These condescending, misogynist, sometimes hostile, addresses may seem, like much of Donne's poetry addressing women, to have more than half an eye on the jeering young male readers of the testosterone-packed Inns of Court. Nonetheless, evidence such as the common-place book of Dame Sarah Cowper, containing such gems as 'To love a woman's soul whilst there are men, is as bad as bestiality whilst there are women' and 'I like a thing that's excellent, though in an ill kind, as I like a good woman', or Joseph Swetnam's promise that 'if I offend you at the first, I will make you amends at the last' in the preliminaries to his deeply misogynist *Arraignement*, suggest that at least some women were expected to read the texts that displayed themselves on the bookstalls disguised in women's dress.³⁰

husbandes be deade (London: W. Copland, c. 1565; STC 5734); I. or J. T., *The hauen of pleasure: containing a direction how to live well* (London: P. Short for P. Linley and J. Flasket, 1596, STC 23620).

²⁹ Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), pp. 12-13.

³⁰ Cowper's commonplace book is cited in Mendelson and Crawford (eds.), *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 203-4. Swetnam's comment comes in the *Arraignement* at Sig. A3v.

Fictions of female readers were closely tied to an ongoing re-negotiation of ideas about consumption, and this chapter explores the difficulties and tensions which surrounded their activity in the literary marketplace. Just as ambiguities about female political power led to the production of alternative discursive modes through which male authors could express their relationship to women patrons, so too the recognition of a female audience led to the production of a variety of conflicting and often uneasy addresses, as authors struggled to find an appropriate rhetoric with which to address their female readers. Above all, an examination of these constructions reveals the multiple ironies of what Maureen Bell describes as ‘the ways in which print, then as now, was instrumental in the construction of gender identities, not only by the development of a female market for books but also by its representation of ‘woman’ as subject-matter and marketable commodity’.³¹ For, in constructing a fictive female audience to increase the saleability of his printed text, the male author too ended in the marketplace, appearing, as Alexandra Halasz puts it, ‘as a dead author and a commodity-book’, as tightly bound with his text as were his fictionalised female readers and dedicatees.³²

I. ‘Forty Shillings I Care Not For’

One of the central arguments of this chapter, and indeed of my thesis as a whole, is that patronage and the marketplace for printed texts never existed as two diametrically opposed and conflicting systems, with the heroic, open, and democratic world of print production eventually displacing the cramped and cramping hierarchies and slavish dependency of literary patronage, a story epitomised in Alvin Kernan’s declaration that ‘an older system of polite or courtly letters – primarily oral, aristocratic, amateur,

³¹ Bell, ‘Women writing and women written’, p. 451.

³² Halasz, *Marketplace of Print*, p. 36.

authoritarian, court-centred – was swept away at this time, and gradually replaced by a new print-based, market-centered, democratic literary system'.³³

Just as I argued in my first chapter that invocations of a coherent network of supportive literary patronage were a fiction, mimicking existing structures of patronage to construct a model of sympathetic reading, so too, I argue that the increasingly vocal complaints of professional writers about the decline of patronage were a fiction designed to legitimate participation in the structures of investment and textual mobility that characterised the marketplace of print. Their status as two sides of the same coin, the attempt to successfully fictionalise an audience and an authorial voice is structurally implicit in the common juxtaposition of an address to a dedicatee with a subsequent address to the reader, more or less specifically defined; a juxtaposition that reflects the uneasy status of the early modern text attempting to construct a literary system in which to situate itself through its prefatory fictions, rather than, as Sharon Miller suggests, a democratising impulse towards openness.³⁴

Once again, the argument that the decline of literary patronage was in large part a fiction is not meant to deny that that fiction may at times have closely reflected economic reality. There is some evidence that as the costs of living at court and maintaining the reputation of a new Maecenas escalated, the nobles who stood at the hub of the patronage system increasingly found their resources running dangerously low.³⁵ Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, certainly found the financial demands of her centrality in two successive courts almost impossible to sustain. In Epigram 84, Ben

³³ Alvin Kernan, *Printing Technology, Letters and Samuel Johnson* (Princeton: PUP, 1987), p. 4.

³⁴ See Sharon Miller, *Invested with Meaning: The Raleigh Circle in the New World* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P), 1998, esp. pp. 116-20. I thank Matthew Day for drawing Miller's account to my attention.

³⁵ For a highly influential account of this development, though one that has been subject to substantial revision in recent years, see Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

Jonson was compelled to remind the Countess that a promise, whilst gratefully received, is not the same as a gift.

MADAME, I told you late how I repented,
I ask'd a lord a buck, and he denyed me;
And, ere I could aske you, I was prevented:
For your most noble offer had supply'd me.
Straight went I home; and there most like a *Poet*,
I fancied to my selfe, what wine, what wit
I would have spent: how every *Muse* should know it,
And PHOEBUS-selfe should be at eating it.
O *Madame*, if your grant did thus transferre mee,
Make it your gift. See whither that will beare mee.³⁶

In sending this poem, Jonson reminds the Countess of her obligations as a patron within a system of gift-exchange. The poem is presented as a product of Russell's pledge, displacing the muses to the position of eager audience members, but at the same time suggesting that the quality of the verse the Countess receives is necessarily connected to her own generosity. If a hasty promise can inspire this deft and witty epigram, what masterpiece of poetic art might be the product of the gift itself? At the same time, however, Jonson reminds Russell that he has access to other patrons (in this case, an unnamed 'lord') and that, thus far, she has maintained a reputation for generosity that some have lost.³⁷ Rewarding this verse with the deer the poet demands is the only way for the Countess to preserve that reputation and to see it celebrated in Jonson's divine verse.

Jonson's poem marks a delicate and carefully negotiated moment of participation in the increasingly energetic genre of the rejection of patronage or the complaint at the stinginess of patrons in the modern age. As Sherri Geller points out 'In the index to his edition of [the works of Thomas] Nashe, McKerrow cites numerous instances for

³⁶ Jonson, 'Epigram 84'.

³⁷ This strategy of reminding a benefactor that there might be competition for the reputation of most generous was not confined to Jonson. In a letter to Richard Bagot, c. 1592, Brute Babington, Prebendary of Lichfield, requested a buck for his residentiaries' feast, pointing out that he might have had it by asking the Earl of Essex, but did not (Folger MS. L.a.30).

“patrons, niggardliness of”; one for “from some Nashe had received only promises”; and one for “examples of small rewards given by”.³⁸ Turning specifically to women patrons, he informed Elizabeth Carey that, ‘I hate those female bragarts, that contend to haue all the Muses beg at their doores: and with Doues, delight euermore to looke themselues in the glasse of vaine-glorie, yet by their sides, weare continually Barbarie purses, which neuer ope to any but pedanticall Parasites’.³⁹

The fictionalised turn away from patronage to a paying audience, however, highlights the growing disparity between the often ideal and deeply formal rhetoric of the dedication, and the financial realities of the marketplace. Many authors had great trouble in deciding how to address the reading public, and dedications, particularly to female readers, are often didactic, abusive, dismissive, condescending or a combination of all four. Derek B. Alwes points out the subtle (and sometimes not-so-subtle) ironies of Greene’s authorial addresses to women, and the ways in which, particularly when juxtaposed with his addresses to men, they undermine their ostensibly encomiastic agenda, and it seems that in the variety of addresses to the female reader it is possible to identify a much greater instability of tone, than in the relatively settled tropes and formulas of the dedicatory epistle.⁴⁰

Nonetheless, similar strategies could be utilised when addressing an individual imagined reader, as the author struggled to peer over her textualised shoulder at the vague and shifting shapes of the wider print readership beyond. Jacqueline Pearson, for example, identifies the way in which William Barksted’s incorporation of a dedication to Elizabeth, Countess of Derby at the beginning of the second part of his *Hiren: or, the*

³⁸ Sherri Geller, ‘Commentary as Cover-Up: Criticizing Illiberal Patronage in Thomas Nashe’s *Summer’s Last Will and Testament*’, *ELR*, (1995), pp. 25, 153, n. 14.

³⁹ Thomas Nashe, *Christs teares ouer Ierusalem Wherunto is annexed, a comparatiue admonition to London* (London: James Roberts, and are to be solde by Andrewe Wise, at his shop in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Angel, 1593; STC 18366), Sig. *2v.

⁴⁰ Derek B. Alwes, ‘Robert Greene’s Duelling Dedications’, *ELR*, 30 (2000), pp. 373-95.

Faire Greeke (1611), places her 'at exactly that point in the poem where Hiren breaks her vow of chastity. ... The poem chronicles the male's growth in self-command, while the female loses it and becomes associated with unchastity and powerlessness; and the female dedicatee / reader is placed so that she too is implicated in these images'.⁴¹

Addresses to the general woman reader, however, who cannot, as Pearson implicitly suggests, be straightforwardly aligned with the female dedicatee, rarely disguise their unease or hostility in any such subtle way. Nathan Field is particularly blatant about his epistle 'to the reader' coming as a result of commercial pressure. 'Reader, the Sale-man sweares, youle take it very ill, if I say not somewhat to you too, Introth you are a stranger to me; why should I Write to you?'⁴² In place of the epistle to a patron, he invokes 'any Woman that hath beene no Weather-Cocke' and proceeds to roundly abuse not only the stinginess of patrons, but also the honesty of the female audience he turns to in their place.

I Did determine, not to haue Dedicated my Play to any Body, because forty shillings I care not for, and aboue few or none will bestowe on these matters, especially falling from so famelesse a pen as mine is yet. And now I looke vp, and finde to whom my Dedication is, I feare I am as good as my determination: notwithstanding I leaue a libertie to any Lady or woman, that dares say she hath been no weather-Cocke, to assume the Title of Patronesse to this my Booke.⁴³

Of course, at one level, the joke can be read as an appeal to the male reader, well aware of the dangers of female fickleness. We must not assume, however, that the Renaissance woman reader would have been incapable of seeing the joke herself. Field's ploy is a clever one, for the majority of women might well insist they *were* 'no weather-Cocke', thereby implicitly accepting the 'Title of Patronesse', and would anyway have needed to read the play, or to have seen it in performance, in order to

⁴¹ Pearson, 'Women reading', in Wilcox (ed.), *Women and Literature*, p. 90.

⁴² Nathan Field, *A Woman is a Weather-cocke. A new comedy* (London: William Jaggard f. J. Budge, 1612; STC 10854), Sig. A3v.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Sig. A3r.

assess their own weathercock status. Field clearly expected them not only to read his text but to come back for more, promising any constant patroness that in his next play 'she shall see what amends I have made to her, and all the sex'.⁴⁴

As the woman turned the pages to discover George Chapman's commendatory verse 'To his Loved Sonne, Nat. Field, and his Wether-cocke Woman', she may have been further intrigued by the implication of Field in exactly the same patterns of fickleness that the comedy professes to expose.

To many formes, as well as many waies,
Thy Active Muse, turnes like thy acted woman:
In which, disprais'd inconstancie, turnes praise.⁴⁵

In Field's demonstration of virtuoso fickleness, Chapman insists, he adopts the woman's weathercock status in a topsy-turvey fashion that transforms that fickleness into constancy, through its literary enshrinement:

And as swift Fame
Growes as she goes, in Fame so thrive thy Play,
And thus to standing, turne thy woman's fall,
Wit turn'd to euerie thing, prooues stay in all.

Aligning the author with his changeable weathercock woman, Chapman establishes fickleness as a creative virtue, effectively undermining the ostensible moral of Field's text, and celebrating both text's and woman's ability to adapt to, and satisfy, the shifting demands of a fickle audience.

That very fickleness was profoundly problematic for the male Renaissance author; at once, as Chapman insisted, a necessary prerequisite for creative and commercial success, yet at the same time a threat to that success, since the figure of the weathercock

⁴⁴ Ibid., Sig. A3r.

⁴⁵ Ibid., Sig. A4r.

woman also typified the vagaries of consumption. Imagining a female readership allowed the author, as Juliet Fleming suggests, to present his text precisely as an item for casual consumption, 'a trifle or a toy. Marked as being beside the point, the Elizabethan ladies' text may be standing in for that category of the aesthetic that is still absent in early modern England'.⁴⁶ Fleming cites Lyly's address 'To the Ladies and Gentlewomen of England' from *Euphues and his England* (1580) as a classic instance of a text that declares itself as being not just beside the point but pointless, a leisure-time text to be read purely for enjoyment.

Similarly, for Walter Ong, Lyly's Euphuistic writings, beginning with *The Anatomy of Wit* mark a crucial moment in the 'attempts to work out a credible role in which Elizabethan readers could cast themselves for the new medium of print'.⁴⁷ Arguing that the Renaissance fascination with rhetoric stemmed from its continuing engagement with the oral past, Ong identifies Lyly's excessive prose as a key moment of change in the imagining of a print readership.

Lyly reacts by hyperrhetoricizing his text, tongue-in-check, drowning the audience and himself in the highly controlled gush being purveyed by the schools. The signals to the reader are unmistakable, if unconsciously conveyed: play the role of the rhetorician's listener for all you are worth (*Euphues* is mostly speeches), remembering that the response the rhetorician commands is a serious and difficult one – it takes hard work to assimilate the baroque complexity of Lyly's text – but also that there is something awry in all the isocola, apaphonemata, and antisagogai, now that the reader is so very much more a reader than a listener.⁴⁸

The struggles to define a readership continue in *Euphues and his England* when Lyly turns to a female readership set firmly in a luxurious domestic interior, imagining his text as eminently trivial, a lapdog or a junket, yet also utterly enjoyable, a far cry from the thumping didacticism of many of his contemporaries.

⁴⁶ Fleming, 'The Ladies' Man and the Age of Elizabeth', in Turner (ed.), *Sexuality and Gender*, p. 158.

⁴⁷ Ong, 'The Writer's Audience', p. 16.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

It resteth Ladies, that you take the paines to reade it, but at such times, as you spend in playing with your little Dogges, and yet will I not pinch you of that pastime, for I am content that your Dogges lye in your laps, so Euphues may be in your hands, that when you shall be wearie in reading of the one, you may be ready to sport with the other: or handle him as you do your Junckets, that when you can eat no more, you tye some in your napkin for children, for if you be filled with the first part, put the seconde in your pocket for your wayting maydes: Euphues had rather lye shut in a Ladies casket, then open in a Schollers studie.⁴⁹

Parenthetically suggesting that most waiting maids would, like their mistresses, be literate, Lyly insists from the start that his text is a peculiarly female one, even on a formal level. He claims that the linking of conversation pieces by a central narrative has been chosen specifically to appeal to women, in a passage that positions them as delicate, skilful, and discriminating readers. The pleasure of reading is made central to Lyly's project; an idle, playful, consumption set in deliberate contrast to the humanist insistence upon the usefulness of heavy rhetorical texts that hit the reader like a cold shower, instead of Lyly's gentle drops of 'sweet water'.⁵⁰ As Ong reminds us, 'women were not normally trained in the Latin-based, academic, rhetorical, oral tradition'.⁵¹ They thus formed the ideal ground upon which to perform the rejection of this exclusive history. As purveyor of an almost sexual *jouissance* Lyly's text is aligned with delicate, seasonal consumer fruits, rather than with the heavy hops that kept the Elizabethan Alehouse, prime site of early modern women's economic activity, in business.⁵²

⁴⁹ John Lyly, *Euphues and his England. Containing his voyage and adventures* (London: Thomas East f. Gabriel Cawood, 1580; STC 17069), Sig. ¶iv.

⁵⁰ For the importance of this model of affective, humanist reading see Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), pp. 30-78. See also J. Manning, 'Notes and Marginalia in Bishop Percy's Copy of Spenser's Works (1611)', *Notes and Queries*, 31 (1984), pp. 225-7; James Nielson, 'Reading Between the Lines: Manuscript Personality and Gabriel Harvey's Drafts', *Studies in English Literature*, 33 (1993), pp. 43-82; William Slights, "'Notes that Spoile the Text": Scriptural Annotation in the English Renaissance', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 55 (1992), pp. 255-78; William Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995); and Steven Zwicker, 'Reading the Margins: Politics and the Habits of Appropriation', in Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker (eds), *Refiguring Revolutions: Aesthetics and Politics from the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press, 1998), pp. 101-116.

⁵¹ Ong, 'The Writer's Audience', p. 17.

⁵² See Elizabeth Ewan, "'For Whatever Ales Ye": Women as Consumers and Producers in Late Medieval Scottish Towns' in Ewan and Meikle (eds), *Women in Scotland*, pp. 125-36.

These discourses I haue not clapt in a cluster, thinking with my selfe that Ladies had rather be sprinckled with sweete water, then washed, so that I haue sowed them heere and there, lyke Strawberies, not in heapes, lyke Hoppes: knowing that you take more delight, to gather flowers one by one in a garden, then to snatche them by handfulls from a Garland.⁵³

No longer full of the model letters featured so heavily in *The Anatomy of Wit*, *Euphues his England* continually interrupts itself with flirtatious addresses to the female reader, often inviting them to join the game of courtly debate and refusing to close off their responses. 'Now, gentlewomen, in this matter I would I knew your minds – and yet I can somewhat guess at your meanings', he cries to his blushing readers, before rushing back to his more immediate narrative concerns.⁵⁴ In the context of an almost exclusively female court (only two male English courtiers, Surlius and Martius, are mentioned, and they feature far less heavily than their female counterparts Camilla and Flavia), the central wooer, Philautus, is comically and persistently unsuccessful, and the real rhetorical skill is possessed by the women of the court who run witty rings around their male suitors and questioners.

II. 'The Bread of Idleness'

This kind of idle and frivolous consumption by women clearly contravenes what Lorna Hutson identifies in *The Usurer's Daughter* as the humanist principle of 'husbandry', derived from readings of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*. It is to this theory that Stephen Gosson makes appeal when he urges his female readers 'if there be peace in your houses, and plentie in your Coafers, let the good precept of *Xenophon* be your exercise'.⁵⁵ This humanist ideology, traced by Hutson as it developed through the middle years of the sixteenth century, positions the husband as active and engaged with

⁵³ Lyly, *Euphues and his England*, Sig. ¶ir-v.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Sig. Aaiiir.

⁵⁵ Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse*, Sig. F3v.

the outside world, expending his energies and wealth in order to earn the substance which his obedient wife should use with thrift and care. In this reading, the central masculine skill for the practice of *oikonomia* is no longer the martial ability of chivalric romance, but lies instead in the persuasive management of people and situations. The good woman, in contrast, is placed firmly within a domestic setting, avoiding idleness and expense through the practice of household economy. As instructed by the Bible, 'she looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness'.⁵⁶

The imagined presence of the woman reader inevitably threatened the bounds of the Xenophonic economy as she picked and chose the bread, or presumably, for Lyly, the strawberries of idleness. At the same time, however, an expanding market economy demanded just such a class of leisured, idle women able to act as consumers. The point was made explicitly in a *Humble Petition of many thousands of Courtiers', Citizens', Gentlemens' and Tradesmens' wives* presented to parliament on February 10th, 1641, urging Henrietta Maria not to leave London:

Your Petitioners, their Husbands, their Children and their Families, amounting to many thousand soules; have lived in plentiful and good fashion, by the exercise of severall Trades and venting of divers workes.... All depending wholly for the sale of their commodities, (which is the maintenance and very existence and being of themselves, their husbands, and families) upon the splendour and glory of the English Court, and principally upon that of the Queenes Majesty.⁵⁷

It would have been economically disastrous had the 'ladies and gentlewoemen of England' set aside their lapdogs and junkets in an early modern cultural revolution which witnessed them returning to the fields to plant and spin their own flax. Indeed even in *Proverbs* the virtuous woman 'maketh fine linen, and selleth it; and delivereth girdles to the merchant', a difficult task if there is no leisured consumer class in place to

⁵⁶ [Bible] *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, Authorized Version*, (London, 1611), Proverbs, 31: 27.

⁵⁷ Cited in Clark, *Working Life of Women*, p. 194.

spur on the mercantile economy.⁵⁸ In a time of rapid economic growth, leisure was as necessary to the maintenance of that expansion as it was frowned upon in humanist models of good husbandry. It was, nonetheless, these humanist models that aimed to negotiate and legitimise the accumulation of profit on which that economic growth relied.⁵⁹ It was a fine line, and a dangerous one, between the sensible provisions of the good housekeeper, and the profiteering of the usurer.

One strategy employed to circumvent this discrepancy between desirable thrift and necessary prodigality was the promulgation of the decorative arts. Women might not engage in cloth production, but they could learn the related pastime of needlework. In *The Needles Excellency*, John Taylor included a string of sonnets praising a parade of famous needleworkers including Katharine [of Aragon], Mary Tudor, Elizabeth I, the Countess of Pembroke and Lady Elizabeth Dormer in terms which stress the importance of industry and application. Elizabeth Dormer, he reminds us, is

working often ere the Sunne doth peepe.
And many times, when *Phæbus* in the West
Declined is, and *Luna* shewes her head:
This antient honour'd Lady rests from Rest,
And workes when idle sloath goes soone to bed.
Thus she the Needle makes her recreation,
Whose well-spent paines are others imitation.⁶⁰

Perhaps to the modern reader the needlework skills of these prestigious women might not seem the most obvious reason to offer them praise, but their constant activity is a central theme of Taylor's eulogistic verse.

⁵⁸ *Bible*, Proverbs 31: 24.

⁵⁹ The dynamics of this negotiation are central to Lorna Hutson's book, *The Usurer's Daughter*, in which she describes the way in which women were exchanged within a newly prodigal economy in order to legitimate a growing dependence on credit, and a new drive to profitability.

⁶⁰ John Taylor, *The needles excellency a new booke wherin are divers admirable workes wrought with the needle* (London: f. J. Bolter, 1631; STC 23775.5), Sig. B3v.

The basic precept of good husbandry was, after all, that women must not be idle. One of Joseph Swetnam's central themes in the *Araignment of Lewd, idle, froward, and unconstant women* is the extent to which most women 'degenerate from the use they were framed unto, by leading a proud, lazy, and idle life, to the great hinderance of their poore Husbands'.⁶¹ Paradoxically however, as Elizabeth Eisenstein points out, rail against it as they might, it was on these idle women that authors increasingly depended.

A hardworking man who relied on facts and figures, any man who worked hard for a living, could not afford to spend much time reading novels or poetry. Adolescent bookworms, young apprentices and clerks, and a wide spectrum of feminine readers were more apt to have hearts that could be touched and imaginations that could be held in thrall. A vested interest in idleness, in promoting the value of pleasure seeking and leisure, in cultivating consumption of the "finer" things of life, was built into the trade of all novelists and poets (and of other artists as well).⁶²

The idle, playful women of Lyly's dedication clearly do not rest comfortably within the Xenophonic economy as Hutson describes it. Indeed, Hutson argues that Lyly's excessive Euphuistic prose is central to the disruption of the local networks of trust and negotiation that characterise that economy in the sixteenth century, and symptomatic of the construction of new understandings of trust and credit that Adrian Johns has identified as being so central to early modern print production.⁶³

The term 'credit' became much more common as the sixteenth century progressed, referring to notions of trustworthiness and reliability, which had a particular charge when applied to women.⁶⁴ At the same time, the growth in economic credit, documented by Craig Muldrew, meant that social credit became inherently more important as a means of judging financial soundness, and this change made trust much

⁶¹ Swetnam, *Araignment*, Sig. Br.

⁶² Eisenstein, *The Printing Press*, p. 104.

⁶³ Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, esp. Chapter Two.

⁶⁴ Laura Gowing's *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) charts the particular charge notions of 'credit' as a measure of both honesty and chastity bore in disputes between early modern women. A detailed discussion of the historical use of the term can be found in Chapter One of Craig Muldrew's *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (London: MacMillan, 1998).

more problematic.⁶⁵ Hutson traces a move from credit as a term of trust between friends, and a guarantee of mutual support, to credit as an economic or rhetorical surplus to be adventured for future gain, and situates women as central to that shift, increasingly functioning, like *Gorboduc*, as tokens of credit to be negotiated between men.

As my title, *The Usurer's Daughter* would suggest, I want to argue that one answer lies in the importance of women as signs of credit between men in the traditional anthropological sense of alliance formation, and in a sense peculiar to the literary culture of humanism, in which the claim to be able to 'fashion' women by addressing them through persuasive fictions of themselves lent a special social credibility to the masculine activity of authorship.⁶⁶

At the same time, of course, in succumbing to the credit fraud of the persuasive younger son, the daughter risked the catastrophic loss of her own 'credit', so central to the literature and social mores of the period.

Hutson's analysis is reminiscent both of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's analysis of the homosocial bonds *Between Men*, constructed and policed through the mediating body of a shared woman, and of Gayle Rubin's highly influential identification of 'The Traffic in Women'.⁶⁷ As Rubin points out, 'If it is women who are being transacted, then it is the men who give and take them who are linked, the woman being a conduit of the relationship rather than a partner to it'.⁶⁸ The light-hearted, playful women of Lyly's address must thus be understood as the conduits through which the text reaches out to Lyly's homosocial networks, serving to stimulate desire not for themselves, but for the text as inherently, though not purely, pleasurable, secondary, aesthetic. Through its association with the leisured women who marked the surplus value necessary to sustain

⁶⁵ See Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*, p. 123.

⁶⁶ Hutson, *Usurer's Daughter*, p. 224.

⁶⁷ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia U P, 1985); Gayle Rubin, 'The Traffic in Women: Notes Toward a Political Economy of Sex', in Rayna Reiter (ed.), *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), pp. 157-210.

⁶⁸ Rubin, 'The Traffic in Women', p. 174.

a consumerist society, the text inspires a guilty frisson of textual pleasure around its determined frivolity; a frisson that makes it all the more desirable.⁶⁹

Yet this very frivolity reveals a threat, for, as we have seen, Lyly's text determines itself as trivial, pointless, refusing the phallic teleology of narrative closure. Juliet Fleming reads Lyly's fascination with the secret spaces of a 'Ladies casket', as the assertion of 'a specific erotic power – the power to give and take pleasure while remaining itself intact – that is easily assimilable to a dream of male potency'.⁷⁰ Yet crucial to Lyly's text is the impossibility of fulfilled desire, of potency that is continually frustrated, refused the closure of linear narrative. Thus, while we can understand the construction of the reading woman as a model for pleasurable, beside-the-point male reading, we must not allow this analysis to close off the cracks opened up by the imagined figure of the woman consumer, so often textualised in an act of display that, in its very brazenness, poses a profound threat to the controlling narrative urge of the male writer / reader.

III. 'The Gilt Durt, Which Imbroders Play-Houses'

Stephen Gosson's attack on the theatre, with which this chapter opened, railed at the female theatre-goer, suggesting that she was interested only in self-display, and the consumption of goods from theatrical performances to rich clothing. In a puzzling and suggestive passage he links female theatregoing not only to contemporary fashion systems, but to a rhetoric of self-mutilation and female self-fashioning which is shocking in its violence.

⁶⁹ For an account of desiring reading and desiring writing, that also pays attention to the material conditions of textual production, see Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997).

⁷⁰ Fleming, 'The Ladies' Man', in Turner (ed.), *Sexuality and Gender*, p. 159.

Beware of those places, which in sorrowe cheere you, and beguile you in mirth. You must not cut your bodyes to your garmentes, but make your gownes fit to the proportion of your bodyes; nor fashion your selues, to open spectacles, but tye all your sportes to the good disposition of a vertuous minde.⁷¹

The artificial alteration of emotion is linked with physical representations of self-abuse, warping both the mind and body of the female audience member. Precisely this rhetoric is echoed some forty-one years later in the anonymous *Hic Mulier* tract of 1620. Once again, the theatre and female immorality are linked as the author rails against ‘You that are the gilt durt, which imbroders Play-houses, the painted Statues, which adorne Caroches, and the perfumed Carrion that bad men feede on in Brothels’.⁷² Here too, female vice is linked to sartorial excess. In this text, an attack on the female fashion for wearing masculine clothes, the author bitterly inveighs against ‘you Masculine-women, for you are my Subiect, you that haue made Admiration an Asse, and fool’d him with a deformitie neuer before dream’d of’.⁷³

The unease that underlies both *Hic Mulier* and the *Schoole of Abuse* seems less concerned with female cross-dressing than with women’s power as consumers, explored in both texts through a language of sin, deformity and mutilation. ‘Of you, I intreat, and of your monstrous deformitie; You that haue made your bodies like anticke Boscadge, or Crotesco work; not halfe man, halfe woman; halfe fish, halfe flesh; halfe beast, halfe Monster: but all Odyous, all Diuell’.⁷⁴ It is not the hermaphroditic (certainly not the transvestite) nature of contemporary fashions which offends, but the ‘monstrous deformitie’ of the bodies that support them. Like Gosson’s theatregoers these are women who have ‘cut your bodyes to your garmentes’ and in so doing have become involved in a female self-fashioning that threatens to disrupt the stable signifying

⁷¹ Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse*, Sigs. F3r-v.

⁷² *Hic mulier: or, the man-woman: being a medicine to cure the staggers in the masculine-feminines of our times* (London: [Eliot’s Court Press] f. J. Trundle, 1620; STC 13374), Sig. A4r.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Sig. A3v.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Sig. A4r.

systems of sartorial codes. That disruption is closely bound to women's increasing freedom as consumers during the early modern period, and permeates the growing awareness of the power of women as audiences for, and purchasers of, literature.

In Thomas Middleton's *A Mad World, My Masters* (1608), the hero, Follywit is keen to exploit the hermaphroditic nature of contemporary fashions. Disguising himself as a courtesan he happily proclaims 'Why the doublet serves as well as the best and is most in fashion. We're all male to the middle, mankind from the beaver to th'bum'.⁷⁵ This confident interpretation of sartorial codes continues throughout the play, and Follywit is well able to play upon them in order to 'become all with probability', whilst remaining 'unaffected by his temporary change of clothing'.⁷⁶ In Act 1.1, he is equally well able to disguise his followers as serving-men whilst he himself takes on the disguise of a prodigal lord. 'A French ruff, a thin beard, and a strong perfume will do't. I can hire blue coats for you all by Westminster clock, and the colour will be soonest believed.'⁷⁷

And he is right. Throughout the play both Follywit and his eventual bride, the courtesan Frank Gullman (hermaphroditic even in name), engage in a skilled manipulation of sartorial and behavioural codes which fools the observer and brings their colliding plots of financial gain and social advancement to glorious comic fruition. In contrast, the concern of *Hic Mulier* and *The Schoole of Abuse* is that when women adopt extravagant or inappropriate fashions they, unlike Follywit and Gullman, do not simply adopt one set of straightforward signifying conventions that may be shrugged off at will.

For the author of *Hic Mulier*, clothes are a divinely ordained signifying system, as revealed in Deuteronomy. 'The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a

⁷⁵ Thomas Middleton, *A Mad World My Masters and Other Plays*, edited by Michael Taylor (Oxford: OUP, 1995), 3.3, 103-105.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 3.3.109; David Cressy, 'Gender Trouble and Cross-dressing in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, 35 (1996), p. 454.

⁷⁷ Middleton, *A Mad World My Masters*, 68-70.

man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abominations unto the LORD thy God'.⁷⁸ As man received one coat to fit his male nature, so woman received another because of her different, and more humble, skills and abilities.

Remember how your Maker made for our first Parents coates, not one coat, but a coat for the man, and a coat for the woman; coates of severall fashions, severall formes, and for severall uses: the mans coat fit for his labour, the womans fit for her modestie: and will you lose the modell left by this great Worke-master of Heauen?⁷⁹

Follywit can play freely with fashion and modes of dress with no danger other than the frisson of potential discovery (always unlikely, given the gullible nature of his dupes), but for the writer of *Hic Mulier* clothing has become an act of signification in itself, able to shape and deform the wearer, body and soul.

The connection of sartorial excess, and the expense it entails, to systems of self-fashioning, indicate how far a woman who dared to interfere with God's sartorial and intellectual prescriptions could be open to charges of not just physical, but mental and spiritual, corruption. The woman who remakes what God has created deforms her soul as well as her body in a blasphemous usurpation of the creative function. Fashion, from being a playful system of external signification has become a corrosive and deforming influence.

Shee that hath giuen kisses to haue her hayre shorne, will giue her honestie to haue her vpper parts put into a French doublet: To conclude, she that will giue her body to haue her bodie deformed, will not sticke to giue her soule to haue her minde satisfied.⁸⁰

The woman, not scrupling to take the knife to her own body in Gosson's horrific vision, is engaged in a blasphemous and appalling act of self-mutilation, threatening to disrupt the divine system of signification, and to make a mockery of the reading conventions

⁷⁸ Bible, Deuteronomy 22:5.

⁷⁹ *Hic Mulier*, Sigs. B2v-B3r.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Sig. B2r.

expected by the male author. If the very adoption of unchaste clothes distorts and transforms the woman both physically and morally, then male viewers, like Gosson, are left stranded, unable any longer to draw the initial distinction between virtuous women and wanton clothing that allows them to warn the former away from the latter.

In a further complication, however, the hermaphroditic apparel that distorts the bodies of women in *Hic Mulier* is exactly the same as the disguise adopted by the text itself, implicating both text and anonymous author in the excesses under attack. The author may salute those good women who remain 'signes deceitlesse' and attack the fashion systems that allow women to corrupt and disrupt those signs, yet bitter and vituperative as it may be, this tract is also playful, showy and excessive.⁸¹ The text delights in the bravura display of verbal ingenuity (as does Gosson with his Euphuistic prose), and, through the 'false Latine' of the title, toys with the contradictions and possibilities of textual and gender signification. As Alain de Lille says of Adonis, 'he is both predicate and subject, he becomes likewise of two declensions, he pushes the laws of grammar too far'.⁸² Indeed if, as some suspect, *Haec Vir* is the work of the same author as *Hic Mulier*, then the casual swapping of these hermaphrodite roles must implicate him or her in the same game as the cross-dressing women under attack. It seems likely that those women may well, as readers, have shared the pleasure of a bravura performance without necessarily adopting the text's sartorial and moral assumptions.

Certainly Stephen Gosson expected women to read and enjoy his work. The dedicatory epistle 'To the Gentlewomen Citizens' is placed at the back of the book, aimed at the serious reader, not the casual browser. And in Gosson's last sentence we see a new, and very practical, side to his desire that women should shun the theatre, which his instruction that 'if you can read' (which having reached this point seems likely) 'let

⁸¹ Ibid., Sig. A3v.

⁸² Cited in Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1983), p. 19.

Bookes be your comforte'.⁸³ 'Shortly I hope to send out the *Ephemerides* of Phialo, by whom (if I see you accept this) I will giue you one dish for your owne tooth'.⁸⁴ Having himself turned away from the theatre, Gosson attempts to coerce his female audience members into following him, and encourages them to trace his own slow path from audience to reader, from *The Schoole of Abuse* to the translation of Phialo's *Ephemerides* which he published some seven years later.

In the *Schoole of Abuse* and in *Hic Mulier* we see two texts, some forty years apart, that launch an aggressive attack upon female theatregoers indulging in showy and extravagant self-mutilation, yet which both rely, at least in part, on the goodwill of just those women, as purchasers and readers, to support their own authorial efforts. John Trundle, publisher of both *Hic Mulier* and *Haec Vir*, was so notorious for the production of scurrilous and sensational cheap print that his 'Sussex serpent', as we have seen, even resurfaced in references to his widow, Margery, some 38 years later (see p. 143). Like the anonymous authors whose work he peddled, Trundle not only made his living from the display of just those 'halfe man, halfe woman; halfe fish, halfe flesh; halfe beast, halfe Monster[s]' which *Hic Mulier* lambasts, but from the purchasing power of the women who are the target of the text's attack, represented in *The Winter's Tale* as the most eager of all ribbon and ballad-buyers: 'Pray now, buy some: I love a ballad in print, a life, for then we are sure they are true'.⁸⁵ Crucially, it is not Mopsa's own money that she intends to spend, but that of her suitor, the Clown, the male earner whose substance the female consumer will spend upon textual pleasures.

In part the wealthy women who indulge in sartorial excesses are seen by the author of *Hic Mulier* to be guilty of the sin of pride, assuming that their social status grants them immunity against the sartorial mores which curtail the behaviour of their inferiors. 'No

⁸³ Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse*, Sig. F4v.

⁸⁴ Ibid., Sig. F4r.

⁸⁵ Shakespeare, *Winter's Tale*, 4.4.261-2.

more shall their greatnesse or wealth saue them from one partice of disgrace, which these monstrous disguises haue cast vpon them'.⁸⁶ Yet this is secondary to the horrid fact that these women can afford to adopt these fashions in the first place. 'Such as are able to buy all at their owne charges, they swimme in the excesse of these vanities, and will bee man-like not onely from the head to the waste, but to the very foot, & in euery condition'.⁸⁷ It seems that the true crime is not for these women to adopt male dress, but for them to venture into the sartorial (as well as the literary) marketplace and there to make a conscious and conspicuous display of their wealth and purchasing power. Paradoxically, of course, it was precisely that purchasing power (and the spiritual and mental corruption that accompanied it) which led to women's presence as an important sector of the market for early modern printed texts, including those which implored or instructed them to shun such activity.

IV. 'She helpeth to spend and consume'

The degree to which it was the man or the woman who was seen to be culpable for female display is debatable. In Richard Brathwait's *A Boulster Lecture* the crux of the matter is clearly the man's inability to resist the woman's persuasive skill.

I have noted a kinde of pleasing Dialect used by our City Dames to their Husbands: and delivered in that living familiar way, as it infinitely became them: a Kind of *fondling* speech, (as I may properly tearme it) or apish toying, neither unpleasing to their Husbands, nor unuseful to themselves: as thus – trust mee, Chick, thou shalt not. — Now, pray thee Prick, doe not ... These pretty prattles make me remember that free and ingenious confession of that rich *Millanoise*, "That the strings of his purse were never so hard tyed, but his Nansy had a Charme to loose them".⁸⁸

⁸⁶ *Hic Mulier*, Sig. B2v.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Sig. B2r.

⁸⁸ Brathwait, *Ar't asleepe husband?*, pp. 117-8.

The author of *Hic Mulier* makes the same point when he calls upon the ‘fathers, husbands or sustainers’ of prodigal women to ‘hold close your liberall hands, or take a strict account of the imployment of the treasure you giue to their necessarie maintenance’.⁸⁹ Often however, it seems that women were blamed for the money men chose to spend upon them. Joseph Swetnam was clearly of this opinion, stating that ‘At the first beginning ... a woman was made to be a helper vnto man, & so they are indeed: for she helpeth to spend and consume that which man painefully getteth’.⁹⁰ It was not just men, however, who accepted this interpretation. Laura Gowing cites a slander case in which Mary Sadd berated another woman for consuming her husband’s (and his family’s) substance.

Mary pointed at the house where Margaret Eddis lodged and replied “I would have the whore out of that house ... for she is a base whore and a hospitall whore” and said that “her [Mary’s] husband pawned her goades and ... her children’s clothes to maintaine her [Margaret], and that she had roused her out of one place already, and yf she staid but til tomorrow she would roust her out of this”.⁹¹

In this instance, the stigma of male excess is displaced onto the immodest woman, illuminating the wife’s lack of legal or social resources to act against her husband.

Frank Gullman, the courtesan in *A Mad World, My Masters* inhabits a strange middle ground, in many ways similar to the position of Margaret Eddis, earning a living for herself and her mother through the active exploitation of male prodigality.

Tut, man, any quacksalving terms will serve for this purpose; for I am pitifully haunted with a brace of elder brothers, new perfumed in the first of their fortunes, and I shall see how forward their purposes will be to the pleasing of my palate, and restoring of my health. Lay on load enough upon ‘em and spare ‘em not, for they’re good plump fleshly asses, and may well enough bear it. Lct gold, amber,

⁸⁹ *Hic Mulier*, Sig. C2v.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Sig. Br.

⁹¹ Laura Gowing, ‘Language, Power and the Law: Women’s Slander Litigation in Early Modern London’, in Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker (eds), *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England* (London: UCL Press, 1994), p. 34.

and dissolved pearl be common ingredients, and that you cannot compose a cullis without 'em.⁹²

The avid consumption of wealth is comically literalised as Gullman works to drain her wealthy suitors through their display of excessive spending on her feigned medical requirements. Richly comic such a scene may be, but the dangerous side to her activity (for Follywit at least) is shown in Sir Bounteous's self-deceiving hopes that he may have made her pregnant, that her lavish spending may have resulted in productive increase. It is on Sir Bounteous, however, not the courtesan, that Follywit blames this excess. Through his prodigal spending Sir Bounteous endangers the patrimony, as Follywit recognises when he puts on a female disguise to rob his grandfather. 'Grandsire, you may thank your drab for this; oh fie, in your crinkling days, grandsire, keep a courtesan to hinder your grandchild!'⁹³

Other women were fully implicated within the prodigal economy. One example is that of Mrs Anne Turner, executed in 1615 for her role in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. As Alastair Bellany points out, her wickedness was strongly associated with sartorial excess in contemporary narratives of the scandal.⁹⁴ Indeed, she was identified as the first woman to introduce the fashion for starched yellow ruffs selected for particular attack in *Hic Mulier*. When the author rails against 'the false armoury of yellow Starch', associating it explicitly with a woman 'cut from the Common-wealthe at the Gallowes', he is launching a triple-pronged attack.⁹⁵ In part, the author refers to the notorious sale and production of titles and genealogies by the heralds. He also lambasts the presumption of women in attempting to state distinctions within their role as the inferior sex. Yet the crux of the attack rests in the massive consumption of grain required to produce starch for the ruffs. Displaying somebody else's dinner proudly

⁹² Middleton, *A Mad World, My Masters*, 2.5, 38-45.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 4.3, 43-45.

⁹⁴ Alastair Bellany, 'Mistress Turner's Deadly Sins: Sartorial Transgression, Court Scandal and Politics in Early Stuart England', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 58 (1995), pp. 179-210.

⁹⁵ *Hic Mulier*, Sig. A4r.

around your neck at this tentative foundational moment of the capitalist economy must have made a strong statement about the wearer's social status, ability to pay, and distance from the harsh realities of material production.

In sporting her yellow ruffs, as Bellany makes clear, 'Anne Turner's obsession with the fashionable, the novel, the strange, and the monstrous all betokened the sin of pride. It was but a short leap to connect this form of pride to her reputation as a whore. The supposed link between the sins of lust and sartorial pride was a moral commonplace'.⁹⁶

A related element of Turner's crime was her search for arcane knowledge, suggested by her friendship with the necromancer Simon Forman and by her noted recusancy. As we have already seen, the author of *Hic Mulier* insists that the woman who will prostitute her social credit to gain the financial credit necessary for excessive consumption, 'will not sticke to giue her soule to haue her minde satisfied'. The sin of sartorial excess is fundamentally connected to woman's original transgression, and the pursuit of knowledge.

Just as Eve ate the apple to gain the fruits of knowledge, so too, the woman that allows a tailor access to her body in order to transform her physical being is not only likely to disrupt and invade the prodigal economy, but, in doing so, is happy to forfeit her soul in order to satisfy a mental hunger. As Richard Brathwait points out, if Eve hadn't committed the latter sin, no woman would be able to indulge in the former crime of sartorial excess. He reports that 'excellent Lady' (Elizabeth) as having said 'I see no reason in the World that wee should pride us in that, which, had we not sinned, we had never needed'.⁹⁷ In the same way that Eve created a debt, represented by medieval theology as being still owed to Christ, so too the imagined prodigal woman, prepared to purchase knowledge as she purchased her clothes, plunged into new chains of debt and

⁹⁶ Bellany, 'Mistress Turner's Deadly Sins', p. 194.

⁹⁷ Brathwait, *Ar't asleepe husband?*, p. 250.

credit, endangering the humanist project of good husbandry, and threatening the author's ability to maintain textual control.

Paradoxically, the author of *Hic Mulier* relied upon her to do just that, creating a female audience for a text which in turn castigated the reader for her own excess. So too, the spate of written accounts of Anne Turner's trial, in newsletters, court reports, manuscript pamphlets, gallows literature and single sheet broadsides seem likely to have been consumed by female readers at all levels of the social scale. Changing understandings of the moral economy of credit created, through the very ideologies they promoted, the 'monstrous', 'odious' figure of the prodigal female consumer, disrupting every form of credit system from the bonds of trust and neighbourliness to her personal 'credit' as a chaste and thrifty wife.

In the sphere of literature, that woman appears again and again as a spectre that haunts the masculine representation of a female audience, despised both for her spending ability and for her ability to choose. A marketing tool for a canny writer, a way of imagining literature as pleasurable, and aesthetic good as the point, or lack of point, of the text, the imagined female reader nonetheless epitomises the dangers and the vagaries of print production. After all, Stephen Gosson could hopefully offer his female reader 'one dish for your own tooth', but he could rely only upon her own desire for intellectual possession to persuade her to taste the fruit.

CONCLUSION

'A WORM WINGED LIKE AN EAGLE'

In *A Room of One's Own*, Virginia Woolf distinguishes between the multiple and varied representations of women packed in to the pages of imaginative fiction, and the distressing realities of women's history as gleaned from the pages of Professor Trevelyan's *History of England*, which revealed the real counterparts of these fictional heroines to have been repeatedly 'locked up, beaten and flung about the room'.

It was certainly an odd monster that one made up by reading the historians first and the poets afterwards – a worm winged like an eagle; the spirit of life and beauty in a kitchen chopping up suet. But these monsters, however amusing to the imagination, have no existence in fact. What one must do to bring her to life was to think poetically and prosaically at one and the same moment, thus keeping in touch with fact – that she is Mrs Martin, aged thirty-six, dressed in blue, wearing a black hat and brown shoes; but not losing sight of fiction either – that she is a vessel in which all sorts of spirits and forces are coursing and flashing perpetually.¹

Sharply aware of the inadequacies of traditional history, Woolf did not suggest that the women students she addressed at Girton college should 'rewrite history, though I own that it often seems a little queer as it is, unreal, lopsided', but did ask 'why should they not add a supplement to history? calling it, of course, by some inconspicuous name so that women might figure there without impropriety?'²

This thesis has been, in large part, an attempt to contribute to the energetic and enthusiastic response of literary and historical scholars to Woolf's question, which have made women's history and the history of gendered relations not supplemental but central to current thinking, not inconspicuous, but highly, and sometimes provocatively, visible, and even, on occasion, a little improper. Seeking a carefully historicised understanding of the details of women's very different experiences of the material book in early modern England, I have followed Woolf's lead in attempting to probe the tense distance between women's fictional representation and the realities of daily life. Poetic constructions of women, as patrons, as readers, as pregnant mothers, and as daughters

¹ Woolf, *Room*, p. 45.

² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

who mock male fantasies of textual accuracy, as gossiping midwives, domestic paper-baking, book-destroying harridans, and as showy consumers, were not, as Woolf suggests, entirely divorced from the prosaic realities of women's day-to-day existence, but were related to them in complex and subtle ways.

Real women read and purchased books in early modern England, but a female readership was also imagined by male authors in order to address an otherwise inconceivable print readership and create a place for the aesthetic, the light-hearted, and the literary. Women were purchasers of books, but also incorporated into books as items for consumption by other readers. Nonetheless women's choice as consumers revealed the male author too to be bound to his book, as much a commodity as the women spread out for display in his prefatory materials. So too, while the fickle choices of female readers served in print to highlight the vagaries of the marketplace, that very ability to change, to fashion and respond to shifts in form and taste was textualised as a prime characteristic of the successful male author.

Individual women acted as patrons, paying for, or otherwise making possible, print publication for authors, providing hospitality and protection, or circulating books within friendship or religious networks. Yet other women, with no discernible contact with either the book or the author that claimed their protection, were also textualised as beneficent donors and zealous defenders. Male authors used addresses to women patrons to construct an ideal readership, one that established a series of boundaries defining the act of reading as a system of controlled, sympathetic, and knowledgeable exchange, yet they also peddled this intimate and elite social context as one facet of the saleable book, available for purchase by the ordinary reader. Fantasising patronal control in order to assert the presence of legal and economic structures that legitimated the writing and the commercial dissemination of texts, writers also struggled to control

the women they invoked by tightly binding them within the physical and generic spaces of the dedicatory epistle, transforming the material structure of their books in attempts to contain them.

Male authors and printers also imagined themselves and each other as that archetypal female figure, the early modern midwife, as they moved to colonise and control the gossipy, loose-tongued world of vernacular English, 'not yet', as Juliet Fleming points out 'the patriarchal monolith against which some modern feminisms have tilted'.³ But real women, including real midwives, were also 'taleporters', responsible for the publication of stories within a vigorous and flourishing oral tradition. Real women across the social scale were crucial to patrilinear systems of inheritance, from the wives and mothers of Britain's aristocracy to the widows who controlled the movements of printing presses, houses, and rights in literary property. Worried about accurate transmission, about the possibility of controlling and guaranteeing the probity and the stability of their texts, children 'of their soules', male authors mapped the possibilities of deceit and illegitimacy onto the bodies of women, but also fantasised their textual daughters as reproductions in miniature of their own patriarchal powers and physiognomy.

Concerns about legitimacy and inheritance were also, as Peter Stallybrass has pointed out, intimately connected to the penetrability of the female body, linked to the domestic spaces of the home. 'The surveillance of women concentrated upon three specific areas: the mouth, chastity, the threshold of the house. These three areas were frequently collapsed into each other.'⁴ A nervous fascination with these penetrable, leaky sites can be traced both in the obsessive, excessive energy expended by religious writers in the surveillance of women and the books and priests with whom they were associated, and

³ Fleming, 'Dictionary English', in Burt and Archer (eds), *Enclosure Acts*, p. 296.

⁴ Stallybrass, 'Patriarchal Territories', in Ferguson, Quilligan, and Vickers (eds), *Rewriting the Renaissance*, p. 126.

also in the vigour with which they invoked women as their prime readers, mothers of a religious nation, nourishers and guardians of right religious feeling. Such addresses can, however, also be seen to reflect some women's lived experiences as they devoted themselves to their chosen religious cause, with courage and commitment born of a long-standing familiarity with the textual forms of religious worship and debate. In part thanks to these women, it was not only the boundaries of the home that religious commitment was understood to threaten, but also the boundaries of the nation and the state, boundaries that were textualised as coterminous with women's domestic bodies, and with the royal body of Elizabeth I, but that were regularly crossed by women who transported and translated texts, moving them across national and linguistic borders in the service of a religious cause. Even the boundaries defined by religious commitment could be transgressed by these women as Claire Walker points out when she comments on the importance of family ties and home news to the English women supposedly immured within the silent walls of continental convents.⁵

Women's interactions and experiences with books were immensely varied, as this thesis has shown, and they were fantasised too in an extraordinary variety of ways by male authors. These different interactions do not only have a great deal to teach us in the continuing search to comprehend the concrete details of women's lived experience, and the many reasons for their nuanced and complex representations in the early modern text, however, but can also tell us a great deal about that text as a physical object and thus as a site for interpretation. A detailed attention to women's involvement with book production, dissemination and reading, reinforces the important lessons of book history: that meaning is collaborative, the product of many different agents, that it is shaped by form, and that form itself is mediated by a whole range of material and economic factors. Above all, however, it highlights the unplanned, contingent, and dislocated nature of

⁵ Walker, 'Doe not suppose', in Daybell (ed.), *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing*, pp. 159-76.

these contributing causes, circulating not in any smooth circuit of communication, but in a ragged series of leaps, bounds, and stumbles.

As Darnton points out, 'Models have a way of freezing human beings out of history'.⁶ In line with his determination to clothe the outlines of his communications circuit with the details of lived experience, research into the role of women in the various processes he describes provides one of the most compelling opportunities to unfreeze Darnton's model, and to celebrate its uneven and dislocated circuits: the obstacles and gaps that invest his two-dimensional diagram with movement, both across countries and across time. A manuscript text might be saved by a woman from the destruction wished upon it by her husband upon his decease. She might edit that text, perhaps in the process of cleaning away the spots of grease and charred edges that marred the pages in which she had wrapped her roasting goose. She may have sold it on or given it away, either to a printer, or to an interested acquaintance. That text could have fallen into the hands of a stationer, been midwived through the press, and born into the print marketplace where it proved a runaway success, so much so that it went through sixteen editions, before it was picked up by the poverty-stricken widow of a bookseller, who passed the copy to a jobbing printer, another widow.

In that incarnation, our imagined text changed size, paper quality, and type, losing a few words at the hands of a compositor but gaining a new dedication to a powerful woman, who later caused it to be ripped out. It went out on to the marketplace again, and entered a new stage in its social life, when bought with a dozen others by the servant of an aging Countess who liked to display her beneficence and piety in the gifting of godly books. One copy she sent to a friend, who practised writing her name a few times in its marginal spaces, before seeing it absorbed into the mass of texts that formed her

⁶ Darnton, *Kiss of Lamourette*, p. 111.

husband's library. Another copy she gave to one of her maid-servants, literate through long afternoons of reading with her mistress, who later passed it on to the eldest of her three daughters. Whether this particular chain of events ever took place, we cannot know. What we can say with certainty is that many early modern books passed through some similar string of accidents, opportunities, obstacles and mistakes, and that those dislocations become most apparent when we study not the successful author, or the wealthy humanist printer, but the diverse experiences of forgotten women whose contact with the material text took on an extraordinary range of forms.

In opposition to Robert Darnton's personified book, skipping merrily across national boundaries in the service of international humanism, my book is a limping, crippled object. It too crossed boundaries from one country to another, one language to another, from manuscript to print, as well as from the oral realm. It crossed boundaries of gender, as it turned from men to women or women to men, and it crossed religious divides, thanks to the vagaries of interpretation and the changing demands of history, moving from allowed to illicit, or illicit to allowed. What it did not do, however, is remain unchanged by these adventures. Texts undoubtedly do, as Darnton insists, cross national, linguistic, and political boundaries. What is equally important, however, is that in crossing them they irrevocably change the meaning both of those borders, and of themselves.

As Anne Lake Prescott puts it:

Crossing borders can be hazardous, not least for those who become stuck midway, like ghosts with work left undone or messages still to deliver. Yet, borders, whether natural or socially created, also allow for new perspectives, for that double vision that Shakespeare in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* calls seeing "with parted eye". Perhaps, as we study the boundaries and borders of the past and attend to the women who crossed them or whose own boundaries were violated or pondered, we, too, may

see with parted eye and find ways to depict the past in something like its full complexity.⁷

A crucial part of that new vision, this thesis argues, is to look again, 'with parted eye', at the gendered nature of the book itself. If we look closely enough at the pages of the battered and exhausted early modern text, beyond its posturing or prostrated heroines, we can see the dim outlines of a host of women unidentified, although hoped for, by Woolf. Neither fantasised as the eagle nor despised as the worm, the women printers, publishers, patrons, dedicatees, editors, readers, buyers, sellers, givers, financiers, and bakers of early modern books got in between the author and the page, creating both an imagined and a material screen, the divisional slash through which every early modern book, at one time or another had to pass.

These texts are never simply products of a male imagination, or occupants of an exclusive and heterosexist literary tradition, as Showalter or Gilbert and Gubar suggest. Nor, however, do they allow us to remain outside the bounds of that tradition, turning to a study of girl-on-girl action that concentrates at its most expansive on women writers' interactions with other women in the processes of textual production. If we turn away from the author, away from Judith Shakespeare, or even William Shakespeare, and listen and look instead for the Perditas of early modern England, and the Joan Broomes, Jane Yetsweirts, Cecilia Stonors, Anne Cliffords, and Dorothy Lilys, we discover that women, those 'grossly material things', have always been part of the early modern book, transforming it from a male monolith to a polyvocal community gendered in complex ways. In assuming the canon to be gendered male we have re-enacted what Judith Butler describes as the limiting strategies of identity categories. 'The identity categories often presumed to be foundational to feminist politics, that is, deemed necessary in order to mobilize feminism as an identity politics, simultaneously work to limit and constrain

⁷ Prescott, 'Introduction', in Donawerth and Seeff (eds), *Crossing Boundaries*, pp. 23-4.

in advance the very cultural possibilities that feminism is supposed to open up.’⁸
Neither male nor female, but a complex, collaborative and continuing process, the
‘monolithic male tradition’ of early modern England turns out to swing both ways.

⁸ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, p. 147.

APPENDIX 1.1:

LIST OF BOOKS DEDICATED TO WOMEN, 1475-1641, SORTED BY STC NUMBER, INCLUDING NON-STC ITEMS CITED BY WILLIAMS

This list is derived from a database I have constructed, cross-referencing and updating the details given in Franklin B. Williams' *Index of Dedications* with the second edition of the *Short-Title Catalogue*, removing duplicated material and adding additional details where available. As Microsoft Access is unable to reproduce Latin characters I have replaced æ and œ with ae and oe throughout. Similarly I have been unable to reproduce the superscript 'º' that is conventionally used to indicate volume size. In the volume size column, therefore, '4' should be understood to indicate quarto, '8' octavo, and so on. References in the Details column to 'A&R' indicate that the text is listed in Allison and Rogers, *A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England, 1558-1640* (Bognor Regis: The Arundel Press, 1956). References to 'part' indicate that one or more parts, rather than the whole text, are dedicated to the woman in question, whilst 'shared' means that more than one person is included in the dedication. *STC* numbers in square brackets in this column are usually later collections, in which the dedication is reproduced along with the text it originally accompanied. References to items in individual libraries indicate earlier or later editions or issues. Where a male name appears in the patron details column the dedication is addressed to both husband and wife, sometimes by name, sometimes not, but appears in the *Williams Index* only under the husband's name.

STC	Author Surname	Author Forename	Author Title	Book Title	Translator	Place of Publication	Publisher Name	Date	Size	Patron Name	Patron Details	Details
1	A			The passoinate [sic] morrice.		London	R. Bourne? f. R. Jones	1593	4	Gentlewomen		
7	A.L.T.			The masque of the League and the Spanyard discovered.	A. M[unday]	Toures	J. Charlewoode f. Richard Smyth	1592	4	Edmondess [Lydcott], Dorothy	m. Sir Christopher [Vis . Surrey]	by bookseller
38	Abbot	George	Abp.	A sermon preached at Westminster May 26. 1608. At the funerall solemnities of Thomas earle of Dorset.		London	M. Bradwood f. W. Apsley	1608	4	Sackville [Baker], Cicely	m. Thomas I Earl	
42	Abbot	John		Jesus praefigured or a poeme of the holy name of Jesus in five booke the first, and second booke.		Antwerp?		1623	4	Maria	Infanta, daughter of Philip III. All jointly with Charles I	A&R 1.
59	Abbot	Robert	Minister	A hand of fellowship, to helpe keepe out sinne and Antichrist. In certaine sermons.		London	J. Haviland f. N. Butter	1623	4	Baker, Sir Henry	I Bt.	part
										Courthorpe, Peter	of Cranbrook, Kent	part
										Hendley, Sir Thomas	Of Kent	part
										Roberts, Sir Thomas	I Bt.	part
										Roberts, Sir Walter	II Bt.	part
76	Abernethy	John	Bp.	The dignity and duty of a christian.		London	F. K[ingston] f. J. Budge	1620	12	Stewart [Stewart], Margaret	m. Andrew Master of Ochiltree	
84	Abusiva			The twelfe steppes of abuses written by S. Augustine.	N. Lesse	London	J. Daie a. W. Seres		8	Fitzroy [Howard], Mary	m. Henry Duke of Richmond	
85a	Achelley	Thomas		The key of knowledge. Contayning sundry godly prayers.		London	W. Seres	1572 c.	16	Russell [Cooke], Elizabeth	m. John Lord Russell [DNB as Hobby]	
91	Achilles	Tatius		The loves of Clitaphon and Leucippe.	A. H[jodges]	Oxford	W. Turner f. J. Allan	1638	8	Ladies (sometimes inexactly)		
92	Acontius	Jacobus		Una essortatione al timor di Dio. Con alcune rime italiane, nouamente messe in luce. [By G. B. Castiglione.]		London	Giov. Wolfio servitore de l'illustrissimo signor Filippo Sidnei	1579?	12	Barklei, Elisabetta		epistle
										Elizabeth I	Queen	
93	Acontius	Jacobus		[Anr. issue 92.3, w. a different cancel engr. tp.] Satanae stratagematum libri octo ... Editio iterata & emendata.		Oxonis	[J. Lichfield] sumtib. G. Webb	1631		Elizabeth I	Queen	from early foreign ed.
110	Adams	Thomas		The diuells blanket. Described in sixe sermons.		London	T. Snodham f. R. Mab [a] J. Budge)	1614	4	Bowles [Wentworth], Diana	m. Lewis of Herts.	part, shared. Sermon 5 and possibly sermon 6

592	Andrewes	John		Machiavelli.		London	by G. Loftis	1621		Villiers [Manners], Katherine	m. George I Duke	only
605	Andrewes	Lancelot	Bp.	A celestial looking-glasse: to behold the beauty of heaven. Scala coeli. Nineteene Sermons concerning prayer. [Anon.]		London	N. Okes	1611	8	Mainwaring, Sir George	Of Ightfield d. 1628	shared, by bookseller
632	Androzzi	Fulvio		Certaine devout considerations of frequenting the blessed sacrament.	i. G. [and T. Everard]	Doual	P. Aurol	1606	12	B., Mrs. K.		A&R 26. Prob. issued w. 632.7
634	Angel	John		The agrement of the holye fathers, vpon the cheifest articles of christian religion.		London	W. Harford f. W. Seres	1557	8	Mary I	Queen	
644	Anger	Jane		Jane Anger her protection for women. By Ja. A. Gent[lewoman].		London	R. Jones a. T. Orwin	1589	4	Gentlewomen		
645	Anglerius	Petrus Martyr		The decades of the newe worlde or west India. Written in Latine.	R. Eden [w. additions from other sources]	London	In aed. G. Powell [by [for] R. Jug)	1555	4	Mary I	Queen	[see changes]
649	Anglerius	Petrus Martyr		[Anr. Ed. 645, revised, w omissions and additions.] The history of trauallye in the West and East Indies. Done into Englishshe.	R. Eden. Newly set in order, augmented, and finished by R. Willes	London	R. Jugge	1577	4	Clinton [Morrison], Elizabeth	m. Henry II Earl	part
686	Anton	Robert		The philosophers satyrs. Written by M. Robert Anton.		London	T. C[reede] a. B. A[lsop] f. R. Jackson	1616	4	Randyll [Morgan], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick	part
697	Anyan	Thomas		A sermon preached at S. Maries church in Oxford. Being the Act Sunday.		London	[T. Snodham] f. H. F[ea]therstone	1612	4	Stanley [Spencer], Alice	m. Ferdinando V Earl, later Egerton	part
730	Arcandam		pseud	[Anr. Ed. 724] The most excellent, profitable, and pleasant booke to fynd the fatal destiny of every man. Now newly turned out of French.	W. Warde	London	F. Kyngston	1637	8	Bacon, Sir Nicholas	I Bl	
736	Aretius	Jacobus	pseud	Primum veris seu panegyrica; ad excellentiss principem Palatinum [etc.].		London	Tupis F. Stansby, Imp. J. Budge	1613	4	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	see
743	Arias	Francisco		A treatise of patience.	T[obie] M[atthew]	St. Omer	Widow of C. Boscard	1630	12	A., Lady B. [? Blanche Arundell].		A&R 41
746	Ariosto	Ludovico		Orlando Furioso in English	by J.	London	R. Field	1591	fol.	Elizabeth I	Queen	

774	Armin	Robert	heroical verse.	Harington	London	f. T. P[avier]	1609	4	Ramsay, John	I Earl of Holderness	F
777	Arnaldus	de Villa nova	The Italian taylor, and his boy. Here is a new boke, called the defence of age and recovery of youth.	J. DrJumde [sic]	London	R. Wyer	1540 c.	8	Douglas, Lady Margaret	Countess of Lennox [DNB]	
778	Arnalte		A small treatise betwixe Arnalte and Lucenda entituled the evill-intreated lover. Turn'd into English verse.	by L. L(awrence)[from D. de San Pedro]	London	J. Okes f. H. Mosley	1639	4	Ladies (sometimes inexactly)		
796	Arthington	Henry	The exhortation of Salomon. [A sermon.]		London	[T. Scarlet] f. C. Burby	1594	4	S., M[rs]. Or M[rs]. M. S. Clifford, George	III Earl of Cumberland	epistle
828	Ascham	Roger	Dissertissimi viri Rogeri Aschami, Angli, familiarium epistolarum libri tres. omnia aedita studio E. Grantae. Addita est Ed. Gr. oratio, de vita & obitu R. Aschami.		London	[H. Middleton.,] imp. F. Coldock	1576	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	by editor Dedic. dated 16. fb. 1576.
862	Assault		The assaute and conquest of heuen tr. Out of frenche.	by T. Paynel	London	T. Berthelet	1529	4	Mary of France	d. 1533 [DNB]	
887	Atkins	John	The christians race: teaching us all. Being a sermon.		London	[W. Stansby] f. G. Hodges	1624	4	Seymour, William	II Duke of Somerset	
893	Attersoll	William	A commentarie upon the fourth booke of Moses, called Numbers.		London	W. Jaggard	1618	fol.	Covert, Sir Walter	of Sussex [Brown]	
898	Attersoll	William	The pathway to Canaan: or an exposition upon the booke of Numbers [chaps. 20-21].		London	W. Jaggard	1609	4	Shurley, Sir John	Of Ifield	
900	Attersoll	William	Three treatises. Viz. 1. The conversion of Nineveh, 2. Gods trumpet. 3. Physicke against famine.		London	T. Cotes [3rd pt.] (E[li]z Alde) sold by M. Sparke	1632	4	Shirley [Wroughton], Dorothy	m. Sir George I Bt., previously Unton	part
901	Attey	John	The first booke of ayres of foure parts.		London	T. Snodham	1622	fol.	Egerton, John	I Earl of Bridgewater	
906	Audigier	Vital d'	A tragi-comicall history of our times, under the borrowed names of Lisander and Codista.	W. D[uncomb?]	London	H. L[ownes] f. G. Latham	1627	fol.	Duncomb [Poynes], Elizabeth	m. William	shared
910	Augustine		The confessions of the incomparable doctour S. Augustine.	Sir Tobie Matthew	St. Omer	English College Press	1620	8	Fortescue [Stanley], Frances	m. Sir John I Bt.	shared
912	Augustine		Saint Augustines confessoins tr.: and with some marginnall notes	By W. Watts	London	J. Norton f. J. Partridge	1631	12	Hare [Coventry], Elizabeth	m. Sir John of Stow	

920	Augustine	Saint	illustrated. A worke of the predestination of saints tr. out of Latin into Englysche. Item, another worke of Augustyne, entytuled, of perseverance.	by N. Lesse	London	Widowe of J. Herfurde f. G. Lynne	1550	8	Seymour [Stanhope], Anne	Edward Duke of Somerset, later Newdigate	
923	Augustine	Saint	Twelve of saynt Augustines sermons.	T. Paynell	London	J. Cawood	1553	8	Mary I	Queen	
935	Augustine	Saint	An introduction to the loue of God.	(Edmund Roffen [i.e. E. Freake, Bishop of Rochester])	London	T. Purfoote	1574	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	[trans. by Freke]
937	Augustine	Saint	A litle pamphiet of Saint Augustine entituled the ladder of paradise.	(T.W)	London	[J. Alide?] f. E. Aggas	15807	8	Fane [Neville], Mary	Baroness Despenser [conjectural]	and 1581-L as Lady Fane
960	Aurelius	Abraham	In nuptias illustrissimi principis Frederici V. comitis Palatini ad Rhenum, et Elizabetha, regis filiae, epithalamium.		London	ap. G. Stansby	1613	4	Frederick I	King of Bohemia	
974	Austin	William	Haec homo, wherein the excellency of the creation of woman is described.		London	R. Olton f. R. Mabb, sold by C. Greene	1637	12	Griffith, Mary		by editor - Sanders says posthumously published by widow (22). Also 975, 976 (later eds.)
1003	Aylett	Robert	Susanna, or, the arraignment of the two unjust elders.		London	[J. Legat] f. J. Teage	1622	8	Rich, Robert	II Earl of Warwick	
1018	B.	A.	The fanne of the faithful, to trye the truthe in controuersie collected by A. B.		London	T. Marsh	1578	16	Stanley [Clifford], Margaret	m. Henry IV Earl	by editor [?earlier lost]
1026	B.	G.	A fig for the Spaniard, or Spanish spirits.		London	J. Wooffe, solde by W. Wright	1591	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	see
1052	B.	I.D.	Ecloge, ou chant pastoral sur les nopces des serenissimes princes Charles & Henriette Marie.		Londres	[E. Alide]	1627	4	Charles I	King	
1069	B.	Ste.	Counsel to the husband: to the wife instruction.		London	F. Kyngston f. R. Boyle	1608	8	Jervoise, Sir Thomas	Of Shropshire [Keeler]	as Gervoyse
1081	Babington	Bishop	A briefe conference betwixt mans frailtie and faith.		London	H. Midleton f. T. Charde	1583	8	Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	
1130	Bacon	Viscount St. Albans	The wisdom of the ancients. Done into English.	Sir A. Gorges	London	J. Bill	1619	12	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	
1131	Bacon	Viscount St.	[Anr. Ed. 1130] The wisdom of the ancients.	Sir A. Gorges	London	J. Bill	1619	12	Somerset [Russell], Anne	m. Henry I Marquis	epistle

1134	Bacon	Francis	Albans	The elements of the common lawes of England, branched into a double tract: the one containing a collection of rules. The other the use of the common law. 2 pts.	London	[R. Young f.] the assignes of J. More, Esq.	1630	4	Elizabeth I Belated		
1158	Bacon	Francis		History naturall and experimental, of life and death.	London	J. Haviland f. W. Lee a. H. Mosley	1638	12	Rich [Devereux], Penelope	Lady Rich - DNB. Subsequently Blount	
1160	Bacon	Francis		[Anr. Ed.] The historie of the raigne of King Henry the seventh.	London	[Ed.] W. Rawsley	1622	fol.	Herbert [Talbot], Mary	m. William III Ear	shared
1173	Bacon	Francis		Sylva sylvarum: or a naturall historie. In ten centuries. The fifth edition.	London	J. Haviland f. W. Lee	1639	fol.	Henshaw [Bonham], Anne	m. Benjamin	part, shared [see changes]
1201	Bailey	William		A rumor of warres ... A sermon preached at Hamsted, in Middlesex, the 6. of September 1608.	London	G. E[ld] f. E. Blount a. W. Barret	1608	8	Waad [Browne], Anne	m. Sir William	
1227	Baker	Richard	Sir	Meditations and disquisitions upon the seven penitentiall psalmes.	London	J. Dawson f. F. Eglesfield	1639	4	Sackville [Curzon], Mary	m. Edward IV Ear	part
1233	Balbasi	Niccolo		Newes from Italy of a second Moses or, the life of G. Caracciolus. Containing his conversion from popery. Written first in Italian thence tr. into Latin by Beza, and put into English.	London	H. B[ailard] f. R. Moore	1608	4	Sheffield [Howard], Douglas	m. John II Baron	shared
1311	Bales	Peter		[A later ed. 1312] The arte of brachygraphie. With sundry new additions, ... the order of orthographie, ... the key of kalygraphie. 10 octobris 1597.	London	G. Shawe a. R. Blower f. T. Charde.	1597	12	Elizabeth I	Queen	see
1333	Ballard	George		The history of Susanna ... Amplified with convenient meditations.	London	T. Harper f. W. Hope	1638	8	Percy [Cecil], Anne	m. Algernon IV Ear	
1334	Balmford	James		Carpenters chippes; or simple tokens of unfeined good will.	London	(F. Kyngston) f. R. Boyle	1607	8	Richards [Topsfield], Mary	m. Henry	shared, spelt Richards Reissue w. added gen. tp. of 1339.
1339	Balmford	James		Three positions concerning the Lords day.	London	F. Kyngston f. R. Boyle	1607	8	Clifford [Russell], Margaret	George III Ear	Includes rpt. of 1334-5; reissued w. added gen. td. as

1340	Balmaves	Henry	Sir	The confession of faith, containing how the troubled man should seeke refuge at his God. [Ed.] (J. Knox).	Edinburgh	T. Vautrollier	1584	8	Cockburn [Sandilands], Alison	m. John of Ormiston	1334. by printer
1341	Baisama	Ignatius		[Anr ed 1340.5] An instruction how to pray and meditate well. Tr. out of French.	S. Omers	[C. Boscard] f. J. Heigham	1622	24	Lovell [Roper], Jane	m. Sir Robert, Daughter of John I Baron	A&R 68
1356.1	Bandello	Matteo		Certaine tragicaill discourses written [sic] oute of [Belleforest's] Frenche and Latin, by G. Fenton.	London	T. Marshe	1567	4	Sidney [Dudley], Mary	m. Sir Henry - DNB	
1381	Barckley	Richard	Sir	A discourse of the felicitie of man: or his summum bonum.	London	[R. Field] f. W. Ponsonby	1598	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	[see changes]
1396	Barclay	John		An epitome of the history of faire Argenis and Polyarchus, put in French, by N. Coeffeteau. Tr. into English.	London	E. G[riffin] f. H. Seile	1640	8	Watson [Wentworth], Anne	m. Edward II Baron Rockingham	
1404	Barclay	William	M.D.	Guilt: Barclay! ... Judicium, de certamine G. Egliemmil cum G. Buchananano, pro dignitate paraphraseos psalmi CIII.	London	ap. G. Eldum	1620	8	Volusene? [Wilson?], Florence	Scholar - DNB	see
1406	Barclay	William	M.D.	Nepenthes, or the vertues of tabacco.	Edinburgh	A. Hart	1614	8	L., Ljady., E., Ljady] F	[since Scottish L. may be maiden name]	epistle
1428	Barksted	William		Hiren: or the faire Greeke.	London	[N. Okes] f. R. Barnes	1611	8	Stanley [Vere], Elizabeth	m. William IV Earl	part
1433	Barley	William		A new book of tablature, shewing howe to play the lute, orpharion, and bandora. Whereunto is added an introduction to prickesong. Collected out of the best authors. [3 ptbks.]	London	[J. Danter] f. W. Barley	1596	4	Radclyffe [Morrison], Bridget	m. Robert V Earl	
1438	Barlow	John		Hierons last fare-well. A sermon. (A christians last day is his best day. A sermon).	London	W. Stansby f. W. Butler	1618	4	Hele [courtenay], Margaret	m. Sir Warwick	[1435]
1464	Barnaud	Nicolas		Le reveille-matin des Francois, et de leurs voisins. Compose par Eusebe Philadelphie cosmopolitane, en forme de dialogues. 2 pts.	Edimbourg	J. James [i.e., printed abroad]	1574	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	
1469	Barnes	Barnabe		Parthenophil and Parthenope. Sonnettes, madrigals, elegies and odes.	London	[J. Wolfe]	1593	4	Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	L
						Tyrwhitt [Manners], Briget			m. John of Kettleby.		epistle, L

1475	Barnes	Thomas		The court of conscience; or, Josephs brethrens judgement barre.	London	J. Dawson f. N. Newbery	1624	8	Towse, William	Lincs. Seijeant-at-law of inner temple	
1477	Barnes	Thomas		Needfull helpe: against desperate perplexitie. As they have beene delivered in sundry sermons. (Cure for the comfories. - Sions sweets. - The wise-mans forecast). 3 pts.	London	J. Dawson] f. N. Newbery	1624	4	Barnardiston [Soame], Jane	m. Sir Nathaniel	part
									Barrington [Cromwell], Joan	m. Sir Francis Bt.	part, shared
									Elliot [Towse], Mary	m. Sir Thomas	part
									Mildmay [Deane], Joan	m. Robert of Tarling and Alderman	part, shared
1480	Barnfield	Richard		The affectionate shepheard. [Anon.]	London	J. Danter f. T. G]ubbin] a. E. Newman	1594	4	Rich [Devereux], Penelope	Lady Rich - DNB. Subsequently Blount	
1486	Barnfield	Richard		[Anr. ed. 1485, omitting poems] Lady Pecunia, or the praise of money.	London	W. Jaggard,] sold by J. Hodgets	1605	4	Pecunia, Lady		
1521	Barrow	Henry		A petition directed to her most excellent maiestie, wherein is deliuered I. A meane howe to compound the ciuill dissention in the church of Englande. [etc.] [Anon.]	[Middleburg]	R. Schilders?	1591	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	see
1556	Basse	William		Three pastoral elegies; of Anander, Anetor, and Muridella.	London	V. S]immes] f. J. B]arnes]	1602	4	Tasburgh [West], Jane	m. Sir Thomas, Daughter of William I Baron	
1561	Bastard	Thomas		Twelve sermons: viz. I. A Christian exhortation ... II. 12 The sinners looking-glasse. 2 pts.	London	T. S]nodham] f. M. Lownes	1615	4	Howard [Knyvett], Catherine	m. Thomas I Earl Suffolk	part Part II. also issued sep. as 1559.5.]
1572	Bastwick	John		The letany of John Bastwick [Pt. 1].	Leiden	W. Christiaens	1637	4	Waldegrave [Bacon], Jemima	m. Sir William the younger	epistle
1598	Baxter	Nathaniel		Sir Phiilp Sidneyes Ourania, that is, Endimions song and tragedie. Written by N. B.	London	E. Alde f. E. White	1606	4	Daniel [Vinor], Anne	m. Sir William, Judge	epistle
									Hastings [Dudley], Catherine	m. Henry III Earl	epistle
									Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	
									Herbert [Talbot], Mary	m. William III Earl	epistle

										Herbert [Vere], Susan	m. Philip IV Earl. All as Countess of Montgomery	epistle
										Mansell [Sidney], Elizabeth Catherine	m. Sir Lewis II Bt.	epistle
										Sidney [Gamage], Barbara	m. Robert I Earl	epistle
										Wroth [Sidney], Mary	m. Sir Robert, Author DNB]	epistle
										Zouche [Harington], Sarah	m. Edward XI Baron, previously Hastings	epistle
1599	Baybush			London			J. Wolfe	1589		Seymour [Howard of Effingham], Frances	m. Edward I Earl	by printer
1624	Bayley	Lewis	of Bangor	London	R. Vaughan	[Anr. issue w. imprint 1623.5] Yr ymarfer o dduwioledeb.	F. Kyngston tros R. Allat	1630	12	Lloyd [Lloyd], Margaret	m. John of Rhiwaedog	and 1629-N
1629	Baynes	Paul		London		Christian letters, of Mr Paul Bayne. (Holy soliloquies. Third edition. - Comfort and Instruction.)	T. D[awson] f. N. Newbery	1620	12	Lennard [Slany], Elizabeth	m. Sir Samuel of Wickham	shared, by editor
1636	Baynes	Paul		London		A commentarie upon the first and second chapters of saint Paul to the Colossians. Together with places of scripture briefly explained. [Ed.](Justinian Stubbs). 2 pts.	R. Badger f. N. Bourne	1634	4	Weid [Slany], Mary	m. Sir Humphrey	shared, by editor
1649	Baynes	Paul		London		Two godly and fruitfull treatises: the one, upon the Lords prayer: the other, upon the sixe principles.	R. Field f. R. Mylbourne	1619	12	Stanley [Spencer], Alice	m. Ferdinando V Earl, later Egerton	epistle, L
1653	Beacon	Richard		Oxford		Solon his foliie, or a politique discourse, touching the reformation of common-weales.	J. Barnes	1594	4	Elizabeth I	Queen.	
1710	Becon	Thomas		London		The workes of Thomas Becon, whiche he hath hytherto made and published, with diuerse other new bookes added. 3 vols.	J. Day	1564	fol.	Becon, Basil, Rachel and Theodore	Children of Becon, Thomas [Divine]	The gen. prelims. were pr. last.
1712	Becon	Thomas		London		The castell of comforte, in the whiche it is proued, yt God alone absolueth.				Elizabeth I	Queen	part, [1733 impf.] The gen. prelims. were pr. last.
1720	Becon	Thomas		London		[Anr. ed 1719.5]. The flower of godlye praiers.	J. Daye a. W. Seres	1549?	8	Fitzroy [Howard], Mary	m. Henry Duke of Richmond	[1710]
				London			J. Day	1551	8	Seymour [Stanhope], Anne	Edward Duke of Somerset, later Newdigate	1561-F of, [1710] [1720 impf.]

1726	Becon	Thomas		[Anr. ed. 1724.5] The governans of vertue, teaching a christen man, how he ought dayely to lede his life ... Newly corrected and augmented by T. Beacon.	London	J. Daye	15607	16	Seymour, Lady Jane	Sister of Lord Henry, Son of Edward I Duke	[1710]
1734	Becon	Thomas		A newe pathway unto praler, by T. Basille [pseud.].	London	J. Mayler f. J. Gough	1542	8	Grey, Lady Anne	[probably [Jernegan] m. Lord Edward, later Walsingham	
1734.5	Becon	Thomas		[Anr. ed., w. title 1734] The right path waye vnto prayer, wyth a table lately made.	London	J. Mayler f. J. Gough	1543	8	Grey, Lady Anne	[probably [Jernegan] m. Lord Edward, later Walsingham	[1710]
1746	Becon	Thomas		[Anr. ed. 1744] The pomander of prayer. Newly made by T. Becon.	London	J. Day	1561	8	Anne of Cleves	Queen	[earlier lost] [1710]
1778	Beda		The Venerable	The history of the church of Englande.	Antwerp	J. Laet	1565	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	A&R 82
1789	Bedford	Thomas		A treatise of the sacraments. With a sermon preached June 24. 1638. 2 pts.	London	R. Bishop [a.] (E. Griffyn) f. A. Roper	1638	12	Wise [Chichester], Mary	m. Sir Thomas of Devon part	
1805	Beiling	Richard		A sixthe booke to the countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia.	Dublin	Society of Stationers	1624	4	Carey [Tanfield], Elizabeth	m. Henry I Viscount Falkland	
1839	Bellarmino	Roberto	Cardinal	[Anr. ed., enlarged 1838.5] The arte of dying well. Devided into two bookes. Togeather with a relation of the said cardinalls death. The second edition.	St. Omer	English College Press	1622 (1623)	8	M., [Lady] M.		and 1621-ST A&R 96
1846	Bellehachius	Ogerius		Ogerii Bellehachii sacrosancta bucolica Elizabeth Britanniae, reginae dicata. [Verse paraphrase of the Song of Solomon.]	London	H. Middletonus pro G. Ponsorbio	1583	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
1859	Benedict		Saint, Abbot	Here begynneth the rule of seynt Benet.	London	R. Pynson	1517	fol.	Romsey Abbey: Abbess		
								fol.	Whitney priory (Hants.): prioress		
								fol.	Winchester diocese: benedictine nuns		
								fol.	Winchester: unnamed abbess of St. Mary		
1860	Benedict		Saint, Abbot	The rule of the most blissed father saint Benedict.	Gant	J. Dooms	1632	8	Poulton, Eugenia	O.S.B. Abbess at Ghent	A&R 102.
1889	Bentham	Joseph		The societie of the saints: or, a treatise of good-felloses. In	London	G. Miller	16307	4	Manners [Montagu], Frances	m. John VIII Earl	shared

1892	Bentley	Thomas		fourteene sermons. The monument of matrones: containing seven severall lamps of virginitie, or distinct treatises; whereof the first flue concerne praier and meditation: the two last, precepts and examples ... [lamps 1-4].		London	H. Denham	1582	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
1908	Bernard		Saint	A compendius & a moche fruytefull treatyse of well iluyng.	T. Paynell	London	T. Petyt	1545 c	8	Mary I	Queen	
1922	Bernard		Saint	A hive of sacred honie-combes taken out of the workes of S. Bernard.	A. Batt	Doway	[widow of] P. Auroy f. J. Heigham	1631	8	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	A&R 104.
1923	Bernard		Saint	A rule of good life:	A. Batt	Doway	L. Kellam	1633	16	Gawen, Frances, O.S.B. Roman Catholics after 1558: Nuns. As 'virgin reader'	Abdess at Cambrai	A&R 105. A&R 105.
1927	Bernard	Richard		Christian advertisements and counsels of peace. Also disswasions from the separatists schisme, commonly called Brownisme.		London	F. Kyngston	1608	8	St. Paul, Sir George	I Bt.	
1928	Bernard	Richard		Christian see to thy conscience, or a treatise of the nature, the kinds and differences of conscience.		London	F. Kyngston f. E. Blackmore	1631	12	Gorges, Sir Robert	Of Wraxhall, Soms.	shared
1929	Bernard	Richard		The common catechisme, with a commentarie thereupon.		London	W. Sta[nsby] f. S. Man	1630	8	Hanham, Thomas	Of Dean's court [Brown]	shared
1934	Bernard	Richard		Contemplative pictures: with wholesome precepts. The first part: Of God. Of the divell. [etc.]		London	W. Hall f. W. Welbie	1610	8	Fairfax [Sheffield], Mary	m. Sir Ferdinand	shared
										Sheffield, Edmund	I Earl of Mulgrave	shared
										Swift [Sheffield], Elizabeth	m. Sir Edward	shared
1942	Bernard	Richard		The good mans grace. Or his stay in all distresse. [On the Lord's prayer.]		London	F. Kingston	1621	12	Billingsley [Tracy], Susan	m. Sir Henry	shared
										Strode [Crisp], Rebecca	m. Sir George	shared
1946	Bernard	Richard		The isle of man: or, the legall proceeding in Man-shire against sinne. Wherein, the chiefe malefactors disturbing both church and state are detected.		London	[Eliot's Court Press?] f. E. Blackmoore	1628	12	Thynne, Sir Thomas	Son of John, father of Henry I Bt.	
1953	Bernard	Richard		[Anr. ed w. additions 1952.5] Josuahs godly resolution in a		London?	J. Legatt, sold by S. Waterson	1612	8	Pakenham, Sir Henry	Of Belton [Vis. Lincs.]	and 1609-YK [see changes]

1954	Bernard	Richard	conference with Caleb, touching household government. With a twofold catechisme.	London?	J. Legatt, sold by S. Waterson	1629	8	Drake, Sir John	Of Ashe, Devon	shared, superseding Pakenham
1956	Bernard	Richard	[Anr. ed, w. further additions, w. title 1952.5] Josuahs resolution for the well ordering of his household. A twofold catechisme. In the end, certaine rules, for a holy conversation.	London	F. Kyngston, sold by E. Weaver	1623	4	Cotterell, Sir Clement	Groom Porter [Vis. Lincs.]	shared
1959	Bernard	Richard	Looke beyond Luther: or an answer to that question, proposed by our adversaries, where our religion was before Luthers time?	London	F. Kyngston, sold by E. Blackmore	1635	12	Erle or Earle, Sir Walter Wray, Sir John	Of Dorset [Keeler]	shared
1962	Bernard	Richard	The ready way to good workes, or, a treatise of charitie.	London	F. Kyngston, sold by S. Waterson	1628	4	Rich [Wray], Frances	m. Robert I Earl, previously St. Paul	
1965	Bernard	Richard	Ruths recompence: or a commentarie upon the booke of Ruth.	London	F. Kyngston, sold by F. Coles, at the half-bowle in the Old Bailly	16337	12	Berkeley [Killigrew], Elizabeth	m. Sir Maurice [Vis. Soms.]	shared, 1616-O of, only [earlier lost]
			[Anr. ed. w title 1964.3] A weekes worke. Containing rules and directions how to walke in the wayes of godlinesse. Newly printed.					Berkeley [Nevill], Elizabeth	m. Sir Henry [Vis. Soms.]	shared, and 1616-O
								Homer [Speke], Anne	m. Sir John [Vis. Soms]	shared, and 1616-O [earlier lost]
								Par [Sauvenburgh], Helena	m. William I Marquis	and 1628-O
1998	Béze	Theodore de	Ad serenissimam Elizabetham Angliae reginam T. Beza. [Verses in 8 languages on the defeat of the Spanish Armada.]	London	G. B[ishop] a. R. N[ewbery]	1588	s.sh .fol.	Elizabeth I	Queen	see
2004	Béze	Theodore de	Christian meditations vpon eight psalmes. Tr out of Frenche.	London	Imprinted in Bacon house by C. Barker	1582	16	Bacon [Butts], Anne	Sir Nicholas I Bt.	by translator
								Bacon [Cooke], Anne	m. Sir Nicholas [DNB]	by author
2019	Béze	Theodore de	Jobus, Theodori Bezae partim commentariis partim paraphrasi illustratus. Cui additus est Ecclesiastes. paraphrastica	London	typis G. Bishop	1589	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	

2020	Béze	Theodore de		explicata. Job expounded ... partly in a commentary, partly in a paraphrase. (Ecclesiastes. With a paraphrase.) 2 pts.	?	Cambridge	J. Legatt, pr to the univ of cambridge, sold in London [by Ab. Kitson]	1589?	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	
2024	Béze	Theodore de		[Anr. ed. 2023.7] Maister Bezaes household prayers tr. out of French	J. Barnes	London	N. Okes f. W. Jones	1607	12	Cecil [Brydges]. Frances	m. Thomas I Earl of Exeter, previously Smith. Also see E., C.D. of	rewritten 1621-O
2033	Béze	Theodore de		The psalmes of Dauld, truly opened and explained. Set foorth in Latine by T. Beza.	A. Gilbie	London	J. Harison a. H. Midleton	1580	16	Hastings [Dudley]. Catherine	m. Henry III Earl	
2045	Béze	Theodore de		The other parte of christian questions and answeares. Tr out of latine.	J. Field	London	(T. Dawson f.) T. Woodcocke	1580	8	Brandon [Willoughby]. Catharine	m. Charles Duke, later Bertie	
2051	Béze	Theodore de		Two very lerned sermons of M. Beza, together with a short sum of the sacrament of the Lordes supper: tr. T. Wilcox. Whereunto is added a treatise of the Lords supper.	T. W[ilcox]	London	R. Walde-graue f. T. Man a. T. Gubbins	1588	8	Morrison, Sir Charles		shared
2059	Bible - Latin			[Anr. ed. 2056, w. N. T. in both Beza's and Tremellius's versions.] Testamenti veteris Biblia sacra siue libri canonici, Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, ab I. Tremellio & F. Junio: accesserunt libri Apocryphi, Latine redditi a F. Junio, quibus adjunctus novi Testamenti libros ex sermone Syriaco ab eodem Tremellio in Latinum conversos. 6 pts.		London	H. Middletonus, imp. G. B[ishop]	1585	4	Russell [Hussey]. Bridget Elizabeth I	m. Francis II Earl Queen	shared and 60, part
2060	Bible - Latin			[A variant 2059] Testamenti veteris Biblia sacra siue libri canonici, Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, ab I. Tremellio & F. Junio: accesserunt libri Apocryphi, Latine redditi a F. Junio, quibus adjunctus novi Testamenti libros ex sermone Syriaco ab eodem Tremellio in Latinum conversos. 6 pts.		London	H. Midletonus, imp. W. N[orton]	1585	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	and 60, part
2087.5	Bible - English			The volume of the bokes called		London	J. Dav a. W.	1549	8	Brandon Willoughby.	m. Charles Duke, later	arms in

				Apocripha.				Seres		Catharine	Bertie	
2093	Bible - English			The bible and holy scriptures conteyned in the olde and newe testamēt. Tr. according to the Ebrue and Greke. With moste profitable annotations.	Geneva version	Geneva	R. Hall	1560	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
2099	Bible - English			The. holle. bible. containyng the olde testamēt and the newe.	Bishops version	London	R. Jugge	1568	fol.	Elizabeth I	Queen	see
2347	Bible - Welsh			Y beibl cyssegr-ian. Sef yr hen destamēt, a'r newydd.	W. Morgan	London	Deputies of C. Barker	1588	fol.	Elizabeth I	Queen	
2366	Bible - O.T. - psalms - latin			Paraphrasis poetica psalmorum Davidis. Auctore A. Jonstone, Scoto. Accesserunt elusdem cantica evangelica, symbolum apostolorum, [etc.].	A. Jonstone	Aberdoniaē	E. Rabanus	1637	8	Keith [Erskine], Mary	m. William VI Earl	
2384	Bible - O.T. - psalms - English - prose			The boke of psalms where in are conteyned praters.	Geneva version	Geneva	R. Hall	1559	16	Elizabeth I	Queen	
2497	Bible - O.T. - psalms - English - metrical			The psalmes of Dauld in meter. The plaine song to be sung and plaide vpon the lute, orpharion, citterne, or base violl.	By R. Allison and are to be sold at his house in the Dukes place neare Alder-gate	London	f. W. Barley, the assigne of T. Morley	1599	fol.	Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick	
2735	Bible - O.T. - psalms - English - metrical			The psalmes of David tr. into lyrick verse. Illustrated, with a short argument, and a briefe prayer, before, & after, every psalme.	G. Wither	In the Neatherlan ds, [Amsterdam ?]	Cornelis Gerrits van Breughel	1632	16	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	
2749	Bible - O.T. - single psalms			A meditation on part of the seaventh psalme.		Oxford	J. Barnes	1613	4	N., E., and wife K., N.	'Cousin'	
2762	Bible - O.T. - Ecclesiastes			Solomons sermon: of mens chief felicitie. With a paraphrase gathered out of the lectures of A. C[orranus] & now englished.	T. Pie	Oxford	J. Barnes	1586	8	Sutton [Howard], Mary	m. Edward V Baron Dudley	
2773	Bible - O.T. - Song of Solomon			The [fourth and] fift part of Salomon his Song of Songs, expounded.	H. Clapham	London	R. Braddock f. N. Butter	1606	4	Sheffield [Anderson], Grizel	m. Sir John	part
2805	Bible - N.T. -			[Anr. ed. 2802] Jesu Christi d. n.	Béze (into	London	T. Vautrollerius	1577	8	Williamson [Anderson], Mary	m. Sir Richard	part, shared
										Elizabeth I	Queen	and later 160 eds.

3088	Bird	Samuel				second epistle to the Corinthians. The lectures of Samuel Bird vpon the II. chapters of Hebrewes, and vpon the 38. Psalme.	Cambridge	1598	8	Bacon Edward	of Shrubland Hall [DNB]	shared
3124	Blanchardine		W. Caxton	Westminster		The first chapitre of this present boke conteyneth how Blanchardyn departed ...	Cambridge	1490	fol.	Beaufort, Margaret	Countess of Richmond [DNB]	
3132	Blenerhasset	Thomas		London		A revelation of the true Minerua. 1582.	London	1582	4	Leighton [Knollys], Cecilia	m. Sir Thomas	
3146	Blundeville	Thomas		London		M. Blundeulle his Exercises, containing sixe treatises.	London	1594	4	Wyndham [Bacon], Elizabeth	m. Francis-DNB	see
3192	Bodenham	John		London		[Anr. ed., enlarged 3191]. Englands Helicon. Or the muses harmony. [ed. (R. Moore).]	London	1614	8	Carey [Tanfield], Elizabeth	m. Henry I Viscount Falkland	by bookseller superseding Bodenheim
3195	Bodonius	Stephanus	E. Crane	London		The fortresse of fayth defended both by the scripture and doctors ... tr. out of latine.	London	1570	8	Seymour [Stanhope], Anne	Edward Duke of Somerset, later Newdigate	
3200	Boethius	Anicius M.T.S.	J. Walton	In the exempt monastery of Tauestok		The boke of comfort called in laten Boetius de consolatione philosophie tr. in to englesse tonge.	London	1525	4	Beauchamp [Berkeley], Elizabeth	m. Richard III Earl of Warwick	
3201	Boethius	Anicius M.T.S.	G. Coluille	London		Boetius de consolationae [sic] philosophiae. The boke called the comforte of philosophye.	London	1556	4	Mary I	Queen	
3202	Boethius	Anicius M.T.S.	I.T. [really M. Walpole]	London		Five bookes, of philosophical comfort.	London	1609	8	Sackville [Baker], Cicely	m. Thomas I Earl	
3216	Boiardo	Matteo Maria	R. T[offe]. Gentleman	London		Orlando inamorato the three first bookes. Done into English herocall verse by...	London	1598	4	Morgan [Golding], Margarte	m. Sir John of Chillworth, Surrey	
3272	Bonaventura		A. Browne, 2nd Vct. Montague	Doway		[Anr. ed. 3271.] The life of the holie father S. Francis.	Doway	1635	16	Englefield [Brooksby], Winifred	m. Sir Francis II Bt.	by editor [see changes] A&R 127.
3276	Bonde	William		London		[Anr. issue w. title 3274.5] A deuote epystle or treatyse [etc.].	London	1534?	4	Denney Abbey. Unnamed Nun		
3279	Bonham	Thomas		London		The chyrgians closet: or, an antidotarie chyrgicall. Now drawne into forme by E. Poeton.	London	1630	4	Cecil [Brydges], Frances	m. Thomas I Earl of Exeter, previously Smith. Also see E., C.D. of	by editor
3305	Book		W. Caxton	Westmynstr e		[Book of diuers ghostly matters. Begins] These ben the chapitres of this tretyse of ye seuen poyntes of trewe loue and euerlastyng wysdom written in Latyn. [By H. Susol and clebt Oroclodium	Westmynstr e	1491	4	Unnamed Individual Patrons: Lady		part

3383	Borde	Andrew		sapiencie. (The xij. prophettes of tribulacyon. - A compendious abstracte, tr. out of the holy rule of saynt Benet).															
3410	Boughton	John		The first boke of the introduction of knowledge.	London, at the signe of the Rose Garland	W. Copland	1555?	4	Mary I	Queen									
3417	Bourne	Immanuel		God and man. Or a treatise catechisticall.	London	N. Ojkes] f. S. Man	1623	8	Haule or Hall, Henry	Of Maidstone [Vis. Kent]									
3441	Bownd	Nicholas		The godly man's guide: with a direction for all: especially merchants and tradsmen. In a sermon.	London	A. M[athewes] f. G. Fayerbeard	1620	4	Tryon, Sir Samuel	I Bt.									
3442	Bownd	Nicholas		A treatise full of consolation.	Cambridge	C. Legge, pr. to the Uni. of Cambridge	1608	8	Wamer, Sir Henry	Of Mildenhall									part of Unbeliefe of Thomas, 1608-HD
3445a	Boyd	Zachary		[Anr issue w. cancel gen. tp. 3441.5.] The unbeliefe of St. Thomas the apostle, laid open. 2 pfs.	London	f. R. Allott	1628	8	Gardiner, Sir Robert	Chief Justice of Ireland									and 1608-HD
3446	Boyd	Zachary		The balme of Gilead prepared for the sicke.	Edinburgh	J. Wreittoun	1629	8	Fleming [Livingston], Margaret	m. John II Earl									see
3446a	Boyd	Zachary		A cleare forme of catechising. To this are added two compends of the catechisme, fit for little children.	Glasgow	G. Anderson	1639	8	Campbell [Douglas], Margaret	m. Archibald Marquis of Argyll									part
3447	Boyd	Zachary		Four letters of comforts, for the deaths of the earle of Hadingtoun, and of the lord Boyd, with two epitaphs.	Glasgow	G. Anderson	1640	8	Campbell, Anne	Daughter of Margaret									part
3474.5	Bracciolini	Francesco		The tragedie of Alceste and Eliza. As found in Italian. in La croce	London	T. Harper f. J. Watson	1638	8	Wingfield [Deane], Anne	m. Sir Anthony I Bt.									part
				[Anr issue 3446a.5, divided into 2 vols., w. tp cancelled and new prelims. for each vol.] The last battell of the soule in death, divided into eight conferences.	Edinburgh	Heires of A. Hart	1629	8	Ramsay [Fleming], Anne	m. George III Earf of Dalhousie, previously Lady Boyd									part

3510	Bradshaw	William			London	W. Hall f. S. Macham	1609	12	Darcy [Redich], Grace	m. Sir Robert	
3518	Bradshaw	William			London		1601	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	see
3521	Bradshaw	William			London	J. Dawson f. F. Clifton	1621	4	Darcy [Redich], Grace	m. Sir Robert	by editor
3523	Bradshaw	William			London	E. Griffin f. W. Bladen	1620	4	Reddish [Dethick], Katharine	m. Alexander of Newhall, Derby	by editor as Redich
3544	Brandon	Samuel			London	[E. Alde] f. W. Ponsonby	1598	8	Thynne [Touchet], Mary	m. Sir Thomas	part
3547	Brant	Sebastian			London	Wynkyn de worde	1509	4	Beaufort, Margaret	Countess of Richmond [DNB]	by printer
3552	Brasbridge	Thomas			London	Eliot's Court Press, imp. G. Bishop	1592	8	Cope, Sir Anthony		superseding Ramsey
3553	Brathwait	Richard			London	F. Kyngston, sold by R. Bostock	1634	8	Brathwait [Lawson], Frances (in memory of)	m. Richard	
3554	Brathwait	Richard			London	F. Kyngston, sold by R. Bostock	1635	8	Brathwait [Lawson], Frances (in memory of)	m. Richard	

3555	Brathwait	Richard		Art asleepe husband? A boulistier lecture. By Philogenes Panedonius [pseud].	London	R. Bishop f. R. B[est] or his assignes	1640	8	Dainty doxies		
3565	Brathwait	Richard		The English gentlewoman, drawne out to the full body: expressing, what habiliments doe best attire her.	London	B. Alsop a. T. Fawcet f. M. Sparke	1631	4	Fletcher, Catherine, Mrs. Gentlewomen		in HD copy only
3567	Brathwait	Richard		[Anr issue, 3565] The English gentlewoman, drawne out to the full body: expressing, what habiliments doe best attire her.	London	A. Griffin, sold by H. Shephard	1635	4	Wentworth [Holles], Arabella Brathwaite [Lawson], Frances	m. Thomas I Earl of Strafford m. Richard	
3569	Brathwait	Richard	J. Vicars	The last trumpet: or, a six-fold christian dialogue. Tr. from the elegant Latine prose of R. Brathwait [3575] into English verse.	London	T. Harper f. R. Bostocke	1635	8	Pye, Sir Walter	Lawyer - DNB	
3570	Brathwait	Richard		Loves labyrinth: or the true-lovers knot = pt. 3588 [A strappado for the divell. Epigrams and satyres.]	London	J. Bleale] f. R. Redmer	1615	8	Musgrave [Wharton], Frances	m. Richard I Bt.	epistle, [3588]
3571	Brathwait	Richard		Natures embassie: or, the wild-mans measures. (The second section - The shepherds tales. - Omphale. - His odes.)	London	[R. Field] f. R. Whitaker	1621	8	Wharton [Carey], Philadelphia	m. Sir Thomas	part, as Lady P. W. [named-PFOR]
3583a	Brathwait	Richard		[Anr ed enlarged 3583] A survey of history: or, a nursery for gentry. Contrived in an intermixt discourse.	London	J. Okes f. J. Emery	1638	4	Whiothesley [Vernon], Elizabeth	m. Henry III Earl	
3586	Brathwait	Richard		A spirital spicerie: containing sundrie sweet tractates of devotion and piety.	London	J. H[aviland] f. G. Hutton	1638	12	Brathwaite, Richard, five sisters of Vavasour, Sir Walter		part
3632	Breton	Nicholas		Auspicante Jehova. Maries exercise.	London	T. Este	1597	8	Herbert [Sidney], Mary Ladies and Gentlewoman	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	
3648	Breton	Nicholas		A divine poeme, divided into two partes: the ravisht soule, and the blessed weeper.	London	[R. Braddock] f. J. Browne a. J. Deane	1601	4	Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	
3673	Breton	Nicholas		Olde mad-cappes new gally-mawfrey.	London	[W. White] f. R. Johnes	1602	4	Breton [Legh], Anne	m. Nicholas of Little Cattohorpe, Leics.	
3678	Breton	Nicholas	Breton	Pasquils mistresse: or the worthie	London	[R. Braddock] f. I.	1600	4	Women		

3682	Breton	Nicholas		and unworthie woman. [By] (Salohcin Treboun).	Breton	London	E. Alde f. J. Tappe	1604	4	Aglaia	'Shepherdess' [fiction]	
3682.5	Breton	Nicholas		The passions of the spiritt. [Anon.]		London	T. Este	1599	8	Houghton [-], Mary	m. Peter, Alderman	by printer
3683	Breton	Nicholas		The pilgrimage to paradise, ioyned with the countesse of Penbrookes ioue.		Oxford	J. Barnes, solde [by T. Cooke, London]	1592	4	Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earlt of Pembroke	
3695	Breton	Nicholas		A smale handfull of fragrant flowers.		London	R. Jones	1575	8	Sheffield [Howard], Douglas	m. John II Baron	
3699	Breton	Nicholas		The soules harmony.		London	S. Stafford f. R. Bemarkes	1602	8	Zouche [Harington], Sarah	m. Edward XI Baron, previously Hastings	
3703	Breton	Nicholas		A true description of unthankfulness.		London	T. Este	1602	4	Gates, Mary	Daughter of Sir Henry of Seamer, Yks.	
3705	Breton	Nicholas		The wil of wit, wils will, or wils wit, chuse you whether. Containing fiue discourses.		London	T. Creede	1597	4	Ladies and Gentlewoman		[earlier lost]
3737	Bridges	John	Bp	The supremacie of christian princes, both against [23231] and against N. Sanders his Visible Monarchie.		London	H. Bynneman f. H. Toye	1573	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
3743	Bright	Timothy		Characterie. An arte of shorte, swift, and secrete writing by character.		London	J. Windet, the assigne of T. Bright	1588	12	Elizabeth I	Queen	
3776	Brinsley	John	The elder	The second part of the true watch, containing the perfect rule and summe of prayer.		London	F. Kington] f. S. Macham	1607	8	Hastings [Stanley], Elizabeth	m. Henry V Earl	
3788	Brinsley	John	The elder	The fourth part of the true watch, containing prayers and teares for the churches.		London	[J. Jaggard?] f. T. Pavier	1624	12	Sutton [Harington], Theodocia	m. Edward V Baron Dudley	shared
3830	Brooke	Christopher		The ghost of Richard the third.		London	G. Eld f. L. Lisle	1614	4	Crompton, Sir John	m. Sir Edward	shared
3850	Broughton	Hugh		A conceit of scripture.		London	[R. Watkins] f. G. Simson a. W. White	1588 - 90	4	Elizabeth I	m. Edward XI Baron, previously Hastings of Skeme, Yorks.	shared
3860	Broughton	Hugh		An epistle of an ebrew [Abraham ben Reuben] willinge to leame christianity. with some further		Basil	C. Waldkirch	1598	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	see

3861	Broughton	Hugh		speech upon it.	London	[R. Watkins?]	1594?	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
3863	Broughton	Hugh		[Anr. ed. 3862A.5 An explication of the article ...] The second edition, wherein the typographical faults of the former are amended.	Amsterdam?		1605	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	and 1599-O14
3887	Broughton	Hugh		Sundry workes, defending the certayntie of the holy chronicle. 4 pts.	London	[R. Watkins?]	1594?	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
3894	Broughton	Richard		The ecclesiasticall historie of Great Britaine deduced by ages. The first tome.	Doway	widowe of M. Wyon	1633	fol.	Villiers [Manners], Katherine	m. George I Duke	shared A&R 156
3898	Broughton	Richard		The judgement of the apostles: In all points of doctrine questioned betweene the catholikes and protestants of England.	Doway	widdow of M. Wyon	1632	8	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	A&R 163
3899	Broughton	Richard		A manual of prayers used by the fathers of the primitive church.	Lancs?	Birchley Hall Press?	1618	8	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	shared A&R 165
3902	Brousse	Jacques		The life of the reverend Fa. Angel of Joyeuse. Together with the lives of father Bennet and father Archangel. [Anon.] Written in Frenche and now tr.	Douay	[M. Wyon a. St. Omer, C. Boscard] f. J. Heigham	1623	8	Tydesley, Elizabeth	Abbess at Gravelines. Ciara Mariana, in religion	A&R 170.
3917	Browne	William	Poet	The shepheards pipe.	London	N. O[kes] f. G. Norton	1614	8	Barnes [Manwood], Dorothy	m. Sir William [Vis. Kent]	epistle, shared [25890]
3922	Bruce	Robert		[Anr issue 3921.5, w different prelims, naming Mitchell as the Anglicizer] The mystery of the Lords supper, in five sermons.	London	[H. Lowmes] f. T. Man	1614	8	Manwood, Bowes and Frances	Daughters of Sir Peter	epistle, [25890]
3925	Bruce	Robert		The way to true peace and rest. Delivered in XVI sermons.	London	R. Field f. T. Man	1617	4	Moore, Adrian	m. Sir Thomas the younger	shared, epistle, [25890]
3926	Bruch	Richard		Epigrammatum hecatontades duae.	London	G. W[ood.] imp. R. A[lott]	1627	12	Russell [Harington], Lucy	Haberdasher and Merchant [PCC 1618]	by editor, 2nd issue - HD
3931	Brugis	Thomas		The marrow of physicke. Or, a learned discourse of the parts of	London	R. Heame [a. T. Harper]	1640	4	Danby [Eure], Margaret	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	

4098a	Bunny	Francis		An exposition of the lordes praier.	Oxford	Jos. Barnes, sold by John Barnes [London]	1602	8	Matthew [Barlow], Frances	m. Tobie	
4110	Burges	Cornelius		A chaine of graces: drawne out at length for reformation of manners.	London	J. Hjaviland] f. S. Man	1622	12	Russell, Edward	III Earl of Bedford	
4132	Burt	Thomas		A nicke for neuters. A most godly and fruitfull sermon [on Rev iii. 14-17].	London	S. Stafford	1604	8	Grange, Sir John	J.P., of St. Giles-in-the-fields	
4170	Burton	William	Minister at Reading	Dauids evidenece [sic], or, the assurance of Gods loue declared in seuen sermons.	London	R. Field f. T. Cooke	1592	8	Wentworth, Henry	III Baron Wentworth	[4165a]
4177	Burton	William	Minister at Reading	[Anr. ed. 4176] The rowings of the sluggard in 7 sermons. By W. B. minister at Reading.	London	R. Raworth f. Jonah Man, sold by T. Paine a. M. Simmons [first ed by widow Orwin, 1595]	1634	8	Dawes, Sir Abraham	Farmer of Customs	by bookseller
4184	Bushe	Paul	Bishop	A brefe exhortation set fourth to one Margarete Burges of kyngeswode in Wilshere [to give up protestant heresies].	London	J. Cawodde	1556	8	Burges [-], Margaret	m. John of Kingswood, Wilts. [untraced]	see
4186	Bushe	Paul		Here begynneth a lytell treatyse in Englysshe, called the extripacion of ignorancy.	London	(R. Pynson)	1526?	4	Mary I	Queen	
4187	Bushell	Thomas		The first part of youths errors. Written by T. Bushel, the superlative prodigall [now reformed].	London	T. Harper	1628	8	Willoughby [Thornborough], Elizabeth	m. Sir Robert [Vis Staffs. part	
4194	Butler	Charles		[Anr. ed. in phonetic spelling, 4192] The feminine monarchie. Or a treatise concerning bees.	Oxford	Jos. Barnes	1609	8	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	
4207	Buttes	Henry		Dyets dry dinner: consisting of eight severall courses: 1. Fruits 2. Hearbes [etc].	London	T. Creede f. W. Wood	1599	8	Bacon [Butts], Anne	Sir Nicholas I Bt.	shared
4211	Byfield	Nicholas		A commentary: or, sermons upon the second chapter of the first epistle of Peter. [Ed.] (W. Gouge).	London	H. Lowmes f. G. Latham	1623	4	Vere, Horatio	I Baron Vere of Tilbury	[4214]
4213	Byfield	Nicholas		The cure of the feare of death. A treatise.	London	G. P[urslowe] f. R. Rounthwaite	1618	12	Harington [Kelway], Anne	m. John I Baron	[4220 and 1619-F]
4214	Byfield	Nicholas		Directions for the private reading of the scriptures. The second edition.	London	E. Griffin f. N. Butter	1618	12	Vere, Horatio	I Baron Vere of Tilbury	[earlier lost]

4216	Byfield	Nicholas		An exposition upon the epistle to the Colossians. Being, the substance of neare seaven yeeres weeke-dayes sermons.	London	T. S[nodham a. E. Griffin] f. N. Butter	1615	fol.	Russell, Edward	III Earl of Bedford	
4220	Byfield	Nicholas		[Anr. ed. 4219.5 w treatises 1-4 on continuous signatures] The marrow of the oracles of God. Or divers treatises. The second edition.	London	(R. Field) f. R. Rounthwaite	1620	12	Cleere, Lady Anne	[?]for Agnes Crane m. Sir Edward of Ormesby]	part, shared, and 1619-HD
									Finch [Heydon], Anne or Agnes	m. Theophilus II Bt.	part, shared, and 1619-HD
									Herlicke [May], Joan	m. Sir William - DNB	part, shared, and 1619-HD
									Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	and 1619-HD
									Vere [Tracy], Mary	m. Horatio I Baron Vere	part, and 1619-F
4226	Byfield	Nicholas		The paterne of wholesome words.	London	F. K[ingston] f. S. Man	1618	8	Hay [Percy], Lucy	m. James I Earl of Carlisle	shared, [excluded from 4221 etc. by copyright trouble]
									Percy [Devereux], Dorothy	m. Henry III Earl	shared
									Sidney [Percy], Dorothy	m. Robert II Earl	shared
4233	Byfield	Nicholas		The rule of faith: or, an exposition of the apostles creed. Published by A. Bifield.	London	G. M[iller] f. R. Rounthwaite, P. Stephens a. C. Meredith	1626	4	Hoby, Sir Thomas Posthumous	Son of Sir Thomas - DNB	by editor
4234	Byfield	Nicholas		Sermons upon the first chapter of the first epistle generall of Peter.	London	E. Griffin f. N. Butter	1617	4	Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	[4212]
4235	Byfield	Nicholas		Sermons upon the ten first verses of the third chapter of the first epistle of S. Peter. Published since the authors death by W. Gouge.	London	H. Lowmes f. G. Latham	1626	4	Vere, Horatio	I Baron Vere of Tilbury	[4212] by editor
4236	Byfield	Nicholas		The signes or an essay concerning the assurance of Gods love, and mans salvation.	London	J. Beale f. Jonas Man	1614	12	Ratcliffe [Breewood], Jane	m. John Mayor of Chester	
4237	Byfield	Nicholas		[Anr ed 4236.8] The spiritual touchstone: or, the signes of a godly man.	London	J. Norton f. J. Bellamy	1637	12	Scudamore [Hampden], Ruth	m. Sir Philip, later Leigh	and 1619-F [4220]
4239	Byfield	Richard		The light of faith: and, way of holinesse. Shewing what to believe. And how to live in all estates.	London	T. H[arper] f. P. Stephens a. C. Meredith	1630	12	Evelyn, Sir Thomas	Of Long Ditton, Surrey	
4242	Byrd	Josias		Loves peereles paragon, or the attributes and progresse of the	Oxford	J. Barnes	1613	4	Stanley [Spencer], Alice	m. Ferdinando V Earl, later Egerton	

4251.5	Byrd	William		church. A sermon. Parthenia or the maydenhead of the first musicke that ever was printed for the virginals. By W. Byrd, J. Bull, & O. Gibbons.	London	print: for Mrs Dor. Evans, to be sold by G. Lowe	1613?	fol.	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	See,
									Brownlo, Marye		see
									Frederick I	King of Bohemia	Early state-HN of
4278	C.	I., or J		The ever-burning lamps of pietie and devotion. Kindled by many excellent prayers.	London	G. Purslowe f. R. 1619 Hawkings	12		Villiers [St. John], Barbara	m. Sir Edward - DNB	
4282	C.	I., or J		Saint Marie Magdalens conversion.		English Secret Press	4		B., Mrs. F.		
4284	C.	J.	Student in Divinity	The theatre of catholique and protestant religion. [Attrib. to J. Colleton and to J. Copinger.]	St. Omer	C. Boscard	8		Mary	The blessed virgin	A&R 256
4295	C.	R.		A new booke intituled The blasinge of bawdrie, daylie procured by beldame B. principall broker of all iniquitie.	London	(R. Jhones)	8		Bawds		
4314	C.	T.		Two treatises. 1. The holy exercise of a true fast. By T. C[lar]wright? 2. The substance of the Lordes supper. By T. W[il]cox.	London	f. J Harison a. T. Man	12		Pelham, Sir William	Lieutenant of the ordnance - DNB	[?earlier lost]
4315	C.	W.	Maister of Art	The adventures of ladie Egeria. Containing her miserable bannishment [etc.].	London	R. Waide-graue	4		Sackville [Baker], Cicely	m. Thomas I Earl	
4344	Caius	Joannes		De antiquitate Cantabrigiensis academiae libri duo. Londinensi auctore. [Anon] Adunximus assertionem antiquitatis Oxonienis academiae, ab Oxonienſi quodam conscriptam. [Anon by T. Caius] 2 pts.	London	per H. Bynneſman	8		Elizabeth I	Queen	
4366	Caldwell	James		The countess of Marres Arcadie, or Sanctuarie. Containing meditations. Enriched with a godlie treatise, called, An ascension of the soule to heauen [ed] (P. Anderson).	Edinburgh	J. Wreittoun	12		Erskine [Stuart], Mary	m. John II Earl	by editor
4393	Calvin	Jean		[Genesis] A commentarie ... vpon Genesis: tr out of Latine.	London	(H. Middleton) f. J. Harison a. G. Bishop	4		Dudley, Ambrose	Earl of Warwick	
4429	Calvin	Jean		An abridgement of the Institution of C.	Edinburgh	T. Vautrollier	8		Pelham [St. John], Judith	m. Sir John	

4510	Camden	William		[Anr ed 4509] Britain, or a chorographical description of England, Scotland, and Ireland, beautified with mappes.	P. Holland ... finally revised, amended and enlarged by the author	London	[Eliot's Court Press.] imp. G. Bishop & J. Norton	1610	fol.	Berkeley [Carey], Elizabeth	m. Sir Thomas, later Chamberlain	see
4538	Campion	Thomas		The discription of a maske, in honour of the lord Hayes. [With music.]		London	J. Windet f. J. Brown	1607	4	Hay, James	1 Earl of Carlisle	epistle
4544	Campion	Thomas		Tomae Campiani poemata. Ad Thamesin. Fragmentum vmbrae [etc].		London	ex off typ R. Field	1595	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	epistle
4546	Campion	Thomas		Songs of mourning: bewailing the untimely death of prince Henry. Worded by T. Campion. And set forth to bee sung by J. Coprario [Cooper].		London	[T. Snodham] f. J. Browne	1613	fol.	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	See
4549	Camus	Jean Pierre	Bishop	Admirable events: selected out of foure bookes, written in French. Together with morall relations, by the same author.	S[usan] de Verger	London	T. Harper f. W. Brooks	1639	4	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	
4552	Camus	Jean Pierre	Bishop	A draught of eternitie. Written in French.	M. Car [i.e. M. Pinkney]	Doway	widowe of M. Wyon	1632	12	Arundell [Philipson], Anne	m. Thomas I Baron	
4553	Camus	Jean Pierre	Bishop	A spirituall combat: a tryall of a faithful soule or consolation in temptation. Written in French.	M. C(ar), P[rest, i.e. M. Pinkney]	Doway	widowe of M. Wyon	1632	12	Percy, Mary	Benedictine abbes at Gillow	
4564	Cancellor	James		The pathes of obedience, right necessarye for all the king and quenes maiesties louing subjectes.		London	J. Waylande	1556?	8	Mary I	Queen	
4577	Cannon	Nathaniel		Lachrimae: or lamentations over the dead. (A day of hearing, granted to Sion. - The spring garden or nurserie of spirituall plants.)		London	F. Kyngston f. W. Welby	1616	8	Love lace [Dodsworth], Margaret	m. Richard I Baron	LINC [F. impf.]
4613	Carew	Elizabeth	Lady	The tragedie of Mariam, the faire queene of Jewry. Written by that noble ladie, E. C.		London	T. Creede f. R. Hawkins	1613	4	Scrope [Carey], Philadelphia	m. Thomas X Baron	LINC [F. impf.]
4665	Carpenter	John	Minister	Remember Lots wife. Two godly and fruitfull sermons.		London	T. Orwin, solde by E. White	1588	8	Carew [Bland], Elizabeth	m. Sir Phillip	usually cancelled
4668	Carpenter	John	Minister	Time complaining, giueth a mostly godly admonition, to England in		London	T. Orwin	1588	8	Woolton [-], Mary	m. John Bishop	
						London				Wairond, John	Of Bovey, Devon	

4896	Cecil	William	Baron Burghley	Carmen gratulatorium audium Cecilianarum in adventum serenissimae reginae. 22 sept 1571.		London	H. Bynneman?	1571?	s.sh fol.	Elizabeth I	Queen	see
4912	Cepari	Virgilio		The life of B. Aloysius Gonzaga of the society of Jesus. Written in Latin and tr.	R. S[Stanford?]	Paris [i.e. St. Omer]	English College Press	1627	8	Villiers [Beaumont], Mary	Countess of Buckingham	
4914	Cervantes Saavedra	Miguel de		Exemplarie novells; In sixe books.	Don Diego Puede-Ser [i.e. J. Mabbe]	London	J. Dawson f. R. M[abbe], sold by L. Blalcklocke	1640	fol.	Strangways [Edwards], Susanna	m. Giles of Melbury - Keeler	
4939	Chaloner	Thomas	Sir, the Elder	In laudem Henrici octavi, regis Angliae praestantiss carmen panegiricum. 1560.		London	J. Day	1560	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	[4938]
4952	Chamberlaine	Bartholome		A sermon preached at Farington in Barkeshire, the seventeene of Februarie, 1587. At the buriall of the ladie Anne courtes of Warwicke, and widowe of sir Edward Umpton.		London	J. Wolfe	1591	8	Shirley [Wroughton], Dorothy	m. Sir George 'I Bt.; previously Unton	
4954	Chambers	Robert	Priest	Palestina. [A romance based on the gospels.]		Florence [i.e. London]	B. Sermartelli [i.e. J. Windet]	1600	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
4964	Chapman	George		Andromeda liberata. Or the nuptials of Perseus and Andromeda. [On the marriage of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and Frances Howard, formerly Countess of Essex.]		London	[Eliot's Court Press] f. L. L'isle	1614	4	Carr, Robert	Earl of Somerset	
4997	Chapman	John		A most true report of the mouing and sinking of ground, at Westram in Kent, the 18 of December, till the 29 of the same moneth. 1596.		London	T. Creede	1596	4	Lennard [Fiennes], Margaret	Baroness Dacre	
4999	Chappell	Bartholome		The garden of prudence. Wherein is contained, a pathetical discourse, touching the vanities of the world, [etc].		London	R. Johnes	1595	8	Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick	
5000	Chardon	John	Bishop	A comfortable sermon for all such as thirst to by Ioned with Jesus Christ. Preached at the funerals of syr Gawen Carew in Exeter the two and twentieth of April. 1584.		Oxford	J. Barnes	1586	8	Fulford [Barnfield], Ursula	m. Thomas	epistle
5026	Charles I			The king and queens entertainment at Richmond. In a masque.		Oxford	L. Lichfield	1636	4	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	

5068	Chaucer	Geoffrey		The workes of Geffray Chaucer newly printed, with dyvers works neuer in print before. [ed] (W. Thynne).	London	T. Godfray	1532	fol.	Anne of Bohemia.	Queen	
5112	Cheke	John	Sir	A royall eiegle. Briefly describing the vertuous reigne, and happy death of king Edward the sixth. Written by sir J. Cheke [actually by W. Baldwin].	London	[J. Windet] f. H. Holland	1610	4	Sidney [Gamage], Barbara	m. Robert I Earl	by editor
5113	Cheldonus	Tigurinus		A most excellent hystorie, of the institution of christian princes. Whereunto is annexed a treatise of peace and warre, and another of mariage. First written in Latin ... after tr. [w. additions] into French by P. Boualsteau.	London	H. Bynneman	1571	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
5116	Chemnitius	Martinus		A discoverie and batterie of the great fort of vnwritten traditions: otherwise, an examination of the counsell of Trent, touching the decree of traditions. (A confutation of vnwritten verities. Made by T. Cranmer.)	London	T. Purfoot a. W. Pounsonbie	1582	4	Altham, James	of Mark Hall.	
5128	Chetwind	Edward		Votivae lachrymae. A vow of teares, for the losse of Prince Henry. In a sermon preached in Bristol December 7. 1612.	London	W. H[ail] f. W. Welby	1612	8	Frederick I	King of Bohemia	shared
5154	Christian Admonition			A christian and wholesom admonition, directed to the Frenchmen, which are revolted from true religion, and have polluted themselves with the idolatrie of poperie.	London	J. Wolfe	1587	8	Neville, Sir Henry	Courtier d.1615 - DNB	
5158	Christian Discourse			A christian discourse vpon certaine poynts of religion. Presented vnto the prince of Conde.	London	T. East	1578	8	Vere [Cecil], Anne	m. Edward XVII Earl	
5192	Christian Soule			The sacrifice of a christian soule containing godlie prayers, and holy meditations for sundry purposes.	Edinburgh	R. Waide-graue	1591	12	Maitland [Metellanus], John	Lord Maitland, Chancellor	by printer
5207	Christopherso	John	Bishop	An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion. [With] two godlye prayers.	London	J. Cawood	1554	8	Mary I	Queen	

5220	Churchyard	Thomas		Churchyards challenge.		London	J. Wolfe	1593	4	Anderson [Smyth], Magdalen	m. Sir Edmund.	
										Brocket [Moore], Elizabeth	m. Sir John	part
										Carey [Spenser], Elizabeth	m. George II Baron Hunsdon	part
										Fortescue [Smyth], Alice	m. Sir John	part
										Paulet [Blount], Elizabeth	m. Sir Hugh	part
										Puckering [Chowne], Jane	m. Sir John	part
										Sackville [Spencer], Anne	m. Robert II Earl of Dorset, previously Compton	part
										Waller [Chute], Ann	m. Sir Walter of Kent	part, as Wawllar
5228	Churchyard	Thomas		The epitaph of sir Phillip Sidney.		London	G. Robinson f. T. Cadman	1586	4	Devereux [Walsingham], Frances	m. Robert II Earl, previously Sidney	
5237	Churchyard	Thomas		A handeful of gladsome verses, giuen to the queenes maiesty at Woodstocke.		Oxforde	J. Barnes	1592	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
5243	Churchyard	Thomas		The miserle of Flaunders, calamitie of Fraunce, misfortune of Portugall, [etc].		London	[J. Kingston] f. A. Maunsell	1579	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
5248	Churchyard	Thomas		A pleasant conceite penned in verse. Presented on new-yeeres day last, to the queenes maiestie.		London	R. Warde [in the shop of J. Charlewood]	1593	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
5261	Churchyard	Thomas		The worthines of Wales: wherein are more then a thousand severall things rehearsed.		London	G. Robinson f. T. Cadman	1587	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
5276	Cicero	Marcus Tullius		The booke of freendship of M. T. Cicero.	J. Haryngton	London	In the hous of T. Bertholette	1550	16	Brandon [Willoughby], Catharine	m. Charles Duke, later Bertie	
5323.8 a		Giovanni Battista		A booke of curious and strange inuentions, called the first part of needleworkes. Newlie augmented. First imprinted in Venice, and now again newly printed for the gentlewomen of England. [Anon.]	Anon	London	[J. Danter] f. W. Barley	1596	4	Manners [Holcroft], Isabel	m. Edward III Earl	by bookseller
5350	Clare		Saint	The life of the glorious virgin S. Clare. Together with the life of S. Agnes her sister. And of another S. Agnes. Also the rule of S. Clare. And the life of S. Catharine of Bologna.	?	St. Omer	English College Press	1622	16	Clare	Saint	
5367	Claudianus	Claudius		The rape of Proserpine. Tr. Out of Claudian in Latine. into English	I. Digges	London	G. P[urslowe] f. E. Blount	1617	4	Palmer [Digges], Margaret	m. Sir Anthony	

5369	Clavell	John				London	[W. Stansby] f. R. Meighen	1628	8	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	
			A recantation of an ill led life. Or a discoverie of the high-way law.							Henrietta Maria, Ladies of her court:		epistle
5370	Clavell	John			London	B. Alsop] a. T. Fawcett] f. R. Meighen	1628	4	4	Clavel [Willoughby], Frances	m. John, Author's Mother	shared, epistle
			Second edition [5369] with additions corrected and amended by the author.							Freake [Clavel], Elizabeth	m. Robert [Vis. Dorset]	shared, epistle
5376	Clayton	Giles			London	J. C[harlewood] f. Ab. Kitsonne	1591	4	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
			The approued order of martiall discipline, with eury particuler offcer his dutie. Whereunto is adioyned a second booke, for the true ordering and imbattelling of any number.							Crew, John	Baron Crew of Stene	shared
5379	Cleaver	Robert			London	A. M[athewes] a. J. [Norton] f. R. Milbourne	1625	12				
			A declaration of the christian sabbath. Wherein the sanctifying of the Lordes-day, is proved agreeable to the commandment of God.							Curzon, Sir John	I Bt.	shared
										Stephens, Edward	Of Little Sodbury [Keeler]	shared
5381	Cleaver	Robert			London	T. Snodham f. Roger Jackson	1613	4	4	Stephens, Thomas	Of the middle temple [Brown]	part
			Foure sermons. The two first, of godly feare. By R. Cleaver. The two last. Of christian love and life. By R. Webb.									
5382	Cleaver	Robert			London	T. Creede f. T. Man	1598	8		Burgoyne, Robert	of Wroxall, d. 1613	shared
			A codly [sic] form of householde gouernement: for the ordering of private families.							Dive, John	Of Ridlington Park	shared
										Temple, Edmund	Of Temple Hall, d., 1616	shared
5389	Cleaver	Robert			London	B. Alsop f. J. Hunscoot a. B. Fisher	1624	4	4	Clinton [Knevitt], Elizabeth	m. Thomas III Ear	
			The patrimony of christian children: or, a defence of infants baptisme. By R. Cleaver, with the Joynt consent of J. Dod.									
5432	Clinton	Elizabeth			Oxford	J. Lichfield a. J. Short	1622	4	4	Clinton [Fiennes], Bridget	m. Theophilus IV Ear	
			The courtesse of Lincolnes nurserie [ed] (T. Lodge).									
5454	Cobbes	Edmund			London	T. Cotes f. J. Bellamie	1633	8	8	Brent, Sir Nathaniel	Warden of Merton [DNB]	
			The parable of the uncleane spirit. A worke needfull for these secure times in which the most neglect the meanes of their salvation.									

5458	Cockburn	Patrick		In Dominicam orationem pia meditati.		London	In civitate Sancti Andree, ex typ. J. Scot	1555	8	Mary of Guise	Queen of James V	
5538	Cole	Nathanael		Preservatives against sinne, or, how to live and not sinne.		London	T. S[nodham] f. N. Bourne	1618	4	Carey, Henry	I Earl of Dover	shared
										Lovell [Carey], Anne	m. Sir Francis of Harling, Norf.	shared
										Scrope [Carey], Philadelphia	m. Thomas X Baron	shared
5566	Collins	Thomas		The penitent publican, his confession of mouth.		London	[T. Creede] f. A. Johnson	1610	4	Hastings [Dudley], Catherine	m. Henry III Earl	
5567	Collins	Thomas		The teares of love: or, cupids progresse. In a (passionate) pastorall elegie.		London	G. Purslowe f. H. Bell	1615	4	Ramsay [Radcliffe], Elizabeth	m. John I Earl of Holderness	
5568	Colman	Morgan		[The genealogies of King James and Queen Anne, with the coats of arms of the nobles living in 1608 and of their wives].		London?		1608	fol.	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	see
										James VI and I	King	
5569	Colman	Walter		La dance machabre or death's duell.		London	W. Stansby	1632?	8	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	
5582	Colse	Peter		Penelopes complaint: or, a mirrour for wanton minions. Taken out of Homers Odissea, and written in English verse.		London	[V. Simmes f.] H. Jackson	1596	4	Arnold [Horsey], Grace	m. William, Daughter of Sir Ralph	epistle
										Horsey [Mohun], Edith	m. Sir Ralph	
5638	Constable	Henry		[An red w additions 5637] Diana. Or, the excellent conceittful sonnets of H. C. Augmented w divers quatorzains of lerned personages. Deuided into viij] decades.		London	J. Roberts f. R. Smith	1594?	8	Elizabeth I, Maids of honour		
5642	Contarini	Gasparo	Cardinal	The common-weath and gouernment of Venice. Tr out of Italian. With sundry other collections, annexed by the translator.	L. Lewkenor	London	J. Windet f. E. Mattes	1599	4	Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick	
5647	Controversy			A courtly controuersie of Cupids cauteis: conteyning fise tragicall histories. Tr. out of French [from Jacques Yver's Le printemps d'Yver] as neare as our English phrase will permit.	H. W(otton), gentleman	London	F. Coldock a. H. Bynneman	1578	4	Fiennes [Sackville], Anne	m. Gregory X Baron Dacre	

5651	Conway	John	Sir	Meditations and prayers, gathered out of the sacred letters, and vertuous writers: disposed in foume of the alphabet of the queene consolations.	London	H. Wykes	1569?	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	[see changes]
5653	Conway	John	Sir	[Anr ed 5651, revised, w new prellms] The poesie of floured prayers. Containing sundrie meditations and prayers: disposed in forme of the alphabet, of the Lady Elizabeths name.	London	[T. Purfoot] f. V. Sims, sold by E. White	1611	12	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	by bookseller [usurped from Elizabeth I]
5657	Conyers	James		Christs love, and saints sacrifice. Preached in a sermon at St. Pauls Crosse.	London	E. P[urslowe] f. H. Seile	1635	4	Blagge [North], Mary	m. Thomas, sister of Henry I Bt.	shared
									North, Sir Henry	I Bt.	shared
									North, Sir Roger	Of Mildenhall	shared
5679	Cooper or Coprario	John	Composer	Funeral teares. For the death of the earle of Devonshire. Figured in seaven songs.	London	J. Windet, the assigne of W. Barley, f. J. Browne	1606	fol.	Rich [Devereux], Penelope	Lady Rich - DNB. Subsequently Blount	[vaguely]
5692	Cooper	Thomas	Preacher	The art of giving. Describing the true nature, and right use of liberality.	London	[T. Snodham] f. T. Pavier	1615	8	Wakering, Sir Gilbert	Of Herts. [PCC 1617]	shared
5693.7	Cooper	Thomas	Preacher	[Anr issue, w cancel tp.] The Romish spider, with his web of treason. Woven and broken.	London	G. Eld f. J. Hodgets	1606	4	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	
5694	Cooper	Thomas	Preacher	The christians daily sacrifice: containing a daily direction for sanctification.	London	H. B[allard] f. W. Burre	1608	12	Harington, John	I Baron H. of Exton	[see changes]
5695	Cooper	Thomas	Preacher	The third edition [5694] corrected and enlarged with a thousand spirituall rules.	London	N. O[akes] f. W. Burre	1615	12	Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	[see changes]
5696	Cooper	Thomas	Preacher	The churches deliverance, containyng meditations uppon the booke of Hester.	London	G. Eld f. T. Adams	1609	4	Rham [Good], Katherine	m. Sir John	shared
									Wakering [Hampson], Elizabeth	m. Sir Gilbert [Vis. Bucks.]	shared
5698	Cooper	Thomas	Preacher	The cry and revenge of blood. Expressing the haynousnesse of wilfull murther. Exemplified [in one] committed at Halsworth in High	London	N. Okes f. J. Wright	1620	4	Montagu, Henry	I Earl Manchester	some copies

5700	Cooper	Thomas	Preacher	Suffolk.		London	J. Beale f. W. Welby	1615	4	Romney [Taylor], Rebecca	m. Sir William	shared
5717	Cope	Anthony	Sir	A familiar treatise, laying downe cases of conscience, furthering to perseverance in sanctification.		London	[R. Grafton f.?] J. Daye	1547	4	Catherine Parr	Queen	
5722	Cope	John		A godly meditacion vpon xx select psalmes of Dauld.		London	F. Kingston, sold by J. Boler	1629	8	Rich [Cope], Isabel, alias. Elizabeth	m. Henry I Earl	
5734	Copland	Robert		A religious inquisition: or, a short scrutinie after religion.		Lothburie ouer agaynste Sainct Margarytes church	W. Copland	1565c	4	Archwives and widows		
5769	Corkine	William		The seuen sorowes that women haue when theyr husbandes be deade.		London	[T. Snodham] f. M. L[ownes.] J. B[rown], a. T. S[nodham] assigned by W. Barley	1612	fol.	Baynard [Stapleton], Ursula	m. Sir Robert of Lackham	part, shared
5771	Corneille	Pierre		The second booke of ayres. With new corantoos, pavins, [etc]						Rich [Cope], Isabel, alias. Elizabeth	m. Henry I Earl	part, shared
5775	Cornwallis	William	Sir	The second part of the Cid.	J. Rutter	London	J. Okes f. S. Browne	1640	12	Coke [Berkeley], Theophilla	m. Sir Robert	
				Essayes. By sir William Cornewaleys the younger, knight. [ed] (H. Olney).		London	[S. Stafford] f. E. Mattes	1601	8	Dyer [Fitzwilliams], Mary	m. Sir Richard	shared, by editor and author
										Sutton [Harington], Theodocia	m. Edward V Baron Dudley	shared, partly by editor
										Wingfield [Harington], Mary	m. Sir Edward	shared, partly by bookseller
5793	Corro	Antonio de		Diuinorum operum tabula.	?	London	H. Bynneman?	1570	fol. (2)	Zouche [Harington], Sarah	m. Edward XI Baron, previously Hastings	shared, partly by bookseller
5807	Coyate	Thomas				London	W. Stansby	1611	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
				Coyats crambe, or his colworttwise sodden, and now served as the second course to his Crudities.						Anne of Denmark	Queen.	
5809	Coyate	Thomas		Mr Thomas Coriat to his friends in England sendeth greeting: from Agra in the easterne India, the last of October. 1616. [Ed and w		London	J. B[eale]	1618	4	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	see
										Coyate [?Williams], Gertrude	m. George - DNB	see, [23725]

6090	Crowley	Robert		Englishe writers which Cerberus chargeth wyth false doctrine.	London	[R. Grafton f.] (R. 1551 Crowley)	8	Fane [-], Elizabeth	m. Sir Ralph - DNB	
6098	Croy	Francois de		The three conformities. Or the harmony of the Romish church with gentilsme, judaisme and auncient heresies.	London	E. Griffin	4	Harington [Kelway], Anne	m. John I Baron	
6112	Culverwell	Ezekiel		Time well spent in sacred meditations. Divine observations. Heavenly exhortations. [Ed] (A[Andrew] Symson [minister]).	London	M. Flesher f. H. Stretton	12	Moore [Borough?], Mary	m. Adrian, charity dispenser	by editor
6124	Cupif	Frances		Trueth triumphant, or the late conversion of a doctor of Sorbon, F. Cupif, from poperie. With [his] degradation by the facultie of divinitie at Parie, Julie 1637. And his answer.	Aberdene	W. Raban	4	Forbes [Keith], Jean	m. Alexander I Lord	
6134	Curteys, or Curtis	Richard		The care of a christian conscience. Ten sermons on the 25 psalme, preached in Tewkesburie.	London	S. Stafford	8	Stafford [Stafford], Dorothy	m. Sir William. Lady of bedchamber	by printer
6157	Cyprias		Saint	A swete and deuote sermon of mortaltie of man. The rules of a christian lyfe by Picus erle of Mirandula.	London	in aed. T. Berthelet	8	Kingston [Fetiplace], Susan	m. John	[16932]
6162	D.	D.		Xenia regia ad Jacobum ... Britanniae regem Annam reginam, Henricum Fredericum a. D. D. Sc. Br.conscripta.	London	G. Eld	4	Anne of Denmark	Queen	epistle
6185	Daca	Antonio		The historie, life, and miracles, extasies and revelations of sister Joane, of the Crosse.	St. Omers	[C. Boscard] f. J. Helgham	8	Radcliffe, Elizabeth	Poor Clare at Aire	shared
6227	Daneau	Lambert		A fruitfull commentarie vpon the twelue small prophets. Written in Latin and newly turned into English by J. Stockwood.	Cambridge	J. Legate, pr. to the Univ of Cambridge [a. London. J. Orwin.] sold in London [by R. Bankworth]	4	Hastings, Henry	Ill Earl of Huntingdon	
6236	Daniel	Samuel		The works of Samuel Daniel newly augmented.	London	[V. Simmes a. W. White] f. S.	fol. (3)	Elizabeth I	Queen	[see changes]

6240	Daniel	Samuel					London	Waterson J. W[indet] f. S. Waterson	1607	8	Clifford [later Sackville and Herbert], Anne	Countess [DNB]	part
6245	Daniel	Samuel			Certain small workes heretofore divulged by S. Daniel now againe by him corrected and augmented. [Anr ed w additions 6244] The civile wars betwene the howses of Lancaster and Yorke corrected and continued. [8 bks.]		London	[H. Lownes f] S. Watersonne	1609	4	Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	[6238 some copies]
6248	Daniel	Samuel			[Anr ed, w additions 6246:] The collection of the historie of England [to the end of Edward III].		London	N. Okes f. the author	1618	fol.	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	superseding Rochester
6257	Daniel	Samuel			Hymens triumph. A pastorall tragicomedie.		London?	[J. Legat] f. F. Constable	1615	8	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	[6238]
6258	Daniel	Samuel			A panegyrike congratulatorie to the kings maiestie. Also certaine epistles.		London	[V. Simmes f. E. Blount]	1603	fol.	Clifford [later Sackville and Herbert], Anne	Countess [DNB]	epistle [6263, 6238]
6261	Daniel	Samuel			The poeticall essayes of Sam. Danyel. Newly corrected and augmented. 4 pts.		London	P. Short f. S. Waterson	1599	4	Clifford [Russell], Margaret	George III Earl	epistle, [6263, 6238]
6262	Daniel	Samuel			The queenes Arcadia. A pastorall trage-comedie.		London	G. Eld f. S. Waterson	1606	4	Anne of Denmark	Queen	[6242, 6238]
6265	Daniel	Samuel			The vision of the 12 goddesses.		London	T. C[reede] f. S. Waterson	1604	8	Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	[6238]
6268	Danyel	John			Songs for the lute viol and voice: composed 1606.		London	T. E[ast] f. T. Adams	1606	fol.		Daughter of Sir William [Ms. Oxfs.]	
6269	Darcie	Abraham			Frances duchesse dowager of Richmond and Lenox her funerall teares. Or larmes funebres pour la mort de son espoux, qui deceda le 16 Feburier, 1624.		London	J. Beale a. R. Field	1624	8	Stuart [Howard], Frances	m. Ludovic II Duke of Lennox, previously Pranel and Seymour	
6270	Darcie	Abraham			Honors true arbor, or, the princely nobilitie of the Howards. To this present yeare 1625.		London	A. Mathewes	1625	fol.	Cecil [Howard], Catherine	m. William II Earl of Salisbury	shared
											Fitzgerald [Howard], Frances	m. Henry XII Earl of Kildare, later Brooke	shared
											Knollys [Howard], Elizabeth	m. William I Earl	shared
											Mordaunt [Howard], Elizabeth	m. John I Earl	shared
											Stuart [Howard], Frances	m. Ludovic II Duke of	shared

6271	Darcie	Abraham		The honour of ladies: or, a true description of their noble perfections.	London	T. Snodham	1622	8	Dormer [Herbert], Anna Sophia	Lennox, previously Pranel and Seymour	shared
									Herbert [Vere], Susan	m. Phillip IV Earl. All as Countess of Montgomery	shared, -L
									Norris [Vere], Bridget	m. Francis Earl of Berkshire	shared, -L
									Stanley [Vere], Elizabeth	m. William IV Earl	shared
6272	Darcie	Abraham		A monumentall pyramide to all posterities: erected to the memory, of Lodowick, late duke of Richmond and Lenox.	London	E. All-de [a. G. Eld] f. N. Butter	1624	4	Stuart [Howard], Frances	m. Ludovic II Duke of Lennox, previously Pranel and Seymour	shared
6291	Dounce	Edward		A briefe discourse of the Spanish state, with a dialogue intituled Philobasilis.	London	R. Field	1590	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
6324	Davidson	John	Minister of Salt-Preston	A memorial of the life & death of two worthy christians, Robert Campbel and his wife Elizabeth.	Edinburgh	R. Waldegrave	1595	8	Campbell, Elizabeth	of Kinyeancleugh, friend of Knox	
6330	Davies	John	of Hereford	The holy roode, or Christs crosse: containing Christ crucified, described in speaking-picture.	London	(J. Windet) f. N. Butter	1609	4	Brydges [Stanley], Anne	m. Grey, V Baron Chandos, later Touchet	shared
									Egerton [Stanley], Frances	m. John I Earl	shared
									Hastings [Stanley], Elizabeth	m. Henry V Earl	shared
									Stanley [Spencer], Alice	m. Ferdinando V Earl, later Egerton	shared
6332	Davies	John	of Hereford	Humours heav'n on earth; with the civile warres of death and fortune. As also the picture of the plague, as it was in 1603.	London	A. [slip]	1609	8	Baskerville, Sir Humfrey	of Eardisley	epistle
									Dutton [Egerton], Elizabeth	m. John of Ches.	shared, epistle
									Hay [Percy], Lucy	m. James I Earl of Carlisle	part, shared
									Leigh [Egerton], Mary	m. Thomas I Baron	shared, epistle
									Sidney [Percy], Dorothy	m. Robert II Earl	part, shared
6333	Davies	John	of Hereford	Microcosmos. The discovery of the little world, with the government thereof.	Oxford	Jos. Barnes, sold by John Barnes [London]	1605	4	Devereux [Walsingham], Frances	m. Robert II Earl, previously Sidney	epistle
									Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of	

6546	Delamothe	G.		[Anr ed 6545.5 (previous also dedic) The French alphabeth, teaching in a very short tyme, to pronounce French [etc].	London	E. Alde, sold by H. Jackson	1595	8	Tasburgh [West], Jane	m. Sir Thomas, Daughter of William I Baron	part, and 1592-LC
6580	Dempster	Thomas		Epithalamion in nuptiis generosissimorum Jacobi comitis Perthani, & Isabellae, unicae Roberti comitis Wintonij, filie.	Edinburgi	R. Charteris	1608	4	Drummond, James	I Earl of Perth	
6601	Denison	Stephen		The doctrine of both the sacraments. Or a commentary upon [Acts xxii. 16 and] I Cor. xi. 23-24. Delivered in sundry sermons.	London	A. Mathewes f. R. Mylbourne	1621	4	Owefiled [Moore], Thomasine	m. Roger, Charitable puritan	shared
6603	Denison	Stephen		An exposition upon the first chapter of the second epistle of Peter: with the principall doctrines.	London	R. Field f. R. Mylbourne	1622	4	Sutton [Harington], Theodocia	m. Edward V Baron Dudley	
6604	Denison	Stephen		The third impression [6603]. An exposition upon the first chapter of the second epistle of Peter.	London	R. Field	1620	8	Juxon, John	Citizen d. 1626 [Vis. London]	and first ed.-O with his children Elizabeth, John, Mary, Sarah and Thomas
6673	Dent	Daniel		A sermon against drunkennes: preached at Ware.	Cambridge	Prs to the Univ of Cambridge	1628	4	Moore [Borough?], Mary	m. Adrian, charity dispenser	
6733	Dering	Edward		[Anr issue w 92-4 reset]. Two godly sermons. Newlie imprinted.	London [i.e. Middleburg]	R. Schilders	1590		Elizabeth I	Queen	[6677, sometimes 6676]
6735	Desaintiens, or Sainliens = Holyband	Claude, or Claude de = Claudius		Campo di fior or else the flourie field of fourre languages of C. Desainliens, alias Holiband. Ital, Lat, Fr a Eng.	London	T. Vautrollier	1583	8	Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	
6736	Desainliens, or Sainliens = Holyband	Claude, or Claude de = Claudius		Claudii a Sancto Vinculo, de pronuntiatione linguae Gallicae libri duo. (De resurrectione Domini oratio.)	London	T. Vautrollierus	1580	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	[2 eds.]
6761	Desainliens, or Sainliens = Holyband	Claude, or Claude de = Claudius		The tresurie of the French tong.	London	H. Bynneman	1580	4	Harington [Kelway], Anne	m. John I Baron	
6762	Desainliens, or Sainliens = Holyband	Claude, or Claude de = Claudius		A treatise for declining of verbs, which may be called the second chiefest worke of the french tongue.	London	T. Vautrollier	1580	8	Harington [Kelway], Anne	m. John I Baron	
6844.4	Digby	Kenelm	Sir	A conference with a lady about choice of religion. [Anon.]	Paris	Widow of J. Blagaert	1638	24	Unnamed Individual Patrons: Lady		A&R 270
6880	Dillingham	Francis		[pt of 6886] A golden keye, opening the locke to eternall	London	[J. Winde] f. J. Tapp	1609	8	Digby [Walco], Beatrice	m. John I Earl, previously Dyve	shared, [6886]

6945	Dod	John	[6937.5] Foure godlie and fruitfull sermons: two preached at Draiton [on 2 Sam. xxiv. 10-12, 14-17.] Likewise, two [on Ps xii. 1-2, 3-4.] Whereunto is annexed a Tract of zeale. By J. Dod. R. Cleaver. [Ed] (J. Winston).	London	W. Hall f. R. Jackson	1610	4	Cope [Chaworth], Elizabeth	m. Sir William II Bt.	O [also in Sermons, 1610-BO shared, and 1609-U by editor
6960	Dod and Cleaver	John, Robert	[Anr ed 6959.5] A plaine and familiar exposition of the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of Proverbs.	London	R. B[raddock] f. R. Jackson	1609	4	Harington, John	I Baron H. of Exton	shared, and 1609-U by editor and 1608-ILL
6965	Dod and Cleaver	John, Robert	A plaine and familiar exposition: of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth chapters of Proverbs.	London	W. Stansby a. T. Creede	1610	4	Walter [-], Elizabeth	m. William of Wimbledon	
6984	Doebens	Robert	A newe herball, or historie of plantes. First set fourth in the Doutche or Almaine tongue, and now tr out of French.	Antwerpe	H. Loe, solde at London by G. Dewes	1578	fol.	Elizabeth I	Queen	
6990	Dodson	Thomas	A sermon preached in the cathedrall church of Yorke, against Popish transubstantiation.	London	H. Lownes] f. M. Lownes	1608	4	Fowberie, Catherine	Widow [?of Newbold, Yks.]	
7031	Donne	John	Deaths duell, or, a consolatoin to the soule, against the dying life, and living death of the body. In a sermon.	London	T. Harper f. R. Redmer a. B. Fisher	1632	4	Francis, Elizabeth	'of Brumsted, Norf.	epistle 1610-F of presentation by bookseller
7045	Donne	John	Poems, by J. D(onne.) With elegies on the authors death.	London	M. F[lesher] f. J. Marriot	1633	4	Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	see
7095	Dowland	John	The second booke of songs or ayres, of 2. 4. and 5. Parts: with tabliture. Published by G. Eastland. and are to be sould at	London	T. Este, the assigne of T. Morley	1600	fol.	Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	

7097	Dowland	John				his house neere the greene dragon and sword, in Fleetstreete. Lachrimae, or seaven teares figured in seaven passionate pavans, with divers other pavans, ... set forth for the lute, in five parts.	London	J. Windet, solde at the authors house in Felter-lane neare Fleetstreete	1604	fol.	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	
7104	Downame	George	Bishop			An abstract of the duties commanded, and sinnes forbidden in the law of God. [Ed.] (B. Nicoll).	London	F. Kyngston	1620	8	Montagu [Crouch], Margaret	m. Henry I Earl, previously Hare	by editor
7133	Downame	John				The christian warfare. Wherein is first generally shewed the stratagemes of the spirituall enemies of our salvation. Written for [those] afflicted in conscience. [Pt 1.]	London	F. Kyngson [a. T. Dawson] f. C. Burby	1604	4	Chamberlain, Robert	Alderman	shared, [7137]
7141	Downame	John				[A variant, w imprint on gen tp 7410.5] Foure treatises, tending to disswade all christians from swearing, drunkennesse, whoredome, and briberie. Whereunto is annexed a treatise of anger. 2 pts.	London	F. Kyngston f. W. Welby	1609	4	Harington, John	I Baron H. of Exton	and 1608-DUL
7151	Downame	John				[= part 2 of 7143] A guide to godlynesse or a treatise of a christian life ... whereunto are added divers prayers and a treatise of carnall securitie.	London	F. Kingstone f. E. Wever & W. Bladen [pt 2:] W. Stansby	1622	fol.	Montagu, Henry	I Earl Manchester	[7143]
7160	Dowriche	Hugh				The laylors conuersion. Wherein is represented, the true image of a soule conuerted by the spirit of God.	London	J. Windet	1596	8	D., A.,	Gentlewoman. Possibly Arundell, Dorothy, O.S.B, daughter of Sir John of Lanham	verse
7182	Draxe	Thomas				The christian armonie: wherein is contained all manner of spirituall munition, contrived in two bookes.	London	W. Hall f. J. Stepneth	1611	8	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	part
7183	Draxe	Thomas				The churches securitie, together with the antidote or preservative of every waking faith. Hereunto is annexed a treatise of the generall signes of the last judgement.	London	G. Eld, sold by J. Wright	1608	4	Dudley [Knollys], Lettice	m. Robert, Earl, previously Devereux, later Blount	part
7187	Draxe	Thomas				The worldes resurrection. or the	London	G. Eld f. J.	1608	4	Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of	

7267	Du Bosc	Jacques				J. H(ainhofer)	London	T. Cotes f. W. Hope	1638	12	Sackville [Curzon], Mary	m. Edward IV Earl	
7293	Dugdale	Gilbert			The secretary of ladies. Or, a new collection of letters and answers.		London	J. Roberts f. J. Busbie	1604	4	Brydges [Hopton], Mary	m. William IV Baron	epistle, by editor
7302	Du Jon	Francois	the Younger		A true discourse of the practises of Elizabeth Caldwell, Jeffrey Bownd, [and others] on the parson of T. Caldwell, to have murdered him. With her godly life during imprisonment. [And] a letter, written by her. [Ed] (R. Armin).	?F. Junius	London	R. Hodgkinsonne, sold by D. Frere	1638	4	Howard [Talbot], Alatheia	m. Thomas I Earl of Norfolk	
7304	Du Laurens	Andre			The painting of the ancients, in three bookes. Written first in Latine by F. Junius. And now by him Englished, with some additions and alterations.	R. Surphlet	London	F. Kingston f. R. Jacson	1599	4	West, Thomas	II Baron De La Warr	
7317	Du Moulin	Pierre	the Elder		A discourse of the preservation of the sight: of melancholike diseases; [etc.] Tr out of French.	J. Buiteel	London	M. Dawson] f. N. Newbery	1636	12	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	shared, [see changes]
7318	Du Moulin	Pierre	the Elder		[Anr ed 7316 w new dedics] The christian combate, or a treatise of afflictions, with a prayer and a sermon.	N. M(etcalfe.)	London	T. S[inotham] f. T. Pavler	1623	8	Wray [Norris], Lady Elizabeth	m. Edward [groom of bedchamber]	
7319	Du Moulin	Pierre	the Elder		Coales from the altar: or, foure religious treatises. Written in French and tr. [4 pts.]	?	London	[Eliot's Court Press] f. John Bames, sold [by N. Butter]	1615	4	Winwood [Bail], Elizabeth	m. Sir Ralph-DNB	by bookseller
7321	Du Moulin	Pierre	the Elder		A conference held at Paris betweene father Gontier a Jesuite, and doctor Du Moulin. Together with Du Moulin his answere to Gontier his letter to the king. Tr according to the French copie printed in Paris.	R. Codrington	London	A. M[athewes,] sold by W. Sheares	1634	4	Stanley [Spencer], Alice	m. Ferdinando V Earl, later Egerton	
7326	De Moulin	Pierre	the Elder		A treatise of the knowledge of God.	A. Darcie	London	G. P[urslowe] f. T. Pavier	1624	8	Egerton, John	I Earl of Bridgewater	shared
7326	De Moulin	Pierre	the Elder		Heraclitus: or, meditations upon the misery of makeinde. Tr out of the last edition in French.						St, John, Oliver	I Earl of Bolingbroke	shared,-L [Darcy trans.]
7326	De Moulin	Pierre	the Elder		Heraclitus: or, meditations upon the misery of makeinde. Tr out of the last edition in French.	A. Darcie	London	G. P[urslowe] f. T. Pavier	1624	8	St. John, Oliver	V Baron St. John df. 1642	shared, 1 issue,-L [Darcy trans.]

7337	Du Moulin	Pierre	the Elder	The right way to heaven ... prayers and meditations, ... with the spirituall morning sacrifice and consolations for the sicke.	R. Baily	London	(G. Miller) f. G. Edwardes	1630	24	Croke [Bennett], Mary	m. Sir George	[date is 1630]
7376	Du Val	Michael	pseud?	Castra haec [etc] Tose Hispani-Anglica sue malum punicum Angli-Hispanicum. [...]	L. Lavinius [pseud?]	London	Eliot's Court Press	1622?	4	Maria	Infanta, daughter of Philip III. All jointly with Charles I	epistle
7377	Duwes	Giles		An introductorie for to lerne to rede, to pronounce, and to speke French trewly, compyled for ye lady Mary daughter to Henry the eight.		London	T. Godfray	1533?	4	Mary I	Queen	
7395	Dyke	Daniel	The Elder	Certaine comfortable sermons upon the 124 psalme: our deliverance from the late gunpowder-treason.		London	T. Snodham f. H. Fetherstone	1616	4	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	[earlier lost] [7394]
7398	Dyke	Daniel	The Elder	The mystery of seife-deceiving. Or a discourse of the deceitfullnesse of mans heart. Published by his brother J. D(yke).		London	E. Griffin f. R. Mab	1614	4	Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	by editor
7407	Dyke	Daniel	The Elder	Sixe evangelical histories, of water turned into wine, [etc.]. Published by J. D(yke).		London	T. Snodham] f. R. Mylbourne	1617	4	Finch [Heneage], Elizabeth	Countess of Winchilsea	[7394] by editor
7408	Dyke	Daniel	The Elder	Two treatises. The one, of repentance, the other, of Christs temptations. Published by J. D(yke).		London	E. Griffin f. R. Mab	1616	4	Harington [Kelway], Anne	m. John I Baron	[7394] by editor
7410	Dyke	Daniel	The Elder	Two treatises. The one, a most fruitfull exposition upon Philemon: the other, the schoole of affliction. Published by J. D(yke).		London	G. P[urslowe a. W. Stansby] f. R. Mylbourne	1618	4	Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	[7349] by editor
7414	Dyke	Jeremiah	The Elder	Divers select sermons on severall texts. Now published by his sonne D. Dyke.		London	T. Paine f. L. Fawne a. S. Gellibrand	1640	8	Bruce [Clerk], Magdalen	m. Edward I Lord B., later Fullerton	by editor
7419	Dyke	Jeremiah	The Elder	The mischiefe and miserie of scandals both taken, and given.		London	W. S[ansby] f. R. Milbourne	1631	8	Finch [Heneage], Elizabeth	Countess of Winchilsea	[7427]
7422	Dyke	Jeremiah	The Elder	The righteous mans tower. Or, the way to be safe.		London	E. G[riffin] f. J. Rothwell	1639	8	Wentworth [Finch], Catharine	m. Sir John Bt.	
7429	Dyke	Jeremiah	The Elder	A worthy communicant: or, a treatise, shewing the due order of receiving the Lords supper.		London	R. B[ishop] f. R. Dawiman a. L. Fawne	1636	8	Finch, Thomas	II Earl of Winchilsea	
7468	Eaton	Richard		A sermon preached at the funeralls of Thomas Dutton of		London	J. Legatt f. S. Man	1616	4	Gerard, Gilbert	III Baron Gerard	

7471	Eburne	Richard		Dutton, esquire. A plaine path-way to plantations: that is, a discourse concerning the plantation of our English people in other countries. Made in the manner of a conference and divided into three parts.	London	G. P[urslowe] f. J. Marriot	1624	4	Carleton, George	Bishop of Chichester	part
7475	Echlin	David		L'adieu au monde de David Echlin, medecin de la royne, aage environ de soixante ans, prest a estre taille de la pierre, au hazard de sa vie. Avec une priere pour leur sacrees majesties.	London	chez G. Purslowe	1627	4	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	
7476	Echlin	David		Carolides ad patrem Carolum Magnae Britanniae, regem.	London	voeuvent exemplaria ap. A Mathewes	1630	4	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	
7477	Echlin	David		Echlin par la grace de Dieu resuscite. Avec la paraphrase Latine, par l'autheur mesme.	London	chez G. Purslowe	1628	4	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	
7510	Edwardes	Roger		A boke of very godly psalmes and prayers.	London	W. Griffith	1570	8	Dudley [Knollys], Lettice	m. Robert, Earl, previously Devereux, later Blount	
7562	Elderton	William		A proper new balad in praise of my ladie marques, whose death is bewailed.	London	T. Colwell	1569?	1	Parr [Brooke], Elizabeth	m. William I Marquis	
7570	Eleutherius	N	Pseud	Triumphalia de victoriis Elisabethae Anglorum, reginae.	Germany?		1558		Elizabeth I	Queen	see
7584	Elizabeth I			The humble petition of the commonality to their most renowned soueraigne. [For a learned ministry, etc.]	Middelburg	R. Schilders	1587	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	[10400]
7605	Elizabeth I			Verses of prayse and loye, written vpon her maiesties preseuation. Whereunto is annexed Tychbornes lamentation, and an aunswere to the same [by] (T. Kyd?).	London	J. Wolfe	1586	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	see
7657.5	Elyot	Thomas	Sir	The defence of good women. A dialogue.	London	In oed. T. Berthelet	1540	8	Anne of Cleves	Queen	1540 edition of, HN
9266	England. Statutes			Folio primo. Magna Carta. Edwardus dei gratia, rex long.	London	cura R. Pynson	1508	12	Mary	The blessed virgin	see
9386.3	England. Statutes			[Anr ed 9386] 26 Hen VIII. 3 Nov - 18 Dec. 1534.	London	T. Berthelet	1535?	fol.	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	
10423	Epictetus			The manual of Epictetus. tr out of	London	H. Bvnneman f.	1567	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	

11338	Fraunce	Abraham		The Arcadian rhetorike: or the praecepts of rhetorike made plaine by examples, Greeke, Latine, English, [etc.]	London	T. Orwin	1588	8	Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	38-41 inc.
11370	Freeman	Thomas		Rubbe, and a great cast. Epigrams. (Runne, and a great cast. The second bowle.)	London	[N. Okes.] sold [by L. Lisle.]	1614	4	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	epistle
11371	Fregeville	Jean de		Palma christiana, seu, speculum veri status ecclesiastici, ... ab apostolls ad patres Nicenos. Authore Frigeuillaeo Gaudio.	London	J. Wolfius [a. T. Scarlet]	1593	4	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	epistle
11379	Frewen	John		Certaine choise grounds, and principles of our christian religion, with expositions, in questions and answers.	London	G. P[urslowe] f. R. Pott	1621	8	Hare, Sir John	Of Stow Bardolf, Norf.	epistle
11422	Fulke	William		[Anr. ed. 11421.7.] A comfortable sermon of faith, in temptations and afflictions. Preached xv. February, 1573.	London	J. Awdely	1573?	8	Harrys, Mary	'Widow'	by editor
11426	Fulke	William		A confutation of a popishe, and sclaundersous libelle, in forme of an apologue: spread abrode in the realme.	London	J. Kingston f. W. Jones	1571	8	Stanley [Clifford], Margaret	m. Henry IV Earl	STC - Dedic. to Lady Margaret Strange
11430	Fulke	William		A defense of the sincere and true translations of the hoile scriptures into the English tong, against G. Martin [17503.] Whereunto is added a briefe confutation of caulls, by diuerse papistes in their English pamphlets, against the writings of W. Fulke.	London	H. Bynneman f. G. Bishop	1583	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	In some copies (1L, O8, 1C2; 1F copy of 11430.5) the dedic. to the queen, is lacking, and they may represent an early issue.
11466	Fuller	Thomas	D.D.	Joseph's party-coloured coat, containing, a comment on [I Cor. xi. 18-30.] Together with [8] sermons. By T. F.	London	J. Dawson f. J. Williams	1640	4	Covert [Shirley], Jane	m. Sir Walter	
11471	Fulwell	Ulpian		Tee [sic] first part of the eight[h] liberrall science: entituled, Ars adulandi, the art of flattery, with the confutation thereof. [8 dialogues, partly in verse.]	London	W. Hoskins	1576	4	Cecil [Cooke], Mildred	m. William Baron Burghley	
11492 G.		C.		A watch-worde for warre...	London	[J. Roberts f.] J.	1596	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	see

11496	G.	H.		Published by reason of the suspected comming of the Spaniard. [By C. Gibbon.]		London	Legat, pr. to the Univ. of Cambridge	1618	4	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	shared
11497	G.	I. or J.		The mirror of maiestie: or, the badges of honour conceitedly emblazoned: with emblemes annexed. [Sometimes attrib. to Sir H. Goodere.]		London	W. Jones	1605	4	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	
11498	G.	I. or J.		An apologie for women-kinde.		London	E. Alde f. W. Ferebrand	1630	8	Overbury, Sir Giles	Of the middle temple	shared
11510	G.	T.		The christians profession, or a treatise of the grounds of divinity. [A catechism.]		London	T. P[urfoot?] f. J. Dever			Shurley, Sir John	Of Ifield	shared
11513	G.	W.		The friers chronicle: or, the true legend of priests and monkes lives.		London	[G. Purslowe] f. R. Mylbourne	1623	4	Cavendish [Broughton], Elizabeth	m. William I Earl	
11515	Gager	William	7	Triumphus Jacobi regis augustaeq ipsius prolis. [Verses in Latin and English signed W.G., beneath group portrait engr. by W. van der Passe.]		London	per. J. Bill, sold by T. Jenner	1624c	1	Elizabeth I	Queen	by printer
11516	Gager	William		Meleager. Tragoedia noua. Bis publice acta. (Panniculus Hippolyto Senecae tragoediae assutus.)		Oxoniae	J. Barnesius	1592	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	epistle
11521	Gainsford	Thomas		Vlysses redux tragoedia noua		Oxoniae	J. Barnesius	1592	8	Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	Presentation Most copies have dedic. to T. Sackville, Baron Buckhurst; HN has dedic. to Mary, Countess of Pembroke, imposed in its place.
				The historie of Trebizond, in foure bookes.		London	(W. White) f. T. Downe a. E. Dawson	1616	4	Brydges [Stanley], Anne		part
										Egerton [Stanley], Frances	m. John I Earl	part
										Hastings [Stanley], Elizabeth	m. Henry V Earl	part
										Stanley [Spencer], Alice	m. Ferdinando V Earl, later Egerton	part

11538	Galli	Antimo	Rime di Antimo Galli all'illustrissima signora Elizabetha Talbot-Grey.	London	M. Bradwood	1609	12	Grey [Talbot], Elizabeth	m. Henry VIII Earl	
11539	Gagliardi or Gagliardi	Achilles	[Anr. ed. 11538.5, revised by J. Wilson, Priest.] An abridgment of christian perfection. Written in Italian by Fa. A. Gagliardi & tr. by A. H[oskins.] The second edition.	St. Omer	English College Press	1625	12	The religious men and women of our nation		A&R 350
11544	Gamage	William	Linsi-Woolsie. Or two centuries of epigrammes.	Oxford	Jos. Barnes, sold by John Barnes, [London]	1613	8	Mansell [Sidney], Elizabeth Catherine	m. Sir Lewis II Bt.	
11547	Gamon	Hannibal	Gods smiting to amendment, or, revengement. With preservatives against revoltting. A sermon.	London	[M. Flesher] f. J. Clarke	1629	4	Rashleigh, Jonathan	Of Cornwall [Keeler]	
11574	Gardiner	Samuel	The devotions of the dying man, that desireth to die well.	London	J. Bill	1627	12	Gleane, Sir Peter	Mayor of Norwich	epistle
11576	Gardiner	Samuel	Doomes-day booke: or, an alarum for atheists.	London	E. A[ilde] f. N. Ling	1606	4	Suckling, Sir John	The elder, father of poet	
11581	Gardiner	Samuel	A sermon preached at Paules Crosse the 9. of June.	London	[E. Alide] f. E. White	1605	4	Berkeley [Stanhope], Jane	m. Henry VII Baron	[11582]
11597	Garey	Samuel	Great Britains little calendar. or, triple diarie, in remembrance of [King James's accession day, the Gowrie conspiracie, and the gunpowder plot.] Whereunto is annexed a short disswasive from poperie.	London	J. Beale f. H. Fetherstone a. J. Parker	1618	4	Knyvett, Sir Philip	I Bt.	part
11598	Garey	Samuel	Jentaculum iudicium: or, a breake-fast for the bench: preached in two sermons, at Thetford. 1619.	London	B. A[isop] f. M. Law, sold by E. Casson at Norwich	1623	4	Holland, Sir	Father of Sir John, I. Bt.	
11599	Garey	Samuel	A newe yeares gift for the soole [sic], or a meditation of Christs incarnation. Preached at Norwich.	London	W. Ssansby [sic] f. H. Fetherstone	1615	4	Holland, Sir	Father of Sir John, I. Bt.	
11622	Garnier	Robert	Cornelia.	London	J. Roberts f. N. L[ing] a. J. Busbie	1594	4	Radcliffe [Morrison], Bridget	m. Robert V Earl	
11634	Garzoni	Tomasso	The hospitall of incurable fooles: erected in English, as near the first Italian modell as [an] unskillfull hand could devise. [Anon.]	London	E. Bolifant f. E. Blount	1600	4	Folly, Dame		prose
								Fortune, Madam		epistle

11656	Gataker	Thomas		The decease of Lazarus... A funeral sermon. At the buriall of John Parker merchant.	London	E. Griffin f. E. Brewster a. F. Clyfton	1604	4	Parker [Drake], Joan	m. John Haberdasher [Waters]	
11659	Gataker	Thomas		A good wife Gods gift: and, a wife indeed. Two marriage sermons.	London	J. Haviland f. F. Clifton	1623	4	Harley, Sir Robert	Master of the mint [DNB]	part [11652]
11663	Gataker	Thomas		Jeroboams sonnes decease: a funeral sermon.	London	J. Haviland	1627	4	Scudamore, John	Of Kentchurch, Heref., d.1669	part, [?=11680 [11652]]
11665	Gataker	Thomas		The joy of the just. A discourse tending to the comfort of the afflicted. Being the enlargement of a sermon.	London	J. Haviland f. F. Clifton	1623	4	Vere, Horatio	Baron Vere of Tilbury	[11652]
11667	Gataker	Thomas		Marriage duties briefly couched together.	London	W. Jones f. W. Bladen	1623	4	Cooke, Sir Robert	of Highnam [Keeler]	[11652]
11669	Gataker	Thomas		A marriage praier, or succinct meditations: delivered in a sermon.	London	J. Haviland f. F. Clifton a. J. Bowler	1624	4	Taylor, Richard	Recorder of Bedford	[11652]
11678	Gataker	Thomas		True contentment in the gain of godlines. A meditation.	London	E. Griffin f. W. Bladen	1620	4	Hobart [Bell], Dorothy	m. Sir Henry 'I Bt.'	[11652]
11679	Gataker	Thomas		Two funeral sermons, much of one subject. (Pauls desire of dissolution. At the funeral of Mrs Rebekka Crisp. - The benefit of a good name.)	London	E. Griffin f. W. Bladen	1620	4	Skelton [Crisp], Anne	m. [?Samuel], daughter of Nicholas	shared, [11679, 11652]
									Strode [Crisp], Rebecca	m. Sir George	shared, [11679, 11652]
									Whitaker [Crisp], Hester	m. Henry of Amsterdam	shared, [11679, 11652]
11680	Gataker	Thomas		Two marriage sermons: the former (A good wife) by T. Gataker. The latter (A marriage feast) by W. Bradshaw.	London	E. Griffin f. F. Clifton	1620	4	Wilmer, George	Of Mdsx. [Brown]	part
11688	Gaule	John		A defiance to death. Being [a funeral sermon for] Baptist lord Hickes, viscount Camden.	London	T. Harper f. R. Allot	1630	12	Cooper [Hicks], Mary	m. Sir John I Bt.	shared
11718	Geminus	Thomas		[Anr. issue 11715.5 [a version in English 11714], w. cancel dedic. and colophon leaf, w. tp date altered.] Compendiosa totius anatomie delineatio [etc.].	London	[J. Kingston f.] (T. Gemini)	1559	1	Noel [Hicks], Julian	m. Edward II Vis.	shared
11755	Gerardus	Andreas	Hyperius	The course of christianitie. or, as Tr. out of	London	H. Byneman	1579	4	Wroth [Rich], Mary	m. Sir Thomas-DNB	[see changes]

11871	Gifford	George		partes of scripture.	London	Cooke a. R. Walker	1597	8	Baynham, Joseph	of Westbury [Vis. Gloucs.]	by bookseller
11872	Gifford	Humphrey		Two sermons vpon I. Peter 5. vers. 8. and 9.	London	F. Kingston f. T. Man	1580	4	Danvers, Daniel, Dorothy and Samuel		epistle
11882	Gilbert	William	D.D.	A posie of gilloflowers, eche differing from other.	London	[T. Dawson] f. J. Perin	1640	4	Gilbert [Campe], Jane (in memory of)	m. William D.D., friends of	epistle
11901	Giulio		da Milano	Architectonice consolations: or, the art of building comfort: occasioned by the death of Jane Gilbert.	London	J. Legatt f. G. Lautham	1559?	8	Carow, Anne		
11902	Giulio		da Milano	The xiiii. sermon of M. Giulio of Milane, touchyng the Lordes supper.	London	R. Jugge	1579	8	Carow, Anne		
11930	Goddard	William		[Anr. ed. 11901, w. title:] A very godly and fruitfull sermon touching the Lordes supper. Tr. out of Italian.	[Dort]	T. Dawson	1616?	4	Women (Colophon reads 'Imprinted in the Lowcountrys for all such gentlewomen as are not altogether idle nor yet well occupied')		[satirical]
11983	Gokin	Thomas		A satyricall dialogue or a sharplye- invective conference, betweene Alexander the great and that truelye woman-hater Diogenes.	London	[G. Waters]	1624	8	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	
12007	Goodall	Baptist		Meditations upon the Lords prayer. The key of heavenly, and earthly paradise.	London	J. Llegat] f. W. Sheffard	1630	4	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	
12023	Goodman	Godfrey	Bp.	The tryall of travell ... In three bookes epitimized.	London	J. Norton, sould by J. Upton	1616	4	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	
12028	Goodwin	George		[Anr. issue 12022.7, w. cancel tp:] The fall of man, or the corruption of nature. First preached in a sermon, since enlarged.	London	F. Kyngston, sold by R. Lee	1607	64	Neville [Sackville], Mary	m. Henry IX Baron	[23582a, 23575, 21563]
12047	Goodwyn	Christopher		Automachia, or the self-conflict of a christian. [Anon.]	London	(M. Bradwood f. E. Blount)	1542?	4	Maids		
12049	Googe	Barnaby		The maydens dreame compyled [i.e. largely tr. from Le songe de la pucelle.]	London	(R. Wyer f. R. Bankes)	1569	8	Darell, Philippa	Of Scotney, sister of Frances	shared
12067	Gordon	Patrick		A newe booke called the shippe of safegarde, wrytten by G. B. [i.e. B. Googe.]	Dort	W. Seres	1615	8	Green [Darrell], Frances	m. Robert of Bobbing [Vis. Kent]	shared
				The first booke of the famous	Dort	G. Waters			Gordon [Campbell], Anne	m. George II Marquis of	epistle

12182	Granger	Thomas		Pauls crowne of rejoycing. Or the manner how to heare the word with profit.	London	T. S[nodham] f. T. Pavier	1616	4	Alkham [Leventhorpe], Joan	m. Sir Edward of Mark Hall.	
12185	Granger	Thomas		The tree of good and evill: or a profitable exposition of the commandments	London	N. O[kes] f. S. Man	1616	8	Leventhorpe, Sir John	I Bt.	
12217	Greene	Robert		Arbasto, the anatomie of fortune.	London	(J. Windet a. T. Judson f.) H. Jackson	1584	4	Talbot [Cavendish], Mary	m. Gilbert VII Earl	
12270	Greene	Robert		[Anr. ed. 12269.5.] Mamillia. The second part of the triumph of Pallas.	London	T. C[reede] f. W. Ponsoble	1593	4	Ladies (sometimes inexactly)		
12271	Greene	Robert		A maidens dreame. Vpon the death of sir Christopher Hatton.	London	T. Scarlet f. T. Nelson	1591	4	Rogers [Cressy], Mary	m. Hugh of Everton, Notts.	part
12272	Greene	Robert		Menaphon Camillas alarum to slumbering Euphues. [With an epistle by T. Nash.]	London	T. O[rwin] f. S. Clarke	1589	4	Hales [Kemp], Alice	m. Sir James, later Lee	only
12278	Greene	Robert		The myrrour of modestie, wherein appeareth howe the Lorde deliuereth the innocent.	London	R. Warde	1584	8	Stanley [Clifford], Margaret	m. Henry IV Earl	
12293	Greene	Robert		Penelopes web: wherein a christall myrror of faeminine perfection represents vertues and graces.	London	[T. Orwin?] f. T. C[adman] a. E. A[ggas]	1587	4	Clifford [Russell], Margaret	George III Earl	shared
12296	Greene	Robert		Philomela. The lady Fitzwaters nightingale.	London	R. B[ourne a.] (E. A[llde]) f. E. White	1592	4	Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick	shared
12312	Greenham	Richard		[Works, vol. I.] The works ... examined, corrected, and published, by H. H(olland).	London	F. Kingston [a.] (R. Bradocke) f. R. Dexter	1599	4	Ladies (sometimes inexactly)		
12315	Greenham	Richard		[Anr. ed. of both vols. [12312 and 12314.5], w. additions.] The workes ... The third edition.	London	F. Kynngston f. R. Dexter	1601	fol.	Radcliffe [Morrison], Bridget	m. Robert V Earl	
									Caesar, Sir Julius	Judge [DNB]	part, by editor
									Clifford [Russell], Margaret	George III Earl	part, shared, by editor
									Hastings [Dudley], Catherine	m. Henry III Earl	part, shared, by editor
									Bowles, Anne	Gentlewoman	part, shared, by editor

12458	Guicciardini	Francesco		The historie of Guicciardin, containing the warres of Italie. Reduced into English by G. Fenton.	G. Fenton	London	T. Vautrollier f. W. Norton	1579	fol.	Elizabeth I	Queen	
12465	Guicciardini	Ludovico		[Anr. ed. 12464, anon., w. new prelims. and title:] Hours of recreation, or afterdinner, which may aptly be called The garden of pleasure. Perused and enlarged. (Certayne poemes. By J. Sandforde.)	J. Sanforde	London	H. Binneman	1576	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	part
12478	Guild	William		An antidote against poperie. (The noveltie of poperie.) 3 pts.		Aberdene	E. Raban	1639	12	Erskine [Stuart], Mary	m. John II Earl	part, shared
										Forbes [Keith], Jean	m. Alexander I Lord	part, shared
										Irvine [Douglas], Marian	m. Alexander M of Irvine, Sir Alexander of Drum - DNB	part
										Keith [Erskine], Mary	m. William VI Earl	part, shared
										Gordon [Campbell], Anne	m. George II Marquis of Huntly	
12481	Guild	William		Ignis fatuus. Or, the elf-fire of purgatorie. Where Bellarmine is confuted.		London	A. Mathewes, sold [by R. Badger?]	1625	4	Maitland, John	I Earl Lauderdale	
12482	Guild	William		Issachars asse, braying under a double burden. Or the uniting of churches.		Aberdene	E. Raban	162[?]	4	Urquhart, John	Tutor of Cromartie, d. 1631	
12488	Guild	William		The new sacrifice of christian incense. [A treatise of prayer.]		London	H. L[ownes] f. C. Knight	1608	8	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	shared
12492	Guild	William		Three rare moments of antiquitie, ... of the bodie and blood of Christ. Tr. and compacted by W. Guild [from Ratramnus, Aelfric, and Hrabanus Magnentius].		Aberdene	E. Raban f. D. Melvill	1624	8	Keith, William	VI Earl Marischal	
12496	Guillemeau	Jacques		Child-birth, or, the happy deliverie of women. Written in French. (The nursing of children.)	Anon.	London	A. Hatfield	1612	4	Ladies (sometimes inexacty)		
12498	Guillemeau	Jacques		The Frenche chirurgerye, ... with sundrye figures. Tr. out of Dutch by A.M.	A.M.	Dort	I. Canin	1597	fol.	Elizabeth I	Queen	by editor
12509	Guillemi	M.		[greek characters] vota et soteria Carolo principi Caroli Aug. F. sacrata. Et [greek characters]. iam natae princ. Mariae. Per M.		London	typis M. Flesher	1631	4	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	

12512	Gulielmus								1509			Catherine of Aragon	Queen		by editor
12527	Gumay	Edmund							1619			Lestrangle [Stubbe], Alice	m. Sir Hamon		see
															see
12556	Gwyn	David							1588			Elizabeth I	Queen		
12569	H.	I. or J.							1611			Erskine [Stuart], Mary	m. John II Earl		?=14560
12581	H.	W.							1634			Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.		
12608	Hake	Edward							1587			Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick		
12662	Hall	Joseph							1608			Brinsley [Hall], Barbara	m. John the elder		see, [12706, 12635]
												Denny [Cecil], Mary	m. Edward I Earl		see, [12706, 12635]

											Drury, Sir Robert	Of Hawsted, Suff., d. 1615	see, [12706, 12635]
											Hay [Denny], Honoria	m. James I Earl of Carlisle	see, [12706, 12635]
											P., Mrs. A.		see, [12706, 12635]
12679	Hall	Joseph	Bp.					London			Drury [Bacon], Anne	m. Sir Robert	part, [12796, 12635]
12714	Hall	Joseph	Bp.					London			Cecil [Drury], Elizabeth	m. William II Earl of Exeter	[12635]
12729	Hamilton	John						Paris			Mary	Queen of Scots	
12742	Hanapus	Nicolaus						London			Elizabeth I	Queen	
12747	Hannay	Patrick						London			Stewart [Home], Margaret	m. James IV Earl of Murray	[12748]
12748	Hannay	Patrick						London			Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	part
12762	Harding	Thomas						Antwerpe			Stuart [Howard], Frances	m. Ludovic II Duke of Lennox, previously Pranel and Seymour	part
12787	Harman	Thomas						London			Elizabeth I	Queen	
12848	Harris	Robert						London			Talbot [Hardwick], Elizabeth	m. George VI Earl of Shrewsbury, 'Bess of Hardwick'	
12866	Harrison	William	King's Preacher					London			Cope [Paston], Anne	m. Sir Anthony I Bt.	[12816]
								London			Brettargh, William	Husband of Katharine-DNB	prose, [earlier lost]

12873	Harsnet	Adam				is annexed the life of the said gentlewoman. The second edition, corrected.		London	[M. Flesher] f. P. Stephens a. C. Meredith	1632	12	Barrington [Cromwell], Joan	m. Sir Francis Bt.	shared
12891	Hart	John	D.D.			The burning bush, not consumed. Perused by J. D[ylke?] ond [sic] divers other divines. [A dialogue between minister and scholar.]		London	T. Creede] a. B. A[sop] f. R. Jackson	1616	8	Drake, Sir Francis	m. Sir Thomas the younger [Vis. Essex] l Bt.	shared Hart's dedic. indicates he is not the author.
12897	Hartwell	Abraham	the Elder			Regina literata siue de ... Elizabethae reginae, in academiam Cantabrigiensem aduentu. 1564. Narratio.		London	(in typog. Gul. Seres)	1565	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	epistle
12901	Harvey	Gabriel				Gabrielis Harueij gratulationum Valdinensium libri quator.		London	ex. off. typ. H. Binnemani	1578	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	part
12907	Harvey	John				An astrological addition, or supplement to be annexed to the late discourse [12909.7]. By J. Haruey. Whereunto is adloyned his translation of Hermes Trismegistus. 2 pts.	John Harvey	London	R. Watkins	1583	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	epistle
12917	Harward	Simon				A discourse concerning the soule and spirit of man. [With 2 sermons] concerning the duties of our thankfulness towards God.		London	J. Windet	1604	8	Bowyer, Sir Edmund	the elder, of Camberwell [Vis. Surrey]	part
12957	Hawkins	Henry				The history of S. Elizabeth daughter of the king of Hungary. According to sundry authours. By H.A.	Henry Hawkins	Rouen	J. Cousturier	1632	12	Roper [Petre], Mary	m. John III Baron Teynham	A&R 387
12958	Hawkins	Henry				Parthenia sacra. Or the mysterious garden of the sacred Parthenes. Enriched with pious devises and emblemes. By H. A.		Rouen	J. Cousturier	1633	8	Mary	The blessed virgin	A&R 388
12973	Hayes	William				The paragon of Persia; or the lawyers looking-glasse. In a sermon.		Oxford	J. Lichfield a. J. Short	1624	8	Gifford, Sir Richard	Of King's Somborne, Hants.	

12986	Hayward	John	D.D.	[Anr. ed. 12985.] The strong helper, offering to beare every mans burden. A treatise. The second edition, corrected and enlarged.	London	J. Beale f. W. Welby	1614	8	Owen, Israel	Of Cornhill [Vis. London]	This is the only ed. w. dedic. to Israel and Bathsheba Owen
12989	Hayward	Sir John		Christe prayer upon the crosse, for his enemies.	London	J. Bill	1623	8	Caesar [Woodhouse], Anne	m. Sir Julius	
13014	Heale	William		An apologie for women. Or an opposition to Mr. Dr. G. his assertion. That it was lawfull for husbands to beate their wives. By W.H. of Ex. in Ox.	Oxford	Jos. Barnes	1609	4	H., Lady M	[probably Margaret Hele]	
13034	Heigham	John or Roger		The life of our blessed Lord. Gathered out of saint Bonaventure, and out of other doctors. Augmented, with manie excellent documents. The second edition. Newly coposed [sic] by J. Heigham.	St. Omers	C. Boscard	1622	12	English Poor Clares (Gravelines)		[?earlier lost] A&R 124
13039	Heinslus	Daniel		The mirrou of humilitie: or two eloquent discourses upon the nativite and passion of Christ. Published in Latine and done into English by J. H(armer [the younger]).	London	B. Alsop	1618	8	Tydesley, Elizabeth	Abess at Gravelines. Ciara Mariana, in religion	shared, by printer [?earlier lost] A&R 124
13047	Heliodorus			The faire AEthiopian. Dedicated to the king and queene. [Anon. A version.] By W. L'isle.	London	J. Haviland, at the authors charge	1631	4	Charles I	King	
13055	Helwys	Thomas		A short and plaine prooffe by the word, of God, that Gods decree is not the cause off anye mans sinne. [etc.]	Amsterdam ?		1611	8	Darcy [Wray], Isabel	m. John III Baron, subsequently Bowes	
13058	Hemmingsen	Niels		The epistle of ... saint Paule, to the Ephesians. Faithfullie expounded, by N. Hemming.	London	T. East	1581	4	Vere [Cecil], Anne	m. Edward XVII Earl	and 1580-HN
13059	Hemmingsen	Niels		The faith of the church militant, in this exposition of the 84. psalme.	London	H. Middleton f. A. Maunsel	1581	8	Radcliffe [Sidney], Frances	m. Thomas III Earl	
13065	Hemmingsen	Niels		The preacher, or methode of preaching, wrytten in Latine and tr. by J. H(orssfall).	London	T. Marshe	1574	8	Sheffield [Howard], Douglas	m. John II Baron	

13067	Hemmingsen	Niels			The way of life. A christian, and catholique institution of religion. First deluyered in Danish and tr. to Latine, by A. S. Velleius [i.e. Vedel]; newly Englished, by N. Denham, 1578.	N. Denham	London	[W. How f.] R. Jones	1578	4	Sadler, Henry	Son of Sir Ralph, diplomatist	
13076	Henry VII	King of England			The first booke of the preseruation of king Henry the vij. when he was but earle of Richmond]		London	R. B[raddock,] seide [by G. Potter]	1599	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
13101	Henry III	King of France			A politike discourse most excellent for this time present: composed by a French gentleman, against those of the League, which went about to perswade the king to breake the allyance with England.	F. Marquino	London	J. Wolfe	1589	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
13134	Henry IV	King of France			A discourse to the lords of the parliament. As touching the murther committed vppon Henrie the great. Prooving the jesuites to be th plotters. Tr. (from Remonstrance a messieurs de la court, attrib. to P. de Momay).	W. Crashawe	London	T. P[urfoot] f. N. Butler	1611	4	Sackville, Richard	III Earl of Dorset	
13142	Henry IV	King of France			Three precious teares of blood, flowing from the wounded hearts of three great French ladies. In memory, of Henry the great. Now shed againe in English. [the trans. dublously attrib. to R. Niccols. Ed.] [i.e. J. Loiseau de Tourval.] Fr. a. Eng.	?	London	[W. Stansby] f. J. Budge	1611	4	Cecil [Howard], Catherine	m. William II Earl of Salisbury	part
13167	Henshaw	Joseph			Horae succisvae, or, spare-houres of meditations. The second edition, corrected and much enlarged. (The second part.) 2 pts.		London	R. Badger f. R. Mabb	1631	12	Cottington [Meredith], Anne	m. Francis I Baron	part [earlier lost]
13194	Herculanus	Joannes			Mariae Scotorum reginae epitaphium. [Init. J.H.D.]		London	J. Charlewood pro R. Wallie	1587	s.sh fol.	Mary	Queen of Scots	
13222	Herodian				Herodian of Alexandria his history of twenty Roman caesars. Interpreted out of the Greeke originall [by J. Maxwell?]	J. Maxwell?	London	[Eliot's Court Press a. M. Flesher] f. H. Perry	1629	4	Britannia, Diva		
13246	Herring	Frances			Popish pletie, or the first part of the historie of the powder-treason. Tr.	A.P.	London	[R. Field] f. W. Jones [3]	1610	8	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	by author

13312	Heywood	Thomas				London	R. Young f. [?] Aston	1637	12	Maids			
					into English [verse] by A.P.								
					A curtaine lecture: as it is read by a cuntry farmers wife to her good man [etc. Init. T. H.].								
13316	Heywood	Thomas			The exemplary lives and memorable acts of nine the most worthy women of the world.	London	T. Cotes f. R. Royston	1640	4	Tanfield [Ingram], Elizabeth m. Clovile of Copfold, Essex			
13327	Heywood	Thomas			The hierarchie of the blessed angels.	London	A. Islip	1635	fol.	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.		
13355	Heywood	Thomas			A marriage triumphe. Solemnized in an epithalamium, [for] the count Palatine. And the lady Elizabeth.	London	[N. Okes] f. E. Marchant	1613	4	Frederick I	King of Bohemia	[blank in L]	
13378	Hieron	Samuel			[Works, vol. 1: 1st treatise: 'The christians Journall'. Letterpress gen. tp:] All the sermons of Samuel Hieron, now diligently revised.	London?	J. Legatt	1614 (1613)	fol.	Champerowne [Creukerne], Amy	m. Sir Arthur	part, as Anne	
13379	Hieron	Samuel			[Anr. ed. 13378, w. additions.] The sermons ... With five sermons not heretofore published.	London	J. Legatt, (J. Beale, T. Snodham)	1620 (1619)	fol.	Yelverton, Sir Henry	Judge [DNB]	part, [?earlier lost] by bookseller	
13384	Hieron	Samuel			[A variant 13383.5, w. imprint on gen. tp.] The sermons ...	London	J. Beale	1635	fol.	Beale, Bartholomew	the elder, of Walton and Gray's Inn	part	
13392	Hieron	Samuel			The bridegroom [A sermon.]	London	[M. Bradwood] f. S. Macham	1613	8	Haisevell [Wallop], Bridget	m. Sir Nicholas of Somerset	[13378]	
13407	Hieron	Samuel			A heipe unto devotion: containing certain forms of prayer. The fourth edition.	London	H. Ljownes] f. S. Macham	1612	12	Strode [Southcote], Mary	m. Sir William	and 1608-O [13378]	
13417	Hieron	Samuel			The life and death of Dorcas. [A funeral sermon.]	London	M. Bradwood f. S. Macham	1612	4	Hele [courtenay], Margaret	m. Sir Warwick	[13378]	
13423	Hieron	Samuel			The spirituall fishing. A sermon. Printed by the true copie written with his owne hands before his decease. [Ed. by] (E.C.).	London	J. Beale f. widow Helme	1618	4	Yelverton [Beale], Margaret m. Sir Henry		[13379] by bookseller [see changes]	
13428	Hieron	Samuel			[Anr. issue 13427.5, w. cancel gen. tp. w. imprint.] Three sermons: ful of necessarie advisements. (The spirituall mans taske. -A caveat. In two sermons.)	London	B. A[isop] f. R. Woodroffe	1616	8	Hele [courtenay], Margaret	m. Sir Warwick	[13379]	
13429	Hieron	Samuel			Truths purchase: or a commoditie, which no man may neglect to buie, or dare to sell: in two sermons.	Cambridge	J. Legat, pr. to the Univ. of Cambridge. sold	1608	4	Champerowne [Popham], Elizabeth	m. Sir Richard	[13378]	

13446	Higgins	John	Poet	[Anr. ed. 13443, enlarged.] A mirour for magistrates. Newly enlarged with a last part. [Ed.] by (R. Niccols).	London	by S. Waterson [London]	1610 (1609)	4	Clere [Wroth], Elizabeth	m. Sir Francis of Norfolk	part
13452	Higgins	Theophilus		The apology of T. Higgons lately minister now catholique. Wherein [13541] is refuted.	Roan	J. Machvel	1609	8	Roman Catholics after 1558: Ladies		A&R 124
13463	Hildersam	Arthur		CLII lectures upon psalme LI. [Ed. by] (S. Hildersam.)	London	G. Miller f. E. Brewster	1635	fol.	Stanhope [Hastings], Catherine	m. Phillip, I Earl of Chesterfield	by editor
13469	Hill	Edmund Thomas		A plaine path-way to heaven. The second part, from Easter untill Advent.	St. Omer	English College Press	1637	12	Welles [Manfield], Mary	m. Gilbert of Brambridge, Recusant	Part I, 1634-W of A&R 399
13471	Hill	John		The penitent sinners entertainment.	London	J. Beale f. Jonas Man	1614	8	Blencow [Walleston], Mary	m. John	shared
13474	Hill	Robert		[Anr. ed. 13472, w. additions.] Christs prayer expounded, a christian directed, and a communicant prepared. To which is added, a preface of prayer.	London	W. S[tansby] f. E. Blunt a. W. Barret	1613	8	Crew [Bray], Temperance Egerton [Stanley], Frances	m. Sir Thomas m. John I Earl	shared part
13478	Hill	Robert		The contents of scripture: containing the sum of euery chapter of the old and new Testament. Gathered from Tremellius, Junius, [etc.] (The consent of the foure euangelists: collected by C. Jansenius.) Englished. To this are added aphorismes, containing the matter of Caluins Institutions [a different selection from 4374.] 2 pts.	London	A. Isilip f. R. Jackson	1596	12	Fitzwilliam, Sir William	Lord Deputy of Ireland [DNB]	part
13532	Hiud	Johan		The storie of stories, or the life of Christ, according to the euangelists: with a harmonie of them.	London	M. Flesher	1632	8	Twysden [Finch], Anne	m. Sir William I Bt.	
13541	Hoby	Sir Edward		A letter to Mr T. H[iggons] late minister. now fugitive. In answer of [13454].	London	F. K[ingston] f. E. Blount a. W. Barret	1609	4	Ladies (Romish collapsed)		
13542	Hockin	George		A christian caveat for all estates. Or, a sermon. [Ed. by] (I.C.).	London	W. Stansby	1622	4	I., Mrs. P	[?of Totnes]	by editor
13545	Hoddesdon	Henry		The forme of friendship and love.	London	N. Okes. sold by	1608	12	Compton [Spencer].	m. William I Earl	

5				Collected by H.H. M. of arts.							Elizabeth		
13556	Hogarde or Huggarde	Miles		An aunsver of the sacrament of the altar ... written in 1549. Now newly Imprinted.	London		W.E. [really W. Dight, neere Shooe-lane end in Holborne]	1554	4	Mary I	Queen		
13558	Hogarde or Huggarde	Miles		[Anr. ed.13557.] The displaying of the protestantes, with a description of diues their abuses. [Anon.] Newly imprinted agayne, and augmented. By M. Huggarde.	London		(R. Caly)	1556	8	Mary I	Queen		
13559	Hogarde or Huggarde	Miles		A mirroure of loue, ...	London		(R. Caly)	1555	4	Mary I	Queen		
13565	Holbrooke	William		A sermon preached at saint Buttolphs the 26. of Februarie, 1609.	London		F. Kyngston f. E. Burby	1609	8	Cavendish, William	I Earl of Devonshire		
13579	Holland	Abraham		Hollandi post-huma. A funerallelegie of king James. An elegie of Henry earle of Oxford. A description of the plague: and diuers other poemes. The post-humes. (Unto these post-humes is added: Naumachia. Revised by the author.) [Ed.] (H. Holland).	Cantabrigia e [i.e. London]		[B. Alsop a. T. Fawcet.] imp. H. Holland	1626	4	Vere [Cecil], Diana	m. Henry XVIII Earl, later part, shared Bruce		
13586	Holland	Henry	Vicar of St. Bride's	The christian exercise of fasting, private and publike. Hereunto are added some meditations on the 1. and 2. chapters of Job.	London		widow Orwin f. W. Young	1596	4	St., Mrs. A		part	
13592	Holland	Hugh		Pancharis: the first booke. Containing the preparation of the love between Owen Tudyr, and the queene.	London		V. S[immes] f. C. Knight	1603	12	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	epistle	
13595	Holland	Robert		The hoille historie of <our> Lord Jesus Christs natiuitie, life, ... and ascension: gathered into English meeter.	London		[R. Field]	1594	8	Arabella Stuart Phillips [Perrot], Anne	of royal blood [DNB] m. John I Bl	epistle	
13597	Holland	Thomas		[Anr. issue 13596.5, w. cancel prelims.] [Greek characters] D. Elizabethae, ... Angliae, Franciae, & Hiberniae reginae. A sermon... 1599. the one [sic] and fortieth yeare. Whereunto is adioyned an	Oxford		J. Barnes, sold [in London] in Pauls church-yard at the signe of the Bible [by G. Potter?]	1601	4	Elizabeth I	Queen		

13820	Horne	Robert	of Ludlow	A caveat to prevent future judgements. [A sermon on the plague.]	London	G. Miller] f. P. Stephens a. C. Meredith	1626	4	Danett [Bellamy], Agnes	m. John of Westhope [PCC 1626]	some copies Tp verso varies; blank (most copies) or w. dedic. to Lady Bacon and Lady Cecil (2 O, HN 1 PN, 2 NY).
13822	Home	Robert	of Ludlow	The history of the woman of great faith. Treatised and expounded.	London	T. Harper] f. P. Stephens a. C. Meredith	1632	12	Harley [Conway], Brilliana	m. Sir Robert	
13828	Hortop	Job		[Anr. version 13827.5.] The traualles of an English man. By J. H[ortop].	London	[T. Scarlet] f. W. Wright	1591	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	[2 eds. - L]
13872	Howell	James		[Greek characters.] Dodona's grove, or the vocall Forrest. [A political allegory.]	London	T. Bjadger] f. H. Mosley	1640	fol.	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	shared
13874	Howell	Thomas	Poet	The arbor of amitie, wherein is comprised pleasant poems.	London	H. Denham	1568	8	Talbot [Herbert], Anne	m. Francis 'Lord Talbot' d., 1582	
13875	Howell	Thomas	Poet	H. his deuises, for his own exercise, and his friends pleasure.	London	[W. How f.] H. Jackson	1581	4	Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	
13888	Hozyusz	Stanislaus	Cardinal	A most excellent treatise of the begynnyng of heresyes in oure tyme. Tr. out of Laten by R. Shacklock and intituled by hym: The hatchet of heresies.	Antwerp	A.E. Diest	1565	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	A&R 403
13905	Hueber	Caspar		A riche storehouse, or treasure, for the sicke, full of christian counsels, [etc.] Written in Dutch, by G. Huberine, and Englished by T. Godfrie.	London	[H. Middleton f.] R. Newberrie	1578	8	French [Godfrie], Mary	m. John of Inner Temple	prose
13910	Hughe	William		The troubled mans medicine ... [teaching] men pacyently to suffer aduersitie. (A swete consolation.) 2 pts.	London	(J. Herforde)	1546	8	Howard [Carey], Katherine	m. Charles I Earl Nottingham	by bookseller
13928	Hult	Ephraim		The anatomy of conscience ... Wherein are handled the places of conscience, worship, and scandall.	London	J. Dawson] f. W. Sheffard	1626	12	Kyrton, Dorothy	'of Thrup, Northants.'	
13942	Hume	Alexander	Minister	Hymnes. or sacred songs. wherein	Edinburgh	R. Waide-graue	1599	4	Colville [Melville], Elizabeth	Poet [DNB]	

14014	Hutchins	Edward				prayers.] Sampsons jawbone against the spirituall Philistine. Containing sundry praiers. (A briefe narration of Davids case. [A treatise on Ps. lix. 17.]	London	P. Short	1601	12	Wentworth [-], Jane	m. Thomas II Baron, remarried Wm. Borough-DNB	
14042	Hylton	Walter		?	Scala perfeconnis (Thus fynysshith this present boke whiche expowneth many notable doctrynes in contemplacyon. -Here endeth the thyrd boke called Vita mixta [i.e. 'medled lyfe'.]) [Tr. from Latin.]	Westminster	[W. de Worde]	1494	fol.	Beaufort, Margaret	Countess of Richmond [DNB]		
14089	Ingpen	William			The secrets of numbers. (Numerorum secreta.)	London	H. Lowms f. J. Parker	1624	4	Neale [Uvedale], Honor	m. Sir Francis	epistle	
14092	Innocent III		Pope		The mirror of mans lyfe. Englished.	London	H. Bynneman	1576	8	Herbert [Taibot], Anne	m. William I Earl		
14290	Ive	Paul			[Anr. ed. 1589 = pt. 2 1708.5] The practice of fortification. Corrected and augmented.	London	F. Kingston f. T. Cooke	1597	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	[see changes]	
14294	Jackson	Abraham			Gods call, for mans heart. A sermon.	London	T. S[nodham] f. R. Jackson	1618	8	Russell, Edward	III Earl of Bedford		
14296	Jackson	Abraham			Sorrowes lenitive. Written upon occasion of the death of John, lord Harrington.	London	f. R. Jackson	1614	8	Harrington [Kelway], Anne	m. John I Baron	shared	
14299	Jackson	Thomas			Davids pastorall poeme: or sheepeheards song. Seven sermons, on the 23 psalme.	London	T. Purfoot, sold by E. Weaver	1603	8	Russell [Harrington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	shared	
14300	Jackson	Thomas			An helpe to the best bargaine. A sermon.	London	N. Okes f. M. Walbanke	1624	8	Finch [Heneage], Elizabeth	Countess of Winchilsea		
14320	Jackson	Timothy			A briefe and plaine, ... exposition upon St. Pauls second epistle to the Thessalonians.	London	E. G[riffin] f. T. Pavier	1621	4	Bowes [Musgrave], Eleanor	m. Robert	shared	
										Hoby, Sir Thomas Posthumous	Son of Sir Thomas - DNB	shared	
										Hutton, Sir Timothy	Of Marske	shared	
										Jackson, Sir John	The elder, of Edderthorpe and	shared	

14720	Jones	John	B. D.	Our saviours journey to the Gadarens.	London	N. Okes f. H. Bel	1615	8	Jo[nes], Mrs. R.		shared
14724	Jones	John	M. D.	The arte and science of preseruing bodie and soule in healtthe.	London	H. Bynneman	1579	4	Vassall [Aborough], Judith Elizabeth I	m. John - DNB Queen	shared, as I. Vass
14736	Jones	Robert		The muses garden for delights, or the first booke of ayres.	London	[W. Stansby] by the assignes of W. Barley	1610	fol	Wroth [Sidney], Mary	m. Sir Robert, Author DNB]	
14739	Jones	Thomas		Mercy triumphing over Judgement or, a warning for Sabbath-breakers.	London	Elliz.] P[urslowe] f. J. Wright the younger	1640?	8	Price, Henrietta Maria	Daughter of Sir Herbert, later Morley	shared, [?after 1640]
14747	Jones	William	of Wight	A treatise of patience in tribulation. Hereunto are joynd the Teares of the Isle of Wight.	London	W. Jones	1625	8	Price, Sir Herbert	I Bt.	shared, [?after 1640]
14755	Jonson	Benjamin		The Alchemist.	London	T. Snodham f. W. Burre	1610	4	Wriothesley [Vernon], Elizabeth	m. Henry III Earl	part
14773	Jonson	Benjamin		The fountaine of seife-love. Or cynthia's reveills.	London	[R. Read] f. W. Burre	1601	4	Wroth [Sidney], Mary	m. Sir Robert, Author DNB]	[14751]
14847	Julius	Alexander		Ilustrissimi domini Gordoniae comitis ... epithalamium.	Edinburgl	R. Charteris	1607	4	Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	presentation
14849	Julius	Alexander		In illustissimam dominam Annam Duglasiam, epicedium.	Edinburgl	R. Charteris	1607	4	Gordon, George	II Marquis of Huntly	
14850	Julius	Alexander		Mater compellat fillum sibi superstitem.	London	J. Beale	1615?	4	Campbell [Douglas], Agnes	m. Archibald VII Earl	see, as Anne
14852	Julius	Alexander		Nobilissimi domini, domini Kethi, ... epithalamium.	Edinburgl	R. Charteris	1609	4	Erskine [Murray], Anabel	m. John I Earl of Mar.	see, and 1603-L
14861	Junius	Adrian		[Anr. Issue, w. cancel tp. 14860.5] Philippels, siue, in nuptias ... Philippel & Mariae carmen heroicum.	London	in oed. T. Berthe[let]	1554	4	Keith, William	VI Earl Marischal	
14896	Keckermannus	Bartholomaeus		Heavenly knowledg. A manuduction to theologie. Written in Latine done into English.	London	A. Math[ewes]	1622	8	Mary I	Queen	
									Blenerhasset [-], Mabel	m. Thomas, of Cumberland	
									Carleton [Killigrew], Anne	m. George [Bishop]	shared
									Cavendish [Broughton], Elizabeth	m. William I Earl	part
									Fetiplace [Ayleford], Anne	m. Sir Edmund of Childrey	shared
14923	Kemp	William		Kemps nine daies wonder. Performed in a daunce from	London	E. A[ilde] f. N. Ling	1600	4	Newdegate [Fitton], Anne	m. Sir John of Erbury	[but possibly an error for Mary Fitton]

14931	Kennedy	John	London to Norwich.	Edinburgh	J. Wreittoun	1629	8	Urania			
14945	Kett	Francis	A theological epitome or divine compend.	London	R. Ward	1585	4	Elizabeth I	Queen		
14963	King	Benjamin	The glorious and beautifull garland of mans glorification.	London	T. Cotes f. R. H[arper?]	1640	12	Barrington, Sir Thomas	II Bt.		
15000	Kingsmill	Andrew	The marriage of the lambe.	London	C. Barkar	1577	8	?Kingsmill, Andrew [DNB],	'Sister of		
15003	Kingsmill	Andrew	A most excellent and comfortable treatise, for all such as are troubled in minde. And also a conference betwixt a Christian & an afflicted conscience. [Ed.](F. Myllers).	London	H. Bynneman f. L. Harison a. G. Bishop	1574	8	?Kingsmill, Andrew [DNB],	'Sister of	also see	
15010	Kirbye	George	A viewe of mans estate. [Ed. F. Mills].	London	T. Este	1597	4	Poley [Germyn], Anne	m. Sir William of Boxsted, Suff.	shared	
15011	Kirchmeyer	Thomas	Cantus. Prima ... The first set of English madrigalls, to 4. 5. & 6. voyces.	London	H. Denham f. R. Watkins	1570	4	Woodhouse [Jermyn], Frances	m. Sir William of Norfolk	shared	
15035	Knevet	Ralph	The popish kingdome, or reigne of Antichrist. By T. Naageorgus, englyshed.	London	T. Cotes f. A. Crooke	1637	4	Elizabeth I	Queen		
15042	Knewstub	John	Funerall elegies, consecrated to the immortall memory, of Lady Katherine Paston.	London	L. Harrison	1577	4	Stapleton [Bertie], Elizabeth	m. Sir Miles		
15066	Knox	John	Lectures of ..., upon the twentieth [sic] chapter of Exodus.	Wesel?	H. Singleton?	1556	16	Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick		
15068	Knox	John	The cople of a letter, sent to the ladye Mary dowagire, regent of Scotland, in 1556. Here is also a sermon.	London	R. Waide-grave f. T. Man	1583	8	Mary of Guise	Queen of James V		
15113	L.	T.	A notable and comfortable exposition of M. John Knoxes, vpon the fourth of Mathew. [Ed. J. Field.]	London	W. Jones?	1623	8	Prouse [Vaughan], Anne	m. Richard Mayor of Exeter, previously Dering	by editor [cf. 23652]	
			An exposition of the XI. XII. and XIII. chapters of the Revelation. By a late writer, onely these two letters T. L. are in his advertisement to queene Elizabeth.	London				Elizabeth I Belated		see	

15139	La Marche	Olivier de		The resolued gentleman. Tr out of Spanish.	L. Lewkenor [from H. de Acuna's trans of the French original]	London	R. Watkins	1594	4	Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick	
15178	Lambert	Francois		The minde and judgement of maister Fraunces Lambert of the wyll of man.	N. L(esse)	London	J. Day a. W. Seres	1548	8	Seymour [Stanhope], Anne	Edward Duke of Somerset, later Newdigate	
15179	Lambert	Francois		The summe of christianitie gatheyrd out almoste of al placis of scripture.	T. Reuel	London	R. Redman	1536	8	Anne [Boleyn]	Queen	
15191	Laneham	Robert		[Anr ed] A letter: whearin, part of the entertainment vnto the Queenz maiesty, at Killingwoorth Castl, is signified.		London		1575	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	see
15197	Langhorne	Launcelot		Mary sitting at Christs feet. A sermon preached at the funerall of Mrs Mary Swaine.		London	[N. Okes] f. A. Johnson	1611	8	Levson [Mildmay], Christiana	m. Sir John the elder	
15216	La Noue	Odet de		The profit of imprisonment. A paradox.	J. Sylvester	London	P. Short f. E. Blunt	1594	4	Nicholson, Robert	Merchant and patron	[21649 revised]
15222	Lant	Thomas		The dailie exercise / of a Christian.		London	H. Denham	1590	12	Cheyney [Wentworth], Joan	m. Henry Baron	
15227	Lanyer	Aemilia	Mrs	Salve deus Rex Judaeorum. Containing, the passion of Christ ...		London	V. Simmes f. R. Bonian	1611	4	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	
										Arabella Stuart	of royal blood [DNB]	
										Clifford [later Sackville and Herbert], Anne	Countess [DNB]	
										Clifford [Russell], Margaret	George III Earl	
										Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	epistle
										Grey [Bertie], Susan	m. Reginald V Earl of Kent	epistle
										Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	
										Howard [Knyvett], Catherine	m. Thomas I Earl Suffolk	epistle
										Ladies (sometimes inexactly)		
										Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	
15231	La Place	Pierre de		A treatise of the excellence of a christian man.	L. Tomson	London	C. Barker	1576	8	Walsingham [St. Barbe], Ursula	m. Sir Francis	

15272.5	Latimer	Hugh	Bishop	[Anr ed. 15270.5] The fyrste sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer, whiche he preached before the kynges grace ... M.D.XLIX. the viii. of marche. [Ed. T. Soame.]		London	J. Daye a. W. Seres	1549	8	Brandon [Willoughby], Catharine	m. Charles Duke, later Bertie	[15276] by editor
15291	Latimer	Hugh	Bishop	A notable sermon of maiser Hughe Latemer, whiche he preached in ye shrouds at paules church.		London	J. Day a. W. Seres	1548	8	Brandon [Willoughby], Catharine	m. Charles Duke, later Bertie	
15296	La Tour Landry	Geoffrey de		Here begynneth the booke whiche the knyght of the toure made.	W. Caxton	Westmynstre	W. Caxton	1484	fol.	Unnamed Individual Patrons: Lady		
15311	Lauder	George		The anatomie of the Romane clergie.	George Lauder	London	R. Field f. R. Mylbourne	1623	4	Murray [Schaw], Elizabeth	m. John I Earl Annandale	
15319	Lavater	Ludwig		The booke of Ruth expounded in twenty eight sermons, published in Latine.	Ephraim Pagitt, a child of eleven yeares	London	R. Waalde-graue	1586	8	Cotton [Harvey], Lucy	m. Thomas of Connington	shared
										Prideaux [Yorke], Philippa	m. Roger M of Sir Edmund	shared
										Russell [Hussey], Bridget	m. Francis II Earl	shared
										Seymour [Stanhope], Anne	Edward Duke of Somerset, later Newdigate	shared
										Watts, Mary	Widow	shared
15333	Layfield	Edmund		The mappe of mans mortality and vanity. A sermon, at the funerall of A. Jacob.		London	[M. Flesher] f. N. Bourne	1630	4	Berry [Jacobs], Mary	m. George of Cranfield, sister of I Bt.	shared
										Jacob [Rogers], Mary	m. Abraham	shared
										Jacob, Anne and Darcy	Children of Jacob, Abraham of Bromley, farmer of customs	shared
										Jacob, Sir John	I Bt. [Keeler]	shared
										Rolt [Jacob], Ellen	m. Henry of St. Margaret's, Kent	shared
										Seyliard [Jacob], Barbara	m. Robert of Gabriel, Kent	shared
										Wilmer [Jacob], Elizabeth	m. Thomas [Vis. London]	shared
										Bromfield [?Faucett], Anne	m. Robert	shared
										Ferrers [Muschamp], Susan	m. William, previously Topsfield	
										Ferrers [Topsfield], Katherine	m. Edward	shared

15567	Ley	John		A patterne of pietie. Or the religious life and death of Mrs J. Ratcliffe.	London	F. Kingston f. R. Bostocke	1640	8	Harley [Conway], Brilliana	m. Sir Robert	shared
15588	Lichfield	Henry		The first set of madrigals of 5 parts. 5 ptbks.	London	f. M. L[ownes,] J. 1613 B[rowne,] a. T. S[nodham,] the assignes of W. Barley	4	4	Lucy [Spencer], Alice Cheyney [Wentworth], Joan	m. Sir Thomas if Charlecote d. 1640 m. Henry Baron	shared
15600	Lily	Peter		Two sermons.	London	T. Snodham	1619	4	Villiers [St. John], Barbara	m. Sir Edward - DNB	by editor
15601	Lily	Peter		Conclones duae.	London	T. Snodham	1619	4	Lily [Goddard], Dorothy	m. Peter - DNB	
15636	Linacre	Thomas		Rudimenta grammatices Thomae Linacri diligenter castigata denuo.	London	in aed. Pynsonianis	1525?	4	Mary I	Queen	
15683.5	Lindsay	David	Minister at Leith	An heavenly chariot, layde open for transporting the new-borne babes of God.	Saint-Andrewes	E. Raban	1622	4	Elphinstone [Ker], Anne	m. John Lord Balmerino [15684]	
15710	Lithgow	William		A most delectable, and true discourse of an admired and painefull peregrination in Europe, Asia, and Africke.	London	N. Okes, sold by T. Archer	1614	4	Carr, Robert	Earl of Somerset	[see changes]
15715	Lithgow	William		The pilgrimes farewell, to his native cuntry of Scotland: wherein is contained, in way of dialogue, the joyes and miseries of peregrination.	Edinburgh	A. Hart, at the expenses of the author	1618	4	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	see
15806a	Liturgies - Latin Rite - Breviaries - Salisbury			Breuiarium Secundum vsuum Sarum.	London	arte R. Pynson, imp. Margarete, comitisse Richemondie et derbie	1507	4	Home [Sutton], Mary Muses Beaufort, Margaret	m. Alexander I Earl Home Courtess of Richmond [DNB]	part
16160	Liturgies - Latin Rite - MANUPLES - York			Ad laudem die et honorem tuanq non immerito flos virgo maria ecce manuale quoddam secunduz vsuum matris ecc'lie Ebooracem.	really Paris?	per. W. de Worde pro. JF Gaschet [in York] et. J. fferabouc [in Paris] soclis	1509	4	Mary	The blessed virgin	
16548	Liturgies - Church of England - SPECIAL			A thankesgiving and prayer for the safe child-bearing of the queenes maiestie.	London	B. Norton a. J. Bill	1628	1/2	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	etc., see

	FORMS OF PRAYER																	
16551	Liturgies - Church of England - SPECIAL FORMS OF PRAYER									London	R. Barker	Before 1620	fol. (2)	Cecil [Oxenbridge], Susan	Sir Thomas of Kelvedon			
16613	Livius	Titus								London	A. Islip	1600	fol.	Elizabeth I	Queen			
16616	Lloyd	Lodowick								London	T. Creede	1602	4	Elizabeth I	Queen			
16617	Lloyd	Lodowick								London	[R. Ward f.] H. Haslop	1586	4	Elizabeth I	Queen			
16618	Lloyd	Lodowick								London	T. Purfoot	1607	4	Anne of Denmark	Queen.			
16628	Lloyd	Lodowick								London	W. White	1607	4	Elizabeth I	Queen			
16632	Lloyd	Lodowick								London	T. Purfoot, sold by A. Johnson	1607	4	Elizabeth I	Queen			only
16652	Lockyer	Nicholas								London	E. G[riffin] f. J. Rothwell	1640	8	Liddell [Woodward], Bridget	m. Sir Thomas d. 1627			
16658	Lodge	Thomas								London	[J. Orwin] f. C. Knight	1595	4	L., Mrs. A	[possibly Anne Lodge]			epistle
16660	Lodge	Thomas								London	[A. Jeffes] f. J. Busbie	1596	4	Russell [Cooke], Elizabeth	m. John Lord Russell [DNB as Hoby]			
16662	Lodge	Thomas								London	[J. Roberts] f. J. Busbie	1593	4	Talbot [Cavendish], Mary	m. Gilbert VII Earl			
16662a	Lodge	Thomas								London	T. Scarfet f. E. White	1596	8	Clifford [Russell], Margaret	George III Earl			shared
16683	Loe	William								London	R. Field f. M. Law	1614	4	Sandys, Sir William	Of Miserden, Gloucs., d. 1641			
16696	Lok	Henry								London	R. Field	1597	4	Bowes [Musgrave], Eleanor	m. Robert			epistle
														Brydges, Elizabeth	Maid of Honour. ?m. Sir John Kennedy			verse
														Carey [Knyvett], Katherine	m. Sir Edward			epistle

16920	Luis	de Granada		Granados spirituall and heauenlie exercises.	F. Meres	London	J. Robarts f. l. B[ing]	1598	12	Kynaston [Randall], Judith	m. Sir Edward [Vis. Shrops.]	shared
16924	Lumesden	Alexander		A heauenly portion. Set downe in a sermon preached at the funerall of mistris Frances Sentleger.		London	T. C[reede] f. A. Johnson	1614	8	Culpeper, Mary		
16927	Luna	Juan de		The pursuit of the historie of Lazarillo de Tormez.	T. W[alkley]	London	B. Aisop f. T. Walkley	1622	8	Ker [Stanley], Anne	m. Robert I Earl of Ancrum	shared, by bookseller [15339]
16950	Lupton	Thomas		A persuasion from papistrie....		London	H. Bynneman	1581	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
16955	Lupton	Thomas		A thousand notable things, of sundrie sortes.		London	J. Charlewood f. H. Spooner	1579	4	Stanley [Clifford], Margaret	m. Henry IV Earl	
16982	Luther	Martin		A frutefull and godly exposition of the kyngdom of Christ, upon Jeremye in the xxij. chapter, ... whereunto is annexed a sermon, of U. Regius, vpon the ix. chapyter of Mathewe.	G. Lynne	London	[S. Mierdman] f. G. Lynne	1548	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	
16995	Luther	Martin		A treatise, touching the libertie of a christian.	J. Bell	London	R. Newbery a. H. Bynneman	1579	8	Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick.	
17001	Luzvic	Stephanus		The devout hart or royal throne of the paciffical Salomon.	H. A. [i.e. H. Hawkins?] Enlarged by F. St. Binet	London	J. Cousturier	1634	12	Standford, W.	Esq. and wife Elizabeth	
17050	Lylly	John		Endimion, the man in the moone.		London	J. Charlewood f. the widowe Broome	1591	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	Addressed in prologue
17068	Lylly	John		Euphues and his England. Containing his voyage and adventures.		London	(T. East) f. G. Cawood	1580	4	Ladies and Gentlewoman		
17091	Lynche	Richard		Diella, certaine sonnets, adioyned to the amorous poeme of Dom Diego and Gineura.		London	[J. Roberts] f. H. Olney	1596	8	Glemham [Sackville], Anne	m. Sir Henry	by bookseller
17093	Lynde [i.e. J. Floyd?]	Humphrey	Sir	A letter of Sr Humfrey Linde, to a lady of great worth, much afflicted for syr Humphreys sake.		St. Omer	English College Press	1634	8	Unnamed Individual Patrons: Lady		
17117	Lynne	Walter		A briefe and compendious table, in a manner of concordance, of the whole Bible. Gathered by H. Bullynger [etc.]		London	[S. Mierdman] (f. G. Lynne)	1550	8	Seymour [Stanhope], Anne	Edward Duke of Somerset, later Newdigate	by bookseller
17119	Lynne	Walter		A briefe collection of all such textes of the scripture as do declare ye happie estate of them that be vyseted wyth sycknes. Whereunto are added two		London	[S. Mierdman] (f. G. Lynne)	1549	8	Seymour [Stanhope], Anne	Edward Duke of Somerset, later Newdigate	

17120	Lyon	John		sermons by M. Luther. Teares for the never sufficientlie bewailed death of Alexander earle of Dunfermeling.	Edinburgh	heires of A. Hart	1622	4	Home [Ruthven], Beatrix	m. Sir John of Cowdenknowes
17129	M	Ch		A myrrhine poesie of the bitter dolours of Christ his passion [By M Kellison].	Doway	L. Kellam [the younger]	1639	8	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.
17131	M	D. F. R. de		Respuesta y desengano contra las falsedades enbiterperio de la Armada Inglesa.	London	en casa de A. Hatfildo, por T. Cadmano	1589	4	Elizabeth I	Queen
17132	M	D. F. R. de		An answer to the vntruthes, published in Spaine, in glorie of their supposed victorie against our English nauie.	London	J. Jackson f. T. Cadman	1589	4	Elizabeth I	Queen
17135	M	H	of the Middle Temple	The strange fortune of Alerane: or, my ladies toy.	London	V. S[immes] f. M. L[ownes]	1605	4	R., Ladies F. and H.	
17136	M	I or J		A breefe directory, and playne way howe to say the rosary of our blessed lady: whereunto are adioyned the prayers of S. Bryget, w. others.	Bruges [i.e. London]	H. Holost [i.e. W. Carter a. J. Lion]	1576	16	M., A.	'Sister of author'
17147	M	R		A newe ballade, O dere lady Elyzabeth [etc.].	London		1560?	1	Elizabeth I	Queen
17164	Macchiavelli	Niccolo		The arte of warre (Certaine waies for the orderynge of souldiers).	London	J. Kingston f. N. Englande	1560	4	Elizabeth I	Queen
17197	Mathew	Edward		A paradise of praiers and meditations. The first part.	Doway	Widow of L. Kellam	1613	16	Parker [Tresham], Elizabeth	m. William II Baron Morley A&R 492
17199	Maillet	Marc de		Balet de la revanche du mespris d'amour.	Ello's Court Press		1608	4	Anne of Denmark	Queen. shared
17206	Maisonneuve	Etienne de		Gerleion of England. The second part.	London	[T. Scarlet?] f. C. Burble	1592	4	Marshall, Ralph	Of Carleton [Vis. Notts.]
17238	Man	Abraham	Minister in Henley	An amulet or preservative against sicknes and death.	London	R. F[ield] f. T. Man	1617	12	Peryan [Bacon], Elizabeth	m. Sir William
17244	Mancinus	Dominican		A plaine path to perfect vertue.	London	H. Bynneman f. L. Maylard	1568	8	Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwck.
17278	Manual			[Anr. ed. 17263] A manual of prayers newly gathered out of many and diuers famous authors. Newly perused.	Paris		1640	16	Devout ladies	Init. B.T.A.[nderton?] A&R 518
17306	Marbury	Francis		Notes of the doctrine of repentance.	London	P. Short	1602	8	Scott, Sir John	Of Nettlestead, d. 1616 DNB

17320	Margaret	of Angouleme	A godly medytacyon of the christen sowle. -	Elyzabeth daughter to our late souerayne kyng Henr the .vii.	Wesel	D. van der Straten	1548 (ap.)	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	by editor and anew 17321
17343	Markham	Gervase	[Anr. Ed. enlarged of 2nd book only 17342.] Countrey contentments, or the English huswife.	London	J. B[eale] f. R. Jackson	1623	4	Cecil [Brydges], Frances	m. Thomas I Earl of Exeter, previously Smith. Also see E., C.D. of	[17353, 17396]	
17386	Markham	Gervase	The poem of poems. Or, Sions muse, contayning the divine Song of King Solomon, divided into eight eclogues.	London	J. Roberts f. M. Lownes	1596	8	Manners [Sidney], Elizabeth	m. Roger V Earl		
17406	Marlorat	Augustine	A catholike and ecclesiasticall exposition of ... S. John.	London	T. Marshe	1575	fol.	Radcliffe, Thomas	III Earl of Sussex		
17414	Marlowe	Christopher	[Anr. ed. 17413] Hero and Leander. Begun by C. Marloe; and finished by G. Chapman.	London	F. Kingston f. P. Linley	1598	4	Walsingham [Shelton], Etheired or Awdrey	m. Sir Thomas - DNB	part, only	
17471	Marston	John	The workes of Mr. J. Marston, being tragedies and comedies, collected into one volume.	London	[A. Mathewes] f. W. Sheares	1633	8	Carey [Tanfield], Elizabeth	m. Henry I Viscount Falkland	only by bookseller	
17490	Marten	Anthony	A reconciliation of all the pastors and cleargy of this church of England.	London	J. Windet	1590	4	Elizabeth I	Queen		
17491	Marten	Anthony	A second sounde, or warning of the trumpet vnto judgement.	London	T. Orwin f. A. Maunsell	1589	4	Elizabeth I	Queen		
17496	Martiall	John	A treatyse of the crosse gathered out of the scriptures.	Antwerp	J. Lattus	1564	8	Elizabeth I	Queen		
17507	Martin	Gregory	A treatyse of christian peregrination. Whereunto is adiouned certen epistles.	Paris	f. R. Verstegan	1583 [c.1597]	8	Martin, Gregory	Translator [DNB], Unnamed sisters of	part, whence 17504 [falsely dated] A&R 534	
17517	Martin	Thomas	A traictise declaring and plainly proving, that the pretensed marriage of priestes, is no marriage Herewith is comprised a full confutation of [20176].	London	in aed. R. Cayl	1554	4	Mary I	Queen		
17518	Martin	Thomas	A defence of priestes marriages, Agaynst T. Martin [By Sir R. Morison? Ed. Abp. M. Parker].	London	J. Kingston f. R. Jugge	15677	4	Mary I	Queen	[belated]	
17542	Mary	The blessed virgin	Here after folowith the booke callyd the Myrroure of oure lady.	London	R. Fawkes	1530	fol. (2 pts.)	Jordan, Agnes	Abbess of Syon	shared	

17562	Mary I		Queen of England	A supplicacyon to the queenes maiestie.		London [really Strasbourg]	J. Cawoode [really W. Rihel]	1555	8	Mary I	Queen	
17589	Mascall	Leonard		The husbandye ording and gouernment of poutrie.		London	T. Purfoote f. G. Dewse	1581	8	Woodford [Read], Catherine	m. James Clerk of kitchen [Vis. Bucks.]	
17634	Massinger	Phillip		The duke of Millaine. A tragedie.		London	B. A[isop] f. E. Blackmore	1623	4	Stanhope [Hastings], Catherine	m. Phillip, I Earl of Chesterfield	
17654	Matthew	Roger		The flight of time. [A sermon.]		London	G. Miller f. G. Edwards	1634	4	Fiennes [Cecil], Frances	m. James II Viscount Saye	
17658	Matthew	Sir Tobie		Of the love of our only lord Jesus Christ.		St. Omer	English College Press	1622	8	Mary	The blessed virgin	A&R 538
17663	Matthieu	Pierre		The historie of S. Elizabeth daughter of the king of Hungarie.	Sr. T. H[awkins]	Bruxelles	Widdow of H. Antony called Velpius	1633	8	Englefield [Browne], Jane	m. Sir Francis I Bt.	by editor A&R 540
17669	Maunsell	Andrew		The first part of the catalogue of English printed bookes: which concerneth diuinitie. The second parte ... which concerneth the sciences.		London	J. Windet, (J. Roberts,) f. A. Maunsell	1595	fol. (2 pts.)	Elizabeth I	Queen	part
17682	Mavericke	Radford		The practice of repentance. Or a sermon.		London	W. Stansby	1617	4	Ridgeway, Thomas	I Earl of Londonderry	
17683	Mavericke	Radford		St. Peters watchword.		London	J. W[indet]	1603	8	Foord [Popham], Elizabeth	m. Thomas of Ilington, Devon	a
17693	Maxey	Anthony		[Anr. Ed. 17687.] Cetaine sermons preached before the kings maiestie. The sixt. edition. (A sermon preached at Bagshot, September I, 1616). 2 pts.		London	H. L[ownes] f. C. Knight	1619	8	Sadler [Coke], Anne	m. Ralph of Standom	
17699	Maxwell	James		Carolianna, that is to say, a poeme in honour of our king. By J. Anne-son [i.e. J. Maxwell].		London	E. All-de	1619	4	Anne	Queen to Louis XIII	shared
										Anne of Denmark	Queen.	see
										Anne of Tyrol	Consort to Matthias	shared
										Elizabeth	Duchess of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel, sister of Queen Anne	shared
										Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	shared
										Gordon [Stuart], Henrietta	m. George I Marquis	shared
										Howard [Dacre], Anne	m. Philip XIII Earl of Arundel	shared
										Howard [Eure], Mary	m. Sir William of Naworth	shared

17979.3	Mirror				an STC book.] [Anr. ed., 17978.5.] The mirror of complements. Or. a manuell of choice ... ceremonies. The third edition.		London	T. Harper, sold by L. Chapman	1637	12	Savage [Darcy]. Elizabeth	Charles I Countess Rivers	1637-Y of
17994	Moffett	Thomas			The silkwormes, and their flies. [Init. T. M. a countrie farmer.]		London	V. S[immes] f. N. Ling	1599	4	Herbert [Sidney]. Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	
18000	Molina	Antonio de			A treatise of metal prayer. Whereunto is adjoined a treatise of exhortation to spirituall profit. Written by F. Francis Arias.	J. Sweetnam (Molinas) and T. Everard (Arias)	St. Omer	English College Press	1617	12	Wiseman, Jane	[Mary in religion], Prioresse of St. Monica's, Louvain	shared, by editor A&R 829
18001	Molina	Antonio de			A treatise of the holy sacrifice of the masse.	I.R. [i.e. J. Floyd.]	St. Omer	English College Press	1623	16	Petre [Montagu], Mary	m. Robert III Baron	by editor
18004	Monacius	Janus Julius			Tres excellente, & nouvelle description contre la peste. Premierement, vn poeme nouveau, fait sur l'origine de la roine, avec quelques autres euvres poetiques.		London	T. Purfoot	1570 ?	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	
18012	Monginot	Francois			A resolution of doubts: or, a summary, deciding of controversies between the reformed and the romish churches.	S. Williams	London	E. Griffin	1620	8	Williams, John	Of Tyneham, Dorset, d. 1627	
18013	Monings	Edward			The landgraue of Hessen his princelle receiuing of her maiesties embassador [H. Clinton, 2nd earl of Lincoln].		London	R. Robinson	1596	4	Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick.	
18041	Montaigne	Michel de			The essayes or morall, politike and militarie discourses.	Done into English by (J. Florio.)	London	V. Sims f. E. Blount	1603	fol.	Grey [Talbot], Elizabeth	m. Henry VIII Earl	shared, [see changes]
											Harington [Kelway], Anne	m. John I Baron	shared, [see changes]
											Manners [Sidney], Elizabeth	m. Roger V Earl	shared, [see changes]
											Neville [Sackville], Mary	m. Henry IX Baron	shared, [see changes]
											Rich [Devereux], Penelope	Lady Rich - DNB. Subsequently Blount	shared, [see changes]
											Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	shared, [see changes]
18042	Montaigne	Michel de			[Anr. Ed. 18041.] The essayes or morall, politike and militarie discourses. Essayes written in	Done into English by (J. Florio.)	London	M. Bradwood f. E. Blount a. W. Barret	1613	fol.	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	superseding ladies

18044	Montemayor	Jorge de		French. Diana of George of Montemayor.	B. Yong	London	E. Bollifant, imp. G. B[ishop]	1598	fol.	Rich [Devereux], Penelope	Lady Rich – DNB. Subsequently Blount	
18053	Montreux	Nicolas de		Honours academie. Or the famous pastorall, of Julietta. With divers histories.	Englished by R. T[offe.]	London	T. Creede	1610	fol.	Heron [Brooke], Anne	m. Sir Edward [Vis. Lincs]	
18057	Moore	John		A mappe of mans mortalitie Whereunto are annexed two consolatory sermons.		London	T. S[nodham] f. G. Edwards, sold [by R. Mabb]	1617	4 (2 pts.)	Turpin [Fiennes], Elizabeth	m. Sir William	part
18061	Moore	Robert		Diarium historicopoeticum, in quo ... declarantur cuiesque mensis dies fere singuli, regum, imperatorum, natalibus, nuptiis, [etc.]		Oxonis	J. Barnesius	1595	4	Wolley, Sir John	Latin secretary [DNB]	
18066	More	Cresacre	D.O.M.S.	The life and death of Sir Thomas Moore. Written by M. T. M[ore], or rather C. More.]		Douai	B. Bellere	1631?	4	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	
18071	More	George	Sir	A demonstration of God in his workes.		London	J. R[oberts] f. T. Charde	1597	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
18076	More	Thomas	Sir	The workes of Sir T. More ... wrytten by him in the Englysh tonge. [Ed.] (W. Rastell. A table by T. Paynell.)		London	at the costes of J. Cawood, J. Waly, a. R. Tottle	1557 (ap.)	fol.	Mary I	Queen	by editor
18083	More	Thomas	Sir	[Anr. Ed.] A dialoue of comfort against tribulacion. Now newly set fourth, with many places restored and correced. [Ed. J. Fowler.]		Antwerpiae	ap. J. Foulerum	1573	8	Dormer, Jane	Duchess of Feria [DNB]	by printer
18099	Morel	Jean		De ecclesia ab Antichristo per eius exidium liberanda.		London	[Eliot's Court Press.] Imp. G. Bishop	1589	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
18103	Morgan	John		A short analysis of a part of the second chapter of S. James, from the 14. verse to the end.		London	T. Orwin f. E. Aggas	1588	8	Devereux [Walsingham], Frances	m. Robert II Earl, previously Sidney	shared
18119	Morley	Thomas		Of Thomas Morley the first booke of Canzonets to two voyces.		London	T. Este	1595	4 (2 ptbk s.)	Walsingham [St. Barbe], Ursula	m. Sir Francis	shared
18121	Morley	Thomas		Canzonets. Or little short songs to three voyces.		London	T. Este, the assigne of W. Byrd	1593	4 (3 ptbk s.)	Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	
18136	Mornay	Philippe de		The defence of death. Contayning a most excellent discourse written	E. Aggas]	London	J. Allde f. E. Aggas	1576	8	Stanley [Clifford], Margaret	m. Henry IV Earl	

18301	Murrell	John		A daily exercise for ladies and gentlewomen. Whereby they may learne the whole art of making paster, preserves, [etc.].	London	[T. Snodham] f. the Widow Helme	1617	12	Bingham [Plowman], Elizabeth	m. Nicholas [Vis. Essex]	
18302	Murrell	John		A delightful daily exercise for ladies and gentlewomen. Whereto is added a booke of cookery.	London	[A. Mathewes] f. T. Dewe	1621	12 (2 pts.)	Ladies and Gentlewoman		[see changes]
18303	Murrell	John		Murrells two bookes of cookerie and carving. The fifth time printed.	London	M. Flesher] f. J. Marriot	1638	8	Browne [Boteler], Catherine	m. Sir John [Vis. Essex]	part, and 1631-NY
18326	N.	C.		Our Ladie hath a new sonne.	Dowale [i.e. English Secret Press]		1595	8	A., Lady M. C	Daughter of Sir Thomas, Lord Mayor	A&R 558
18331	N.	N.		Maria triumphans. Being a discourse, wherin the B. Virgin Mary is defended.	St. Omer	English College Press	1635	12	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	A&R 562
18336	N.	W.	Gent.	Barley-breake, or, a warning for wantons.	London	S. Stafford	1607	4	C., Elizabeth	Daughter of Robert, esq.	
18366	Nash	Thomas		Christs teares ouer Ierusalem.	London	J. Roberts, solde by A. Wise	1593	4	Carey [Spenser], Elizabeth	m. George II Baron Hunsdon	
18379	Nash	Thomas		The terrors of the night or, a discourse of apparitions.	London	J. Danter f. W. Jones	1594	4	Berkeley [Carey], Elizabeth	m. Sir Thomas, later Chamberlain	
18419	Negri de Bassano	Francesco		A certayne tragedie wrytten first in Italian, by F. N. B. entitled, Freewyl.	London	R. Jugge	1573?	4	Cheyney [Wentworth], Joan	m. Henry Baron	
18432	Nesbit	E.		Caesars dialogue or a familiar communication containing the first institution of a subject, in allegiance to his soueraigne. [Init. E.N.]	London	T. Purfoot (jun.)	1601	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	see
18493	Newhouse	Thomas		Certaine sermons, preached by ... T. Newhouse. And nowe set forth by R. Gailiard.	London	F. Kyngston f. E. Weaver a. W. Welby	1614	8	Corbet, Sir Thomas	of Sprowston	part
18508	Newstead	Christopher		An apology for women: or, womens defense.	London	E. G[iffin] f. R. Whittakers	1620	8	Villiers [Beaumont], Mary	Countess of Buckingham	
18509	Newton	Robert		The countesse of Mountgomerie Eusebia: expressing briefly, the soules praying robes.	London	G. Purslow f. A. G[ilman]	1620	12	Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	shared
									Herbert, Phillip	IV Earl Pembroke	shared
									Herbert, William	III Earl of Pembroke	shared

18513.	Newton	Thomas	Gent.	Atropoion Delion, or, the death of Delia.	London	[W. White] f. W. Jones	1603	4	Norris [Vere], Bridget Brydges [Stanley], Anne Egerton [Stanley], Frances Hastings [Stanley], Elizabeth Stanley [Spencer], Alice	m. Francis Earl of Berkshire m. John I Earl m. Henry V Earl m. Ferdinando V Earl, later Egerton m. William IV Earl	epistle epistle epistle misnamed Anne shared
18520	Niccols	Richard		Expicedium. A funeral oration, vpon the late deceased princesse Elizabeth queen of England. By Infelice Academico Ignoto. Whereunto is added, the true order of her highnes funeral. [Anon.]	London	[E. Alide] f. E. White	1603	4	Stanley [Vere], Elizabeth		
18521	Niccols	Richard		The furies, With vertues encomium. Or, the Image of honour. In two bookes of epigrammes. [Init. R.N.]	London	W. Stansby	1614	8	Clere [Wroth], Elizabeth	m. Sir Francis of Norfolk	epistle
									Hay [Denny], Honoria	m. James I Earl of Carlisle	part
									Howard [White], Charity	m. Charles II Earl Nottingham	epistle
									Smith [Langton], Margaret	m. Sir Richard	epistle
									Wroth [Rich], Margaret	m. Sir Thomas [d. 1672]	epistle
18525	Niccols	Richard		The three sisters teares. Shed at the funeral of Henry, prince of Wales.	London	T. Snodham] f. R. Redmer	1613	4	Hay [Denny], Honoria	m. James I Earl of Carlisle	
18526.	Niccols	Richard	of the Inner Temple	A day-starre for darke-wandering soules. Published by I. C.	London	[T. Snodham] f. J. Budge	1613	8	Glemham [Sackville], Anne	m. Sir Henry	by editor
18534	Nichols	John		John Niccols pilgrimage, whrein [sic] is displaied the liues of the proude popes.	London	T. Dawson f. T. Butter a. G. Isaac	1581	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	
18535	Nichols	John		The oration and sermon made at Rome, ... the xxvj. daie of Maie. 1578.	London	J. Charlewood, servant to the earle of Arundell	1581	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	
18553	Niclas	Hendrik		An epistle sent to two daughters of Warwick from H. N. The oldest father of the Familie of Love. With a refutation of the errors that are therein; by H. A.(insworth).	Amsterdam	G. Thorp	1608	4	Warwick: two unnamed women		

18586	Nixon	Anthony		Elizaes memoriall. King James his arrivall. And Romes downefall. [Init. A. N.]	London	T. C[reede] f. J. Baylie	1603	4	Widow of his maecenas		
18602	Noot	Jan van der	poet	A theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries & calamities that follow the voluptuous worldings.	London	H. Bynneman	1569	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	
18603	Noot	Jan van der	poet	Le theatre sont exposes ... les miseres qui sulvent les mondains.	London	chez J. Day	1568	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	
18604	Norden	John		A christian familiar comfort and encouragement not to dismale at the Spanish threats.	London	[T. Scarlet a. J. Orwin] f. J. B[rome]	1596	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
18610	Norden	John		The imitation of David his godly and constant resolution.	London	J. Haviland f. R. Whittakers a. G. Lathan	1624	12	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	epistle
18613	Norden	John		A mirror for the multitude, or glasse, wherein maie be seene, the violence, of the multitude.	London	J. Windet	1586	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	
18616	Norden	John		[pt. 1] A pensive mans practise very profitable for all personnes.	London	H. Singleton	1584	8	Knyvet [Pickering], Anne	m. Sir Henry the elder	epistle
18623	Norden	John		[Anr. ed. 7] Newly corrected after above forty impressions.	London	J. Beale f. T. Pavier	1620	12	Smith [Langton], Margaret	Of Charleton, son of Sir Henry Knyvet, the elder	
18627	Norden	John		A pensive soules delight.	London	T. C[reede] f. W. Luger	1603	4	Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick	[see changes]
18629	Norden	John		A poore mans rest: ... Now the eight time augmented.	London	[T. Snodham] f. J. Budge	1620	12	Killigrew [Saunders], Margery	m. Sir William	[earlier missing]
18633	Norden	John		A progresse of pietie. Or the harbour of heavenly harts ease.	London	J. Windet f. J. Oxenbridge	1596	12	M., R.		wife of, presentation, by R.M
18635	Norden	John		Speculum Britanniae. The first parte an historicaill discription of Middlesex.	London	Eliot's Court Press	1593	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	shared
18755	O.	T.		The lamentation of Troy, for the death of Hector. Whereunto is annexed an old womans tale in his solitary cell.	London	P. Short f. W. Mattes	1594	4	Cecil [Cooke], Mildred	m. William Baron Burghley	[18773, 18777]
18767	Bernardino	Ochino		Fourteene sermons ... concerning the predestinacion and elecion of god.	London	J. Day & W. Seres	15517	8	F., Lady.	[maiden name mask for Cooke [Fitzwilliam], Anne m. Sir Anthony	

18768	Bernardino	Ochino		Sermons of Barnadine Ochyne, (to the number of .25.) concerning the predestination and election of God.	A. C[ooke, Lady Bacon and R. Argentine.]	London	J. Day	1570?	8	F., Lady.	[maiden name mask for Cooke [Fitzwilliam], Anne m. Sir Anthony	
18772	Ockland	Christopher		Anglorum praelia, ab anno domini 1327. vsque ad annum 1558.		London	[H. Bynneman f.] R. Newberie, ex assign. H. Bynneman]	1580	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	[18773, 18777]
18776	Ockland	Christopher		[Anr. ed.] Anglorum praelia Item, de pacatissimo Angliae statu. Itijs A. Neullil Kettum: adiunximus.		London	[H. Bynneman] ap. R. Nuberie, ex assign H. Bynneman	1582	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	epistle
18780	Odell	Thomas		A brief and short treatise, called the christians pilgrimage to his fatherland.		Amsterdam	J. F. Stam	1635	4	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	
18806	Oldmayne	Timothy		Lifes brevitie and deaths debility. Evidently declared in a sermon preached at the funerall of E. Lewkenor.		London	N. a. J. Okes	1636	4	Lestrangle [Lewkenor], Anne	m. Sir Nicholas I Bt.	shared
										Lewkenor [Neville], Mary	m. Sir Edward the younger	shared
										Lewkenor [Russell], Elizabeth	m. Edward	shared
										Lewkenor, Katherine	Daughter of Sir Edward the younger, later Cathorpe	shared
										Lewkenor, Mary	Daughter of Sir Edward the younger	shared
18835	Oratio			Oratio hominis Belgae de virtute ac laudibus Britannorum in defendenda aliorum contra potentiores dynastas salute. Habita in celeberrima Oxoniensi academia xxix. April.		London	R. Field	1602	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
18887	Osorio da Fonseca	Jeronimo		An epistle of the reverend father to Elizabeth quene of England.	R. Shacklock	Antwerp	AE Diest	1565	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	see, [the earlier ed.] A&R 586
18902	Outreman	Philippe d'		The true christian catholique or the manner how to live christianly.	J. Heigham	St. Omer	C. Boscard]	1622	8	Willoughby [Thornborough], Elizabeth	m. Sir Robert [Vis Staffs.	A&R 588
18966	Ovidius Naso	Publius		[Anr. ed.] Ovid's Metamorphoses Englished, mythologiz'd and represented in figures. An essay to the translation of Virail's Aeneis fa	G. S(andy)	Oxford	J. Lichfield	1632	fol.	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	

19042	Bayly	Thomas	Sub-dean of Wells	A helpe to true happinesse. Or a briefe and learned exposition of the points of christian religion.	London	E. Griffin f. W. Bladen	1618	12	Romney [Taylor], Rebecca	m. Sir William	by editor
19043	Oxford University	Verses, Addresses, etc.		[Corpus.] Carmina funebria, in obitum clarissimi viri Georgij de Sancto Paulo C.C.C.	Oxoniae	J. Barnesius	1614	4	Rich [Wray], Frances	m. Robert I Earl, previously St. Paul	
19046	Oxford University	Verses, Addresses, etc.		[Magdalen.] Beatae Mariae Magdalenae lachrymae, in obitum Guilelmi Grey. [Ed.] (Rob. Barnes, of Greys).	Oxoniae	J. Barnesius	1606	4	Grey [Morrison], Jane Sibella	m. Arthur XIV Baron	
19068	P.	I., or J.		Anabaptismes mysterie of iniquity unmasked. [By J. Paget?] Also, wisdomes bountie unmasking the man of sinne.	London	A. M[atthewes], G. Winder	1625	8	G., A.	'Sister of author'	part
19080	P.	W.		The gossips greeting.	London	B. A[isop] f. H. Bell	1620	4	Gossips		
19088	Page	Samuel		The allegiance of the cleargie. A sermon. [Contains 9 sermons.]	London	N. Okes f. S. Waterson	1616	4	Howard [St. John], Anne	m. William Lord Howard d. 1615	part, [or better 1616- HD of 19088.7]
19099	Paget	John		Meditations of death.	Dort	H. Ash	1639	12	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	by widow
19136	Palfreyman	Thomas		[Headline.] Diuine meditations.	London	H. Bynneman f. W. Norton	1572	8	Paget [Masterson]	m. John - DNB	prose
19137	Palfreyman	Thomas		A myrrour or cleare glasse, for all estates, to looke in, conteynyng the true knowledge and love of god.	London	H. Sutton, at the costes of M. Lobley a. J. Waley	1560	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	
19148	Palmerius	Marcelles [i.e. P. A. Manzoll]		The firste thre bokes of the most christian poet M. Palingenius, called the zodyake of lyfe.	London	J. Tisdale f. R. Newberye	1560	8	Hales [Wood], Margaret	m. Sir James - DNB	[see changes]
19153	Palladius	Peter		An introduction into the bookes of the prophets and apostles.	London	G. S[haw] f. W. Holme	1598	8	Russell [Cooke], Elizabeth	m. John Lord Russell [DNB as Hoby]	
19158	Palmerin	de Oliva		The [first] seconde part of the historie of Palmerin d'Oliva.	London	T. Creede	1597	4	Young, Francis and wife Susan	'of Brent Peiham, Herts.'	part 2 of, [earlier lost; see changes]
19161	Palmerin	of England		The [first] seconde part, of the no less rare, historie of Palmerin of England. [By F. de Moraes.]	London	T. Creede	1596	4	Young, Francis and wife Susan	'of Brent Peiham, Herts.'	part 2 of, [earlier lost]
19162	Palmerin	of England		[Arr. ed. pt. 1:] The [first] seconde part, of the no less rare, historie of Palmerin of England. [By F. de Moraes.]	London	T. Creede	1609	4	Ladies (sometimes inexacty)		[19161 impf.]

19321	Partr	Einathan		chapter not before printed.	London	G. Eld f. S. Man	1622	4	Bacon [Meautys], Jane	m. Sir Nathaniel, K.B., and previously Cornwallis
19337	Parry	Robert		Moderatus, the most delectable & famous historie of the black knight.	London	R. Jhones	1595	4	D., Car.	verse
19340	Parry	William	Doctor of Law	In Guill. Parry proditorum odae & epigrammata. [By W. Gager?]	Oxoniae	ex. off. J. Barnesij	1585	8	Elizabeth I	Queen
19345	Parsons	Bartholomew		Boaz and Ruth blessed: or a sacred contract.	Oxford	J. Lichfield f. W. Webbe	1633	4	Thistlethwaite, Peregrine	The younger of winterslow
19394	Parsons	Robert		A brief discours containyng certayne reasons why catholiques refuse to goe to church. Dedicated by J. H(owlet, pseud.) to the queenes maiestie.	Doway	J. Lyon [i.e. East Ham, Greenstreet House]	1580	8	Elizabeth I	Queen
19426	Partridge	John		The treasure of commodious conceits, & hidden secrets. and may be called the huswives closet, of healthfull provision. The fourth tyme corrected.	London	R. Jhones	1584	8	aspirants to housewifery:	
19434	Partridge	John		[Anr. ed. 1943.3] The widowes treasure, plentifully furnished with secretes in phisicke. Hereunto are adioyned, sundry pretie practises of cookerie. [Anon.]	London	J. Roberts f. E. White	1602	8	R, M[rs].	and 1588-HD
19449	Pasquier	Etienne		The jesuites catechisme. Or examination of their doctrine.	London	J. Roberts	1602	4	Loyal [anti-Jesuit] women	
19485	Paulet	William	Marquis of Winchester	The lord marques idenes: containyng manifold matters of acceptable devise; as sage sentences, [etc.].	London	A. Hatfield	1586	4	Elizabeth I	Queen
19494	Paynell	Thomas		The pithy [sic] and moost notable sayynges of al Scripture.	London	T. Gauttier, at the costes of R. Kele	1550	8	Mary I	Queen
19499	Peacham	Henry	The Younger	An Aprill shower, shed in abundance of tears, for the death of R. Sacvile, earle of Dorset.	London	E. Alde	1624	4	Clifford [later Sackville and Herbert], Anne	Countess [DNB]
19511	Peacham	Henry	The Younger	Minerva Britanna, or a garden of herolical devises.	London	W. Dight	1612	4	Anne of Denmark	Queen.
									Dudley [Leigh], Alice	Duchess Dudley [DNB] see
									Dudley, Anne	Daughter of Alice. later see

19683	Perkins	William		companionenti heroici. regii. A christian and plaine treatise of the manner and order of predestination.	F. Cacot and T. Tuke	London	[F. Kingston] f. W. Welby a. M. Clarke	1606	8	Buck, Sir Peter	of Rochester [Vis. Kent] [19649]	
19707	Perkins	William		[Anr. ed. 19706.5] A faithfull and plaine exposition upon the two first verses of the second chapter of Zephaniah. Third impression.		London	T. Creede f. W. Welby	1606	fol.	Gee, Sir William	Of the Council in the North	by editor, [19649, cf. 19648]
19725	Perkins	William		[Anr. ed. 19724.5] A graine of mustard-seed.		London?	J. Legate, sold by S. Waterson	1611	8	Clifford [Russell], Margaret	George III Earl	and 1597-F
19731	Perkins	William		Lectures upon the three first chapters of the Revelation: published b R. Hill. To which is added an excellent sermon, in which is proved that Rome is Babylon, and that Babylon is fallen.		London	R. Field f. C. Burbie	1604	4	Capel [Montagu], Theodosia	m. Sir Henry	shared, [19648 appendix] by editor
19732	Perkins	William		[Anr. ed. 19731, enlarged] A godly and learned exposition of commentarie upon the three first chapters of the Revelation. Second edition revised and enlarged by T. Pierson.		London	A. Islip f. C. Burbie	1606	fol.	Montagu [Harington], Elizabeth	m. Sir Edward	shared, by editor, [19649, cf. 19648] [19649] by editor
19742	Perkins	William		A salve for a sickle man, or, the right manner of dying well.		Cambridge	J. Legate, printer to the Univ. of Camb.	1595	8	Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	[19646]
19748	Perkins	William		[Anr. ed. 19747.5] The combat betweene Christ and the diuell displayed. The second edition much enlarged by a more perfect copie, by T. Pierson.		London	M. Bradwood f. E. E[dgar], solde [by C. Burby]	1606	fol.	Russell, William	l Baron R. of Thornhaugh	
19784	Peryn	William		Spirituall exercises and goostly meditacions, ... Set foorth by F. Wylliam Peryn.	Trans. and adapted from 'Exercitia' of N. van Ess.	London	[J. Kingston f.] J. Worley	1557	8	Clement, Dorothy	Poor Clare, daughter of John - DNB	shared
19784	Peryn	William		Spirituall exercises and goostly meditacions, ... Set foorth by F. Wylliam Peryn.	Trans. and adapted from 'Exercitia' of N. van Ess.	London	[J. Kingston f.] J. Worley	1557	8	Palmer, Catherine	Abbess of Syon	
19793	Petau Maulette	Genevieve		Deuoreux. Vertues teares for the losse of the most christian king Henry. third ... and the vntimely	Paraphrastical ly tr. J. Markham	London	J. Roberts f. T. Millington	1597	4	Percy [Devereux], Dorothy	m. Henry III Earl	shared

20095	Polyander	John		A disputation against the adoration of the reliques of saints departed.	H. Hexham	Dordrecht	G. Walters	1611	8	Vere [Tracy], Mary	m. Horatio I Baron Vere	
20133	Potter	Barnaby	Bishop	The baronets buriall, or a funerall sermon at Sr Edward Seymours buriall.		Oxford	J. Barnes	1613	4	Giles, Sir Edward	Of Bowden [Vis. Devon]	
20138	Potts	Thomas		The wonderfull discoverie of witches in the countie of Lancaster.		London	W. Stansby f. J. Barnes	1613	4	Knyvet, Thomas	Baron Knyvet of Escrick	
20167	Powell	Thomas		The passionate poet. With a description of the Thracian Ismarus.		London	V. Simmes	1601	4	Fitzgerald [Howard], Frances	m. Henry XII Earl of Kildare, later Brooke	
20170	Powell	Thomas		A Weich bayte to spare prouender. Or, a looking backe upon the times past.		London	V. Simmes	1603	4	Brydges, Elizabeth		
20195	Prayers			[Fifteen Oes.] O Jhesu endles swetnes of louyng soules, [etc., by Saint Bridget].		Westminster	W. Caxton	1491	4	Beaufort, Margaret	Countess of Richmond [DNB]	[23955]
										Elizabeth	Queen of Henry VII	see
20203	Preparation			A preparation to the due consideration and reuerent coming to the holy communion.		London	C. Barker	1580	16	Elizabeth I	Queen	by printer
20282.	Preston	John	of East Ogwell	A sermon preached at the funeral of Mr. Arthur Upton.		London	W. Jones	1619	4	Upton, John	Of Lupton	
20283	Preston	Richard		The doctrine of the sacrament of the lords supper.		London	N. O[akes] f. J. Bellamie	1621	8	Pemberton [Bowles], Alice	m. Sir Lewis of Rushton [Vis. Northants.]	
20286	Preston	Richard		Short questions and answers, plainly explaining the nature and use of the sacraments.		London	N. O[akes] f. J. Bellamie [sic]	1621	8	B., M.,	his m	by editor I. B q.v.
20329	Price	Sampson		The clearing of the saints sight. A sermon.		London	[G. Purslowe] f. John Barnes	1617	4	Owen [Elkin], Ursula	m. Sir Roger	
20335	Price	William	Vicar of Brigstock	Janitor animae: the soules porter. A treatise of the fear of God.		London	J. Dawson] f. J. Cowper	1638	12	Cecil, William	II Earl of Salisbury	
20338	Pricke	Robert		A verie godlie and learned sermon, treating of mans mortalitie.		London	T. Creede	1608	4	Lewkenor, Edward and Susan, sons and daughters of		
20351	Prideaux	John	Bishop	Eight sermons.		London	F. Kyngston f. J. Budge	1621	4	Prideaux, Sir Edmund	I Bt.	part, [20345]
20366	Primaieon	of Greece		The second booke of Primaieon of Greece.	A. Mjundy]	London	J. Danter f. C. Burby	1596	4	Young, Francis and wife Susan	'of Brent Pelham, Herts.'	L [see changes], a
20388	Primrose	Diana		A chaine of pearle. Or a memoriall of queene Elizabeth.		London	[J. Dawson] f. T. Paine, sold by P. Waterhouse	1630	4	Berry, Dorothy		verse

20537	Quarles	Francis		An elegie upon my deare brother, the Jonathan of my heart, Mr. J. Wheeler.	London	T. Cotes] f. N. Alsop a. T. Nicholes	1637	8	Wheeler [Hanbury], Elizabeth	m. Sir Edmund [Vis Bucks]	shared
20538	Quarles	Francis		An elegie upon the truly lamented death of sir Julius Caesar.	London	[M. Flesher] f. J. Marriot	1636	8	Caesar [Woodhouse], Anne	m. Sir Julius	shared
20543	Quarles	Francis		Enchyridion containing Institutions. Divine. Morall. [etc.]	London	T. Cotes	1640	24	Ussher, Elizabeth	Later Tyrrell. Daughter of James, Archbishop of Armagh	
20548	Quarles	Francis		Hieroglyphikes of the life of man.	London	M. Flesher f. J. Marriot	1638	8	Sackville [Curzon], Mary	m. Edward IV Earl	[20542]
20551	Quarles	Francis		Memorials upon the death of sir R. Quarles.	London	T. Cotes f. N. Alsop	1639	8	Quarles [Parvis], Mary	m. Sir Robert	
20552	Quarles	Francis		Sighes at the contemporary deaths of the countesses of Cleaveland and mistrisse C. Killigrove. (An elegie. Upon sir J. Wolstenholme.)	London	T. Cotes f. N. Alsop	1640	8	Crofts [Shirley], Mary	m. Sir John	part
20565	Quin	Walter		In nuptiis principum in comparabilium Caroli, et Henriettae Mariae, gratulatio quadrilinguis.	London	G. Purslow	1625	4	Charles I	King	
20571	R.	E.		Two fruitfull exercises, the one: a christian discourse vpon the 16. and 17. verses of the 16. chapter of Judges, the other: a godly meditation. Also a buckler against a Spanish brag.	London	[Eliot's Court Press.] Imp. G. Bishop	1588	8	P., Lady M.		
20580	R.	James		[Anr. ed. 20579.5] The perfect path-way to salvation.	London	[E. Alide] f. H. Astley	1603	16	Martin [Ecclestone], Dorcas	m. Sir Richard	[earlier lost, ent. 4 oct., 1585]
20596	Raban	Edward		The glorie of man consisting in the excellencie of woman. Gathered out of holie scriptures, [etc.] Whereunto is annexed The duetie of husbandes (drawne out of [4698]).	Aberdene	printed by the author [E. Raban]	1638	8	Gordon [Campbell], Anne	m. George II Marquis of Huntly	
20613	Rainolds	John		Joannis Rainoldi, ... orationes duodecim; cum alijs quibusdam opusculis. Adjecta est oratio funebris, in obitu eiusdem habita a I. Wake.	Oxoniae	J. Barnesius	1614	12	Elizabeth I Belated		epistle, and 1613 - C [usurped from Essex dec. 20606]
20664	Ramsey	John	Visct. Haddington	Daphnes tropees wherein is delynated the power of beautie and the woonders of affection.	Paris	R. Giffoard	1619	8	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	
20669	Randall	John		The description of fleshly lusts. Or	London	J. Dawson f. N.	1622	4	Wed [Slany], Mary	m. Sir Humphrey	[20668], by editor

																		Treatises-F, by translator] A&R 737
21153	Rosslin	Eucharist				Matthew] (R. Jones)	London	T. R[aynald]	1540	4	Catherine Howard	Queen						
21154	Rosslin	Eucharist					London	T. Ray[naid]	1545	8	Women							
21165	Rogers	Daniel					London	F. K[ingston] f. S. Man	1619	12	Slany [Phesant], Margaret	m. Sir Stephen						shared
21167	Rogers	Daniel					London	J. N[orton] f. S. Man	1632	4	Rich [Rowe], Susanna	m. Robert II Earl						[perhaps [Egerton] Anne shared m. Sir John]
21169	Rogers	Daniel					London	T. Cotes f. J. Bellamie a. R. Smith	1640	4	Barrington [Cromwell], Joan	m. Sir Francis Bt.						[21173]
21174	Rogers	Francis					London	T. S[nodham] f. G. Norton	1613	4	Rogers [Digges], Anne	m. Richard, bishop [?of Dover]						
21187	Rogers	John					London	[J. Dawson] f. N. Newbery a. H. Overton	1629	12	Bacon [Littel], Helen	m. Edward						shared
21194	Rogers	Nehemiah					London	H. L[ownes] f. E. Brewster	1621	4	Chibborne [Young], Margaret	m. Sir Charles						shared
21199	Rogers	Nehemiah					London	J. Haviland f. E. Brewster	1623	4	Rich [Hatton], Frances	m. Robert II Earl, parallel with husband						
21202	Rogers	Nehemiah					London	G. Miller f. E. Brewster	1632	4	Maynard, William	I Baron Maynard						

21232	Rogers	Thomas	M.A.	sonne. 3 pts. [Anr. ed. 21228]. The faith, doctrine, and religion, professed, in England, expressed in 39 articles.	Cambridge	J. Legatt, pr. to the Univ. of Camb.	1633	4	Eden [Darcy], Mary	m. Sir Thomas the younger [Vis. Essex]	shared
21235	Rogers	Thomas	M.A.	A golden chaine, taken out of the psalmes of king David: also, The pretious pearles of king Salomon.	London	H. Denham (the assigne of W. Seres)	1579	12	Elizabeth I	Queen	
21242	Rogers	Timothy		Second edition. Good newes from heauen: or, safe-conduct, discovering many treasons against every ones soule.	London	G. Miller] f. E. Brewster	1628	12	Bromley [Beswick], Anne	m. Sir Henry	shared, and 1627-PN
21266	Rollock	Hercules		De augustissimo iacobi 6. Scotorum regis, & Annae Frederici 2. Danorum regis filiae coniugio. Epithalamium.	Edinburgl	H. Charteris	1589	4	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	
21276	Rollock	Robert		An exposition upon some select psalmes of David.	Edinburgh	R. Waidegrave	1600	8	Preston [Gilbert], Lillas	m. Sir John - DNB	
21288	Romans			[Anr. ed., revised 21286.2 (but see addenda). A record of auncient histories, intituled in Latin: Gesta Romanorum. Now newly perused by R. Robinson.	London	T. Est	1595	8	Stewart [Douglas], Margaret	m. Matthew IV Earl of Lennox	by editor [earlier lost; see changes]
21316	Roper	William		The mirour of vertue in worldly greatnes. Or the life of syr Thomas More.	Paris [St. Omer, English College Press]		1626	12	Knollys [Howard], Elizabeth	m. William I Earl	by editor A&R 742
21318	Rosary			The mystik sweet rosary of the faythful soule.	Antwerpe	M. Emprowers	1533	8	Ladies (sometimes inexacty)		
21320	Rosdell	Christopher		A godlie and short discourse, shewing not onely what time the inhabitants of this land first receyued the christian faith: but also what maner of doctrine.	London	J. Wolfe	1589	8	Seymour [Howard of Effingham], Frances	m. Edward I Earl	
21331	Ross	Alexander		Three decades of divine meditations.	London	A. Mathewes] f. F. Constable	1630	4	Bruce [Clerk], Magdalen		
21348	Rous	Francis	the Elder	Thule, or vertues historie ... By F. R[ous.]	London	F. Kingston f. H. Lownes	1598	4	Audeley, Amy		
21359	Rowlands or	Richard		Odes. In imitation of the seaven	Antwerp	A Coninx	1601	8	Ladies and Gentlewoman		A&R 845

21492	S.	G.		Sacrae heptades, or seaven problems concerning Antichrist. [Doubtfully attrib. to G. Sandys.]		Amsterdam	successors of G. Thorp	1625	4	Frederick I	King of Bohemia	shared
21527	S.	W.		An hundred heavenly thoughts. And resolutions, tending to draw the minde from evill to good. By W. S. preacher in Norwich [i.e. W. Stinnet.]		London	F. Eld, sold by C. W[right]	1616	12	Corbet [Barrett], Anne	m. Sir Thomas	
21542	Sadler	John		Masquarade du ciel: presented to the great queene of the little world. A celestiall map. By J. S[adler].		London	R. B[adger] f. S. C[artwright]	1640	4	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	
21544	Sadler	John		The sicke womans private looking-glasse.		London	A. Griffin f. P. Stephens & C. Meredith	1636	12	Women		
21556	Saintbarb	Richard		Certaine points of christian religion. [In question and answer.]		London	[f. W. Young] a. R. Jackson	1589	8	Walsingham, Sir Francis	Statesman [DNB]	
21620	Salsbury	Sir Thomas	Bart	[Anr. issue 21619.5, w. cancel tp, w. title:] The history of Joseph: a poem.		London	T. Harper f. R. Ball	1636	4	Myddelton [Vanacker], Ann	m. Sir Thomas Mayor	
21628	Salo	Alessio Segala de		An admirable method to love, serve and honour the B. virgin Mary.	Englised by R.F.	Rouen	J. Cousturier	1639	12	Audeley [Packington], Anne	m. Sir Henry of Berechurch	A&R 746
21634	Salter	Thomas		A mirrhor mete for all mothers, matrones, and maidens, intituled the mirrhor of modestie.		London	[J. Kingston] f. E. White	1579	8	Lodge [Laxton], Anne	m. Sir Thomas	by bookseller
21638	Saltmarsh	John		Poemata sacra, Latine & Anglice scripta. (Poems upon some of the holy raptures of David. - The picture of God in man.)		Cantabrigia	[T. Buck a. R. Danie] ex acad. typog	1636	8	Metham, Sir Thomas	Of the Inner Temple	part
21649	Saluste de Bartas	Guillaume de		Bartas his devine weekes and workes translated.	By J. Sylvester.	London	H. Lowmes	1605	4	Anderson [Essex], Joan	m. William, M of Edmund I Bt.	part
21654	Saluste de Bartas	Guillaume de		[Anr. ed. 21649] Bartas his devine weekes and workes translated.	By J. Sylvester.	London	R. Young	1633 (1632)	fol.	Essex [Harcourt], Jane	m. William Bt.	part
21656	Saluste de Bartas	Guillaume de		Guillielm Salustij Bartassil Hebdomas a G. Lermaeo latinitate donata.		London	[J. Windet?] ap. R. Dexter	1591	12	Elizabeth I	Queen	[earlier abroad]
21687	Sampson	William		Virtus post funera vivit or, honour tryumphing over death. Being true epitomes of honorable, personages.		London	J. Norton	1636	4	Cavendish [Bruce], Christiana	Countess of Devonshire [DNB]	shared
21688	Sampson	William		The vow breaker. Or. the faire		London	J. Norton. sold	1636	4	Aston [Willoughby], Anne	m. Thomas I Bt.	

21705	Sanderson	Robert		maide of Cilflon. Ten sermons preached I. Ad clerum .3. II. Ad magistratum .3. III. Ad populum .4.	London	by R. Ball (R. Young) f. R. 1627 Dawltman	1627	4	Saunderson [Eiltoff], Mildred	m. Nicholas I Viscount	part
21724	Sandys	George		A paraphrase upon the psalmes of David. And upon the hymnes dispersed throughout the Old and New Testaments.	London	at the [shop of A. 1636 Hebb]	1636	8	Charles I	King	
21725	Sandys	George		[Anr ed. 21274, w. additions.] A paraphrase upon the divine poems. (Job - Psalmes. Set to new tunes. By H. Lawes. - Ecclesiastes. - Lamentations. - A paraphrase upon the songs collected out of the Old and New Testaments.)	London?	(J. Legatt,) sold at the [shop of A. (1637) Hebb]	1638 (1637)	fol.	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	presentation Copies vary; one F copy has inserted dedics. to Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia
21735	Sanford	John		A grammer or Introduction to the Italian tongue.	Oxford	J. Barnes, sold by S. Waterson	1605	4	More, Jean	Queen Consort.	Copies vary; one F copy has inserted dedics. to Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia
21739	San Pedro	Diego de		The castell of loue, tr. out of Spanishe by J. Bowrchier, lorde Bernis. The which boke treateth of the loue betwene Leriano and Laureola. [Anon.]	London	[R. Wolfe f.] (J. Turke)	1548?	8	Carew [Brian], Elizabeth	m. Sir Nicholas [D.N.B]	[earliest ed.]
21752	Saravia	Hadrianus		Vindiciae sacrae. A treatise of the honor due to ecclesiasticall persons. Done out of the Latin [in 21746] by (J. Martin, - An appendix ... answering foure maine arguments which usurpers of the churches right usually alledge).	London	T. a. R. Cotes f. J. Boler	1629	8	Villiers [Manners], Katherine	m. George I Duke	
21772	Saul	Arthur		The famous game of chesse-play.	London	[T. Snodham] f. Roger Jackson	1614	8	Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Ear of Bedford	[and 21773 by editor]
21783	Savile	Sir Henry		Rerum Anglicanarum scriptores post Bedam praecipui, nunc primum editi. [Libri] Willielmi Malmesburiensis. Henrici Hinfindoniensis. Rogeri Hovedeni. [etc.] (Fasti regum et episcoporum	London	G. Bishop, R. Nuberle & R. Barker	1596	fol.	Elizabeth I	Queen	

STATUTES AND OTHER PUBLIC DOCUMENTS	1612.]																
22009 Scotland - APPENDIX																	
22074 Scott	Thomas	B.D.															Queen of James V
																	Queen.
22103 Scott	Thomas	B.D.															King of Bohemia
																	shared, [22064]
22107 Scott	Thomas	Poet															m. William I Marquis
																	[see changes]
22125 Scultetus	Abraham																Queen of Bohemia.
																	[? From foreign]
22133 Seabrooke	Richard																m. Sir Hamon
22149 Sedgwick	John																m. Sir Henry of Walsingham
																	shared
22151 Sedgwick	Obadiah																City Captain
																	shared
22162 Segar	Sir William																I Bt.
22164 Segar	Sir William																Queen
																	Queen
22227 Seneca	Lucius Annaeus																Queen
22258 Seton	John																Queen
																	Mary I

22540	Sidney	Sir Philip	Arcadia. [Ed. M. Gwinne and F. Greville?] [Anr. ed. 22539] The countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia. Now since the first edition augmented and ended. [Ed.] (H. S[anford].)	London	[J. Windet] f. W. Ponsoible	1593	fol.	Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	Helps Edit
22565	Simson	Archibald	Christes testament unfolded: or, seven sermons, on our Lords seven last words.	Edinburgh	E. Raban	1620	8	Douglas [Keith], Anne	m. William VII Earl of Morton	
22566	Simson	Archibald	Heptameron, the seven dayes: that is, meditations and prayers, upon the creation.	Sainct-Andrews	E. Raban	1621	8	Seton [Hay], Margaret	m. Alexander I Earl	
22568	Simson	Archibald	A sacred septenarie, or, a godly and fruitful exposition on the seven psalmes of repentance. The second impression. 2 pts.	London	W. Jones, G. Eld, a J. Dawson] f. J. Bellamie	1623	8	Douglas, William	VII Earl of Morton	[see changes]
22570	Simson	Archibald	Samsons seven lockes of haire: allegorically expounded.	Sainct-Andrews	E. Raban	1621	8	Keith [Erskine], Mary	m. William VI Earl	
22594	Skelton	John	Here after foloweth the boke of Phyllyp Sparowe.	London	[R. Copland f.] (R. Kele)	1545?	8	Brews [Scrope], Jane	m. Thomas	See, [22608]
22610	Skelton	John	A ryght delectable tractyse vpon a godly garlande or chapelet of laurell.	London	R. Faukes	1523	4	Blennerhaiset, Jane		See, [22608]
								Fiennes [Bourchier], Anne	m. Thomas VIII Baron Dacre	see, [22608]
								Howard [Stafford], Elizabeth	m. Thomas III Duke	see, [22608]
								Howard, Lady Mirriell	[of the Ducal family]	see, [22608]
								Hussey, Margaret		see, [22608]
								Knyght, Isabell		see, [22608]
								Pennell, Isabell		see, [22608]
								Radcliffe [Howard], Elizabeth	m. Henry III Earl	see, [22608]
								Tilney [Brews], Margaret	m. Sir Phillip.	see, [22608]
								Wentworthe, Margery		see, [22608]
22611	Skelton	John	Skelton laureate agaynste a comely coystrowne.	London	[J. Rastell]	1527	4	Anne	at the Key, Thames Street	epistle [22608]
22630	Slander		A plaine description of the auncient petigree of dame Slauder.	London	[H. Middleton f.] J. Harrison	1573	8	S., Mrs. F.		
22634	Slatyer	William	The history of Great Britaine to this present raigone. [In Lat. a. Eng.	London	W. Stansby f. R. Meighen	1621	fol.	Frederick I	King of Bohemia	epistle

22636	Slatyer	William				verse.] Sive Pandionium melos, in perpetuam Annae nuper Angliae reginae memoriam. Elegies and epitaphs.	London	J. Beale	1619	4	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	epistle
22666	Smith	Henry	Minister			Gods arrowe against atheists.	London	J. Danter, sold by W. Barley	1593	4	Scott [Smith], Katherine	m. Sir John of Nettlestead, previously Hayward	only by printer
22697	Smith	Henry	Minister			The sinfull mans search; or seeking of God. Published according to a corrected copie, sent by the author. (Maries choise. With prayers.)	London	(T. Scarlet) f. C. Burby	1592	8	Unnamed Individual Patrons: Lady		
22790	Smith	John				The generall historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles. Divided into sixe bookes.	London	J. Dawson] a. J. H[aviland] f. M. Sparkes	1624	fol.	Stuart [Howard], Frances	m. Ludovic II Duke of Lennox, previously Praneil and Seymour	
22816	Smith	Richard	Dean			A bouclier of the catholike fayth ... conteyning diuers matters now of late called into controuersy, by the newe gospellers.	London	(R. Tottell.)	1554	8	Mary I	Queen	
22834	Smith	Samuel	Minister in Essex			The admirable convert: or, the miraculous conversion of the thiefe on the crosse.	London	T. Harper f. T. Alchorne	1632	8	Greaves, Sir Richard	Of Moseley [Vis. Worcs.]	
22835	Smith	Samuel	Minister in Essex			The chiefe shepheard or, an exposition upon ye xxliij. psalme.	London	N. Okes	1625	8	Sebright, Sir Edward	I Bt.	as Seabrid
22836	Smith	Samuel	Minister in Essex			A christian taske. A sermon, preached at the funerall of J. Lawson.	London	N. Okes	1620	8	Lawson [-], Mary	m. John 'of Milton' with unnamed children	[Three Treatises, 1634-F]
22837	Smith	Samuel	Minister in Essex			Christs last supper or the doctrine of the sacrament set forth in five sermons.	London	T. Dawson] f. J. Bellamie	1620	8	Sutton, Sir Ferdinando	Son of V Baron Dudley	as Dudley
22838	Smith	Samuel	Minister in Essex			Christs preparation to his owne death. Delivered in three sermons.	London	N. Okes	1620	8	Weld [Slany], Mary	m. Sir Humphrey	
22848	Smith	Samuel	Minister in Essex			The great assize, or, day of jubilee. The third impression.	London	N. Okes	1622 (1623)	8	Butler [Gedge], Mary	m. John of Tobie Priory, Essex	part, [earlier lost]
22878	Smyth	Richard	Preacher			[2nd ed. 22877.8] Munition against mans misery & mortality. A treatise containing the most effectuaill remedies against the miserable state of man. The second edition.	Oxford	J. Barnes	1612	12	Ellot [Gedge], Jane Basset [Peryam], Elizabeth	m. Edward of Newland m. Sir Robert of Umberfeigh	part, [earlier lost] and 1610-F
22882	Smyth	William				Ad lectorem. Gemma Fabr: qua sacri Biblii margaritae. fere omnes	London	ex. typ. F. Knoston. Imp. J.	1598	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	

				(Astrophel.)				W. Ponsoble			Frances	previously Sidney	
23078	Spenser	Edmund		Complaints. Containing sundrie small poems of the worlds vanitie. By Ed. Spenser.] (Teares of the muses. - Protopopola. - Mulopotmos.		London	[T. Orwin] f. W. Ponsoble	1591 (1590)	4	Carey [Spenser], Elizabeth	m. George II Baron Hunsdon	part, [23084]	
										Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	part, [23084]	
										Sackville [Spencer], Anne	m. Robert II Earl of Dorset, previously Compton	part, [23084]	
										Stanley [Spencer], Alice	m. Ferdinando V Earl, later Egerton	part, [23084]	
23079	Spenser	Edmund		Daphnaida. An elegie vpon the death of [Lady] Douglas Howard. By Ed. Spenser.]	London		[T. Orwin] f. W. Ponsoble	1591	4	Parr [Sauvenburgh], Helena	m. William I Marquis	[23086, 23084]	
23080	Spenser	Edmund		The faerie queene. Disposed into twelue books, fashioning XII. morall vertues. [Bks 1-3.]	London		[J. Wolfe] f. W. Ponsoble	1590	4	Carey [Spenser], Elizabeth	m. George II Baron Hunsdon	some copies	
										Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	last state [23084]	
										Ladies at court, Elizabeth I		only	
23081	Spenser	Edmund		[A variant 23080, w. dedic on verso of tp.] The faerie queene. Disposed into twelue books, fashioning XII. morall vertues. [Bks 1-3.]	London		[J. Wolfe] f. W. Ponsoble	1590	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	[23084]	
23086	Spenser	Edmund		Fowre hymnes, made by Edm. Spenser. (Daphnaida.)	London		[R. Field] f. W. Ponsoble	1596	4	Clifford [Russell], Margaret	George III Earl	shared, [23084]	
										Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick.	shared, [23084]	
23122	Stafford	Anthony		The day of salvation. Or, a homily upon the bloody sacrifice of Christ.	London		N. a. J. Okes f. D. Frere	1635	24	Coke [Berkeley], Theophilla	m. Sir Robert		
23123	Stafford	Anthony		The femall glory: or, the life, and death of our blessed lady, the holy virgin Mary.	London		T. Harper f. J. Waterson	1635	8	Coke [Berkeley], Theophilla	m. Sir Robert		
										St. John, Sir Alexander	Son of Oliver III Baron		
										Women			
23125	Stafford	Anthony		Honour and vertue, triumphing over the grave. Exemplified in a life of Edward [or rather Henry] lord Stafford. Embelish'd by many	London		J. Okes [a. T. Cotes?] f. H. Selle	1640	4	Howard [Talbot], Alatheia	m. Thomas I Earl of Norfolk		

23127	Stafford	Anthony		elegies. Meditations, and resolutions, moral, divine, political. Century 1. There is also annexed an oration of Justus Lipsius, against calumnies; tr. out of Latine.	Anthony Stafford (part)	London	J. Lownes.] sold by T. Saunders	1612	12	Stuart [Howard], Frances	m. Ludovic II Duke of Lennox, previously Pranel and Seymour	
23130	Stafford	William		[Anr. ed., enlarged, 23129] Staffords Niobe: or his age of teares. A treatise. Wherein deaths visard is pulled off, and her face discovered not to be so fearful. The first part. The second edition: newlie corrected and amended. (Staffords Niobe, dissolv'd into a Nilus: serving as a second part.) 2 pts.		London	H. Lownes f. (M. Lownes)	1611	12	Clifford [later Sackville and Herbert], Anne	Coutness [DNB] Most copies have A3-6 in pt. 2 cancelled; these leaves, a dedic. to Anne Clifford Sackville, Countess of Dorset, are present in O, F (STC)	
23133	Stafford	William		A compendious or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints. By [i.e. edited by?] William Stafford.		London	T. Marshe	1581	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
23135	Stafforde	Robert		A geographical and anthological description of all the empires in this globe.		London	T. Creede] f. S. Waterson	1607	4	Russell [Cooke], Elizabeth	m. John Lord Russell [DNB as Hoby]	
23175	Stanford	John		[Anr. ed. (24th)] 23164.2] Paruulorum Instituto ex Stanbrigiana collectione.		London	By me Roger Latham	1539?	4	Conway [Hueriblock], Katherine	m. Edward I Viscount part	
23228	Stanhope	Michael		Newes out of York-shire: or, an account of a journey, in the true discovery of medicinall water. [Init. M. St.]		London	J. H[aviland] f. G. Gibbes	1627	4	Stanhope [Hastings], Catherine	m. Phillip, I Earl of Chesterfield	
23269	Stint	Thomas		An exposition upon the cxlii. psalme. [Init. T. S.]		London	B. Alsop	1621	8	Murray [Drummond], Jane	m. Thomas Provost	
23273	Stock	Richard		The churches lamentation for the losse of the godly: delivered in a sermon, at the funerals of John lord Harington, baron of Exton.		London	J. Beale	1614	8	Harington [Kelway], Anne	m. John I Baron shared	
23286	Stockwood	John		A very fruitfull and necessarye sermon of the destruction of Ierusalem.		London	T. Dawson	1584	8	Sackville, John	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford	
23288	Stone	William		A curse become a blessing: or, a sermon preached at the funeral of Paul Cleybrooke esquire.		London	J. Haviland f. W. Sheffard	1623	4	Cleybrooke [Knatchbull], Mary	m. Paul of Nash Court [Vis. Kent]	

23302	Stoughton	John		Choice sermons preached upon selected occasions. Viz. The happinesse of peace [on Ps. cxlii. 15.] The love-sick spouse [Cantic. v. 8.] The burning light [John. v. 35.] The magistrates commission [Ps. li. 10-12]. (Published by A. Burgess.)		London	R. Hodgkinson [a.] (T. Cotes) f. D. Frere	1640	4	Stoughton [Browne], Jane	m. John - STC	prose
23303	Stoughton	John		The christians prayer for the churches peace. Or, a sermon [on Ps. cxlii. 6]. (A sermon upon 1 Sam. 2. 30.)		London	J. Dawson f. J. Bellamie a. R. Smith	1640	4	Stoughton [Browne], Jane	m. John - STC	[23311]
23304	Stoughton	John		XI. choice sermons, ... viz. I. The preachers dignity, and duty: in five sermons [on 2 Cor. v. 20.] II. Christ crucified, in six sermons [on 1 Cor. ii. 2.] (Published by A. Burgess.) 2 pts.		London	R. Bladger] f. J. Bellamie, H. Overton, J. Rothwell a. R. Smith	1640	4	Stoughton [Browne], Jane	m. John - STC	[both 23306]
23361	Strigelius	Victorinus		A third proceeding. [Psalms 45-61.]	R. Robinson.	London	V. Sims	1595	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
23381	Stubbes	Philip		A christal glasse for christian women. Conteyning an excellent discourse, of the life and death of Katherine Stubbes. [Int. P. S., Gent.]		London	R. Jhones	1591	4	Women		
23398	Stubbes	Philip		A perfect pathway to felicitie, containing godly meditations, and prayers.		London	R. Yardly f. H. Lownes	1592	16	Milward [Fleetwood], Katherine	m. William	part
23422	Suetonius Tranquillus	Caius		The historie of twelve cesars.	P. Holland	London	[H. Lownes a. G. Snowdon] f. M. Lownes	1606	fol.	Harington [Kelway], Anne	m. John I Baron	
23447	Sutcliffe	Alice		Meditations of man's mortaltie. Or, a way to true blessednesse. The second edition, enlarged.		London	B. A[isop] a. T. F[awcet] f. H. Seyle	1634	12	Fielding [Millers], Susan	m. William I Earl	shared
23474	Sutton	Christopher		Disce mori. Learne to die. A religious discourse.		London	[J. Windet f.] J. Wolfe	1600	12	Villiers [Manners], Katherine	m. George I Duke	shared
23484	Sutton	Christopher		[Anr. ed. 23483.] Disce vivere. Learne to live. Perused and corrected.		London	E. Short f. C. Burby	1604?	12	Southwell [Howard], Elizabeth	m. Sir Robert. Lady of the privy chamber	[23488]
23491	Sutton	Christopher		Godly meditations upon the most holy sacrament of the Lordes supper. In the end. De		London	J. W[indet.] sold by C. Burby	1601	12	Southwell, Elizabeth	Daughter of preceding. Maid of honour, eloping with Sir Robert Dudley	[see changes]

23492	Sutton	Christopher		eucharistiae controversia, admonitio brevis. [Anr. ed. 23491, enlarged, w. the Admonitio tr. into English.] Godly meditations upon the most holy sacrament of the Lordes supper. In the end. De eucharistiae controversia, admonitio brevis.	London	T. S[nodham] f. N. Bourne	1613	12	Rodney [Southwell], Frances	m. Sir Edward of Somerset	shared, [see changes]
23511	Swadon	William		[Anr. ed. 23510, w. heading in English:] Upon the death of queene Anne, wife of king James. Funerall verses. Lat.	London	N. Okes	1623	1	Vemey [Southwell], Katherine Anne of Denmark, household of:	m. Sir Greville	shared, [see changes] See., [sometimes 4523]
23521	Swedish Intelligencer			The Swedish Intelligencer. The first part. [By W. Watts.]	London	[J. Dawson] f. N. Butter a. N. Bourne	1632	4	Elizabeth Christina	Queen of Bohemia. Queen of Sweden	[sometimes 4523] etc., presentation collected
23527	Sweeper	Walter		Israels redemption by Christ. Wherein is confuted the Arminian universall redemption. [A sermon.]	London	W. Jones	1622	4	Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	see
23531	Sweetnam	John		The paradise of delights. Or the B. virgins garden of Loreto. By J.S. of the society of Jesus.	St. Omer	English College Press	1620	8	Mary	The blessed virgin	[at Louvain] A&R 804
23532	Sweetnam	John		S. Mary Magdalens pilgrimage to paradise. By J.S. of the society of Jesus.	St. Omer	English College Press	1617	8	Mary Magdalen	Saint	A&R 805
23533	Swethnam	Joseph		The araignment of lewde, idle, froward, and unconstant women. (Tho. Tell-troth, pseud.)	London	E. Alide f. T. Archer	1615	4	common sort		
23558	Swynnerton	John		A christian love-letter. sent particularly to K.T. but intended to all of the romish religion.	London	W. Jaggard	1606	4	T., Katharine	Recusant	see
23570	Sydenham	Humphrey		The rich mans warning-peece. A sermon.	London	F. Kyngston [a. W. Stansby] f. N. Butter	1630	4	Seymour [Portman], Anne	m. Sir Edward III Bt.	[23572]
23578	Sylvester	Joshua		[Anr. issue 23577.5, w. quires B-C reset.] Lachrimae lachrimarum, or the distillation of teares shede for the death of prince Panareutus. Third edition [23576], with addition of his owne, and other elegies.	London	H. Lownes	1613	4	Sidney, Robert	I Earl of Leicester	part, shared
									Wroth [Sidney], Mary	m. Sir Robert. Author	part. shared.

23579	Sylvester	Joshua				London	P. Short	1594	4	Branch [Nicolson], Helen	DNB]	[23581, 23575, 21653]
			Monodia. (An elegie in commemoration of dame Hellen Branch. - The triumph of W. Salustius.								m. Sir John	see, [21654]
23580	Sylvester	Joshua			London	[G. Purslowe] f. F. Coules	1630	4	4	Carleton [Houghton], Anne	m. Sir John I Bt.	shared, epistle, by editor
			Panthea: or, divine wishes and meditations. Revised by J. M(artin.) Whereunto is added an Appendix, containing an excellent elegy, by [F. Bacon] viscount St Albans.							Houghton [Sherborne], Grace	m. William Br of Richard	shared, by editor
										Houghton, Frances	Daughter of Sir Richard	shared, by editor
										Martin [Grey], Elizabeth	m. James, M. A.	see
										Muschamp [Houghton], Gillibert	m. George of Barmoor	see
										Osborne [Walmisley], Anne	m. Sir Edward of Kineton, Yks.	shared, epistle
										Sherborne [Walmisley], Elizabeth	m. Richard of Stonyhurst	shared, epistle
										Stewart [Houghton], Catherine	m. James II Earl of Galloway	epistle
										Turville [Anderton], Margaret	m. Henry of Leics. Niece of Laurence Anderton, controversialist. DNB	shared, epistle, by editor
										Walmesley [Houghton], Mary	m. Thomas of Dukenhaugh	shared, epistle
										Walmesley [Molyneaux], Julian	m. Sir Thomas	shared, epistle
23581	Sylvester	Joshua			London	[H. Lowmes]	1614	8	8	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	part [23575, 21653]
			The parliament of vertues royal: of prince Panarethus. [By J. Bertaut.] (Bethulians rescue. [By Saluste du Bartas.] - Little Bartas. [By Saluste de Bartas.] - Micro-cosmo-graphia; from H. Smith [in 22712.5] - Lachrymarum [from 23576] - Elegiac-Epistle [from 23578].									
										Cavendish [Broughton], Elizabeth	m. William I Earl	epistle, [23575, 21653]
										Cecil [Brydges], Frances	m. Thomas I Earl of Exeter, previously Smith.	shared, epistle [23575, 21653]

23582	Sylvester	Joshua				London	H. Lownes	1616 - 17	8	Coningsby (Nevill), Cicely	m. Fitzwilliam of Hampton Court, Heref.	2153]
				Tobacco battered; & the pipes shattered. (Simile non est idem. - A glimpse of heavenly joyes. - Automachia [by G. Goodwin.]						Denny, Edward	part, shared [23575, 2153]	
23590	Symonds	Joseph		The case and cure of a deserted soule.		London	M. Flesher f. L. Favne	1639	8	Romney [Taylor], Rebecca	m. Sir William	
23601	Symson	Patrick		A short compend of the historie of the first ten persecutions divided into III. pictures.		Edinburgh	A. Hart	1615	4	Erskine [Stuart], Mary	m. John II Earl	rewritten 23598
23620	T.	J. or J.		The haue of pleasure: containing a direction how to liue well.		London	P. S[hort] f. P. Loihley a. J. Flasket	1596	4	brawling wives and malapert mistresses		
23642	Tacitus	Publius Cornelius		The ende of Nero and beginning of Gaiba. Fower bookes of the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus. The life of Agricola.		Oxforde [really London]	J. Barnes [really R. Robinson] f. R. Wright	1591	fol.	Elizabeth I	Queen	[23645]
23652	Taffin	Jean		Of the markes of the children of God, and of their comforts in afflictions. Ouerseene againe and augmented by the author, and tr. out of French.		London	T. Orwin f. T. Man	1590	8	Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick	
23657	Tailboys	Samuel		A new lachrymentail and funeraill elegy: or, a distillation of teares, shed for the death of Lodowicke, duke of Richmond and Lenox.		London	B. Alsop	1624	4	Stuart [Howard], Frances	m. Ludovic II Duke of Lennox, previously Pranel and Seymour	shared
23666	Tallis and Byrd	Thomas and William		Discantus (Tenor. -Contra tenor. - Bassus. -Superius. -Sexta Pars.) Cartiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur, quinque et sex partium. 6 ptbks.		London	T. Vautrollerius	1575	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
23671	Tanner	Robert		Anno domini. 1592. A briefe treatise for the ready vse of the sphere.		London	J. Chartwood	1592	16	Elizabeth I	Queen	
23698	Tasso	Torquato		Godfrey of Bulloigne ... [Anon.] Done in English heroicall verse, by E. Fairefax.		London	A. Hatfield f. J. Jaggard a. M. Lownes	1600	fol.	Elizabeth I	Queen	
23700	Tasso	Torquato		Torquati Tassi Solymeidos, liber primus latinis numeris expressus a S. Gentili.		London	J. Wolfus	1584	fol.	Elizabeth I	Queen	
23701	Tasso	Torquato		Scipii Gentilis Solymeidos libri duo		London	ap. J. Wolfium	1584	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	

23760	Taylor	John		Great Britaine, all in blacke. For the incomparable losse of Henry, our late worthy prince.	London	E. A[lide] f. J. Wright	1612	4	Frederick I	King of Bohemia	see, only
									James VI and I	King	only
23766	Taylor	John		A juniper lecture. With the description of all sorts of women. The second impression.	London	J. O[kes] f. W. Ley	1639	12	Quiet, Margery	Of Tame [fiction]	verse
23770	Taylor	John		The life and death of ... the virgin Mary.	London	G. E[ic] f. J. T[rundle]	1622	8	Villiers [Beaumont], Mary	Countess of Buckingham	[23725]
23776	Taylor	John		[Anr. ed. 23775.5.] The needles excellency a new booke wherin are divers admirable workes wrought with the needle. The 10th edition enlarged.	London	f. J. Boler	1634	4	Needleworkers		[earlier lost]
									Catherine of Aragon	Queen	see
									Dorner [Browne], Elizabeth	m. Robert I Baron	see
									Elizabeth I Belated		
									Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	
									Mary I	Queen	see
23779	Taylor	John		The nipping or snipping of abuses.	London	E. Griffin f. N. Butter	1614	4	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	See, [23725]
									Ridgeway [Macwilliam], Cicely	m. Thomas I Earl	see, only
									Ridgeway [Weston], Elizabeth	m. Robert II Earl	see, only
									Weston [Lloyd], Mary	m. Sir Simon	see, only
									Willoughby [Ridgeway], Cassandra	m. Sir Francis of Wollaton	see, only
23787	Taylor	John		The praise, of clean linnen. With the commendable use of the laundresse.	London	E. All-de f. H. Gosson	1624	8	Legge, Martha	'laundress of the middle temple'	[23725]
23810	Taylor	John		Verbum sempiternae [sic.] (Saluator mundi.) [A thumb-Bible.] 2 pts.	London	J. Beale f. J. Hamman	1614	64	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	part. Later to Henrietta
23811	Taylor	John		[Anr. ed. 23810 corrected.] Verbum sempiternum. 2 pts.	London	J. Beale f. J. Hamman	1616	64	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	part [23725] [see changes]
23822	Taylor	Thomas		Christis combate and conquest, or, the lyon of Judah. [A treatise.]	Cambridge ?	C. Legge, pr. to the Univ. of Camb.	1618	4	Knollys, Sir Francis	Son of Sir Francis Knollys, Statesman	
23843	Taylor	Thomas		The pilgrims profession. Or a	London	J. Dawson] f. J.	1622	12	Dudley [Knollys], Lettice	m. Robert. Earl.	[23855]

23932	Theatre					London	f. W. Jones [2]	1601	4	Neville [Sackville], Mary	m. Henry IX Baron	1602-L of
				maiesties raigne. [Anr. issue 23931, w. cancel tp, w. imprint:] The theatre of the earth. Containing very short descriptions of all countries, gathered out of the cheefest cosmographers. [By J. Thorlus.]								
23935	Themythorp	Nicholas			Aberdene	E. Raban	1636	12	Anne of Denmark	Queen.		1619, etc., and 1623-E [earlier lost]
				[Anr. ed. 23934.3, without edition number:] The posie of godly prayers, fit for every christian to use. Now newly altered and enlarged and the third time imprinted.								
23970	Thomas		a Kempis, Hake's translatio n		London	H. Denham	1568	8	?Volusene [?Wilson], Florence	Scholar - DNB		verse, only
				[Anr. ed. 23969.50.] The imitation or following of Christ. Whereunto, we have adioyned another pretie treatise, The perpetuall reloyce of the godlye. 2 pts.								
23987	Thomas		a Kempis, B.F.'s or F.B.'s translatio n		St. Omer	English College Press	1613	8	Vaux [Roper], Elizabeth	m. George		[see changes] A&R 815
				The following of Christ. Devided into foure bookes. Written in Latin by Thomas a Kempis and tr. by B.F.								
23992	Thomas		a Kempis, B.F.'s or F.B.'s translatio n		Paris	Mistris Biageart	1636	16	English Augustinian nuns (Paris)			by editor [see changes] A&R 822
				[Anr. ed. 23986.] The following of Christ. Devided into foure bookes. Written in Latin by Thomas a Kempis and tr. by B.F. Whereunto also is added the golden epistle of S. Bernard [tr. R. Whitford.] And also certaine rules of a christian life, by J. Picus, earle of Miranda [tr. Sir T. Elyot.] Reviewed and corrected by M. C[ar], i.e. M. Pinkney.] confessor to the English nuns at Paris. Who also added the authors life in this last edition.								
24023	Thomas	William			London	in the house of T. Berthelet	1549	8	Herbert [Part], Anne	m. William I Earl of Pembroke		
				The vanitee of this world.								
24055	Throkmorton	Job			London		1594	4	Unnamed Individual Patrons: Lady			
				The defence of Job Throkmorton, against the slaunders of maister								

24067	Tilenus	Daniel			Sutcliffe [in 23450]. De disciplina ecclesiastica brevis & modesta dissertatio, ad ecclesiam Scotticam. Autore Gallo quodam theologo. [Anon.]		Abredoniae	E. Rabanus, imp. 1622 D. Melvill	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	
24075	Tillinghast	John			Saint Paul's ship-wrack in his voyage to Rome. Delivered in a sermon.	London	R. Bjadger] f. A. 1637 Kembe, in South-warde	12	Gratwick [Lee], Margery	m. Sir William [Vis. Sussex]		
24096	Tofte	Robert			Alba. The months minde of a melancholy louer, diuided into three parts: by R. T. gentleman. Hereunto is added a letter, sent by [J.L. de Nogaret de la Valette,] duke D'Epernoun, vnto the late French king, Henry the 3. (Certaine diuine poems.)	London	F. Kingston f. M. 1598 Lownes	8	Heron [Brooke], Anne	m. Sir Edward [Vis. Lincs]	shared	
24097	Tofte	Robert			Laura. The toyes of a traueiler. Or the feast of fancie. Diuided into three parts. By R. T. gentleman.	London	V. Sims 1597	8	C., Signora E	[presumably Caryll]	epistle	
24118	Tooker	William			Charisma sive donum sanationis. Seu explicatio ... de solenni & sacra curatione strumae [i.e. of the King's Evil].	London	J. Windet 1597	4	Elizabeth I	Queen		
24125	Topsell	Edward			The house-holder: or, perfect man. Preached in three sermons.	London	[W. Jaggard] f. 1609 H. Rockyt	8	Sackville, Richard	III Earl of Dorset		
24127	Topsell	Edward			The reward of religion. Deliuered in sundrie lectures vpon the booke of Ruth.	London	J. Windet 1596	8	Lennard [Fiennes], Margaret	Baroness Dacre		
24137	Torniano	Giovanni			The Italian tutor or a new and most compleat Italian grammer. To which is annexed a display of the monasillable particles. 2 pts.	London	T. Paine, sold by H. Robinson 1640	4	Grey [Talbot], Elizabeth	m. Henry VIII Earl	part 24137.5 = variant w. imprint of which at least the C.Y copies have a cancel dedic. on A2 to Sir H. Garraway, Lord Mayor, instead of the usual one in Italian to Elizabeth Grey, Countess of Kent	
24138	Torniano	Giovanni			New and easie directions for	London	R. Oluiton] f. R. 1639	8	Grey [Talbot], Elizabeth	m. Henry VIII Earl	[see changes]	

				attaining the Tuscan Italian tongue. With a nomenclator, or little dictionary.															
24140	Torseillino	Orazio		The admirable life of S. Francis Xavier. Written in Latin.	and tr. by T. Fitzherbert.]	Paris [i.e. St. Omer]	1632	4	Shirley [Devereux], Dorothy	m. Sir Henry II Bt.	A&R 824								
24141	Torseillino	Orazio		[Anr. issue 24140, w. cancel engr. tp.] The history of our B. lady of Loreto. Translated out of Latyn, into English.	T. P[rice.]	St. Omer	1608	8	B., Mary	[Recusant]	shared, and Allison 825 A&R 826								
24168	Traheron	Bartholomew		An exposition of a parte of S. Johannes gospel made in [six] sondrie readings in the English congregation at Wesel.		Wesel?	1557	8	Paime[?]Traheron], Elizabeth	'Widow of a clergyman, sister of author'	[Lady of Loreto] A&R 826								
24170	Traheron	Bartholomew		An exposition of the .4. chap. of S. Joans Reuelation. With an aunswer made to the obiections of a gentle aduersarie. (An exposition of ... Leade vs not in to tentation.)		Wesel?	1557 (1558)	8	Parker, Roger	Of Kirby, Marian exile									
24175	Trapp	John		Gods love-tokens, and the afflicted mans lessons: in two discourses upon Revel. 3.19.		London	1637	12	Cranfield [Brett], Anne	m. Lionel I Earl									
24208	Treasure			The treasure of the soule.	Newly tr. by A. P[oyntz] (from Spill de la vida religiosa by M. de Comalada.)	London	1596	12	Saitonstall, Sir Richard	Lord Mayor [DNB]									
24209	Treasure			The treasure of tranquillity. Or a manuell of morall discourses, tending to the tranquillity of minde.	Tr. out of French by J. Maxwell, master of arts.	London	1611	12	Ramsay, John	I Earl of Holderness									
24216	Treatise			A briefe treatise of the vertue of the crosse.	Tr. out of French [by A. Munday.]	London	1599	8	Soame, Sir Stephen	The elder. Lord Mayor									
24223.5	Treatise			[Anr. issue 24223.3, w. cancel dedic. signed by Lynne and title:] The true beliefe in Christ and his sacraments, set forth in a Dialogue betwene a christen father and his		London	1550	8	Seymour [Stanhope], Anne	Edward Duke of Somerset, later Newdigate									

24259	Treatises					sonne. Three small and plaine treatises. 1. Abp. J. Williams Of prayer, or active divinitie. 2. Of principles. 3. Resolutions. Tr. and collected out of the auncient writers for the private use of a most noble ladie. By an old prebendary of the church of Lincolne.	London	J. Bill	1620	8	B., [ady] M.		
24276	Trigge	Francis				An apologie, or defence of our dayes. [In praise of the Reformation.]	London	J. Wolfe	1589	4	Thorold, Sir Anthony	Of Marston, Lincs.	
24304	Tuke	Thomas				The christians looking-glasse: wherein hee may cleerely see, his love to God.	London	N. Okes, sold by R. Bolton	1615	8	Dudley [Leigh], Alice	Duchess Dudley [DNB]	
24307	Tuke	Thomas				A discourse of death, bodily, ghostly, and eternall.	London	W. Stansbie f. G. Norton	1613	4	Leventhorpe, Sir John	l Bt.	
24312	Tuke	Thomas				New essayes: meditations, and vowes: Including in them the chief duties of a christian. By T. Tuke.	London	N. O[kes] f. W. Bladon	1614	12	Dudley [Leigh], Alice	Duchess Dudley [DNB]	
24313	Tuke	Thomas				The picture of a true protestant: or, Gods house and husbandry.	London	N. Okes, sold by T. Archer	1609	8	Armstrong, Gabriel Esq.	[wife named Margaret]. Of Notts.?	
24314	Tuke	Thomas				The practise of the faithfull: containing many godly pralers.	London	J. Beale f. S. Man	1613	12	Leventhorpe [Brograve], Joan	m. Sir John	By editor. In the dedication, Tuke says he is only the editor.
24316	Tuke	Thomas				A treatise against painting [sic] and tincturing of men and women: against murther and poysoning: [etc.] Whereunto is added the picture of a picture, or, the character of a painted woman. By T. Tuke.	London	T. Creed a. B. Allsoppe f. E. Merchant	1616	4	Arnold, Elizabeth	see	
24317	Tuke	Thomas				The true trial and turning of a sinner. Or, three sermons.	London	T. Creede	1607	8	Levson [Mildmay], Christiana	m. Sir John the elder	
24318	Tunstall	Cuthbert				Certaine godly and deuout prayers. Made in latin and tr. by T. Paynell. [Lat. a. Eng.]	London	J. Cawoode	1558	8	Mary I	Queen	
24323	Tunstall	Cuthbert				[Anr. ed. 24322, w. title:] A sermon preached on Palme-Sunday, before king Henry the VIII.	London	T. Harper	1633	4	Tunstall, Sir John	Of Croydon, Usher to Queen Anne	by bookseller
24324	Turberville	George				The booke of falconrie or hauking, ... collected out of the best	London	[H. Bynneman] f. C. Barker	1575	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	woodcuts

24326	Turberville	George	aucthors. Epitaphes, epigrams, songs and sonets. Newly corrected with additions.	London	H. Denham	1567	8	Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick	
24331	Turges	Edward	The christian souldier, his combat, conquest, and crowne. [Init. E.T.]	London	R. Hodgkinson f. J. Spencer	1639	12	Melhuish, Helen	'm of author	
24367	Turner	William	The first and seconde partes of the herbal lately ouersene, corrected and enlarged with the thirde parte, lately gathered. Also a booke of the bath of Baeth. 4 pfs.	Collen	[heirs of] A. Birkman	1568	fol.	Elizabeth I	Queen	[see changes]
24371	Turveil	Thomas	The poore mans path-way to heaven. [A dialogue between a professor, and atheist, and a civilian.]	London	W. Stansby, sold by T. Pavier	1616	8	Barrow, Lady	See Abarrow	
24373	Tusser	Thomas	[Anr. ed. 24372.5] A hundreth good pointes of husbandrie. Lately married vnto a hundreth good poyntes of huswifry, newly corrected, and amplified.	London	[H. Denham?] in oed. R. Tottyll	1570	4	Paget [Newton], Nazareth	m. Thomas IV Baron	part, [?earlier lost]
24393	Tuvil or Touteville	Daniel	Asylum Veneris, or a sanctuary for ladies. Justly protecting them, from the foule aspersions of traducing spirits [cf. 23533]. [Init. D. T.]	London	E. Griffin f. L. L'isle	1616	8	Colville [Spencer], Alice	m. Sir Thomas of Marshe's Manor	
24396	Tuvil or Touteville	Daniel	Essaies politicke, and morall. By D.T. gent.	London	H. Lownes f. M. Lownes	1608	8	Harlington [Kelway], Anne	m. John I Baron	Sometimes attrib. to Dr. John Tovey, chaplain to John, Lord Harington, to whose wife this is dedicated.
24408	Twyne	Thomas	The garlande of godly flowers, bewtifully adorned. Yeeldyng foorth a sauour to the afflicted soule. Carefully collected, 1574.	London	W. How	1574	8	Bacon, Sir Nicholas	Lord Keeper [DNB]	
24441	Tyndale	William	[Anr. ed., signed in full 24440.] <A>n exposition vpon the <v. vi. vii. chapt<er>s of Mathew< >. Newly set furth according to his first copy. 1548.	London	J. Day a. W. Seres	1548	8	Brandon [Willoughby], Catharine	m. Charles Duke, later Bertie	
24482	Ubaldini	Petrucchio	Militia del gran duca di Thoscana.	London	[R. Field]	1597	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
24483	Ubaldini	Petrucchio	Rime di Petruccio Vbaldino.	London	[R. Field]	1596	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	
24488	Ubaldini	Petrucchio	[Anr. issue 24487.5. w. added	London	G. Volffio	1591	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	

24507	Udall	John				London	R. Waide-graue f. T. Man a. T. Gubbins	1588	8	Dudley, Ambrose	Earl of Warwick	[24491]
24517	Underdowne	Thomas				London	R. Johnes	1566 (28 ja.)	8	Women		
24525	Urfe	Honore d'		Anon		London	N. Okes [a. T. Creede] f. J. Pyper	1620	4	Herbert, Phillip	IV Earl Pembroke	by bookseller
24528	Ursinus	Zacharius		J. Stockwood		London	[T. East?] f. J. Harrison the yonger	1584	8	Pelham [St. John], Judith	m. Sir John	
24559	Uthalmus	Lerimos	Pseud.	Anon		London	A. M[athewes]	1636	12	Good acceptance 'patroness of the world'		
24565	V.	I.D.		H. Myddlemore		London	J. Daye f. H. Toye	1564	8	Throckmorton [Carew], Anne	m. Sir Nicholas - DNB	
24596	Vaughan	Edward				London	[R. Field] f. W. Jones [3] a. R. Boyle	1612	8	Dudley [Knollys], Lettice	m. Robert, Earl, previously Devereux, later Blount	shared
24597	Vaughan	Edward				London	T. Orwin f. W. Holme	1590	8	Theophilus	[mask for a good Christian, cf. Acts i.]	[see changes; wife is Lydia [Acts Xvi.14]]
24599	Vaughan	Edward				London	A. Islip	1594	8	Herbert [Morgan], Florence	m. Sir William of St. Julians	part
24601	Vaughan	Robert				London	R. Wyer f. R. Banckes	1542	4	Hardberde, Mrs., Arthur		
24604	Vaughan	William				London	F. Stansbeuis	1625	8	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	
24612	Vaughan	William				London	R. Bradocke	1600	8	Vaughan [Meyrick], Margaret	m. John I Earl	[see changes]
24636	Vennard	Richard				London	P. Short	1601?	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	

24726. Vigor 5	Simon	Abp.	Sarpi.] Actes of conference in religion, holden at Paris, betweene two papist doctours of Sorbone [S. Vigor and C. de Sainctes] and two godlie ministers of the church [J. de L'Espine and H. du Rosier.]	Drawne out of French by G. Fenton	London	H. Bynneman f. W. Norton a. H. Toye	1571	4	Russell [Cooke], Elizabeth	m. John Lord Russell [DNB as Hoby]	
24728	Villa Sancta	Alphonso de	De ilbero arbitrio aduersus Melanchtonem.		London	in oed. Pinsonianis	1523	4	Catherine of Aragon	Queen	
24729	Villa Sancta	Alphonso de	Problema indulgentiarum, quo Lutheri errata dissoluuntur.		London	in oed. Pynsonianis	1523	4	Catherine of Aragon	Queen	
24730	Villegas	Alfonso de	Flos sanctorum. The ilues of saints. Written in Sappish. Tr. out of Italian Into English, and compared with the Spanish by W. & E. K[insman] B[rothers.] The first tome.		Douai	P. Aurol	1609	4	Carvajal, Dona Luisa de	Spanish missionary to England	[see changes] A&R 851
24752	Vincent	of Lerins	Vincentius Linensis ... for the antiquite and vertie of the catholik fayth, agains ye prophane nouaionis of al hareseis, neuilie tr. in Scottis be N. Winzet.	N. Winzet	Antuerplae	ex. off. A.E. Diest	1563	8	Mary	Queen of Scots	A&R 863
24753	Vincent	of Lerins	A very christian, learned, and briefe discourse, concerning the true, ancient, and catholike faith. Tr. and illustrated with marginal notes.	By T. Tuke	London	(N. Okes) f. L. Becket	1611	12	Leventhorpe, Sir John	l Bt.	
24754	Vincent	of Lerins	The wale home to Christ and trugh. Englished [by J. Proctor], and by the queenes highnes authorised to be sette furthe.	J. Proctor	London	R. Caly	1554	8	Mary I	Queen	
24765. Vinciolo 3	Vinciolo	Federico di	New and singular patternes & workes of linnen. Seruing for patternes to make all sortes of lace. (New ... patternes ... Wherein are represented the seauen planets, [etc].	[Anon. Tr.] (A. Poyntz)	London	J. Wolfe a. [i.e for] E. White	1591	4	Saitonstall [Pointz], Susan	m. Sir Richard Lord Mayor	HD [Horblit]
24778	Vret	Pierre	A christian instruction, conteyning the law and the gospel. Done in certayne dialogues in french.	Tr. by J. S[hute]	London	[H. Bynneman? f.] A. Veale	1573	8	Clinton [Fitzgerald], Elizabeth	m. Edward I Earl	
24779	Vret	Pierre	An epistle to the faithfull, necessary for all the children of God: especially in these dangerous daues. Written in	by F. H. esquier	London	[T. Dawson] f. T. Smith	1582	8	Unnamed Individual Patrons: Lady		

24784	Viret	Pierre								London	[S. Mierdman f.] (J. Day a. W. Seres)	1548	8	Brandon [Willoughby], Catharine	m. Charles Duke, later Bertie	
24799	Virgilius Maro	Publius			Tr. in to englishe [Anon]					London	(J. Kyngston f. R. Jugge)	1558	4	Mary I	Queen	[see changes]
24812	Virgilius Maro	Publius			R. Stapylton					London	f. W. Cooke	1634?	8	Twisleton [Stapylton], Catherine	m. Sir George Bt.	
24856	Vives	Joannes Ludovicus			R. Hyrd					London	(in the house of T. Berthelet)	1529?	4	Catherine of Aragon	Queen	both author and translator
24924	Wadding	Luke			By sister Magdalen Augustine, of the Poore Clarks [sic] in Aire [i.e. C. Bentley? or E. Evelinge?]					Doway	M. Bocart	1635	8	English Poor Clares. (Aire (Pas de Calais)).		see A&R 869
24928	Wadsworth	James the Younger								London	F. Kyngston f. N. Butter	1630	4	Berkeley [Stanhope], Elizabeth	m. George VIII Baron	by convent A&R 869
24963	Walker	Ralph								London				Ferrers, Sir Henry	I Bt.	shared, spelt Pherres
24964	Walker	William								London	F. Kyngston f. T. Man	1608	8	Howard, Thomas	I Earl of Berkshire	shared
24966	Walkington	Thomas								London	[T. Snodham] f. J. Hodgets	1614	4	Sackville, Richard	III Earl of Dorset	
										London	T. Snodham f. T. Man	1609	4	Boys, Sir Edward	the elder, of Nonington [Vis. Kent]	shared

											Boys, Sir John	Recorder of Canterbury [DNB]	shared
24988	Wall	John			Jacobs ladder, or christian advancement. Delivered in a sermon.		Oxford		J. Lichfield a. W. 1626 Turner f. W. Turner, T. Huggins a. E. Forrest		Berkeley [Stanhope], Elizabeth	m. George VIII Baron	
24989	Wall	John			The lion in the lambe. Delivered in a sermon.		Oxford		J. Lichfield, sold by T. Butler	8	Stanhope [Hastings], Catherine	m. Phillip, I Earl of Chesterfield	
24990	Wall	John			A sermon preached at Shelford, in Nottinghamshire; on the death of M. John Stanhope.		London		H. L[ownes] f. M. 1623 Lownes	12	Stanhope, Phillip	I Earl of Chesterfield	
24992	Walpole	Michael			A briefe admonition to all English catholikes, concerning a late proclamation [8477]. Together with the confutation of a pamphlet [19204]. And an epistle to doctor King. By M. C[hristopherson] P[riest, i.e. M. Walpole].		St. Omer		English College Press	4	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	A&R 871
24995	Walsall	John			A sermon preached at Pauls Crosse ... 5. October. 1578.		London		(H. Middleton) f. G. Bysshop	8	Bacon [Cooke], Anne	m. Sir Nicholas [DNB]	
25007. 3	Walter			of Henley	The booke of thrift, containing a perfitte order, to profite lands, and other things belonging to husbandry. Newly Englished, by J. B[ellot].		London		J. Wolfe	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	
25052	Ward	Samuel		of Ipswich	The life of faith in death. Exemplified in the living speeches of dying christians. [With two sermons.]		London		A. Mathewes f. J. 1622 Marriot a. J. Grismand	8	Ward [-], Susan	m. John, Mother of the author	[25031 and 1623-F]
25095	Warren	William			A pleasant new fancie of a fondlings deuce: intitled and cald the Nurserie of names.		London		[J. Charlewood f.] R. Johnes	4	Gentlewomen		
25096	Warwick	Arthur			Spare-minutes; or, resolved meditations. Second edition corrected and enlarged.		London		R. B[adger a.] (G. M[iller]) f. W. Hammond, sold by M. Sparke	12	Ashton, Anne		part
25102	Wastell	Simon			Microbiblion or the Bibles epitome: in verse. (A true christians daily delight: being the summe of every chapter of the new Testament, in verse.)		London		[M. Flesher] f. R. 1629 Mylbourne	12	Spencer, William	III Baron Spencer	
25106	Waterson	George			The cures of the diseased, in remote regions. Iespecially in hot		London		F. K[ingston] f. H. 1598 L[ownes]	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	

25117	Watson	Thomas	Poet	climates, like Spain.] [Init. G. W.] Amintae gaudia authore Thomas Watsono.	London	[P. Short.] imp. G. Ponsoble	1592	4	Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	by editor
25118	Watson	Thomas	Poet	[An extract 25117, translated:] Anould facioned loue, ... (The answer of Phillis ... by the translator.)	London	[P. Short] f. W. Mattes	1594	4	Robertes, Anne		
25118.4	Watson	Thomas	Poet	The lamentations of Amyntas for the death of Phillis, paraphrastically tr. into English hexameters by A. Fraunce. [Anon.]	London	J. Wolfe f. T. Newman a. T. Gubbin	1587	4	Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	
25121	Watson	Thomas	Poet	An eglogue vpon the death of sir F. Walsingham. Now tr.	London	R. Robinson	1590	4	Devereux [Walsingham], Frances	m. Robert II Earl, previously Sidney	
25122	Watson	Thomas	Poet	The teares of fancie. Or, loue disdained. [Init. T. W. Not by Watson.]	London	[J. Danter] f. W. Barley	1593	4	Chalke or Chock, Sir Alexander	of Wiltshire [Vis. Soms.]	
25152	Webbe	Edward		[Anr. ed.25151.5.] The rare and most wonderfull things which E. Webbe hath seene in the landes of Jewrie, Egypt, Grecia, Russia, and Prester John. Newly enlarged.	London	[J. Wolfe] f. W. Wright	1590	4	Elizabeth I	Queen	and earlier - PML
25156	Webbe	George	Bp.	The araignement of an unruly tongue.	London	G. P[ur]slowe] f. J. Budge	1619	12	Dowse, Sir Gabriel	Of Hampshire	
25157	Webbe	George	Bp.	The bride royall, or the spirituall marriage. Delivered by way of congratulation upon the marriage betweene the palsegrave, and the ladie Elizabeth. In a sermon.	London	W. Stansby f. R. Mabbe	1613	8	Frederick I	King of Bohemia	
25162	Webbe	George	Bp.	Gods controversie with England.	London	F. Kingston] f. W. Leake	1609	8	Ley, James	I Earl of Marlborough	
25164	Webbe	George	Bp.	A posie of spirituall flowers, taken out of the scriptures.	London	[F. Kingston] f. W. Leake	1610	8	Bainard, George	[? of Wilts.]	part
									Baynton, Sir Henry	of Bromham, Wilts.	part
									Dautesey [Sadler], Gertrude	m. Ambrose [Vis. Wilts.]	part
									Ley [Pettie], Mary	m. James I Earl	part
									Long [Ware], Amy	m. Gifford [Vis. Wilts.]	part
									Prnye, Mary	[?of Wilts.]	part
25169	Webbe	Joseph		An appeale to truth, in the controversie between art, & use; about the best and most expedient course in languages.	London	J. [ownes] f. G. Latham	1622	4	Truth, Lady		

25180	Webster	William	Poet	The most pleasant and delightful historie of Curan, and Argentile.	London	B. Alsop f. R. Higgenbotham	1617	4	Women		
25182	Webster	William	of the Saifers' Company	The principles of arithmetick... teaching the performance of multiplication and division, onely by addition and subtraction.	London	M. Flesher	1634	8	Crisp [Prescott], Anne	m. Sir Nicholas I Bt.	epistle
25186	Weckerlin	Georg Rudolf		Triumphall shews set forth lately at Stutgart. Written first in German, and now in English by G. R. Weckerlin.	Stutgart	J. W. Resslin	1616	8	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	
25196	Wedlocke	Walter		A lyttle treatyse called the Image of Idleness ... betwene W. Wedlocke and Bawdin Bachelel. Tr. out of the Troyane or Cornyshe tongue by Olyuer Oldwanton.	London	[W. Powell f.] (W. Seres.)	1555?	8	Lust, Lady		
25220	Weever	John		An agnus Del. [Life of Christ.]	London	V. Sims f. N. Lyng	1601	128?	Elizabeth I	Queen	[see changes]
25240	Welwood	William		De dominio maris, juribusque ad dominum praecipue spectantibus assertio brevis et methodica.	Cosmopoli [i.e. London]	Fonti-silvius [i.e. T. Creede f. W. Welwood]	1615	4	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	
25245	Wentworth	Peter	Parliamentarian	A pithle exhortation to her majestie for establishing her successor.	Edinburgh	R. Waidegrave	1598	8	Elizabeth I	Queen	
25254	Werdmueller	Otto		[Anr. ed.25251.] A most frutefull, piththe and learned treatise, how a christen man ought to behave himself in the daunger of death. [Anon. Tr. M. Coverdale.] (An exhortacion by the lady Jane [Dudley], the night before she suffred.)	London	[E. Allde] f. W. Blackwall	1595?	16	Manners, Sir George	Father of John VIII Earl	shared, by bookseller With the author's preface omitted, and a dedic. by Blackwall added, attributing authorship of the whole to Lady Jane Dudley
25294	Whalley	John		Gods plentie, feeding true pietie. In a sermon preached at Pauls crosse.	London	W. Stansby	1616?	4	Stanley [Spencer], Alice	m. Ferdinando V Earl, later Egerton	
25299	Whately	William		A care-cloth: or a treatise of the troubles of marriage. (Mortification. -Charitable teares.)	London	F. Kyngston f. T. Man	1624 (1623)	4	Hercke [May], Joan	m. Sir William - DNB	part ? = 25229
25304	Whately	William		A godlie treatise, intituled the view of pride.	London	T. Creede f. J. Deane a. J. Baily	1602	8	Sackville [Spencer], Anne	m. Robert II Earl of Dorset, previously Compton	shared
25329	Wheatthill	Anne		A handfull of holesome (though	London	H. Denham	1584	12	Sackville, Robert Ladies ... women	II Earl of Dorset	[religious]

25619	Wilbye	John	against Widdringtons [sic] Apologie. (An adjolinder.)	London	T. Este, alias Snodham f. J. Browne	1609	4	Arabella Stuart	of royal blood [DNB]	
25620	Wilcox	Thomas	Cantus. (Altus. -Tenor. -Bassus. - Quintus. -Sextus.) The second set of madrigals to 3. 4. 5. and 6. parts. App'd for voyals and voyces. 6 ptbks.	London	J. Haviland	1624	fol.	Russell, Edward	III Earl of Bedford	misnamed Francis
25621	Wilcox	Thomas	The works of that late divine, Mr. T. Wilcocks, containing an exposition upon the Psalmes, Proverbs, Canticles, and part of the 8. chapter of Romans. 3 pts.	Cambridge	J. Legat, pr. to the Univ. of Camb.	1598	8	Russell, Edward	III Earl of Bedford	shared
25627	Wilcox	Thomas	A short, yet sound commentarie; written on the Prouerbes of Salomon. [Init. T.W.]	London	T. Orwin f. T. Man	1589	4	Bacon [Cooke], Anne	m. Sir Nicholas [DNB]	[25620]
25670	Willan	Robert	Elijah's wish: a prayer for death. A sermon preached at the funerall of viscount Sudbury, lord Bayning.	London	[T. Cotes] f. J. S[pencher,] Hypo-Bibliothecary of Syon Colledge, sold by R. Royston	1630	4	Bayning [Glenham], Anne	m. Paul I Viscount	
25676	Willet	Andrew	Ecclesia triumphans: that is, the joy of the English church, for the coronation of the prince James. With a briefe exposition of the 122. psalme.	Cambridge	J. Legat, pr. to the Univ. of Camb., sold by S. Waterson, [London]	1603	8	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	
25695	Willet	Andrew	Sacrorum emblematum centuria vna, ... Lat. a. Eng.	Cambridge	ex. off. J. Legate, acad. Cantab. typog.	1592?	4	Bacon [Cooke], Anne	m. Sir Nicholas [DNB]	see
25696	Willet	Andrew	Synopsis papismi, that is, a generall viewe of papistry: deuided into three hundreds of popish errors.	London	T. Orwin f. T. Man	1592	4	Walsingham [St. Barbe], Ursula	m. Sir Francis	see
25705	Willet	Andrew	A treatise of Salomons mariage, or, a congratulation for the happie mariage betweene Frederike the	London	F. Kingston] f. T. Man the elder a. W. Welby	1612	4	Frederick I	King of Bohemia	part, revised 25697

25796	Wilson	Thomas	Divine	Saints by calling: or called to be saints. A godly treatise.	London	W. Jaggard	1620	4	Dudley [Knollys], Lettice	m. Robert, Earl, previously Devereux, later Blount	
25816	Wilson	Thomas	Secretary of state	Vita et obitus duorum fratrum Suffolciensium, Henrici et Caroli Brandoni duabus epistolis explicata. Adduntur epitaphia. Affiguntur praeterea epigrammata.	London	in aed. R. Grafton	1551	4	Brandon [Willoughby], Catharine	m. Charles Duke, later Bertie	epistle
25847	Wing	John		The saints advantage or the welfare of the faithfull. A sermon.	Fishing [sic]	M.A. vander Nolk	1623	4	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	
25848	Wing	John		[Anr. ed. 25847] The saints advantage or the welfare of the faithfull. A sermon.	London	T. Paine f. A. Kembe in Southwarke	1637	12	Barrington, Sir Francis	I Bt.	epistle, shared, only
25860	Winzet	Ninian		Certane tractatis for ye reformatioun of doctryne and maneris.	Edinburgl	[J. Scot]	1562	4	Mary	Queen of Scots	A&R 903
25891	Wither	George	Poet	Abuses stript, and whipt. Or satirical essayes.	London	G. Eld f. F. Burton	1613	8	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	[25911]
25900	Wither	George	Poet	A collection of emblemes, ancient and moderne. The first (second-third-fourth) booke.	London	A. M(atheves) f. R. Allot	1635 (1634)	fol.	Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort.	shared
25901	Wither	George	Poet	Epithalamia: or nuptiall poems upon the marriage betweene prince Frederick the fifth, and the princesse, Elizabeth.	London	[F. Kingston] f. E. Marchant	1612	4	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	[25890, 25911]
25939	Woodroephe	John		The spared houres of a souldier in his travels. Or the true marowe of the French tongue. Fr. a. Eng.	Dort	N. Vincenz pour G. Waters	1623	fol.	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	

25971	Woodward	Ezekias							Cambridge	J. Legatt	1640	4	Croker [Riddall], Joan	Heer van Hoencoop of Utrecht, d. 1639	epistle; also his wife
				A childes patrimony laid out upon the good tilling over his whole man. The first part. (A child's portion. The second part.)										m. John of Batsford, Gloucs.	part, shared
													Garraway [Citherow], Margaret	m. Sir Henry	presentation
													Pye [Croker], Mary	m. Sir Robert	part, shared
25979	Woolton	John	Bp.	A treatise of the immortalitie of the soule.				London	(T. Purfoote f.) J. Shepperd	1576	8	Russell [Hussey], Bridget	m. Francis II Earl		
26014	Wrednot	William		Palladis palatium: wisdoms pallace. Or the fourth part of Wits commonwealth. [Anon.]				London	G. Eide f. F. Burton	1604	8	Smalman, Stephen	Of wildertop, Shrops.		by bookseller
26035	Wright	Leonard		[Anr. ed. 26033.5] A summons for sleepers. Wherein offenders are cited to repentance. Hereunto is annexed, A patterne for pastors.				London	A. Islip, sold by E. White	1596	4	Wroth [Rich], Margaret	m. Sir Thomas [d. 1672]		see
26038.	Wright	Thomas	Priest	The disposition or garnishment of the soule to receiue worthily the blessed sacrament, deuoyded into three discourses. [init. T. N.]				Antwerpe [i.e. England]	J. Trognelius [really English secret press]	1596	8	H., Mrs. S., and son M.R.H.			A&R 923/924
26040	Wright	Thomas	Priest	[Anr. ed. 26039] The passions of the minde. Corrected, enlarged and augmented. With a treatise occasioned by the death of queene Elizabeth. 2 pts.				London	V. Simmes [a. A. Islip] f. W. Burre [Pt. 2:] (f. T. Thorpe, sold by W. Burre	1604	4	7Parker, Frances			see acrostic, [source unknown]
26058	Wysham	Walter		The sincere preacher: proving that in whom is adulation, avarice, or ambition, he cannot be sincere. Delivered in three sermons.				London	F. Kyngston f. Jonas Man	1616	8	Cotton [Hulme], Mary	m. William Bishop		
26077	Yarrow	Robert		Soveraigne comforts for a troubled conscience. [Ed.] (J. Maunsell.)				London	[G. Purslowe] f. R. Rounthwaite	1619	8	Barrington, Sir Francis	I Bt.		by editor
26079	Yates	James		The castell of courtesie, whereunto is adioyned the holde of humilitie: with the charlot of chastitie. Also a dialogue between age and youth. 1582. 2 pts.				London	J. Wolfe	1582	4	Reynolds [Wythipool], Elizabeth	m. Henry		part
26087	Yates	John		The saints sufferings, and sinners sorrowes. Or, the evident tokens of salvation and perdition.				London	T. Cotes f. N. Bourne	1631	12	Crane, Sir Robert	Bt.		shared
26119	Ypres			The forme and maner of				London	T. Godfray	1535	8	Townshend, Sir Roger Anne [Boleyn]	I Bt. Queen		shared

Non-STC Items, cited by Williams

	Allison 269		C., La[dy]				
	Allison 290		Savage [Darcy], Elizabeth		Courtless Rivers		
	Allison 551		Clitherow, Anne		Augustinian, daughter of Margaret – DNB		
	Drumme of devotion.	1613	Parry, Sir Thomas		Ambassador [DNB]	Folger	
	Grammarie angloise.	1625	Henrietta Maria		Queen Consort.	Bodleian	
	Italians dead bodie.	1600	Palavicino [Hoostman], Anne		m. Sir Horatio	L2	by editor
	Letter sent by maydens.	1567	matrons			L2	
	Lyf of saynt Ursula.		Beaufort, Margaret		Countess of Richmond [DNB]	British Library	
	Miracle of peace.	1599	H., M[rs]. M Du Nesme			Huntingdon	part, [21649]
	Mistical crowne of Mary.	1638	Fairfax [Howard], Alethea		m. Thomas II Viscount	British Library	
	Order of Matrimonie.	1580	Carey, George		II Baron Hunsdon	D	
	Rule of thirde order.	1624	Houses of Englishwomen: Franciscan tertiaries (St. Elizabeth's) (Brussels)			British Library	
	Rule of thirde order.		Elizabeth		Saint [presumably of Hungary]	British Library	shared
	S. Austins rule.	1636	English Augustinian nuns (Paris)			DE	
	Tract of prayer.	1602	Sheffield [Anderson], Grizel		m. Sir John	British Library	
A.	Spirituall grammer.	1597	Ramsay [Dale], Mary		m. Sir Thomas	D	
Allen	Carmen.		Elizabeth I		Queen	O5	
Andrewes	Caveat.	1627	Stuart [Clifton], Catherine		m. Esme II Duke of Lennox	O6	
Audeley	All the kings.	1633	Elizabeth		Queen of Bohemia.	British Library (L7)	
Aylett	Bride's ornaments.	1625	Argall [Grant], Sarah		m. John of Much Baddow	Folger	part
B.	Engr. Port. Leicester.		Dudley [Knollys], Lettice		m. Robert, Earl, previously Devereux, later Blount	Folger	
B.	Sermon.	1625	Vere [Porter], Thomasine		m. John Br of Horatio	C2	[shared with Horatio]
Bedford	Ready way.	1638	Wise [Chichester], Mary		m. Sir Thomas of Devon	Folger	
Binet	Life of Aldegond.	1632	W., Lady A.		Recusant	Bodleian	
Binet	Lives of Elbear.	1638	Talbot, John		X Earl of Shrewsbury	British Library	
Boazio	Map of Ireland.		Elizabeth I		Queen	British Library	
Bolton	Tricomes.		James VI and I		King	Folger	shared
Brathwaite	Good wife.	1618	Brathwaite, Richard, five sisters of			Bodleian [12747]	
Breton	Historie of Frederigo.	1590	Ladies (sometimes Inexacty)			O5	
Broughton	Familia Davids.		Anne of Denmark		Queen.	NY	part

Bruen	R.	Pilgrimes practice.	1621	Sackville [Curzon], Mary	m. Edward IV Earl	Bodleian (O?)	shared
Bruen	R.	Summary of Bible.	1623	Seymour [Sackville], Anne	m. Edward 'Lord Beauchamp'	Bodleian (O?)	shared
Bullinger	R.	Absoluta tractatio.	1551	Russell [Harington], Lucy Elizabeth I	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford Queen	Huntingdon U	by editor
Burton	W.	Abstract of Sabbaoth.	1606	Knollys, Sir Francis	Son of Sir Francis Knollys, Statesman	Bodleian	part, really 1619 of 4220 [4220]
Byfield	N	Signes of wicked.	1619	Tracy [Lyttelton], Bridget	m. Robert II Viscount	Folger	
Cannon	N.	Casket of jewels.	1625	Stampe, John	London merchant adventurer	Bodleian	see
Cato		Precepts.	1638	Barrett [Lyton], Elizabeth		Huntingdon	
Clapham	H.	Sinner's sleepe	1596	Ogle [Bryan], Anne	m. Thomas, sister-in-law of Dorothy	L2	shared
Cockburne	J.	Gabriel's salutation and Judas kisse.	1605	Ogle [Ashfield], Dorothy Cockburn [Hamilton], Jean	m. Sir Richard of Pinchbeck m. William Laird of Skirling	L2 E	shared
Cooper	T.	Converts first love.	1610	Foljambe, Sir Thomas	Br of Sir Francis, Bt.	ILL	shared, as Fulgean [date problem]
D.		Epithalamion.	1608	Dyer, Sir William	Of Staughton, Hunts.	ILL	
Darclie	A.	Theatre de la gloire. And two pamphlets	1625	Faunt, Sir William Ramsay, John Henrietta Maria	Of Foston, Leics. I Earl of Holderness Queen Consort.	ILL Hatfield British Library	shared, misprinted Fairut
De Beau Chesne		Clef de l'escriture.		Branch [Nicolson], Helen Grey [Talbot], Elizabeth Herbert [Talbot], Mary Howard [Talbot], Alatheia M., Lady E. C., La[dy]	m. Sir John m. Henry VIII Earl m. William III Earl m. Thomas I Earl of Norfolk	Huntingdon N N N M	shared shared shared by editor
de la Croix	F.	Little garden.	1626	M., Lady E.			
de Madrid	M. Alonso	Briefe methode.		C., La[dy]		Bodleian	
Devereux		Psalter of Virgin.	1624	Compton [Sackville], Cecily	m. Sir Henry K. B.	British Library	
Du Moulin		Preparation unto fasting.	1620	Boys [Walker], Jane	m. Sir John Recorder	Folger	
Dyer	R.	Christian's theoricco-practicon.	1633	Drew, Robert	Of Poulshot, Wilts.	Folger	
Elborough	J.	Churches glory.	n.d.	Atlee, Richard Elizabeth	of East Dereham, Norf. Queen of Bohemia.	Folger Folger	
Fowler	William	Funeral sonet.		Cockburn [Douglas], Elizabeth	m. Samuel of Temple Hall	E	
Franciscan		Rule of thirde order.	1624	Mary	The blessed virgin	British Library	shared
Frewen	J.	Certaine Instructions.	1587	Coventry, Sir Thomas Jefferies, Leonard	Judge d.1606 - DNB Of Earls Croome [Vs. Worcs.]	Fleming Fleming	shared shared
G.	J.	Steps of ascension.	1625	Fufford [Bamfield], Ursula Hele [Bray], Abce	m. Thomas m. Elis of Bovey Trecey	British Library British Library	shared shared

Gerardus		True Tryall.	1586	Dudley [Knollys], Lettice	m. Robert, Earl, previously Devereux, later Blount	British Library [see changes]	
Greenwood	H.	loyfull Tractate.	1616	Mordaunt, Sir Robert	II Bt.	British Library	[12327]
Harvey	C.	Conditions of Christianity.	1636	Pierson [-], Helen	m. Thomas, previously Harvy, M of C. Harvey - DNB	L4	by son - editor
Hieron		Certain meditations.	1615	Clifford [Russell], Margaret	George III Earl	E	[13379]
Hogarde		Treatise ... Christ.		Mary I	Queen	L2	
Jay	G.	Sermon.	1632	Fielding [Williers], Susan	m. William I Earl	Folger	see also D., Countess of
Larke	N.	Practice of thankfulness.	1622	Clinton [Knevitt], Elizabeth	m. Thomas III Earl	Bodleian	
Leigh	W.	Davids palme.		Pemberton [Barnard], Ann	m. Sir James	Folger	
Lovell	R.	High way to honor.	1627	Capell [Aldersey], Dorothy	m. Sir Henry of Reyne Hall [Vis. Surrey]	Folger	
Lyte	H.	Light of Britayne.		Elizabeth I	Queen	O3	
Marbeck	J.	Youth and age.		Snow [Cavendish], Elizabeth	m. Richard, -Gentlewoman of the chamber.	L43	
Mavericke	R.	Three treatises.	1603	Anne of Denmark	Queen.	Folger	
Maxwell	J.	English-royall pedegree.		Stanley [Vere], Elizabeth	m. William IV Earl		part
Miller	W.	Sermon at funerrail.	1621	Ramsay [Radcliffe], Elizabeth	m. John I Earl of Holderness	L5	
Minshew		Minshew List		Davey or Davies [Pollard], Gertrude	m. Gilbert [Vis. Devon].	Folger	
				Anne of Denmark	Queen.		
				Berkeley [Stanhope], Elizabeth	m. George VIII Baron		
				Gulldford [Somerset], Elizabeth	m. Sir Henry.		
				Trye, Elizabeth			
				Wotton [Margaret]	m. Edward I Baron		
				Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford		
Mornay		Christian meditations.	1587	Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick	Bute	
Norden		Map of Surrey.	1594	Manners [Holcroft], Isabel	m. Edward III Earl	British Library	
Patridophilus	J.	Preservative poem.	1636	Mnemosyne	M of the muses		BO4
Peacham	H.	Sermon vpon Job.	1591	Clifford [Russell], Margaret	George III Earl	Bodleian	
			1591	Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick	Bodleian	shared
Pecke	R.	Two sermons.	1632	Anscott, [Wairond], Mary	m. Edmund.	Folger	part
Phillips	G.	Aprill of the Church.	1596	Ashley, Sir Anthony	Clerk of Privy Council [DNB]	D	
Pigge	O.	Sermons.	1591	Russell [Hussey], Bridget	m. Francis II Earl	Folger	shared
				Russell, Edward	III Earl of Bedford	Folger	shared
Plutarch		Quyete of minde.		Catherine of Aragon	Queen	Huntingdon	see TLS 1956, p.207
Powell	G.	Mystery of redemption.	1607	Powell [erch Cymwrg], Elizabeth	m. David - DNB	Folger	
R.	S.	Ruth reuiued.	1639	Atkins [Hawkins], Annabella	m. Sir Henry of Clapham	Bodleian	
Riley	T.	Trial of Conscience.	1639	D.,	Countess of	Folger	

Rivat	A.	Sixe meditations.	1639	Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia.	A - by author
Roos	W.	Combat betwixt spirite.	158[?]]	Wray [Girlington], Anne	m. Sir Christopher Judge	LC
Rowlands	S.	The bride.	1617	Maids		Huntingdon
Samuel	W.	Abridgement of statutes.	1551	Seymour [Stanhope], Anne	Edward Duke of Somerset, later Newdigate	Huntingdon
Saxton		Atlas.		Elizabeth I	Queen	British Library
Saxton		Map.		Elizabeth I	Queen	British Library - by editor
Silva		Chronicle of order.	1618	English Poor Clares (Gravellines)		British Library
Symson	A.	Godly exposition.	1622	Erskine [Stuart], Mary	m. John II Earl	Folger
T.	G.	Table gathered.		Elizabeth I	Queen	L2
Tarleton		Tarletons tragical treatises.	1578	Mildmay [Ratcliffe], Frances	m. Sir Thomas of Mulsham, Essex	F [frag.]
Thomas	W.	An argument.	1552	Gentlewoman		Huntingdon
Tossanus	D.	Lamentations.	1587	Walsingham [St. Barbe], Ursula	m. Sir Francis	Folger
Trendle	M. J.	Trendles arke.		Ramsay, John	I Earl of Holderness	PN
Trithemius		Three-fold mirrorour.	1633	Arundell [Jerningham], Anne	m. John of Chideock [Vis. Dorset]	Folger
Tuke		Christian directions.		Leventhorpe, Sir John	I Bt.	
Webb	R.	Key of knowledge.	1622	Searman, John	Chancellor of Gloucester	PN2
				Jerningham, Sir Henry	I Bt.	PN2
						shared
						shared

APPENDIX 1.2:

TOTAL NUMBERS OF DEDICATIONS TO WOMEN, 1475-1641, LISTED BY
WOMAN, INCLUDING DEDICATIONS TO HUSBAND AND WIFE, LISTED BY
WILLIAMS UNDER NAME OF HUSBAND, AND TO GROUPS, FICTIONS,
PERSONIFICATIONS ETC.

This information is drawn from my database of women dedicatees, cross-referencing the *Williams Index* with the revised *STC*. Where women receive joint dedications with their husbands as well as receiving individual dedications, this is indicated in the Patron Details column. Dedications to groups, personifications, abstractions etc., are listed in section B. Dedications to husbands and wives, listed by Williams only under the husband's name, are detailed in section C. 78 of the women included in these shared dedications also received dedications in their own name, as indicated in the Patron Details column of Table A. A count, excluding these duplications, gives a total of 1115 women who, in one incarnation or another, received 2281 dedications in printed texts between 1475 and 1641 (counting shared dedications once for each dedicatee named).

A. Dedications to Women under own name

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
A., D., Gentlewoman [? Dorothy Arundell].		1
A., Lady B. [? Blanche Arundell].		1
A., Lady M. C		1
Altham [Leventhorpe], Joan	m. Sir Edward of Mark Hall.	1
An unnamed widow		1
Anderson [Essex], Joan	m. William, M of Edmund I Bt.	1
Anderson [Smyth], Magdalen	m. Sir Edmund.	1
Anne	'at the Key, Thames Street'	1
Anne	Daughter of Charles I	1
Anne	Queen to Louis XIII	1
Anne [Boleyn]	Queen	2
Anne of Bohemia	Queen	1
Anne of Cleves	Queen	2
Anne of Denmark	Queen. See also joint dedications with James I	50
Anne of Tyrol	Consort to Matthias	1
Arabella Stuart	of royal blood [DNB]	7
Argall [Grant], Sarah	m. John of Much Baddow	1
Arnold [Horsey], Grace	m. William, Daughter of Sir Ralph	1
Arnold, Elizabeth		1
Arscott, [Walrond], Mary	m. Edmund.	1
Arundell [Jerningham], Anne	m. John of Chideock [Vis. Dorset]	1
Arundell [Philipson], Anne	m. Thomas I Baron	1

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Ashley [Weston], Philippa	m. Anthony I Bt.	1
Ashton, Anne		1
Astley [Grey], Margaret	m. John-DNB. See also joint with husband	1
Aston [Sadleir], Gertrude	m. Walter I Baron	1
Aston [Willoughby], Anne	m. Thomas I Bt.	1
Atkins [Hawkins], Annabella	m. Sir Henry of Clapham	1
Audeley [Packington], Anne	m. Sir Henry of Berechurch	1
Audeley, Amy		1
Avenon [Sampto], Agnes	m. Sir Alexander, Lord Mayor	1
B., L[ady] M.		1
B., M.,	his mother	1
B., M.,	Wife to D. B. Esq.	1
B., Mary	[Recusant]	1
B., Mrs. F.		1
B., Mrs. K.		1
Backhouse [Borlase], Elizabeth	m. Samuel [Vis. Berks.]	1
Backhouse [Henshaw], Florence	m. Sir John [Vis. Berks.]	1
Bacon [Butts], Anne	Sir Nicholas I Bt. See also joint with husband	2
Bacon [Cooke], Anne	m. Sir Nicholas [DNB]. See also joint with husband	6
Bacon [Littel], Helen	m. Edward. See also joint with husband	2
Bacon [Meautys], Jane	m. Sir Nathaniel, K.B., and previously Cornwallis. See also joint with husband	5
Barklei, Elisabetta		1
Barlow [Lovell], Dorothy	m. John of Slebech d. 1671	1
Barnardiston [Soame], Jane	m. Sir Nathaniel	1
Barnes [Manwood], Dorothy	m. Sir William [Vis. Kent]	1
Barrett [Lytton], Elizabeth		1
Barrington [Cromwell], Joan	m. Sir Francis Bt. See also joint with husband	3
Barrow, Lady	See Abarrow	1
Basset [Peryam], Elizabeth	m. Sir Robert of Umberleigh	1
Baynard [Stapleton], Ursula	m. Sir Robert of Lackham	1
Bayning [Glenham], Anne	m. Paul I Viscount	1
Bayning [Naunton], Penelope	m. Paul II Viscount	1
Beale [St. Barbe], Edith	m. Robert	1
Beauchamp [Berkeley], Elizabeth	m. Richard III Earl of Warwick	1
Beaufort, Margaret	Countess of Richmond [DNB]	7
Becon, Basil, Rachel and Theodore	Children of Becon, Thomas [Divine]	1
Beecher [St. John], Elizabeth	m. Sir William [Vis. Beds.]	1
Bellenden [Ker], Elizabeth	m. Sir James, M of I Lord B	1
Bellingham [Backhouse], Elizabeth	m. Richard [Vis. Berks.]	1
Bennet [Crofts], Dorothea	m. Sir John the younger	1
Bennet [Vierendeels], Leonora	m. Sir John	1
Berkeley [Carey], Elizabeth	m. Sir Thomas, later Chamberlain	4
Berkeley [Killigrew], Elizabeth	m. Sir Maurice [Vis. Soms.]	1
Berkeley [Nevill], Elizabeth	m. Sir Henry [Vis. Soms.]	1
Berkeley [Stanhope], Elizabeth	m. George VIII Baron	3
Berkeley [Stanhope], Jane	m. Henry VII Baron	2
Berkeley, Joan	O.S.B., abbess	3
Berry [Jacobs], Mary	m. George of Cranfield, sister of I Bt.	1
Berry, Dorothy		1
Bill [Mountford], Anne	m. John	1
Billingsley [Tracy], Susan	m. Sir Henry	1
Bilson [Mill], Anne	m. Thomas Bishop	1
Bingham [Plowman], Elizabeth	m. Nicholas [Vis. Essex]	1
Blagge [North], Mary	m. Thomas, sister of Henry I Bt.	1
Blencow [Walleston], Mary	m. John	1
Blenerhasset [-], Mabel	m. Thomas, of Cumberland	1
Blennerhaiset, Jane		1
Blount [Boteler], Anne	m. Mountjoy I Earl	1
Borlace [Litton], Anne	m. John	1
Bourchier [St. John], Dorothy	m. Edward IV Earl	1
Bowes [Aske], Elizabeth	m. Richard of Norham Castle	1
Bowes [Musgrave], Eleanor	m. Robert	2
Bowles [Wentworth], Diana	m. Lewis of Herts.	1
Bowles, Anne	Gentlewoman	1
Boyle [Feilding], Elizabeth	Countess of Guildford	1
Boys [Walker], Jane	m. Sir John Recorder	1
Boys, Lady	[probably Jane]	1
Bradshaigh [Norris], Anne	m. James of Haigh	1
Branch [Nicolson], Helen	m. Sir John	2
Brandon [Willoughby], Catharine	m. Charles Duke, later Bertie	14
Brathwaite, Richard, five sisters of		2
Brathwate [Lawson], Frances	m. Richard	3

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Breet, Mercy		1
Breton [Legh], Anne	m. Nicholas of Little Calthorpe, Leics.	1
Brews [Scrope], Jane	m. Thomas	1
Brinsley [Hall], Barbara	m. John the elder	1
Brocket [Moore], Elizabeth	m. Sir John	1
Bromfield [Faucett], Anne	m. Robert	1
Bromley [Beswick], Anne	m. Sir Henry	1
Brooke [Colepeper], Elizabeth	m. Sir Robert of Cockfield Hall	1
Brooke, Lady Nevill	[?Katherine Neville m. Sir Richard]	1
Brooksby [Vaux], Eleanor	m. Edward, sister of Anne	1
Browne [Boteler], Catherine	m. Sir John [Vis. Essex]	1
Browne [Sackville], Jane	m. Anthony II Viscount	1
Brownlo, Marye		1
Bruce [Clerk], Magdalen		1
Bruce [Clerk], Magdalen	m. Edward I Lord B., later Fullerton	2
Brydges [Clinton], Frances	m. Giles III Baron Chandos	1
Brydges [Hopton], Mary	m. William IV Baron	1
Brydges [Stanley], Anne	m. Grey, V Baron Chandos, later Touchet	3
Brydges, Elizabeth	Maid of Honour. ?m. Sir John Kennedy	2
Buckland [-], B.	m. Edmund, M of Ralph-DNB	1
Budge, Bridget		1
Burges [-], Margaret	m. John of Kingswood, Wilts. [untraced]	1
Butler [Gedge], Mary	m. John of Tobie Priory, Essex	1
C., Elizabeth	Daughter of Robert, esq.	1
C., La[dy]		2
C., Signora E	[presumably Caryll]	1
Caesar [Woodhouse], Anne	m. Sir Julius. See also joint with husband	2
Calvert [Arundell], Anne	m. Cecil II Baron	1
Calvert [Mynne], Anne	m. George I Baron	1
Campbell [Douglas], Agnes	m. Archibald VII Earl	2
Campbell [Douglas], Margaret	m. Archibald Marquis of Argyll	1
Campbell, Anne	Daughter of Margaret above	1
Campbell, Elizabeth	of Kinyeancleugh, friend of Knox	1
Capel [Montagu], Theodosia	m. Sir Henry	1
Capell [Aldersey], Dorothy	m. Sir Henry of Reyne Hall [Via. Surrey]	1
Carew [Bland], Elizabeth	m. Sir Philip	1
Carew [Brian], Elizabeth	m. Sir Nicholas [D.N B]	1
Carey [Hyde], Mary	m. John III Baron Hunsdon	1
Carey [Knyvett], Katherine	m. Sir Edward	1
Carey [Spenser], Elizabeth	m. George II Baron Hunsdon. See also joint with husband	6
Carey [Tanfield], Elizabeth	m. Henry I Viscount Falkland	5
Carey [Trevannion], Elizabeth	m. Robert I Earl of Monmouth	2
Carey, Victoria	See Udall [Uvedale]	1
Carleton [Houghton], Anne	m. Sir John I Bt.	1
Carleton [Killigrew], Anne	m. George [Bishop]. See also joint with husband	1
Carow, Anne		2
Carvajal, Dona Luisa de	Spanish missionary to England	2
Cary, Anne Clementina	O.S B [Gillow]	1
Catelyne [Nevill], Dorothy	m. Richard of Kirby Cane, Norf.	1
Catherine Howard	Queen	1
Catherine of Aragon	Queen	6
Catherine Parr	Queen	2
Cavendish [Broughton], Elizabeth	m. William I Earl	3
Cavendish [Bruce], Christiana	Countess of Devonshire [DNB]. See also joint with husband	1
Cavendish [Cecil], E		1
Cecil [Brooke], Elizabeth	m. Robert I Earl of Salisbury	1
Cecil [Brydges], Frances	m. Thomas I Earl of Exeter, previously Smith. Also see E., C.D. of	4
Cecil [Cooke], Mildred	m. William Baron Burghley	3
Cecil [Drury], Elizabeth	m. William II Earl of Exeter	1
Cecil [Howard], Catherine	m. William II Earl of Salisbury. See also joint with husband	4
Cecil [Oxenbridge], Susan	Sir Thomas of Kelvedon	1
Cecil, Lady Elizabeth	see Cavendish	1
Champernowne [Creukerne], Amy	m. Sir Arthur	1
Champernowne [Popham], Elizabeth	m. Sir Richard	1
Chapman [], Grace	m. William Citizen	1
Charnock [Crispe], Elizabeth	m. Roger, of Gray's Inn	1
Cheney [Powle], Mary	m. Sir Francis [as having married a Rev. Mr. Marston]	1
Cheyney [Wentworth], Joan	m. Henry Baron	3
Chibborne [Young], Margaret	m. Sir Charles	1

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Cholmondeley [Holford], Mary	m.- Sir Hugh [DNB]	1
Christina	Queen of Sweden	1
Clare	Saint	1
Clavel [Willoughby], Frances	m. John, Author's M	1
Cleere, Lady Anne	[?for Agnes Crane m. Sir Edward of Ormesby]	1
Clement, Dorothy	Poor Clare, daughter of John - DNB	1
Clere [Wroth], Elizabeth	m. Sir Francis of Norfolk	2
Cleybrooke [Knatchbull], Mary	m. Paul of Nash Court [Vis. Kent	1
Clifford [Cecil], Frances	m. Henry V Earl	1
Clifford [later Sackville and Herbert], Anne	Countess [DNB]	6
Clifford [Russell], Margaret	George III Earl of Cumberland. See also joint with husband	17
Clinton [Fiennes], Bridget	m. Theophilus IV Earl	1
Clinton [Fitzgerald], Elizabeth	m. Edward I Earl	2
Clinton [Knevitt], Elizabeth	m. Thomas III Earl	3
Clinton [Morrison], Elizabeth	m. Henry II Earl	1
Clitherow, Anne	Augustinian, daughter of Margaret - DNB	1
Cockburn [Douglas], Elizabeth	m. Samuel of Temple Hall	1
Cockburn [Hamilton], Jean	m. William Laird of Skirling	1
Cockburn [Sandilands], Alison	m. John of Ormiston	1
Coke [Berkeley], Theophila	m. Sir Robert. See also joint with husband	4
Colley [Whitney], Dorothy	m. -	1
Colvile [Spencer], Alice	m. Sir Thomas of Marshe's Manor	1
Colville [Melville], Elizabeth	Poet [DNB]	1
Compton [Sackville], Cecily	m. Sir Henry K. B.	3
Compton [Spencer], Elizabeth	m. William I Earl	1
Coningsby [Nevill], Cicely	m. Fitzwilliam of Hampton Court, Heref.	1
Coningsby [North], Mary	m. Sir Francis of South Mimms	1
Constable [Roper], Anne	m. Philip I Bt.	1
Conway [Hueriblock], Katherine	m. Edward I Viscount	1
Cooper [Hicks], Mary	m. Sir John I Bt.	1
Cope [Chaworth], Elizabeth	m. Sir William II Bt.	1
Cope [Paston], Anne	m. Sir Anthony I Bt. See also joint with husband	2
Coppen [Norton], Anne	m. Sir George Clerk of Crown	1
Coppen, Elizabeth	[? m. George], Robert and Thomas, Daughter-in-law and sons of preceding	1
Corbet [Barrett], Anne	m. Sir Thomas. See also joint with husband	1
Coryate [?Williams], Gertrude	m. George - DNB	2
Cotterell [Allen], Anne	m. Sir Clement. See also joint with husband	1
Cottington [Meredith], Anne	m. Francis I Baron	1
Cotton [Brocas], Elizabeth	m. Sir Robert I Bt.	1
Cotton [Harvey], Lucy	m. Thomas of Connington	1
Cotton [Hulme], Mary	m. William Bishop	1
Cotton [Walshe], Joyce	m. Sir Rowland	1
Coventry [Aldersey], Elizabeth	m. Thomas I Baron	1
Covert [Shirley], Jane	m. Sir Walter. See also joint with husband	1
Crane [Hobart], Dorothy	m. Sir Robert. See also joint with husband	2
Cranfield [Brett], Anne	m. Lionel I Earl	1
Crew [Bray], Temperance	m. Sir Thomas	1
Crisp [Prescott], Anne	m. Sir Nicholas I Bt. See also joint with husband	1
Crofts [Shirley], Mary	m. Sir John. See also joint with husband	3
Croke [Bennett], Mary	m. Sir George	1
Croker [Riddall], Joan	m. John of Batsford, Gloucs.	1
Crompton [Crofts], Frances	m. Sir John. See also joint with husband	1
Culpeper [Aston], Joyce	m. Sir Martin	1
Culpeper, Mary		1
D.,	Countess of	1
D., A.,	Gentlewoman. Possibly Arundell, Dorothy, O.S.B, daughter of Sir John of Lanham	1
D., Car.		1
D., Lady		1
D., R. Y. S. M. L. A.,	Mother of	1
Dainty doxies		1
Dalby, Dorothy	'Widowed m of author'	1
Danby [Eure], Margaret	m. Thomas	1
Danett [Bellamy], Agnes	m. John of Westhope [PCC 1626]	1
Daniel [Vinor], Anne	m. Sir William, Judge	1
Danvers, Daniel, Dorothy and Samuel		1
Darcy [Redich], Grace	m. Sir Robert	2
Darcy [Wray], Isabel	m. John III Baron, subsequently Bowes	2
Darell, Philippa	Of Scotney, sister of Frances	1
Daughter of Sir William [Vis. Oxfs.]		1
Dautesey [Sadler], Gertrude	m. Ambrose [Vis. Wilts].	1

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Davey or Davies [Pollard], Gertrude	m. Gilbert [Vis. Devon].	1
Denney Abbey. Unnamed Nun		1
Denny [Cecil], Mary	m. Edward I Earl of Norwich. See also joint with husband	1
Denny [Champernon], Joan	m. Sir Anthony	1
Devereux [Scudamore], Jane	m. Sir William of Merevale	1
Devereux [Walsingham], Frances	m. Robert II Earl, previously Sidney	8
Digby [Walcot], Beatrice	m. John I Earl, previously Dyve	1
Dilke [Bonham], Elizabeth	m. Thomas of Maxstoke [Vis. Warw]	1
Dive, Lady Elizabeth		1
Dormer [Browne], Elizabeth	m. Robert I Baron	2
Dormer [Herbert], Anna Sophia	m. Robert I Earl of Carnarvon. See also joint with husband	3
Dormer, Jane	Duchess of Feria [DNB]	2
Douglas [Keith], Anne	m. William VII Earl of Morton. See also joint with husband	1
Douglas, Lady Margaret	Countess of Lennox [DNB]	1
Drake [Sydenham], Elizabeth	m. Sir Francis I Bt. See also joint with husband	1
Drayton [Grey], Mary	m. William	1
Drury [Bacon], Anne	m. Sir Robert	2
Dudley [Guildford], Jane	m. John Duke	1
Dudley [Knollys], Lettice	m. Robert, Earl, previously Devereux, later Blount	8
Dudley [Leigh], Alice	Duchess Dudley [DNB]	4
Dudley [Russell], Anne	m. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick [she is sometimes called Mary]. See library 1943-4, 177. See also joint with husband	23
Dudley, Anne	Daughter of Alice, later m. Sir Rich. Holbourne	1
Duncomb [Poynes], Elizabeth	m. William	1
Dutton [Egerton], Elizabeth	m. John of Ches.	1
Dyer [Fitzwilliams], Mary	m. Sir Richard	1
E., C. D. of	[presumably Frances Cecil, Countess Dowager of Exeter]	1
Eden [Darcy], Mary	m. Sir Thomas the younger [Vis. Essex]	2
Edmondson [Lycott], Dorothy	m. Sir Christopher [Vis. Surrey]	1
Egerton [More], Elizabeth	m. Thomas I Viscount Brackley, Lord Chancellor. See also joint with husband	1
Egerton [Stanley], Frances	m. John I Earl of Bridgewater. See also joint with husband	4
Eliot [Gedge], Jane	m. Edward of Newland	1
Elizabeth	Duchess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, sister of Queen Anne	1
Elizabeth	Princess Palatine, Abbess of Herford	1
Elizabeth	Princess, daughter of Charles I	1
Elizabeth	Queen of Bohemia. See also joint dedications with Frederick I	49
Elizabeth	Queen of Henry VII	1
Elizabeth	Saint [presumably of Hungary]	1
Elizabeth I	Queen	209
Elizabeth I Belated		5
Elliot [Towse], Mary	m. Sir Thomas	1
Elphinstone [Ker], Anne	m. John Lord Balmerino	1
Englefield [Brooksby], Winifred	m. Sir Francis II Bt.	1
Englefield [Browne], Jane	m. Sir Francis I Bt.	1
Erskine [Murray], Anabel	m. John I Earl of Mar.	1
Erskine [Pierrepont], Elizabeth	m. Thomas I Earl	1
Erskine [Stuart], Mary	m. John II Earl	7
Essex [Harcourt], Jane	m. William Bt.	1
F., H.,	'Catholic Gentlewoman'	1
F., Lady.	[maiden name mask for Cooke [Fitzwilliam], Anne m. Sir Anthony; solution uncertain]	2
Fairfax [Howard], Alethea	m. Thomas II Viscount	1
Fairfax [Sheffield], Mary	m. Sir Ferdinand	1
Fane [-], Elizabeth	m. Sir Ralph - DNB	1
Fane [Mildmay], Mary	m. Francis I Earl	1
Fane [Neville], Mary	Baroness Despenser [conjectural; an earlier ed. would indicate Elizabeth above]	1
Fane [Vere], Mary	m. Mildmay II Earl, previously Townshend	1
Fenner, -	Widow of William, d. 1640-DNB	1
Ferrers [Muschamp], Susan	m. William, previously Topsfield	1
Ferrers [Topsfield], Katherine	m. Edward	1
Fettiplace [Ayleford], Anne	m. Sir Edmund of Childrey	1
Fielding [Villiers], Susan	m. William I Earl	3
Fielding, Elizabeth	See Boyle	1
Fiennes [Bourchier], Anne	m. Thomas VIII Baron Dacre	1

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Fiennes [Cecil], Frances	m. James II Viscount Saye	1
Fiennes [Sackville], Anne	m. Gregory X Baron Dacre	1
Finch [Heneage], Elizabeth	Countess of Winchilsea	3
Finch [Heydon], Anne or Agnes	m. Theophilus II Bt.	1
Fitton, Mary	Maid of Honour [DNB]	1
Fitzgerald [Howard], Frances	m. Henry XII Earl of Kildare, later Brooke	2
Fitzroy [Howard], Mary	m. Henry Duke of Richmond	2
Fleetwood [Luke], Anne	m. Sir Miles	3
Fleming [Livingston], Margaret	m. John II Earl	1
Fletcher, Catherine, Mrs.		1
Foord [Popham], Elizabeth	m. Thomas of Ilington, Devon	1
Forbes [Keith], Jean	m. Alexander I Lord	2
Fortescue [Smyth], Alice	m. Sir John	1
Fortescue [Stanley], Frances	m. Sir John I Bt.	1
Fouldman [-], Jane	m. George, Archdeacon of Essex	1
Fowberie, Catherine	Widow [?of Newbold, Yks]	1
Francis, Elizabeth	'of Brumsted, Norf.'	1
Freake [Clavel], Elizabeth	m. Robert [Vis. Dorset]	1
French [Godfrie], Mary	m. John of Inner Temple	1
Fulford [Bamfield], Ursula	m. Thomas	2
G., A.	'Sister of author'	1
Gamull or Gamwell [Bavand], Alice	m. Thomas Recorder of Chester	1
Garraway [Clitherow], Margaret	m. Sir Henry	1
Gates, Mary	Daughter of Sir Henry of Seamer, Yks.	1
Gawen, Frances, O.S.B.	Abbess at Cambrai	1
Gentlewoman		1
Gentlewomen		1
Gerard [Dutton], Eleanor	m. Gilbert II Baron, later Needham. See also joint with husband	1
Gerard [Ratcliffe], Dorothy	m. William of Harrow	1
Gilbert [Campe], Jane	m. William D.D., friends of	1
Glenham [Sackville], Anne	m. Sir Henry	2
Golding [Roydon], Elizabeth	m. Sir Thomas [PCC 1596]	1
Goodman, Grace	'Niece of author'	1
Goodyer [Goodyer], Frances	m. Sir Henry, Literary patron	1
Gordon [Campbell], Anne	m. George II Marquis of Huntly. See also joint with husband	4
Gordon [Sedley], Muriel	m. Brampton of Assington, Suff	1
Gordon [Stuart], Henrietta	m. George I Marquis	1
Gostwick [Owen], Jane	m. Sir William I Bt. See also joint with husband	1
Gostwick [Wentworth], Anne	m. Sir Edward II Bt.	1
Gough or Goudge, Mary	Abbess at Gravelines	1
Graham [Ruthven], Margaret	m. John IV Earl	1
Gratwick [Lee], Margery	m. Sir William [Vis. Sussex]	1
Green [Darrell], Frances	m. Robert of Bobbing [Vis. Kent]	1
Grenville [Beville], Elizabeth	m. Sir Barnard	1
Grey [Bertie], Susan	m. Reginald V Earl of Kent	1
Grey [Brandon], Frances	m. Henry Duke of Suffolk	1
Grey [Dade], Mary	m. Richard of Inner Temple	1
Grey [Morrison], Jane Sibella	m. Arthur XIV Baron	3
Grey [Talbot], Elizabeth	m. Henry VIII Earl	5
Grey [Windsor], Anne	m. Henry I Baron Grey of Groby	1
Grey, Anne	See Masters	1
Grey, Lady Anne	probably [Jernegan] m. Lord Edward, later Walsingham	2
Grey, Penelope	Daughter of Mary above [Drayton]	1
Griffith, Mary		1
Guildford [Somerset], Elizabeth	m. Sir Henry.	1
Gumey [Lewkenor], Martha	m. Thomas of West Barsham	1
Gybbes, Elizabeth	Abbess of Syon	1
H., Lady M	probably Margaret Hele	1
H., M[rs]. M Du Nesme		1
H., Mrs. S., and son M.R.H.		1
Hales [Kemp], Alice	m. Sir James, later Lee	1
Hales [Wood], Margaret	m. Sir James - DNB	1
Halsewell [Wallop], Bridget	m. Sir Nicholas of Somerset	1
Hardberde, Mrs., Arthur		1
Hare [Coventry], Elizabeth	m. Sir John of Stow Bardolf, Norf. See also joint with husband	1
Harrington [Kelway], Anne	m. John I Baron	16
Harrington [Markham], Isabella	m. John the elder [Poet]	1
Harley [Conway], Brilliana	m. Sir Robert	2
Harrys, Mary	'Widow'	1
Harvey [Ratcliffe], Elizabeth	m. James [Vis. Mdsx]	1

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Hastings [Dudley], Catherine	m. Henry III Earl of Huntingdon. See also joint with husband	7
Hastings [Stanley], Elizabeth	m. Henry V Earl	4
Hatton [Gawdy], Elizabeth	m. Sir William	1
Hatton [Leigh], Mary	m. Sir Robert	1
Hawkins, Judith	[of Kent?]	1
Hay [Denny], Honoria	m. James I Earl of Carlisle. See also joint with husband	4
Hay [Douglas], Elizabeth	m. Francis IX Earl	1
Hay [Percy], Lucy	m. James I Earl of Carlisle	2
Hayes, Martha	Daughter of Sir Thomas, Lord Mayor	1
Hele [Bray], Alice	m. Ellis of Bovey Tracey	1
Hele [courtenay], Margaret	m. Sir Warwick	3
Heneage [Poyntz], Anne	m. Sir Thomas	1
Henrietta Maria	Queen Consort. See also joint dedications with Charles	40
Henrietta Maria, Ladies of her court:		1
Henshaw [Bonham], Anne	m. Benjamin	1
Herbert [Craven], Elizabeth	m. Percy II Baron Powis	1
Herbert [Morgan], Florence	m. Sir William of St. Julians	1
Herbert [Parr], Anne	m. William I Earl of Pembroke	1
Herbert [Percy], Eleanor	m. William I Baron Powis	1
Herbert [Sidney], Mary	m. Henry II Earl of Pembroke	25
Herbert [Talbot], Anne	m. William I Earl	1
Herbert [Talbot], Mary	m. William III Earl of Pembroke. See also joint with husband	3
Herbert [Vere], Susan	m. Philip IV Earl. All as Countess of Montgomery	6
Herbert, Frances	'Gentlewoman'	1
Herbert, Lady Anne	Daughter of Henry Earl	1
Hericke [May], Joan	m. Sir William - DNB	2
Heron [Brooke], Anne	m. Sir Edward [Vis. Lincs]	2
Hobart [Bell], Dorothy	m. Sir Henry 'I Bt.'	2
Hoby [Carey], Mary	m. Sir Edward	1
Holcroft [Aungier], Lettice	m. Sir Henry [Vis. Surrey]	1
Holder, Mary	Sister of William - DNB	1
Holland [-], Elizabeth	m. Henry d.1604	1
Home [Ruthven], Beatrix	m. Sir John of Cowdenknowes	1
Home [Sutton], Mary	m. Alexander I Earl Home	1
Homer [Speke], Anne	m. Sir John [Vis. Soms]. See also joint with husband	1
Horsey [Mohun], Edith	m. Sir Ralph	1
Houghton [-], Mary	m. Peter, Alderman	1
Houghton [Sherborne], Grace	m. William Br of Richard	1
Houghton, Frances	Daughter of Sir Richard	1
Howard [Carey], Katherine	m. Charles I Earl Nottingham	2
Howard [Dacre], Anne	m. Philip XIII Earl of Arundel	1
Howard [Eure], Mary	m. Sir William of Naworth	1
Howard [Knyvett], Catherine	m. Thomas I Earl Suffolk	2
Howard [St. John], Anne	m. William Lord Howard d. 1615	2
Howard [Stafford], Elizabeth	m. Thomas III Duke	1
Howard [Talbot], Alathea	m. Thomas I Earl of Norfolk	3
Howard [White], Charity	m. Charles II Earl Nottingham. See also joint with husband	1
Howard, Lady Frances	[probably later wife of Sir Edward Villiers]	1
Howard, Lady Mirriell	[of the Ducal family]	1
Hungerford [Dormer], Anne	m. Sir Walter d. 1598	1
Hussey, Margaret		1
Hynd [Wentworth], Elizabeth	m. Sir William [Vis. Camb]	1
I., Lady D.	'recusant at Louvain' [?mask for Elizabeth Allen, q v]	1
I., Mrs. P	[?of Totnes]	1
Irvine [Douglas], Marian	m. Alexander M of Irvine, Sir Alexander of Drum - DNB	1
Jacob [Rogers], Mary	m. Abraham	1
Jacob, Anne and Darcy	Children of Jacob, Abraham of Bromley, farmer of customs	1
Jo[nes], Mrs. R.		1
Jones [Bavand], Sara	m. Thomas Vis. Ches.]	1
Jordan, Agnes	Abbess of Syon	1
K., Lady G. O. C.		1
Keith [Erskine], Mary	m. William VI Earl Marischal. See also joint with husband	4
Keith [Ogilvy], Margaret	m. George V Earl	1
Kennedy [Hamilton], Jean	m. John VI Earl	1
Ker [Drummond], Jean	m. Robert I Earl of Roxburghe	1
Ker [Stanley], Anne	m. Robert I Earl of Ancrum	3
Killigrew [Saunders], Margery	m. Sir William	1

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Killingbecke, Margaret		1
Kingsmill?, Andrew [DNB],	Sister of	2
Kingston [Fetiplace], Susan	m. John	1
Knatchbull, Elizabeth Lucy	Benedictine Abbess [Gillow]	1
Knollys [Howard], Elizabeth	m. William I Earl	5
Knox, John, Mother of	Reformer [DNB]	1
Knyght, Isabell		1
Knyvet [Hayward], Elizabeth	m. Thomas Baron Knyvet of Escrick. See also joint with husband	1
Knyvet [Pickering], Anne	m. Sir Henry the elder	1
Kynaston [Randall], Judith	m. Sir Edward [Vis. Shrops]	1
Kyrton, Dorothy	'of Thrup, Northants.'	1
L., L[ady]., E., L[ady] F	[since Scottish L. may be maiden name]	1
L., Lady E		1
L., Mrs. A	[possibly Anne Lodge]	1
Ladies (sometimes inexactly)		2
Ladies and Gentlewoman		2
Ladies of the privy chamber, Elizabeth I		1
Lawson [-], Mary	m. John 'of Milton' with unnamed children	1
Lee, Joyce	POOR CLARE, sister of Archbishop Edward	1
Legge, Martha	'laundress of the middle temple'	1
Leigh [Egerton], Mary	m. Thomas I Baron	1
Leighton [Knollys], Cecilia	m. Sir Thomas	2
Lennard [Fiennes], Margaret	Baroness Dacre	3
Lennard [Slany], Elizabeth	m. Sir Samuel of Wickham	1
Lestrangle [Lewkenor], Anne	m. Sir Nicholas I Bt.	1
Lestrangle [Stubbe], Alice	m. Sir Hamon	2
Leventhorpe [Brograve], Joan	m. Sir John I Bt. See also joint with husband	2
Levson [Mildmay], Christiana	m. Sir John the elder	2
Lewkenor [Neville], Mary	m. Sir Edward the younger. See also joint with husband	2
Lewkenor [Russell], Elizabeth	m. Edward	1
Lewkenor, Edward and Susan, sons and daughters of		1
Lewkenor, Katherine	Daughter of Sir Edward the younger, later Calthorpe	1
Lewkenor, Mary	Daughter of Sir Edward the younger	1
Ley [Pettie], Mary	m. James I Earl of Marlborough. See also joint with husband	1
Liddell [Woodward], Bridget	m. Sir Thomas d. 1627	1
Lily [Goddard], Dorothy	m. Peter - DNB	1
Livingstone [Howard], Katherine	m. James I Earl of Newburgh	1
Lloyd [Lloyd], Margaret	m. John of Rhiwaedog	1
Lodge [Laxton], Anne	m. Sir Thomas	1
London: Gentlewomen		1
Long [Warre], Amy	m. Gifford [Vis. Wilts]	1
Lovelace [Dodsworth], Margaret	m. Richard I Baron	1
Lovell [Carey], Anne	m. Sir Francis of Harling, Norf.	1
Lovell [Roper], Jane	m. Sir Robert, Daughter of John I Baron	1
Loyal [anti-Jesuit] women		1
Lucy [Spencer], Alice	m. Sir Thomas If Charlecote d. 1640	1
Luke [Knightley], Elizabeth	m. Sir Oliver, M of Samuel - DNB	2
M., A.	'Sister of author'	1
M., I.	Gentwoman [?Mordaunt]	1
M., L[ady] M.		1
M., Lady E.		1
M?, R.		1
M? G.	Sisters of	2
Machell [Aungier], Elizabeth	m. John [Vis. Surrey]	1
Mann [Colfe], Elizabeth	m. Thomas, Draper [Vis. London]	1
Manners [Holcroft], Isabel	m. Edward III Earl	2
Manners [Montagu], Frances	m. John VIII Earl	1
Manners [Sidney], Elizabeth	m. Roger V Earl	2
Mansell [Sidney], Elizabeth Catherine	m. Sir Lewis II Bt.	2
Manwood, Bowes and Frances	Daughters of Sir Peter	1
Margaret	Duchess of Burgundy d.1503 DNB	1
Maria	Infanta, daughter of Philip III. All jointly with Charles I	3
Martin [Ecclestone], Dorcas	m. Sir Richard	1
Martin, Gregory, Unnamed sisters of		
Martin [Grey], Elizabeth	m. James, M. A.	1
Martyn [Castelyn], Elizabeth	m. Sir Roger	1
Mary	Princess Royal d. 1660 [DNB]	3
Mary	Queen of Scots	8
Mary	The blessed virgin	6
Mary I	Queen	35

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Mary of France	d. 1533 [DNB]	3
Mary of Guise	Queen of James V	3
Mary, Queen of Scots, memory of:		1
Masters [Grey], Anne	m. William of Lichfield	1
Matilda	Daughter of Liudulf of Swabia	1
Matthew [Barlow], Frances	m. Tobie	1
Meg, Long of Westminster		1
Melhuish, Helen	Mother of author	1
Mildmay [Crofts], Jane	m. Sir Humphrey	1
Mildmay [Deane], Joan	m. Robert of Tarling and Alderman	1
Mildmay [Gourdon], Amy	m. Sir Henry of Graces	1
Mildmay [Ratcliffe], Frances	m. Sir Thomas of Mulsham, Essex	1
Milward [Fleetwood], Katherine	m. William. See also joint with husband	1
Mitchell [Meldrum], Barbara	m. Thomas Minister of Turiff	1
Molyneux [Gerard], Frances	m. Sir Richard Bt.	1
Montagu [Crouch], Margaret	m. Henry I Earl of Manchester, previously Hare. See also joint with husband	1
Montagu [Harington], Elizabeth	m. Sir Edward	2
Moore [Borough?], Mary	m. Adrian, charity dispenser. See also joint with husband	3
Moore, Mrs. -	of Talmage hall, Briset'	1
Mordaunt [Howard], Elizabeth	m. John I Earl	1
More, Jean		1
Morgan [Golding], Margarite	m. Sir John of Chilworth, Surrey	1
Morgan, Cicilie	'Daughter of Marie'	1
Morton [Apsley], Elizabeth	m. Sir Albertus	1
Morton [Hopton], Katherine	m. Sir George	1
Moulson [Ratcliffe], Anne	m. Sir Thomas Lord Mayor	1
Moundeford [Hill], Mary	m. Thomas - DNB	1
Murray [Drummond], Jane	m. Thomas Provost	1
Murray [Murray], Anne	m. Mungo II Viscount Stormont	1
Murray [Schaw], Elizabeth	m. John I Earl Annandale	2
Muschamp [Houghton], Gilibert	m. George of Barmoor	1
Musgrave [Wharton], Frances	m. Richard I Bt.	1
Myddelton [Vanacker], Ann	m. Sir Thomas Mayor	1
N.		1
Neale [Uvedale], Honor	m. Sir Francis	1
Nevill [Carew], Sophia	m. Richard d. 1643	1
Nevill [Vaux], Catharine	m. Henry IX Baron Bergavenny	3
Neville [Sackville], Mary	m. Henry IX Baron	4
Newdegate [Fitton], Anne	m. Sir John of Erbury	1
Noel [Hicks], Julian	m. Edward II Vis.	1
Norris [Vere], Bridget	m. Francis Earl of Berkshire	2
Norris [Williams], Margaret	m. Henry I Baron	1
Ogden [Fulke], Hester	Daughter of William - DNB	1
Ogle [Ashfield], Dorothy	m. Sir Richard of Pinchbeck	1
Ogle [Bryan], Anne	m. Thomas, sister-in-law of Dorothy	1
Osborne [Barlee], Dorothy	m. Sir John. See also joint with husband	1
Osborne [Blythe], Anne	m. Peter - DNB	1
Osborne [Walmisley], Anne	m. Sir Edward of Kineton, Yks.	1
Osborne, Dorothy		1
Owefiled [Moore], Thomasine	m. Roger, Charitable puritan	2
Owen [Elkin], Ursula	m. Sir Roger	1
Owen, Jane	Learned Oxford woman [STC]	2
P., Lady [Porditch in some copies; presumably Pordage [Gage], Mary	m. Sir William of Rodmersham, Kent, later Ashfield]	1
P., Lady M.		1
P., Mrs. A.		1
Paget [Masterson]	m. John - DNB	1
Paget [Newton], Nazareth	m. Thomas IV Baron	1
Palavicino [Hoostman], Anne	m. Sir Horatio	1
Palmel [Traheron], Elizabeth	Widow of a clergyman, sister of author'	1
Palmer [Digges], Margaret	m. Sir Anthony	1
Palmer, Catherine	Abbess of Syon	1
Paramor [Stone], Anne	m. Thomas of Thanet	1
Parker [Drake], Joan	m. John Haberdasher [Waters]	1
Parker [Tresham], Elizabeth	m. William II Baron Morley	1
Parker, Frances		1
Parr [Brooke], Elizabeth	m. William I Marquis	2
Parr [Sauvenburgh], Helena	m. William I Marquis	4
Paulet [Blount], Elizabeth	m. Sir Hugh	1
Paulet [Cecil], Lucy	m. William IV Marquis	1
Pelham [St. John], Judith	m. Sir John	2

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Pemberton [Barnard], Ann	m. Sir James	1
Pemberton [Bowles], Alice	m. Sir Lewis of Rushton [Vis. Northants]	1
Pennell, Isabell		1
Penry [Godley], Eleanor	m. John [?entry below, Puritan – DNB]	1
Percy [Cecil], Anne	m. Algernon IV Earl	1
Percy [Devereux], Dorothy	m. Henry III Earl	2
Percy, Lady Lucy	Sister of preceding [Sir Jocelyn, br of Henry III Earl], subsequently Wotton and Owen	1
Percy, Mary	Benedictine abbess at Gillow	3
Peryan [Bacon], Elizabeth	m. Sir William	1
Peryan, Lady		1
Petre [Montagu], Mary	m. Robert III Baron	1
Petre [Waldegrave], Mary	m. John I Baron	1
Phelips [Gorges], Agneta	m. Robert, Chancellor of Duchy	1
Phelips, Helena	Daughter of Sir Robert	1
Philips [Perrot], Anne	m. John I Bt.	1
Pierson [-], Helen	m. Thomas, previously Harvy, M of C. Harvey – DNB	1
Pole [Plantaganet], Margaret	Countess of Salisbury	1
Poley [Germyn], Anne	m. Sir William of Boxsted, Suff.	1
Poultney, Mary		1
Poulton, Eugenia	O.S.B. Abbess at Ghent	1
Powell [ferch Cynwrig], Elizabeth	m. David – DNB	1
Pre-reformation nun		1
Preston [Gilbert], Lillas	m. Sir John – DNB	1
Preston, Elizabeth	Abbess of Syon [at Lisbon]	1
Price, Henrietta Maria	Daughter of Sir Herbert, later Morley	1
Prideaux [Raynell], Mary	m. Sir Edmund I Bt. See also joint with husband	1
Prideaux [Yorke], Philippa	m. Roger M of Sir Edmund	1
Proby [Bonham], Helen or Ellen	m. Henry [Vis. London]	1
Prouse [Vaughan], Anne	m. Richard Mayor of Exeter, previously Dering	1
Pryne, Mary	[?of Wilts]	1
Puckering [Chowne], Jane	m. Sir John	1
Puttenham [Elyot], Margery	m. Robert	1
Pye [Croker], Mary	m. Sir Robert	1
Pye [Ireland], Hester	m. Sir Walter. See also joint with husband	1
Quarles [Parvis], Mary	m. Sir Robert	1
R, M(rs).		1
R., Ladies F. and H.		1
Radcliffe [Howard], Elizabeth	m. Henry III Earl	1
Radcliffe [Morrison], Bridget	m. Robert V Earl. See also joint with husband	4
Radcliffe [Sidney], Frances	m. Thomas III Earl. See also joint with husband	3
Radcliffe, Edward	VI Earl of Sussex	1
Radcliffe, Elizabeth	Poor Clare at Aire	1
Radcliffe, Margaret	Maid of honour, d. 1599	1
Radcliffe, Margaret	Poor Clare at Aire	1
Ramsay [Cockayne], Martha	m. John I Earl	1
Ramsay [Dale], Mary	m. Sir Thomas	1
Ramsay [Fleming], Anne	m. ' George III Earl of Dalhousie, previously Lady Boyd	1
Ramsay [Radcliffe], Elizabeth	m. John I Earl of Holderness. See also joint with husband	3
Randyll [Morgan], Anne	m. Sir Edward [Vis. Surrey]	1
Ratcliffe [Brerewood], Jane	m. John Mayor of Chester	1
Reddish [Dethick], Katharine	m. Alexander of Newhall, Derby	1
Reynell [Periam], Mary	m. Richard of Creedy	1
Reynolds [Wythipool], Elizabeth	m. Henry [the next [in index]]	1
Rham [Good], Katherine	m. Sir John	1
Rich [Cavendish], Anne	m. Robert III Earl	1
Rich [Cope], Isabel, alias. Elizabeth	m. Henry I Earl of Holland. See also joint with husband	2
Rich [Devereux], Penelope	Lady Rich – DNB. Subsequently Blount	9
Rich [Hatton], Frances	m. Robert II Earl. See also joint with husband?	2
Rich [Rowe], Susanna	m. Robert II Earl. See also joint with husband?	1
Rich [Wray], Frances	m. Robert I Earl, previously St. Paul	4
Richards [Topsfield], Mary	m. Henry	1
Ridgeway [Macwilliam], Cicely	m. Thomas I Earl of Londonderry. See also joint with husband	2
Ridgeway [Weston], Elizabeth	m. Robert II Earl	1
Robertes, Anne		1
Rodney [Southwell], Frances	m. Sir Edward of Somerset	1
Rogers [Cressy], Mary	m. Hugh of Everton, Notts.	1
Rogers [Digges], Anne	m. Richard, bishop [?of Dover]	1
Rolt [Jacob], Ellen	m. Henry of St. Margaret's, Kent	1
Roman Catholics after 1558: Unnamed individuals: Mother		1

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Romney [Taylor], Rebecca	m. Sir William	3
Romsey Abbey: Abbess		1
Roper [Petre], Mary	m. John III Baron Teynham	1
Rosendale, Agnes	'Fleming with English Carmelites at Antwerp'	1
Rowe [Gresham], Mary	m. Sir Thomas Lord Mayor	1
Russell [Cooke], Elizabeth	m. John Lord Russell [DNB as Hoby]	6
Russell [Harington], Lucy	m. Edward III Earl of Bedford. See also joint with husband	38
Russell [Hussey], Bridget	m. Francis II Earl of Bedford. See also joint with husband	6
Russell, Elizabeth	Maid of honour	1
S., Frances	'Akin to translator' [? Staverton]	1
S., Lady L.		1
S., M[rs]. Or M[rs], M. S.		1
S., Marie P.	[recusant]	1
S., Mrs. E. Allison		1
S., Mrs. F.		1
Sackville [Baker], Cicely	m. Thomas I Earl	3
Sackville [Curzon], Mary	m. Edward IV Earl	8
Sackville [Spencer], Anne	m. Robert II Earl of Dorset, previously Compton. See also joint with husband	3
Sadler [Coke], Anne	m. Ralph of Standom. Mother of Henry Sadler	1
Saltonstall [Pointz], Susan	m. Sir Richard Lord Mayor. See also joint with husband	1
Sandys [Hanbury], Mary	m. Sir Miles of Gloucs.	1
Saunderson [Elltoft], Mildred	m. Nicholas I Viscount	2
Savage [Darcy], Elizabeth	Countess Rivers	3
Savile [Carey], Elizabeth	m. John I Baron Savile	1
Scott [Smith], Katherine	m. Sir John of Nettlestead, previously Hayward. See also joint with husband	3
Scrope [Carey], Philadelphia	m. Thomas X Baron	3
Scudamore [Hampden], Ruth	m. Sir Philip, later Leigh	2
Scudamore [Shelton], Mary	m. Sir John, Lady of bedchamber	1
Seton [Hay], Margaret	m. Alexander I Earl	1
Seton [Stewart], Grizel	m. John of Meldrum	1
Seyliard [Jacob], Barbara	m. Robert of Gabriel, Kent	1
Seymour [Howard of Effingham], Frances	m. Edward I Earl	2
Seymour [Portman], Anne	m. Sir Edward III Bt.	1
Seymour [Sackville], Anne	m. Edward 'Lord Beauchamp'	3
Seymour [Stanhope], Anne	Edward Duke of Somerset, later Newdigate	10
Seymour, Lady Jane	[Lord Henry, Son of Edward I Duke]	1
Seymour, William	II Duke of Somerset	1
Sheffield [Anderson], Grizel	m. Sir John	2
Sheffield [Howard], Douglas	m. John II Baron	4
Sherborne [Walmisley], Elizabeth	m. Richard of Stonyhurst	1
Shirley [Berkeley], Frances	m. Sir George 'I Bt.'	1
Shirley [Devereux], Dorothy	m. Sir Henry II Bt.	2
Shirley [Wroughton], Dorothy	m. Sir George 'I Bt.', previously Unton	2
Sidney [Blount], Sarah	m. Robert I Earl. See also joint with husband?	1
Sidney [Dudley], Mary	m. Sir Henry - DNB	1
Sidney [Gamage], Barbara	m. Robert I Earl. See also joint with husband?	3
Sidney [Jermy], Jane	m. Sir Henry of Walsingham	1
Sidney [Percy], Dorothy	m. Robert II Earl	3
Skelton [Crisp], Anne	m. [?Samuel], daughter of Nicholas	1
Slany [Phesant], Margaret	m. Sir Stephen	1
Smith [Blount], Sarah	m. Sir Thomas, Merchant	1
Smith [Langton], Margaret	m. Sir Richard	2
Snow [Cavendish], Elizabeth	m. Richard, -Gentlewoman of the chamber.	1
Somerset [Russell], Anne	m. Henry I Marquis	3
Sondes [Montagu], Susanna	m. Sir Richard	1
Southwell [Howard], Elizabeth	m. Sir Robert. Lady of the privy chamber	3
Southwell, Elizabeth	Daughter of preceding. Maid of honour, eloping with Sir Robert Dudley	1
Speir, Sara	[?of Edinburgh]	1
Spencer [Sidney], Dorothy	m. Henry I Earl of Sunderland	2
St. John [Paulet], Elizabeth	m. Oliver I Earl of Bolingbroke	1
St. John, Catherine	Sister of Oliver I Earl of Bolingbroke	1
St. John, Lady		1
St., Mrs. A		1
Stafford [Stafford], Dorothy	m. Sir William. Lady of bedchamber	1
Standen [Backhouse], Mary	m. William [Vis. Berks]	1
Stanhope [Hastings], Catherine	m. Philip, I Earl of Chesterfield. See also joint with husband	4
Stanhope [Wotton], Katherine	m. Henry 'Lord Stanhope'	1

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Stanley [Clifford], Margaret	m. Henry IV Earl	6
Stanley [Spencer], Alice	m. Ferdinando V Earl, later Egerton. See also joint with husband	10
Stanley [Vere], Elizabeth	m. William IV Earl	6
Stapleton [Bertie], Elizabeth	m. Sir Miles	1
Staplyton [Sherrington], Olive	m. Sir Robert of Wakehill	1
Statham [Ansty], Gertrude	m. Roger	1
Stephens [Beale], Catherine	m. Nathaniel of Gloucs.	1
Stevens, Mrs. A		1
Steward [Lewkenor], Sara	m. Thomas of Barton mills, Suff.	1
Stewart [Douglas], Margaret	m. Matthew IV Earl of Lennox	1
Stewart [Home], Margaret	m. James IV Earl of Murray	1
Stewart [Houghton], Catherine	m. James II Earl of Galloway	1
Stewart [Howard], Elizabeth	m. John Earl of Carrick	1
Stewart [Stewart], Margaret	m. Andrew Master of Ochiltree	1
Still [Whitmore], Jane	m. Nathaniel of Hutton, Soms.	1
Stoughton [Browne], Jane	m. John - STC	3
Strangways [Edwards], Susanna	m. Giles of Melbury - Keeler	1
Strode [Crisp], Rebecca	m. Sir George	2
Strode [Southcote], Mary	m. Sir William	1
Stuart [Clifton], Catherine	m. Esme III Duke of Lennox	1
Stuart [Howard], Frances	m. Ludovic II Duke of Lennox, previously Pranel and Seymour	13
Stuart [Villiers], Mary	m. James IV Duke of Lennox, wise Herbert and Howard	2
Sutton [Harington], Theodocia	m. Edward V Baron Dudley	4
Sutton [Howard], Mary	m. Edward V Baron Dudley	1
Swift [Sheffield], Elizabeth	m. Sir Edward	1
T., Katharine	Recusant	1
T., M.	[Sister of John Heigham]	1
Talbot [Cavendish], Mary	m. Gilbert VII Earl	2
Talbot [Hardwick], Elizabeth	m. George VI Earl of Shrewsbury, 'Bess of Hardwick'	1
Talbot [Herbert], Anne	m. Francis 'Lord Talbot' d., 1582	1
Tanfield [Ingram], Elizabeth	m. Clovile of Copfold, Essex	1
Tasburgh [West], Jane	m. Sir Thomas, Daughter of William I Baron	2
Throckmorton [Carew], Anne	m. Sir Nicholas - DNB	1
Thynne [Hayward], Joan	m. Sir John of Longleat, d. 1623	1
Thynne [Touchet], Mary	m. Sir Thomas. See also joint with husband	1
Tilney [Brews], Margaret	m. Sir Philip	1
Tindall, Lady	[perhaps [Egerton] Anne m. Sir John]	1
Topsfield [Palmer], Elizabeth	m. William. previously Fawck	1
Touchet [Mervyn], Lucy	m. George I Earl of Castlehaven	1
Tracy [Lyttelton], Bridget	m. Robert II Viscount	1
Treadway [Lettice], Mary	Abbess [DNB]	1
Trye, Elizabeth		1
Turpin [Fiennes], Elizabeth	m. Sir William	1
Turville [Anderton], Margaret	m. Henry of Leics. Niece of Laurence Anderton, controversialist. DNB	1
Twisleton [Staplyton], Catherine	m. Sir George Bt.	1
Twysden [Finch], Anne	m. Sir William I Bt.	1
Tyldesley, Elizabeth	Abbess at Gravelines. Clara Mariana, In religion	3
Tyrwhitt [Manners], Briget	m. John of Kettleby, Lincs.	1
Tyrwhitt [Oxenbridge], Elizabeth	m. Sir Robert of Kettleby	1
Unnamed Individual Patrons: Lady		7
unnamed widow		1
Ussher, Elizabeth	Later Tyrrell. Daughter of James, Archbishop of Armagh	1
Uvedale [Cary], Victoria	m. Sir William of Wickham	1
Uvedale, E	m. Henry Uvedale of More Criche [Vis. Dorset]	1
Vassall [Aborough], Judith	m. John - DNB	1
Vaughan [Meyrick], Margaret	m. John I Earl	1
Vaux [Roper], Elizabeth	m. George	2
Vaux, Anne	Recusant - DNB	2
Vere [Cecil], Anne	m. Edward XVII Earl	5
Vere [Cecil], Diana	m. Henry XVIII Earl, later Bruce	2
Vere [Porter], Thomasine	m. John Br of Horatio	1
Vere [Tracy], Mary	m. Horatio I Baron Vere of Tilsbury. See also joint with husband	2
Verney [Blakeney], Mary	m. Sir Edmund of Penley	1
Verney [Southwell], Katherine	m. Sir Greville	1
Verney [St. Barbe], Ursula	m. Sir Francis d. 1615	1
Villiers [Beaumont], Mary	Countess of Buckingham	3
Villiers [Manners], Katherine	m. George I Duke	10
Villiers [St. John], Barbara	m. Sir Edward - DNB	2

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Volusene? [Wilson?], Florence	Scholar – DNB	2
W., G., Joan	[Oxford]	1
W., Lady A.	Recusant	2
W., Lady E.		1
Waad [Browne], Anne	m. Sir William	1
Wake [Bray], Anne	Sir Isaac-DNB	1
Wakering [Hampson], Elizabeth	m. Sir Gilbert [Vis. Bucks.]. See also joint with husband	1
Waldegrave [Bacon], Jemima	m. Sir William the younger	1
Waller [Chute], Ann	m. Sir Walter of Kent	1
Walmesley [Houghton], Mary	m. Thomas of Dukenhaugh	1
Walmesley [Molyneaux], Julian	m. Sir Thomas	1
Walsingham [Manwood], Elizabeth	m. Sir Thomas the younger	1
Walsingham [Shelton], Ethelred or Awdrey	m. Sir Thomas – DNB	1
Walsingham [St. Barbe], Ursula	m. Sir Francis. See also joint with husband	5
Walter [-], Elizabeth	m. William of Wimbledon	1
Ward [-], Susan	m. John, M of the author	1
Ward, Mary	Founder of order [DNB]	1
Warwick: two unnamed women		1
Watson [Wentworth], Anne	m. Edward II Baron Rockingham	1
Watts, Mary	'Widow'	1
Weid [Slany], Mary	m. Sir Humphrey	4
Welles [Manfield], Mary	m. Gilbert of Brambridge, Recusant	1
Wentworth [-], Jane	m. Thomas II Baron, remarried Wm. Borough-DNB	1
Wentworth [Crofts], Anne	m. Thomas I Earl of Cleveland. See also joint with husband	2
Wentworth [Finch], Catharine	m. Sir John Bt.	1
Wentworth [Holles], Arabella	m. Thomas I Earl of Strafford. See also joint with husband	1
Wentworth [Hopton], Anne	m. Henry III Baron Wentworth, later Pope. See also joint with husband	1
Wentworthe, Margery		1
West [Knollys], Anne	m. Thomas II Baron De La Warr	1
West, Thomas	II Baron De La Warr	1
Weston [Lloyd], Mary	m. Sir Simon	1
Weston [Stuart], Frances	m. Jerome II Earl	1
Weston [Waldegrave], Frances	m. Richard I Earl of Portland	1
Wharton [Carey], Philadelphia	m. Sir Thomas. See also joint with husband	1
Wheeler [Hanbury], Elizabeth	m. Sir Edmund [Vis Bucks]	1
Whitaker [Crisp], Hester	m. Henry of Amsterdam	1
Whitney priory (Hants.): prioress		1
Widow of his maecenas		1
Wilcox [Greenbury], Catherine Frances	Abbess at Brussels	1
Williamson [Anderson], Mary	m. Sir Richard	1
Willoughby [Ridgeway], Cassandra	m. Sir Francis of Wollaton	1
Willoughby [Thornborough], Elizabeth	m. Sir Robert [Vis Staffs.]	2
Wilmer [Jacob], Elizabeth	m. Thomas [Vis. London]	1
Winchester diocese: benedictine nuns		1
Winchester: unnamed abbess of St. Mary		1
Wingfield [Deane], Anne	m. Sir Anthony I Bt.	1
Wingfield [Harington], Mary	m. Sir Edward	4
Winwood [Ball], Elizabeth	m. Sir Ralph-DNB	1
Wise [Chichester], Mary	m. Sir Thomas of Devon	2
Wiseman, Anne	Nun at Lisbon, d.1650	1
Wiseman, Barbara	Abbess of Syon at Lisbon	2
Wiseman, Bridget	Canoness at Louvain, d. 1627	1
Wiseman, Jane	[Mary in religion], Prioress of St. Monica's, Louvain	2
Wiseman, Winifred	[Agatha in religion], Benedictine at Brussels	1
Wither [Hunt], Mary	m. George the elder [father of writer]	1
Women		1
Woodford [Read], Catherine	m. James Clerk of kitchen [Vis. Bucks.]	1
Woodhouse [Jermyn], Frances	m. Sir William of Norfolk	1
Woolton [-], Mary	m. John Bishop	1
Worsley, Anne	Prioress of Carmelites at Antwerp	1
Wotton [Margaret]	m. Edward I Baron Wotton. See also joint with husband	2
Wray [Dury], Frances	m. Sir William I Bt.	1
Wray [Girlington], Anne	m. Sir Christopher Judge	1
Wray [Norris], Lady Elizabeth	m. Edward above [groom of bedchamber]	2
Wright, Elizabeth	Dominican at Dartford, half-sister of J. Fisher	1
Wrothesley [de Mause], Rachel	m. Thomas IV Earl	1
Wrothesley [Vernon], Elizabeth	m. Henry III Earl	3
Wroth [Rich], Margaret	m. Sir Thomas [d. 1672]	2
Wroth [Rich], Mary	m. Sir Thomas-DNB [d.1573]	1
Wroth [Sidney], Mary	m. Sir Robert, Author DNB]	7

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Wroughton [Paulet], Katherine	m. Sir Giles	1
Wyndham [Bacon], Elizabeth	m. Francis-DNB	1
Yelverton [Beale], Margaret	m. Sir Henry. See also joint with husband	1
Yelverton [Stubbe], Dionysia	m. Sir William I Bt.	1
Young, Francis and wife Susan	'of Brent Pelham, Herts.'	4
Zouch [-], Dorothy	m. Sir Edward of Woking	1
Zouch [Berkeley], Mary	m. Sir John [preceding, perhaps of Codnor [Venn]	1
Zouche [Harington], Sarah	m. Edward XI Baron, previously Hastings	8
Zouche [Hart], Sarah	m. Richard - DNB	1
= 855 women		= 1799 dedications

B. Dedications to Groups / Personifications / Fictions / Abstractions etc.

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Aglaia	'Shepherdess' [fiction]	1
Anne of Denmark, household of		2
Archwives and widows		1
aspirants to housewifery		2
Bawds		1
Beauties		1
Brawling wives and malapert mistresses		1
Britannia, Diva		1
Calliope		1
Common sort of women		1
Dames		1
Devout ladies		1
Elizabeth I, Maids of honour		3
English Augustinian nuns (Paris)		2
English Briggittines (Syon abbey) (Lisbon)		2
English nuns (Flanders)		1
English Poor Clares (Gravelines)		3
English Poor Clares. (Aire (Pas de Calais)).		1
Folly, Dame		1
Fortune, Madam		1
Gentlewomen		6
Gentlewomen (Ireland)		1
Gentlewomen citizens		1
Good acceptance 'patroness of the world'		1
Gossips		1
Hampshire: Housewives		1
Houses of Englishwomen: Benedictines (Brussels)		1
Houses of Englishwomen: Franciscan tertianes (St. Elizabeth's) (Brussels)		1
L'Alma Mia Pace		1
Ladies (Romish collapsed)		2
Ladies (sometimes inexactly)		11
Ladies ... women		2
Ladies and Gentlewoman		7
Ladies at court, Elizabeth I		2
Ladies: believers in deposition		1
Looser sort of women		1
Lust, Lady		1
Maids		4
Mary	The blessed virgin	4
Mary Magdalen	Saint	1
matrons		1
Midwives		1
Mnemosyne	Mother of the muses	1
Munda, Lady Prudentia	[fiction]	1
Muses		1
Needleworkers		1
non-weathercock		1
Pecunia, Lady		1
Quiet, Margery	Of Tame [fiction]	2
Roman Catholics after 1558: Ladies		1
Roman Catholics after 1558: Ladies who are propertied		1
Roman Catholics after 1558: Nuns		1
Sharp, Joan	[presumably a fiction]	1

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Syon Monastery: Nuns		1
The religious men and women of our nation		1
Truth, Lady		1
Unnamed ladies [perhaps nuns of Syon]		1
Urania		1
Witches		1
Women		9
= 60 women		= 107 dedications

C. Dedications to Husband and Wife, listed in Williams under husband's name

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Altham, James	of Mark Hall, father of next.	1
Armstrong, Gabriel Esq.	[wife named Margaret]. Of Notts.?	1
Ashley, Sir Anthony	Clerk of Privy Council [DNB]	1
Aston, Walter	I Baron Aston	1
Atlee, Richard	of East Dereham, Norf.	1
Bacon, Edward	of Shrubland Hall [DNB]	1
Bacon, Sir Nathaniel, K. B.	painter [DNB]	1
Bacon, Sir Nicholas	I Bt.	1
Bacon, Sir Nicholas	Lord Keeper [DNB]	1
Bainard, George	[? of Wilts.]	1
Baker, Sir Henry	I Bt.	1
Baker, Sir Thomas	Br of John I Bt.	1
Barret, Edward	I Lord B. of Newburgh	1
Barrington, Sir Francis	I Bt.	2
Barrington, Sir Thomas	II Bt.	2
Baskerville, Sir Humfrey	of Eardisley	1
Basset, William	'J.P. in Derby and Staffs.'	1
Baynham, Joseph	of Westbury [Vis. Gloucs.]	1
Baynton, Sir Henry	of Bromham, Wilts.	1
Beale, Bartholomew	the elder, of Walton and Gray's Inn	1
Bedingfield, Sir Henry	Father of Henry I Bt.	1
Blackall, Christopher	of Totnes [Vis. Devon]	1
Bonham, William	London Vintner [Vis. Essex]	1
Borlace, Sir William, the elder		2
Bowyer, Sir Edmund	the elder, of Camberwell [Vis. Surrey]	1
Boys, Sir Edward	the elder, of Nonington [Vis. Kent]	1
Boys, Sir John	Recorder of Canterbury [DNB]	1
Brent, Sir Nathaniel	Warden of Merton [DNB]	1
Brettargh, William	Husband of Katharine- DNB	1
Buck, Sir Peter	of Rochester [Vis. Kent]	1
Burgoyne, Robert	of Wroxall, d. 1613	1
Caesar, Sir Julius	Judge [DNB]	1
Carey, George	II Baron Hunsdon	3
Carey, Henry	I Earl of Dover	1
Carleton, George	Bishop of Chichester	1
Carleton, Samuel	City Captain	1
Carr, Robert	Earl of Somerset	2
Cavendish, William	I Earl of Devonshire	1
Cecil, William	II Earl of Salisbury	1
Chalke or Chock, Sir Alexander	of Wiltshire [Vis. Soms.]	1
Chamberlain, Robert	Alderman	1
Charles I	King	14
Clarke, Sir Edward	Steward of Reading	1
Clifford, George	III Earl of Cumberland	1
Coke, Sir John	Secretary of State - DNB	1
Coke, Sir Robert	Son of Sir Edward	1
Cooke, Sir Robert	of Highnam [Keeler]	1
Cope, Sir Anthony		1
Corbet, Sir Thomas	of Sprowston	1
Corbett, Sir Andrew	of Morton [Vis. Shrops.]	1
Corbett, Sir Vincent	of Morton [Vis. Shrops.]	1
Cotterell, Sir Clement	Groom Porter [Vis. Lincs.]	1
Courthorpe, Peter	of Cranbrook, Kent	1
Coventry, Sir Thomas	Judge d.1606 - DNB	1
Covert, Sir Walter	of Sussex [Brown]	1
Crane, Sir Robert	Bt.	1
Crew, John	I Baron Crew of Stene	1

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Crisp, Samuel	Br of preceding	2
Crisp, Sir Nicholas	I Bt.	3
Crofts, Sir John	of Saxham [Venn 1581]	1
Crompton, Sir John	of Skerne, Yorks.	1
Curwen, Sir Patrick	Bt.	1
Curzon, Sir John	I Bt.	1
Dawes, Sir Abraham	Farmer of Customs	1
Denny, Edward	I Earl of Norwich	1
Dive, John	Of Ridlington Park [Venn]	1
Dormer, Robert	Earl of Carnarvon	1
Douglas, William	VII Earl of Morton	1
Dowse, Sir Gabriel	Of Hampshire	1
Drake, Sir Francis	I Bt.	1
Drake, Sir John	Of Ashe, Devon	1
Drew, Robert	Of Poulshot, Wilts.	1
Drummond, James	I Earl of Perth	1
Drury, Sir Robert	Of Hawsted, Suff., d. 1615	1
Dudley, Ambrose	Earl of Warwick	3
Dyer, Sir William	Of Staughton, Hunts.	1
Dyve, Sir Lewis	Royalist [DNB]	1
Egerton, John	I Earl of Bridgewater	3
Egerton, Thomas	Viscount Brackley, Lord Chancellor	1
Erle or Earle, Sir Walter	Of Dorset [Keeler]	1
Evelyn, Sir Thomas	Of Long Ditton, Surrey	1
Faunt, Sir William	Of Foston, Leics.	1
Ferrers, Sir Henry	I Bt.	1
Fiennes, William	I Viscount Saye and Sele	1
Finch, Sir Moyle	I Bt.	1
Finch, Thomas	II Earl of Winchilsea	1
Fitzwilliam, Sir William	Lord Deputy of Ireland [DNB]	1
Foljambe, Sir Thomas	Br of Sir Francis, Bt.	1
Frederick Henry	Prince of Orange	1
Frederick I	King of Bohemia	16
Fullerton, Sir James	Gentleman of Bedchamber	1
Gardiner, Sir Robert	Chief Justice of Ireland	1
Gee, Sir William	Of the Council in the North	1
Gerard, Gilbert	II Baron Gerard	1
Gifford, Sir Richard	Of King's Somborne, Hants.	1
Giles, Sir Edward	Of Bowden [Vis. Devon]	1
Gleane, Sir Peter	Mayor of Norwich	1
Gordon, George	II Marquis of Huntly	1
Gorges, Sir Robert	Of Wraxhall, Soms.	1
Gostwick, Sir William	I Bt.	1
Grange, Sir John	J.P., of St. Giles-in-the-fields	1
Greaves, Sir Richard	Of Moseley [Vis. Worcs]	1
Grey, Henry	VIII Earl of Kent	1
Hanham, Thomas	Of Dean's court [Brown]	1
Hare, Sir John	Of Stow Bardolf, Norf.	1
Harington, John	I Baron H. of Exton	8
Harley, Sir Robert	Master of the mint [DNB]	1
Hastings, Henry	III Earl of Huntingdon	1
Haule or Hall, Henry	Of Maidstone [Vis. Kent]	1
Hay, James	I Earl of Carlisle	1
Hayward, Sir Rowland	Lord Mayor	1
Hendley, Sir Thomas	Of Kent	1
Herbert, Philip	IV Earl Pembroke	5
Herbert, William	III Earl of Pembroke	1
Heveningham, Sir John	Of Inner Temple [Venn 1592]	1
Hicks, Baptist	I Vis. Campden	1
Hoby, Sir Thomas Posthumous	Son of Sir Thomas - DNB	3
Holland, Sir	Father of Sir John, I. Bt.	2
Honnywood, Robert	Esq. 'of Coxton'	1
Homer, Sir John	Of Mells d. 1659	1
Howard, Charles	II Earl of Nottingham	1
Howard, Thomas	I Earl of Berkshire	1
Hutton, Sir Timothy	Of Marske	1
Jackson, Sir John	The elder, of Edderthorpe and Council in the North	1
Jacob, Sir John	I Bt. [Keeler]	1
James VI and I	King	6
Jefferies, Leonard	Of Earls Croome [Vis. Worcs]	1
Jermyn, Sir Robert	Of Rushbrooke [Venn 1550]	1
Jerningham, Sir Henry	I Bt.	1
Jervoise, Sir Thomas	Of Shropshire [Keeler]	1

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Juxon, John	Citizen d. 1626 [Vis. London]	1
Keith, William	VI Earl Marischal	2
Kinnersley or Kinardsley, Anthony	Of Loxley [Vis. Staffs]	1
Kitson, Sir Thomas	The Younger, of Hengrave Hall d. 1603	1
Knightley, Sir Richard	Of Fawsley, Northants. d. 1615	1
Knollys, Sir Francis	Son of Sir Francis Knollys, Statesman	2
Knyvet, Sir Henry	Of Charleton, son of Sir Henry Knyvet, the elder	1
Knyvet, Thomas	Baron Knyvet of Escrick	1
Knyvett, Sir Philip	I Bt.	1
Lee, Sir Richard	Of Inner Temple and Lee, Ches. d.1627	1
Leventhorpe, Sir John	I Bt.	4
Lewkenor, Sir Edward	Of Suffolk [Venn 1599]	1
Lewkenor, Sir Edward (memory of)		1
Ley, James	I Earl of Marlborough	1
Lovelace, William	The elder, serjeant at law, Gray's Inn	1
Mainwaring, Sir George	Of Ightfield d. 1628	1
Maitland [Metellanus], John	I Lord Maitland, Chancellor	1
Maitland, John	I Earl Lauderdale	1
Manners, Sir George	Father of John VIII Earl	1
Marshall, Ralph	Of Carleton [Vis. Notts]	1
Masham, Sir William	I Bt.	1
Maynard, William	I Baron Maynard	1
Metham, Sir Thomas	Of the Inner Temple [Venn 1591]	1
Milward, William	Of Eaton Dovedale, Derby	1
Montagu, Henry	I Earl Manchester	2
Moore, Adrian	Haberdasher and Merchant [PCC 1618]	2
Mordaunt, Sir Lestrangle	I Bt.	2
Mordaunt, Sir Robert	I Bt.	1
Morrison, Sir Charles		1
Moundeford, Sir Edmund	Br of Thomas - DNB	1
N., E., and wife K., N.	'Cousin'	1
Neville, Sir Henry	Courtier d.1615 - DNB	1
Newport, Sir Francis	Father of Richard I Baron	1
Nicholas, Thomas	Of Prestbury [Vis. Gloucs]	2
Nicholson, Robert	Merchant and patron	1
North, Sir Henry	I Bt.	1
North, Sir Roger	Of Mildenhall	1
Osborne, Sir John	Remebrancer of exchequer, son of Peter	1
Overbury, Sir Giles	Of the middle temple	1
Owen, Israel	Of Cornhill [Vis. London]	1
Pakenham, Sir Henry	Of Belton [Vis. Lincs]	1
Parker, Roger	Of Kirby, Marian exile	1
Parry, Sir Thomas	Ambassador [DNB]	1
Pelham, Sir Thomas	I Bt.	2
Pelham, Sir William	Lieutenant of the ordnance - DNB	1
Perrot, H. and E.	Parents of George Perrot O.F.M.	1
Phelpes, Mr and Mrs	Of Yeovil	1
Poulett, John	I Baron Poulett	1
Poultney, John	The younger of Langley [Vis. Bucks]	1
Price, Sir Herbert	I Bt.	1
Prideaux, Sir Edmund	I Bt.	1
Puckering, Sir Thomas	Bt.	1
Pye, Sir Walter	Lawyer - DNB	1
Radcliffe, Robert	V Earl of Sussex	1
Radcliffe, Thomas	III Earl of Sussex	1
Ramsay, John	I Earl of Holderness	5
Rashleigh, Jonathan	Of Cornwall [Keeler]	1
Rich, Henry	I Earl of Holland	1
Rich, Robert	II Earl of Warwick	4
Ridgeway, Thomas	I Earl of Londonderry	1
Robartes, John	I Earl of Radnor	1
Roberts, Sir Thomas	I Bt.	1
Roberts, Sir Walter	II Bt.	2
Rudyerd, Thomas	Of Rudyard [Vis. Staffs]	1
Russell, Edward	III Earl of Bedford	9
Russell, Francis	II Earl of Bedford	1
Russell, William	I Baron R. of Thornhaugh	1
Sackville, John	'J.P. in Sussex' [perhaps two generations]	1
Sackville, Richard	III Earl of Dorset	3
Sackville, Robert	II Earl of Dorset	1
Sadler, Henry	Son of Sir Ralph, diplomatist	1
Saltonstall, Sir Richard	Colonist [DNB]	1
Saltonstall, Sir Richard	Lord Mayor [DNB]	1

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Salisbury, Sir Henry	I Bt.	1
Sandys, Sir William	Of Miserden, Gloucs., d. 1641	1
Savage, Thomas	1 Viscount Savage	1
Scott, Sir John	Of Nettlestead, d. 1616 DNB	2
Scudamore, John	Of Kentchurch, Heref., d.1669	1
Seaman, John	Chancellor of Gloucester [Venn 1579]	1
Sebright, Sir Edward	I Bt.	1
Seymour, William	II Duke of Somerset	1
Sheffield, Edmund	I Earl of Mulgrave	1
Shurley, Sir John	Of Ifield	2
Sidney, Robert	I Earl of Leicester	1
Smalman, Stephen	Of wildertop, Shrops.	1
Smith, Sir Hugh	Of Long Ashton [Vis. Soms]	1
Soame, Sir Stephen	The elder. Lord Mayor	1
Spencer, Sir John	Of Offley, Bt.	1
Spencer, William	II Baron Spencer	1
St, John, Oliver	I Earl of Bolingbroke	1
St. John, John	II Baron St. John	1
St. John, Oliver	V Baron St. John df.1642	1
St. John, Sir Alexander	Son of Oliver III Baron	1
St. Paul, Sir George	I Bt.	1
Stampe, John	London merchant adventurer	1
Standford, W.	Esq. and wife Elizabeth	1
Stanhope, Philip	I Earl of Chesterfield	1
Stanley, Ferdinando	V Earl of Derby	1
Stephens, Edward	Of Little Sodbury [Keeler]	1
Stephens, Thomas	Of the middle temple [Brown]	1
Stewart, Sir Thomas	Of Grandtully, d. c. 1608	1
Strangways, Sir John	Of Melbury [Keeler]	1
Suckling, Sir John	The elder, father of poet	1
Sutton, Sir Ferdinando	Son of V Baron Dudley	1
Swinnerton, Sir John	Lord Mayor	3
Talbot, John	X Earl of Shrewsbury	1
Taylor, Richard	Recorder of Bedford [Venn 1597]	1
Temple, Edmund	Of Temple Hall, d.,1616	1
Thekeston, Sir Richard	Of Yks. and London	1
Theophilus	[mask for a good Christian, cf. Acts I I]	1
Thistlethwaite, Peregrine	The younger of winterslow	1
Thomey or Thornhaigh, Sir John	Of Notts. [Venn, 1581]	1
Thorold, Sir Anthony	Of Marston, Lincs.	1
Throckmorton, Sir William	I Bt.	1
Thynne, Sir Thomas	Son of John, father of Henry I Bt.	1
Tothill, William	Of Shardelos, one of six clerks, d.1626	1
Townshend, Sir Roger	I Bt.	1
Towse, William	Serjeant-at-law of inner temple	1
Trumbull, William	Diplomatist [DNB]	1
Tryon, Sir Samuel	I Bt.	1
Tunstall, Sir John	Of Croydon, Usher to Queen Anne	1
Upton, John	Of Lupton	1
Urquhart, John	Tutor of Cromartie, d. 1631	1
Vavasour, Sir Thomas	[Knight Marshall, father of Charles I Bt]	1
Vavasour, Sir Walter	II Bt.	1
Vere, Horatio	I Baron Vere of Tilbury	5
Villiers, Christopher	I Earl of Anglesey	1
Wakering, Sir Gilbert	Of Herts. [PCC 1617]	1
Wallop, Sir Henry	The younger, of Hampshire [Keeler]	1
Walrond, John	Of Bovey, Devon	1
Walsingham, Sir Francis	Statesman [DNB]	1
Warner, Sir Henry	Of Mildenhall [Venn 1567]	2
Warre, Edward	Of Chipley Vis. Soms]	1
Wentworth, Henry	III Baron Wentworth	1
Wentworth, Thomas	I Earl of Cleveland	1
Wentworth, Thomas	I Earl of Strafford	1
Wharton, Sir Thomas	Son of Philip III Baron	1
Williams, John	Of Tyneham, Dorset, d. 1627	1
Willis, Richard, wife and children of	Secretary to Lord Coventry [CSPD and text]	1
Willoughby, Sir Henry	I Bt.	1
Wilmer, George	Of Mdsx. [Brown]	1
Winssen, Adriaen van	Heer van Hoencoop of Utrecht, d.1639	1
Wolley, Sir John	Latin secretary [DNB]	1
Wotton, Edward	I Baron Wotton	1
Wray, Sir John	II Bt.	1
Wyrley, Sir John	Of Hampstead [Vis. Staffs]	1

Patron Name	Patron Details	Number of Dedications
Yelverton, Sir Christopher	Judge [DNB]	1
Yelverton, Sir Henry	Judge [DNB]	1
= 278 women		= 375 dedications

APPENDIX 1.3:

NUMBER OF BOOKS CONTAINING ONE OR MORE DEDICATIONS TO WOMEN
LISTED BY YEAR AND AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL BOOK PRODUCTION,

1475-1640

Figures for the total number of books produced are taken from John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'Appendix 1' to John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (eds), and Maureen Bell (assistant ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV, 1557-1695* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 779-82, and are, according to the authors, derived from a provisional count of *STC* and *Wing* titles. The figures for the number of books containing one or more dedications to women are derived from a database I have constructed, cross-referencing the *Williams Index* with the revised *STC*. They do not include later collected works, or (in most cases) in varying issues and editions of the same work in which dedications are reprinted. These are, however, listed in the Details column of Appendix 1.1.

Barnard and Bell's count of the *STC* and *Wing*, as well as my count of books containing dedications to women is, of course, bedevilled by the impossibility of calculating how many books, printed in the early modern period, are no longer extant, and thus not listed in these catalogues. For a detailed discussion of this problem see D. F. McKenzie, 'Printing and Publishing 1557-1700', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (pp. 553-67). With this in mind, as well as the existence of later reprints and variant issues, the figures given here should be understood to indicate a bare minimum of the books that appeared in print each year bearing one or more dedications to women.

Year	Total Number of Books Produced	Number of Books Dedicated to Women	Dedications to Women as a Percentage Of Total Book Production
1475	1	1	100
1476	6	0	0
1477	17	0	0
1478	5	0	0
1479	5	0	0
1480	15	0	0
1481	12	0	0
1482	10	0	0
1483	34	0	0
1484	34	1	2.94
1485	14	0	0
1486	8	0	0
1487	7	0	0
1488	5	0	0
1489	9	0	0
1490	23	1	4.35
1491	7	2	28.57
1492	13	0	0
1493	15	0	0
1494	25	1	4
1495	31	0	0
1496	41	0	0
1497	31	0	0
1498	31	0	0
1499	44	0	0
1500	52	0	0
1501	19	0	0
1502	34	0	0
1503	30	0	0
1504	23	0	0
1505	65	0	0
1506	38	0	0
1507	33	1	3.03
1508	64	1	1.56
1509	59	3	5.08
1510	110	0	0
1511	44	0	0
1512	41	0	0
1513	33	0	0
1514	34	0	0
1515	79	0	0
1516	52	0	0
1517	67	1	1.49
1518	69	0	0
1519	56	1	1.79
1520	110	0	0
1521	78	0	0
1522	52	0	0
1523	59	4	6.78
1524	42	1	2.38

1525	109	4	3.67
1526	85	3	3.53
1527	93	1	1.08
1528	99	0	0
1529	72	2	2.78
1530	142	1	0.7
1531	103	0	0
1532	92	2	2.17
1533	117	3	2.56
1534	114	2	1.75
1535	113	2	1.77
1536	91	1	1.09
1537	76	1	1.32
1538	134	0	0
1539	85	1	1.18
1540	118	3	2.54
1541	66	0	0
1542	95	3	3.16
1543	116	1	0.86
1544	109	0	0
1545	126	3	2.38
1546	127	1	0.79
1547	144	2	1.39
1548	268	10	3.73
1549	170	6	3.53
1550	249	9	3.61
1551	133	6	4.51
1552	153	1	0.65
1553	168	3	1.79
1554	141	8	5.67
1555	208	8	3.85
1556	191	8	4.18
1557	109	5	4.59
1558	112	3	2.68
1559	114	5	4.39
1560	172	9	5.23
1561	146	5	3.42
1562	163	1	0.61
1563	154	4	2.6
1564	93	6	6.45
1565	169	7	4.14
1566	187	4	2.13
1567	168	8	4.76
1568	131	8	6.10
1569	159	5	3.14
1570	264	11	4.17
1571	156	8	5.12
1572	176	5	2.84
1573	184	7	3.80
1574	186	6	3.23
1575	239	8	3.35
1576	180	12	6.67

1577	211	8	3.79
1578	220	14	6.36
1579	265	17	6.42
1580	300	21	7
1581	289	20	6.92
1582	215	10	4.65
1583	250	9	3.6
1584	278	13	4.68
1585	323	8	2.48
1586	233	14	6
1587	240	15	6.25
1588	250	16	6.4
1589	293	22	7.5
1590	353	16	4.53
1591	299	26	8.7
1592	294	18	6.12
1593	211	22	10.42
1594	261	22	8.43
1595	326	23	7.05
1596	316	33	10.44
1597	277	20	7.22
1598	292	21	7.19
1599	329	19	5.78
1600	382	18	4.71
1601	258	17	6.59
1602	326	23	7.06
1603	428	18	4.21
1604	406	22	5.42
1605	379	18	4.75
1606	407	26	6.39
1607	434	25	5.76
1608	403	27	6.7
1609	474	37	7.81
1610	420	19	4.52
1611	401	26	6.48
1612	452	27	5.97
1613	510	41	8.04
1614	444	35	7.88
1615	524	28	5.34
1616	487	41	8.42
1617	431	17	3.94
1618	532	33	6.20
1619	511	25	4.89
1620	591	43	7.28
1621	579	25	4.32
1622	592	38	6.42
1623	566	34	6
1624	605	36	5.95
1625	680	25	3.68
1626	417	15	3.6
1627	454	22	4.85
1628	567	16	2.82

1629	480	18	3.75
1630	695	30	4.32
1631	636	19	2.99
1632	590	33	5.59
1633	646	22	3.41
1634	566	17	3
1635	689	22	3.19
1636	535	23	4.3
1637	582	20	3.44
1638	677	29	4.28
1639	625	28	4.48
1640	848	39	4.6
Totals	36709	1724	4.7

APPENDIX 2:

LIST OF WOMEN IN THE BRITISH BOOK TRADES, INCLUDING THOSE LIVING ABROAD AND PRODUCING BOOKS FOR THE BRITISH MARKET, 1550-1650

This list is derived from a database I have constructed linking women in the British book trades to biographical details and information about their print productions. The information reproduced here is based largely on a survey of the Index to the *STC*, and of Paul G. Morrison, *Index of printers, publishers, and booksellers in Donald Wing's Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English books printed in other countries 1641 – 1700* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1955). This second catalogue is substantially less complete than the *STC*, and, as a result, levels of print production for women working in the latter years of the period, particularly after 1641, may be considerably under-represented.

Other important sources against which I have cross-checked these catalogues, or in which I have found additional information include Harry G. Aldis, *A List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700 Including Those Printed Furth of the Realm for Scottish Booksellers*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1970); Maurcen Bell, 'Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700', *Liepziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte*, 6 (1996), pp. 13-45; R.B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of foreign printers of English Books 1557-1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910); H.R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1907); and Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, 4 vols., (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967). Figures include

only women who can be identified as printers, publishers or booksellers, and do not include calligraphers, like Esther Inglis, or bookbinders like Judith Taylor, Mary Hoskins, Anne Garbrand in Oxford or Katherine Boyd in Edinburgh. Also excluded from these figures are women, included by Bell, who assigned copies or bound or freed apprentices, unless I have been able to locate additional information indicating a more profound involvement in the trade.

Name	Trade	Known dates of activity	No of Titles as listed in STC or Morison	Place
Adams, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1620 - 1638	2	London
Allde, Elizabeth	Printer / Bookseller	1628-1640?	123	London
Allde, Margaret	Bookseller	1584 - 1603	4	London
Allen, Hanna	Bookseller & Printer	1646 - 1651	56	London
Allot, Mary	Bookseller	1635 - 1637	2	London
Alsop, Elizabeth	Printer	1647 - 1664?	17	London
Anderson (Heirs of George)	Printer	1648 - 1653	16	Glasgow & Edinburgh
Antony called Velpius (Widow of Hubert)	Printer / Bookseller	1633	1	Brussels
Arundel, Countess of	Sheltered secret press	1587?	1	
Auroi, Pierre, widow of	Printer	1628 - 1640	1	Douai
Barley, The Widow	Bookseller?	1614	1	Presumed London
Barret, Hanna	Bookseller	1624 - 1626	11	London
Bassandyne, Thomas, Widow of	Printer / Bookseller	1578?	1	Edinburgh
Bastiaenz, Matthijs, Widow of	Printer / Bookseller	1628 - 1648	0	Rotterdam
Bell, Jane	Bookseller & Printer	1650 - 1660	23	London
Bill, Jane	Printer	1630 - 1638	0	Presumed London
Bishop, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1619 - 1620	3	London
Blageart, Francoise	Printer	1633 - 1658	14	Paris
Boler, Anne	Bookseller	1635 - 1638	15	London
Boscard (Buree), Jeanne	Printer	1629 - 1652	25	Douai
Boscard, Jacques, Widow of	Printer	c. 1578 - 1611	1	Douai
Bourne, Joane	Printer	1593 - 1596	0	London
Boursette, Madeleine	Printer	1541 - 1556	4	Paris
Breache, Mrs.	Bookseller	1649 - 1675	2	London
Brewster, Anna	Bookseller	1648 - 1689	10	Presumed London
Briere, Annet	Printer	1551 - 1566	1	Paris
Broome (Brome), Joan	Bookseller	1591 - 1601+	43	London
Browne, Alice	Bookseller	1623 - 1625	4	London
Brusey, Mary	Bookseller?	1641	1	Presumed London
Bryson, James, Widow of	Printer	1644	1	Edinburgh
Bullock, -	Bookseller	1624	0	London
Burby, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1607 - 1609	22	London
Burton, Sarah	Bookseller?	1647	1	Presumed London
Charlewood, Alice	Printer	1593	20	London
Clark, Mary	Printer	1649, 1678 - 1699	100 (99 after 1678)	Presumed London
Coe, Jane	Printer	1644 - 1647	73	London
Courant (Fournieres), Marie	Printer	1631 - 1645?	5	Rouen
Crane, Mrs.	Sheltered secret press	1588	At least 1	London
Crosley, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1613	1	Oxford
Curteyne, Alice	Bookseller?	1650 - 1652	3	Presumed London
Dawson, Gertrude	Printer	1649 - 1666	88	London

Dawson, Mary	Printer	1635 - 1637	34	London
Dietrich, Katharina	Printer	1597 - 1605+	3	Nürnberg
Douce, Ann	Bookseller	1608 - 1624	0	Presumed London
East, Lucretia	Bookseller	1609 - 1610	2	London
Edwards, Mrs.	Bookseller	1647 - 1649	1	Presumed London
Eeles, -	Bookseller?	c. 1644	0	Presumed London
Elde, Frances	Printer?	1600 - 1604	2	Presumed London
Evans, Dorothy	Patron	1613?	1	London
Fairbeard, Sarah	Bookseller	1636	2	London
Fowler, Mistress	Bookseller	1604 - 1624	0	London
Gosson, Alice	Bookseller	1601 - 1622	1	London
Greene, Joan	Bookseller	1631 - 1637?	2	Cambridge & London
Griffin, Anne	Printer	1621 - 1643	99	London
Griffin, Sarah	Printer	1648 - 1679	93	London
Harring, Isobel	Printer & Bookseller	1645 - 1646	1	Edinburgh
Harrison, Martha	Bookseller	1649 - 1657	10	London
Hart, Jonet	Printer & Bookseller	1621 - 1639 (42?)	Single 1, Heirs, 52	Edinburgh
Helme, Anne	Bookseller	1617 - 1627	14	London
Herford, Katherine.	Printer	1549? - 1550	5	London
Hertford, John, widow of	Printer	1549-50	4	London
Hodgets, Margaret	Bookseller?	1625	2	London
Hulsius (van Hulsen), Maria	Bookseller	1606? - 1619	1	Frankfurt am Main
Islip, Susan	Printer	1641 - 1661	3	London
Jaggard, Dorothy	Printer	1627	6	London
Jaggard, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1623 - 1626	5	London
Jugge, Joan	Printer / Bookseller	1577 - 1588+	9	London
Kellam, Marguerite	Printer	1613 - 1620	7	Douai
Kene, Margaret	Printer / Bookseller	1640 - 1641?	0	Edinburgh
Kerver (Bonhomme), Yolande	Printer	1522 - 1557+	11	Paris
Le Bret, Guillame, Widow of	Bookseller	1550-1554	1	Paris
Lowestoft Widow	Sold books	Date not known	0	Lowestoft
Macham, Joyce	Bookseller	1615 - 1628	22	London
Man, Joan	Bookseller	1635 - 1637	10	London
Mason, Helen	Patentee	1621 - ?	0	London
Mayne, Agnes	Bookseller	1622 - 1631?	0	Edinburgh
Mayne, Jonet	Bookseller	1631 - 1639	0	Edinburgh
Meighen, Mercy	Bookseller	1646 - 1654	5	London
Middleton, Jane	Bookseller?	1588?	1	London
Millington, Joan	Bookseller	1604	1	London
Mommart, Martine	Printer	1612 - 1634	1	Brussels
Moore, Anne	Bookseller	1635 - 1636	1	London
Moulert, Symon, Widow and heirs of	Printer	1623 - 1642	1	Middelburg
Nealand, Rebecca	Bookseller	1644 - 1645	1	London
Newbery, Joan 1	Bookseller	1590 - 1594, 1603 - 1618	2	London
Newbery, Joan 2	Bookseller	1637 - 1638	7	London
Newman, Elizabeth	Bookseller?	1594	3	London
Norton, Alice	Printer	1641 - 1646	18	London
Norton, Joyce	Printer / Bookseller	1632 - 1638	54	London
Ogden, Hester	Patentee	1633	2	
Okes, Mary	Printer	1643 - 1645	5	London
Oliver, Mary	Printseller	1609	1	London
Orwin, Joan	Printer	1587, 1593 - 1597	69	London
Parsons, -	Printer?	1639-40	0	Presumed London
Patterson, Jonet	Bookseller	1650 - 51	0	Edinburgh
Perrin, John, Widow of	Bookseller	1593	1	London
Pickering, Mary	Bookseller?	1623	1	Presumed London
Plantin, Jeanne	Printer	1591	0	Antwerp
Purslowe, Elizabeth	Printer	1632 - 1646	164	London
Raworth, Ruth	Printer	1643 - 1648	29 (30?)	London
Readick, Agnes	Bookseller	1642 - 1646	0	Edinburgh
Shorleyker, Widow	Bookseller / Printer	1630 - 1638	0	London
Short, Emma	Printer	1603 - 1604	8	London
Simson, Frances	Printer	1601	2	London

Smith, Eleanor	Bookseller?	1650	0	London
Staffordshire woman	Peddler	Date not known	0	Staffordshire
Stonor, Dame Cecilia	Sheltered secret press	1581	At least two	Henley
Sutton, Joan	Bookseller	1569 – 1585	0	London
Taunton, Sarah	Bookseller	1638	1	London
Thomas, Mary	Bookseller	1642	3	London
Toy, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1556 – 1558	3	London
Truck, -	Bookseller	1624	0	London
Trundle, Margery, nee Parton	Bookseller	1626 – 1629+	30+ (13 in STC)	London
Tyson, Sarah	Bookseller?	1650, 1663 - 1665	1 1650, 3 1663 - 1665	London
Underhill, Jane	Bookseller?	1642 - 1643, 1660 - 1662	2, 7	London
Vautrollier, Jacqueline	Printer	1588	8	London
Veseler, Joris, Widow of	Printer	1626 – 1628	2	Amsterdam
Vincent, Anne	Bookseller?	1633 – 1637	6	London
Vincent, Katherine	Bookseller?	1618+	1	London
Volmare, Anne Marie	Printer	1628	1	Wurzburg
Waldegrave, Mary	Printer	1604 – 1608?	3	Edinburgh & London
Waldegrave, Mary	Printer	1604	4	Edinburgh
Waterson, Isabella	Bookseller	?1641 & 1657	2	Presumed London
White, Sara	Bookseller	1613 – 1615+	4	London
Whittington, Martha	Bookseller	1649 – 1651	2	Presumed London
Wilson, Anne	Bookseller	1640	1	London
Winde, Lodewijk de, Widow of	Printer	1576 – ?	1	Douai
Wolfe, Alice	Bookseller?	1602 – 1612	7	London
Wolfe, Joan	Bookseller	1574	1	London
Woutneel, -	Bookseller	1608	1	London
Wouw, Widow and heirs of Hillebrant Jacobs van	Printer	1631 – 1661	3	The Hague
Wyon, Marc, Widow of	Printer	1630 – 1661	26	Douai
Yetsweirt, Jane	Patentee	1595 – 1597	13	London

NB. A + in the column showing known dates of activity indicates that the year given for the end of a woman's book trade activity, was also the year of her death.

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