Illicit Printing in Early Modern England, 1588-1637

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Abstract

This thesis assesses the role of illicit printing in early modern England, from the publication of the Marprelate tracts in 1588 through to the Star Chamber Decree concerning printing in 1637. In the first instance, this thesis explores the mechanics of illicit pamphlet production. It aims to reconstruct the processes, methods, and networks which underpinned the production of illicit texts and shows how these processes changed and developed over time. It will argue that illicit printers and publishers developed a complex and durable infrastructure for illicit printing, which was both transnational in scope and intimately connected to political interest groups on both sides of the English Channel: a network this thesis terms the 'North Sea' underground.

It also explores the broader ramifications and implications of the uses of illicit print upon the performance of politics and the relationships between publics and politics more broadly. It will argue that illicit print became an increasingly powerful and normative mode of political performance; reflective of a growing conception of politics which increasingly came to invoke publics as necessary participants in the political process, and which viewed illicit print as fulfilling an important function within it. In the course of framing their appeals to publics, illicit writers also constructed a narrative framework through which contemporary political events were rendered intelligible to wider publics; a framework which was conspiratorial and antagonistic, and which, this thesis argues, had a major impact upon public perceptions of politics in Jacobean and Caroline England.

In emphasising *who, how,* and *why* illicit pamphlets were produced, as much as *what* they said, this thesis provides a fresh perspective upon the dynamics of early modern politics, questions prevailing assumptions about the extent and nature of illicit printing, and the mechanics of the censorship system, and reorientates our understanding of the broader relationships between print, publics, and politics in early modern England.

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Abbreviations

Add.	Additional Manuscript
BL	The British Library
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue, British Library
Harl.	Harley MSS, British Library
HL	Huntington Library, California
NRO	Northamptonshire Record Office
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, ed. H.Matthew and B.Harrison, 60 vols. (Oxford, 2004)
PC	Privy Council Registers
SP	State Papers, The National Archives (UK)
STC	*A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640*, ed. A.Pollard and G.Redgrave (London, 1976-1991), second edition
TNA	The National Archives (UK)

Notes

Early modern spelling has been kept in its original form, except in cases where it impairs upon the meaning. Dates are old style, but the start of the year begins on January 1. Where contemporary pamphlets have been cited, I have provided a reference to the STC in brackets following the citation, or to their Thomason Tracts shelf mark or Wing reference number where appropriate.

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Introduction

I What makes an illicit text *seditious*?

In 1579, John Stubbes wrote *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf,* a pamphlet which vehemently criticized the prospective marriage of Elizabeth I to Francis, the Catholic Duke of Anjou.[1] Within two months, Stubbes and his publisher, William Page, had been arrested.[2] The jury refused to convict either man and instead the pair were charged under a Marian act with conspiracy to incite sedition. The historian William Camden, a first-hand witness to the events, recounted their punishment: 'vpon a Stage set vp in the Market-place at *Westminster, Stubbes* and *Page* had their right hands cut off by the blow of a Butchers knife, with a Mallet strucke through their wrests.' 'I can remember that standing by Iohn Stubbes, so soone as his right hand was off, put off his hat with the left, and cryed aloud, God saue the Queene. The people round about him stood mute, whether stricken with feare at the first sight of this strange kinde of punishment, or for commiseration of the man whom they reputed honest, or out of a secret inward repining they had at this mariage, which they suspected would be dangerous to Religion.'[3]

Whilst the crowd in Camden's telling were at best ambivalent about the exemplary punishment the pair received, Elizabeth was not. A royal proclamation denounced the manner in which Stubbes's 'lewd, seditious book' had been 'rashly compiled, and secretly printed', and condemned the writer for 'offering to every most meanest person of judgement...authoritie to argue and determine, in every blinde corner, at their several willes, of the affaires of publique estate.'[4]

Stubbes's punishment is illuminating because it centres upon the major themes and tensions which this thesis explores. The conflicting reactions to Stubbes's punishment force us to ask an important but rather simple question: what makes an illicit text *seditious*? In the context of late sixteenth-century England, the answer was at least somewhat ambiguous. Seditious libel was not enshrined into English case law until 1605, when the Attorney General Sir Edward Coke prosecuted Lewis Pickering for affixing a libel to Archbishop Whitgift's hearse.[5] As Roger Manning explains, 'the

[1] J.Stubbes, *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf* (London, 1579) [STC 23400].
[2] The printer, Hugh Singleton, was also arrested but was spared punishment on account of his old age.
[3] W.Camden, *Annales the true and royall history of the famous empresse Elizabeth* (London, 1625) [STC 4497], p.16.
[4] SP 12/132/23.
[5] For details of the case, see J.Hawarde, *Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata, 1593-1609* (London, 1894), pp.222-230. The Pickering case is described in A.Bellany, 'A Poem on the Archbishop's Hearse: Puritanism, Libel, and Sedition after the Hampton Court Conference', *Journal of British Studies,* Vol.34, No.2, (1995), pp.137-164.

original, and primary, meaning of the word sedition was factionalism or violent party strife', which, logically, could have dangerous and potentially treasonous implications.[6] The Lord Keeper Bacon warned in 1567 that 'factions and seditions...maketh men's minds to be at variance with one another, and diversity of minds maketh seditions, seditions bring in tumults, tumults make insurrections and rebellions.'[7] Still, it was 'only towards the end of the sixteenth century', when Stubbes was publishing the *Gaping Gulf*, 'that the secondary or more modern meaning of the word sedition began to emerge – the notion of inciting by words or writings disaffection towards the state or constituted authority.'[8]

The presence of this 'notion' within a given text was open to interpretation. The crowd themselves, Camden suggests, did not perceive the *Gaping Gulf* to be a seditious text, either because its author was deemed an honourable, upstanding man, or because they believed that the text contained wise counsel: elements of a publicly-received truth. This, in itself, was significant; until 1605, the truth of a libel was a legitimate legal defence. To some extent, therefore, sedition lay in the eyes of the reader. There were those like Stubbes, members of the jury who tried the case, and some in the crowd, who clearly believed that the *Gaping Gulf* served an important purpose; if Camden's account is to be believed, Stubbes thought himself to be fulfilling his duty to his queen in highlighting the dangers of state policy, as his grisly rallying cry implies. But Elizabeth clearly disagreed, and on a fundamental basis. It was not the act of invention alone that condemned Stubbes, but the fact that he had tendered his counsel on state affairs for public consideration, 'offering to every most meanest person of judgement...authoritie to argue and determine...the affairs of publique estate.' Whilst the seditious 'matter' of a text was, at least in the court of public opinion, dependent upon perspective, the 'manner' was unequivocal: the act of publication would become the central basis for the prosecution of seditious libel after 1605. And herein lies the essence of a *seditious* text: one which challenges authority *because* it publicly questions the affairs of church and state and, in so doing, intrudes upon the state's hegemony over public discourse in those matters. Stubbes's crime in printing his objections was, therefore, to have turned private politics public: to have appealed, in short, to that elusive and ethereal historiographical concept, *the public sphere*.

[6] R.Manning, 'The Origins of the Doctrine of Sedition', *Albion,* Vol.12, No.2, (1980), p.100. Manning's article provides the most thorough recent history of the development of sedition in English law.
[7] Bacon's quotation is drawn from D.Cressy, *Dangerous Talk* (Oxford, 2010), p.42.
[8] Manning, 'Origins', p.101.

II Public Politics and Post-Reformation Public Spheres

Since Jurgen Habermas's *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* was published in English in 1989, the notion of the public sphere has hovered somewhere in the foreground of the consciousness of early modern English historians.[9] Whilst few would doubt its contribution to political theory, and its interest as a historical concept, the historicism and applicability of the Habermasian paradigm has been continually questioned. Even when applied to Habermas's chosen period of the late seventeenth-century, historians have argued that Habermas's idealized "coffehouse" public sphere never existed in actuality.[10] Neat theoretical devices rarely stand up to the rigours and complexity of any given historical reality, but neither was this Habermas's argument. 'Not that this idea of the public was actually realized in earnest in the coffee houses, the salons and the societies, but as an idea it had become institutionalized and thereby stated as an objective claim.'[11] The public sphere as a zone for rational-critical debate, unimpeded by the state, was always an ideal, not a reality.[12] All of which makes the perpetual attempts to re-date the emergence of the public sphere, something of a 'cottage industry' amongst early modern historians, a particularly fruitless exercise.[13]

Indeed, the idea of a singular "public sphere", or even a single "public", is of little utility in an early modern English context to which it is habitually applied.[14] In 1593, the Speaker of the House Edward Coke chided MPs for discussing matters privately amongst themselves. 'Here only public speeches are to be used.'[15] But of course, speeches in the Commons were only *public* in a very limited sense; it was illegal to publish the proceedings of the House of Commons to the political nation at large. The public, in Coke's conception, *was* parliament: the citizenry constituted into one representative legislative body. The public to which Edward Coke referred to was therefore very different to the wider

[9] J.Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, 1989).
[10] See B.Cowan, 'Mr.Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere', *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* Vol. 37, No.3, (2004), pp.345-366.
[11] Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, pp.36-37.
[12] For an incisive and thought-provoking critique of Habermas's idealized public sphere in the late seventeenth-century, see S.Pincus, 'The state and civil society in early modern England: capitalism, causation and Habermas's bourgeois public sphere' in Lake, Pincus (eds.), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2007).
[13] E.Shagan, 'The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Public Sphere?' in *The Politics of the Public Sphere,* p.32.
[14] For discussions of a singular public sphere, see, for example, N.Mears, ''Counsel, Public Debate, and Queenship: John Stubbs's *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf,* 1579', *The Historical Journal*, Vol.44, Issue 3, (2001), pp.629-650, and D.Zaret, *The Origins of Democratic Culture: Print, Petitions and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Princeton, 2000).
[15] M.Graves, 'The Common Lawyers and the Privy Council's Parliamentary Men-of-Business, 1584-1601', *Parliamentary History,* Volume 8, Issue 2, (1988), p.195.

publics to whom John Stubbes had earlier framed his appeal. This is perhaps a rather glib but necessary reminder that there were different conceptions of the *public* and *publics* in early modern England. Nor were they were permanent entities: like parliaments, publics could be invoked and dissolved, appealed to at times of need and ignored.

This is not to disregard the concept of the public sphere in early modern England *en tout*. Peter Lake and Steven Pincus's seminal article, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England', and the collection of essays which followed, marked a decisive departure away from the stale modes of thinking about a singular public sphere towards much more fertile terrain.[16] Rather than being constricted by a Habermasian model, we should seek to use 'a more historically grounded conception of the public sphere'; one which, as Ethan Shagan argues, allows historians to examine some of the issues which interested Habermas – political communication, the universalising of politics, and the space of civil society – '*without* reference to his Kantian categories or teleological narrative.'[17] And rather than seek to pinpoint the 'rationality' and 'publicness' of Habermas's public sphere at a precise date, historians should instead begin to ask different questions, 'to ask how different sorts of communication in different settings acted as infrastructures for politics, always channelling and distorting messages but doing so in interesting and productive ways.'[18] Lake and Pincus argue that new studies of the public sphere should focus on the relationship between new public spaces for debate and the cultivation of new or changing forms of public politics.

Lake and Pincus define the "post-Reformation public sphere," or rather spheres, as 'spaces for modes of communication or making pitches in which appeals to a general audience were made through a variety of media, appealing to a notion of the public good (or religious truth).'[19] These modes of communication, as Lake argues elsewhere, were not exclusive to print but encompassed 'a range of media – performance, rumor, print, and circulating manuscript, and the social connections and gossip networks' that were generated by them. These diverse components constituted the political armoury of a newly-formed brand of politics, one which inherently invoked and appealed to a variety of publics to adjudicate upon or support a range of social, political, and religious positions.[20] This form of

[16] P.Lake, S.Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies,* Vol.45, No.2, (2006), pp.270-292.
[17] P.Lake, S.Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere', pp.272-273. E.Shagan, 'Pilgrimage of Grace', p.33.
[18] Shagan, 'Pilgrimage of Grace', p.33.
[19] Lake, Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere', p.277.
[20] P.Lake, 'Publics and Participation: England, Britain and Europe in the "Post-Reformation"', *Journal of British Studies,* Vol.56, Issue 4, Oct., (2017), p.839.

performative politics, Lake and Pincus argue, stretched back to the 1530s but it was the Elizabethan period which proved 'formative', the moment at which 'issues of religious identity and division came together with issues of dynastic and geopolitical rivalry to create a series of public spheres.'[21] Lake has called this type of politics 'the politics of popularity.'[22] In the context of international politics, Helmer Helmers has described a very similar approach - the use of media to appeal to publics internationally - as 'public diplomacy.'[23] Here we shall use a term preferred by Jason Peacey, 'public politics', to denote a specific mode of political performance which used a range of media to invoke and appeal to specific publics at specific moments.[24] It was not necessarily *popular*, in the sense that it was not always aimed at the public broadly-conceived, but in a fundamental way public politics aimed to create public spaces in which publics could discuss previously 'private' political and religious issues.

Lake and Pincus not only defined the post-Reformation public sphere but also went some way in outlining the contours and characteristics which typified appeals to the public in Elizabethan England. 'Many of the first and most sophisticated attempts to appeal to and mobilize various publics', they argue, 'emanated from the centre of the regime itself.'[25] As the historiographical debates over the publication of *A Gaping Gulf* has proven, appeals to the public were rarely, if ever, dictated by top-down vertical relationship, and often derived from complex chains of connections which, given the paucity of source materials, are often far from clear.[26] The degree to which this is stressed, however, is at this point unimportant. In essence, Lake and Pincus are correct in characterising appeals to public opinion as 'a series of exchanges not so much between the rulers and ruled as between elements within the regime and their allies, clients, and connections.'[27] The point is to move away from viewing such appeals in dichotomous terms, as essentially antagonistic encounters between the government and the governed, the ecclesiastical establishment and its critics. Rather, we should recognize that the reality was far more complex; that both those within and without the political realm (as it is traditionally

[21] Lake, Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere', pp.273-274. The most incisive discussion of the public sphere in the 1630s is, again, Ethan Shagan's 'The Pilgrimage of Grace'.
[22] Lake, Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere', p.278.
[23] H.Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe', *Media History*, Vol.22, Issue 3, (2016), pp.401-420.
[24] J.Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 2013).
[25] Ibid., p.274
[26] For the debate concerning the publication of Stubbes's *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf*, see: N.Mears, 'Counsel, Public Debate, and Queenship', K. Barnes, 'John Stubbe, 1579: the French ambassador's account', *Historical Research*, Vol.64, Issue 155 (1991), 421–6, and P.Lake, 'The politics of "popularity" and the public sphere: the "monarchical republic" of Elizabeth I defends itself' in Lake, Pincus (eds.), *The Politics of the Public Sphere*, pp.70-82.
[27] Lake, Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere', pp.274-275.

conceived) utilised public politics to advance a range of overlapping and often competing positions and interests.

Whether emanating from the centre or not, appeals to the public required legitimacy, and legitimation rested upon two discursive threads: 'the rhetoric of the commonwealth, the rhetoric of the Saints, or both.'[28] Revived classical ideas of virtue and duty to the Ciceronian *respublica,* together with the hotter Protestant conceptions of the godly magistrate, provided a basis for justifying public action and, to an extent, advice. Such arguments, however engrained in contemporary discourse, were always of dubious validity when applied to *publics*. More often than not, incursions into the public space were couched in the language of necessity. As Lake and Pincus stress, the use of public politics 'represented emergency measures, resorted to, in extremity' and were often supported by a body of conspiracy theories which emphasized the urgency of a given situation. Whilst 'there were emerging protocols and controls, conventions to be observed when resorting to the politics of popularity', albeit 'hazy and ill defined', it 'was by no means normalized.'[29] The crucial point, however, most recently highlighted by Professor Lake, is that with each use 'the modes and methods of popularity moved further and further away from the realm of the one-off emergency measure.'[30] 'The result was that this mode of making political pitches, of manoeuvre and legitimation came to play an unacknowledged but central role in the politics of the Elizabethan and early Stuart period.'[31] It was this 'post-Reformation public sphere' which Lake and Pincus see as a vital 'prerequisite for the creation of the post-Revolutionary public sphere'; the 'recurrently episodic instantiations' of public politics were what made the English Civil Wars a 'transitional moment' between the two.[32]

But as Lake and Pincus stated themselves, *The Politics of the Public Sphere in early Modern England,* however transformative, was only a starting point: what it has provided is an extremely useful framework for thinking about the relationship between publics, politics, and media, with the *who* and the *how* left out. A growing body of literature has made significant contributions to this framework by detailing the roles of specific forms of media and their impact upon public politics: libels, ballads, rhymes and rumours, manuscript, parliaments, and pulpits have all been analysed as forms of public

[28] Shagan, 'The Pilgrimage of Grace', p.53.
[29] Lake, Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere', p.278.
[30] P.Lake, ''Puritanism, (Monarchical) Republicanism, and Monarchy, or John Whitgift, Antipuritanism, and the "Invention" of Popularity', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies,* Vol.40, Issue 3, (2010), p.488.
[31] Lake, Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere', p.278.
[32] Ibid., p.279.

political communication.[33] We now have a greater understanding of the post-Reformation public sphere, or *spheres,* and a much a richer image of early modern political performance, one in which publics played an increasingly important role. But the picture is far from complete.

III Aims, Method, and Approaches

In 1990, Thomas Cogswell argued that 'there are few more alluring tracts of historiographical *terrae incognitae* than the role of public relations and propaganda in early Stuart politics.'[34] Since then, Jason Peacey's landmark works on propaganda, print culture, and public politics during the English Revolution have done much to revolutionize our understanding of print as both a historical source and a historical factor.[35] Peacey's novel approach was 'as much concerned with *why* books were written as with *what* was contained within them, and it is as much concerned with the processes by which works were conceived and executed, as it is with the ideas and theories developed, or the historical evidence incorporated.'[36] His conceptual framework rested upon two points, both of which have been influential in shaping the approach of this study: the first is 'the crucial idea that books ought to be understood in terms of the purposes, aims and intentions of those involved in setting them before the public'; the second is to 'move beyond a model of political discourse involving texts that were either produced by the authorities or that involved public debate about current affairs, and to recognize that texts were used to participate in political processes.'[37] Whilst Peacey's work has engaged with, and contributed to, a revitalized historiography of early modern print culture (and especially studies focused on the 1640s and 1650s), no study has yet applied his conceptual framework to the issue of illicit print in Jacobean

[33] See, for example: A.Bellany, 'Raylinge rymes and vaunting verse': libellous politics in early Stuart England, 1603-1628', in K.Sharpe and P.Lake (eds.), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke, 1994); T.Cogswell, 'Underground verse and the transformation of early Stuart political culture' in S.Amussen, M.Kishlansky (eds.), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1995); D.Coast, *News and Rumour in Jacobean England: information, court politics and diplomacy, 1618-1625* (Manchester, 2014); N.Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation and the Invention of Politics in the Early Stuart Period* (Cambridge, 2016); C.Kyle, *Theater of State: Parliament and Political Culture in Early Stuart England* (Stanford, 2012).
[34] T.Cogswell, 'The Politics of Propaganda: Charles I and the People in the 1620s', *Journal of British Studies,* Vol.29, No.3, (1990), p.190.
[35] J.Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot, 2004) and J.Peacey, *Print and Public Politics.*
[36] Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers,* p.1.
[37] Ibid., p.19. *Print and Public Politics,* p.13.

and Caroline England.[38] It remains a *terrae incognita* some three decades after Cogswell first made sight of land.[39]

The last two full-length studies of illicit printing in this period were Keith Sprunger's *Trumpets from the Tower* (1994) and Stephen Foster's *Notes on the Caroline Underground* (1978); the former, whilst extremely useful, is essentially a study of English puritan printing in the Netherlands, not illicit printing itself, whilst the latter focuses almost exclusively on the late 1630s and assumes exactly the kind of oppositional 'model' Peacey warned against.[40] Foster's conclusions, that 'the rough outlines' of illicit printing in England 'changed very little from the accession of James I to the calling of the Long Parliament', and that illicit printing became 'a virtual monopoly of the Netherlands,' have cast a long shadow over the historiography of the period.[41] No study has attempted to revise Foster's conclusions, nor approached the issue of illicit print through Peacey's more sophisticated framework. As a result, several unhelpful assumptions persist in the way we think about illicit print in this period, assumptions this study seeks to interrogate. The first, emerging from Foster, is the idea that illicit printing was dictated almost exclusively from the Netherlands before the British civil wars. The second, resulting from the first, is the narrative of the illicit print 'explosion', beginning in 1637 with the Covenanter print campaign; the idea that illicit pamphleteering exploded *ex nihilo* in late 1630s England, due in large part to the breakdown of a supposedly pervasive censorship system.[42] Whilst the image of Jacobean and Caroline censorship upon which these arguments rested has been largely dismantled, and whilst excellent recent research has gradually begun to re-date the 'explosion' further back in time, there remains no adequate explanation to account for the sudden emergence of an illicit printing infrastructure in mid-seventeenth century England. The third is that, whilst we now have a much richer understanding of the role of print within early modern culture, scholarship of the early seventeenth-century continues to use illicit texts as evidence without paying sufficient attention to the specific contexts of the texts themselves. Illicit texts like *Vox Populi* are frequently referenced but rarely contextualised in any depth: scholarship still privileges the '*what*' above the '*why*.' As a result, illicit pamphlets appear as distinct and discrete intrusions upon the political realm. The connections which

[38] The historiography of print culture in all its forms is too vast to summarize here. For an excellent recent analysis of the historiography, see Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers,* pp.1-20.
[39] A study of this kind is precisely what Peter Lake and Steven Pincus called for in *The Politics of the Public Sphere,* p.28 fn.65.
[40] K.Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower: English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands, 1600-1640* (Leiden, 1994). S.Foster, *Notes from the Caroline Underground* (Hamden [Conn.], 1978).
[41] Foster, *Notes,* pp.58-59, 75-76.
[42] J.Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), pp.161-202.

bound these texts together and tied them to the political processes they were used to participate in have been neglected. This thesis will challenge these assumptions and faults, if not overturn them entirely. By placing illicit texts in their full context, and exploring their contents within this context, it will impact upon our perceptions of political conflict and consensus, the nature of political participation, and the performance of politics more broadly.

A major contention of this project is that understanding the networks and mechanics which underpinned the production and distribution of illicit texts is essential in order to provide the 'deep' contextualisation Peacey has called for.[43] How can we analyse the aims of a given text, or understand the ways in which it was used to participate in political processes, if we do not know who produced and sold it, and the broader networks to whom they were connected? Establishing links between the episodic instances of illicit print campaigns allows us to build a fuller picture of the infrastructure of illicit printing and assess the extent to which it developed over time. It also enables us to isolate and analyse the intersections between illicit print and political performance: to gain a greater understanding of the ways in which print, politics, and publics interacted, and the extent to which those relationships changed in the early seventeenth-century.

Reconstructing these networks is not a simple process. They were, by nature, secretive. The information which remains often comes to us filtered through other lenses: rarely do we get a sense of the story told from the perspective of the printers, publishers, and writers of illicit texts themselves. We must necessarily rely on a wide array of composite sources to build up a picture of the whole process. The correspondence of contemporary observers, intelligencers, informers, and diplomats provides an important source of information, both on the timing of events, the public reception of texts, and (on occasion) the specifics of the production. We can also use the internal evidence of the pamphlets themselves. Many of the illicit pamphlets we will discuss developed narratives concerning their provenance, or addressed messages directly from the printer and publisher to the reader; whether they were always genuine or in fact deliberatively deceptive, they nonetheless add another contextual layer. Later pamphlet histories of the period, like William Prynne's *Canterburies Doome,* also provide valuable intelligence, although we must be aware that these texts operated in their own particular contexts, with their own particular axes to grind. The records of the State Papers and the court of High Commission provide the clearest insights into the mechanics of production: as we shall see in Chapter Seven, in the 1630s the authorities undertook a very similar project to our own in attempting to gain a

[43] Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers,* p.19.

clearer sense of the contours of illicit printing, painstakingly probing the processes and networks involved through a series of investigations and interrogations. In some instances, however, illicit print campaigns were entirely successful in evading detection, leaving little archival traces behind. In those cases, we will draw upon the bibliographical technique of typographical analysis to supplement archival sources: in effect, to turn the text itself into a witness for our investigation. As we shall demonstrate in Chapter Four, analysis of printing methods and damaged type, though not without its difficulties, can be used as an invaluable source of evidence in reconstructing the processes behind the production of illicit texts, just as it was used by contemporary authorities.[44]

The reconstruction process is, therefore, a complex and challenging endeavour, but it is nonetheless important that we try because illicit print was so intimately connected to the developments between publics and politics that we have already outlined, and because understanding the networks which produced them are essential in analysing those broader relationships. Perhaps more so than any other form of media, illicit texts appealed to and engaged with *publics*: the Habermasian ideal of a rational public space, or at least an incipient version of that ideal, was precisely what Elizabeth and her advisors had deemed so seditious in Stubbes's book. By examining a form of politics which operated at the very margins of legitimate political action, and sometimes well beyond it, we can gain a much deeper understanding of the shifting relationships between publics and politics in early modern England.

This thesis, therefore, explores the role of illicit print in early modern England with the *who* and the *how* placed at the forefront. In one sense then, it asks some basic practical questions which, thus far, have few clear answers. *Who* printed and published illicit texts in early modern England? *How* were they printed and on what scale? What methods and networks were used to distribute these pamphlets and, if possible, can we gain a picture of who read them? Were printers, publishers, and writers

[44] These bibliographical techniques have been developed and applied to historical research by a number of scholars working, to a greater or lesser extent, at the intersections between history and bibliography. For the methodology and examples of this approach in action, see: G.Tanselle, *Bibliographical Analysis* (Cambridge, 2009); A.Weiss, 'Bibliographical Methods for Identifying Unknown Printers in Elizabethan/Jacobean Books'**,** *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol.44, (1991*)*, pp.184-228; D.Adams, 'The Secret Printing and Publishing Career of Richard Overton, the Leveller, 1644-46', *The Library*, Vol.11, Issue 1, (2010), pp.3-88; D.Como, 'Secret Printing, the Crisis of 1640, and the Origins of Civil War Radicalism', *Past and Present*, No.196, (2007), pp.37-82; M.Bland, '"Invisible Dangers": Censorship and the Subversion of Authority in Early Modern England'**,** *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* Vol. 90, No. 2, (1996), pp. 151-193.

operating from the marginal fringe or did they have connections to those working within the political realm traditionally conceived? Did the personnel, methods, and tactics remain constant, or did they develop in sophistication over time? Is there, in short, any basis for conceiving of an English print *underground?* And if so, how did this underground interact with the legitimate political world?

Secondly, this thesis explores the broader ramifications and implications of the uses of illicit print upon the performance of politics and the relationships between publics and politics. How did illicit text interact with other forms of media? How did they invoke and appeal to publics? How did printers, publishers, and writers justify their illicit actions in doing so? And, perhaps just as crucially, how did governments, politicians, and other readers react to, and interpret, their actions? Did illicit print become, or was it becoming, a legitimate aspect of politics? And what impact did illicit texts have upon publics, the performance of public politics, and the approaches of the state towards the print trade?

It is not a comprehensive investigation. 'Illicit' is the preferred term here because it encompasses the range of terms used by contemporaries – 'lewd', 'libellous', 'scandalous' etc. – and because it focuses specifically upon texts which embodied the central characteristic of sedition which we have already outlined: a challenge to authority, one which specifically threatens the state's discursive hegemony over the highest matters of church and state. It does not, therefore, address basic illegality within the print trade: pirating, breaches of copyright, 'disorderly printing', or the various other infringements found in the court books of the Stationers' Company. Nor does it address Catholic texts, whose printing practises and aims, though by nature seditious and treasonous, were decidedly different and merit a study of their own.

Nonetheless, it does aim to provide coherence and structure to Lake's 'episodic instantiations' in which illicit print entered upon the public political stage in early modern England. The thesis is structured in three parts, which broadly mirror the development of illicit printing in England: Part One focuses on the period 1588 to 1610; Part Two concentrates on 1618 to 1624; Part Three explores the role of illicit printing in Caroline England between 1624 to 1637 (and beyond). Within that structure, it will explore five specific 'episodes' of illicit printing between 1588 and 1637 to allow for a comparative analysis of the role of illicit print over time, but also to stress the continuity in terms of both personnel, tactics, and the underlying impulses which connected them: to show that illicit texts were not necessarily as disconnected and discrete as they may first appear. Chapter One begins with an analysis of the "Martin Marprelate" tracts, whose aims, methods, and impact were deeply influential in shaping subsequent illicit texts and the dynamics of the debates they aroused. Chapter Two focuses upon the

illicit print campaign which coalesced around debates about the forms and structure of the Church of England at the accession of James I. Chapter Three explores the flurry of printed propaganda beginning in 1618 which arose in support for the deposed king and queen of Bohemia. Chapter Four follows the expansion of public discussion of Jacobean foreign policy through the pamphlet career of the errant clergyman Thomas Scott: it seeks to reconstruct his personal networks and the processes through which his pamphlets were published. Chapter Five explores Scott's arguments and ideas: the ways in which he shaped public narratives to appeal to publics and developed a coherent justification for his actions. Chapters Six and Seven trace the development of illicit print networks into the 1630s: their interactions with anti-Laudian politics; their involvement in the works of Prynne, Burton, Bastwick and others; and the extensive efforts made by the Laudian authorities to uncover and dismantle them. The conclusion, Chapter Eight, considers the afterlives of illicit print: the immediate and longer-term ramifications of the political uses of early Stuart illicit print in the preceding half-century.

Part One: 1588 - 1610

Chapter One: The Marprelate Controversy

The starting point for this study begins broadly where Lake's examinations of the politics of popularity in the 1570s and 1580s end, with one of the most enigmatic exponents of public politics, Martin Marprelate. This chapter reconstructs the processes through which his pamphlets were produced, examines the ideas which underpinned his conception of the role of illicit texts and illicit writers, and explores the dynamics which emerged in the debate between Martinist and anti-Martinist literature. Chapter Two will then assess the re-emergence of these dynamics in the printed controversies which marked the earliest years of James I's reign. It also introduces us to one of the primary protagonists of our narrative, the illicit printer William Jones, and analyses his role in developing the infrastructure of illicit printing in early Stuart England.

I The Marprelate Production Process

Of all the seditious texts printed in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries, perhaps no others have engendered so much historiographical interest as that of the "Martin Marprelate" tracts, a set of Presbyterian pamphlets published illegally between 1588-1590. 'There is no more fascinating problem in connection with the literary and ecclesiastical history of the reign of Elizabeth, than the question of the authorship of the Marprelate Tracts...He was our first great prose satirist...a writer of marked individual genius.'[1] So was the judgement of William Pierce in 1908. Since then, enthusiasm for Marprelate scholarship has hardly diminished. The disregard for convention and linguistic invention of its eponymous author, Martin, has entranced literary scholars, just as the hunt for his elusive, real-world identity has consumed bibliographers and historians alike. Both for his contemporaries and later scholars, Martin has become the subversive archetype of early modern England.

As we have already seen, Marprelate's recourse to illicit print was by no means unique, nor were the tactics he employed. Why then do the Martin Marprelate tracts attract so much scholarly attention? From a historiographical perspective, at least, the uniqueness of the Marprelate tracts rests upon the preponderance of surviving evidence gathered in the attempts to dismantle the Marprelate press and uncover the identity of its author. This evidence has allowed historians to reconstruct with unprecedented detail the processes of production and distribution of the tracts themselves. Whilst several outstanding works of scholarship have presented compelling accounts of this process, it is worth providing a summary of the process for the purposes of comparison in later chapters.[2]

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[1] W.Pierce, *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts* (London, 1908), p.273.

[2] J.Black, *The Martin Marprelate Tracts* (Cambridge, 2008). Black's study provides the most recent and comprehensive discussion of the production of the Marprelate tracts and will form the basis of our account here:

The story of the Marprelate press begins in East Molesey, just across the river from Hampton Court Palace, in the manor house of Elizabeth Crane, the former husband of Anthony Crane, Elizabeth I's late cofferer, who had recently been re-married to the prominent reforming politician George Carlton.[3] The press, owned by John Penry and acquired from an unnamed Dutchman, was operated by a long-standing printer of illicit nonconformist texts, Robert Waldegrave.[4] Whilst hidden in Crane's manor, Waldegrave printed John Udall's *Demonstration of the Truth*, Penry's *A Defence* and an expanded edition of his *Exhortation*, as well the first Marprelate tract, Martin's *Epistle*, one thousand copies of which were finished in October 1588.

Under pressure from the authorities almost instantly, the press was forced to move in early November. It was dismantled and hidden in the cart of a tenant-farmer of Valentine Knightley, who was paid fifty shillings to transport the press to Fawsley Hall in Northamptonshire, the family home of the powerful puritan Knightley family. There Waldegrave, set-up in a locked room under the pretence of examining the patriarch Richard Knightley's title deeds, printed the next Marprelate tract, the *Epitome*.

By January, 1589, the press was compelled to relocate once again, this time to the house of John Hales, Knightley's nephew, from whence Waldegrave printed one thousand copies of the Marprelate broadside, *Schoolpoints*, and at least one thousand copies of *Hay Any Worke*. Citing oppressive working conditions, and having supposedly consulted a number of puritan divines who condemned the tracts, Waldegrave left the operation. It was not until mid-July that a new printer, John Hodgkins, was found.[5] He promptly hired two young printers, Valentine Simmes and Arthur Thomlin as assistants, offering Simmes £20 and Thomlin £8 per annum, plus food and board, to join in the dangerous business. The press moved once more, from White Friars to Wolston, the home of Roger Wigston, where Hodgkins and his team produced *Theses Martinianiae* and *The Just Censure*.

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see pp.li-lvi. Black's work itself is largely based upon Leland Carlson's *Martin Marprelate Gentleman* (San Marino, 1981), which also provides the most convincing case for Job Throkmorton's authorship of the Marprelate tracts. The other two indispensable works on the Martin Marprelate controversy are W.Pierce, *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts* (London, 1908) and E.Arber, *An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy* (London, 1879) which prints the significant primary source material pertaining to the production history.

[3] See P.Collinson, 'Ecclesiastical Vitriol: Religious Satire in the 1590s and the Invention of Puritanism' in J.Guy (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge, 1995), p.189, for Collinson's inventive case for George Carleton's authorship of the Marprelate tracts. Anthony Crane died in 1583.

[4] The Dutchman in question could possibly have been Richard Schilders, who would later provide materials to another English printer of seditious texts, William Jones, in the 1600s – see Chapter Two.

[5] Hodgkins, or Hoskins, does not appear in the records of the Stationers' Company and 'nothing is known of his connection with the printing trade.' See Mckerrow, *Dictionary*, p.139.

Fearing discovery once more, Hodgkins and his team packed three pairs of type cases, three sorts of letters, ink, and twelve reams of paper into a cart, and made a six-day journey to Warrington, Hodgkin's home, where another secret press was already prepared. Crucially, whilst unloading the cart, a case of type fell out and burst open upon the ground in front of a growing crowd of onlookers. News spread fast and shortly after, agents of Henry Stanley, the Earl of Derby, tracked the press to a rented house in Newton Lane, Manchester, where the press and workmen were discovered in the act of printing the now-lost *More Worke for Cooper*. The final Marprelate tract, *The Protestation*, was defiantly printed shortly after at Wolston, at least initially by the project's co-coordinators John Penry and Job Throkmorton themselves, though afterwards completed by Robert Waldegrave who had delayed his journey into hiding in Scotland to finish the job.

This brief outline provides a crucial insight into the nature of the production of the Marprelate tracts. It was a project orchestrated by two key figures, the minister John Penry and the lay politician Job Throkmorton, who exploited their web of connections to devise a system which drew upon the cooperation and protection of prominent local gentry figures located in significant puritan enclaves, primarily in London and its outskirts, Northamptonshire and Warwickshire. It further required the support of a dedicated printer, Robert Waldegrave, sufficiently experienced in the realm of illegal print to produce works of vendible quality, quickly and with minimal assistance. Ostensibly, therefore, the Marprelate press may appear to have been a relatively small and secretive operation, one which resembled the practises of secret Catholic presses which occasionally sprouted in the homes of sympathetic gentry figures in entrenched Catholic areas, or in the cellars of anonymous London houses.[6]

A willing host and capable printer alone, however, were not enough to facilitate the production of the pamphlets. A further layer of archival evidence provides deeper insights into the dynamics of production and distribution, revealing a wide-reaching and complex chain of suppliers, distributors and facilitators. First, materials were required – paper, ink, and of course the press – in order to produce the tracts. The source of such materials was unknown but, we are told, they 'were allwayes sent down from a Spurrier dwellinge about Pie Corner neere West Smithfield, who sent thither and receyved thinges from thence.'[7] Once printed, the pamphlets were transported to a bookbinder in Northampton, Henry Sharpe, and prepared for sale. From thence, the pamphlets were taken by the 'principall utterer' Humphrey Newman, a cobbler, who transported the bulk of each print run to London, on at least one

[6] For examples of this kind of secret press, see H.Plomer, 'Bishop Bancroft and a Catholic Press', *The Library*, Vol.89, Issue 30, (1907), pp.164-168.
[7] Black, *Marprelate Tracts*, p.lii.

occasion using John Penry's horse.[8] In other instances, Newman transported the books via a more circuitous route, through Banbury and Oxford, possibly using the assistance of relatives and insiders like the Banbury-based "Widow Adams". Once in the outskirts of London, Newman used a taylor from Fish Street, Lawrence Wood, as an intermediary in the transfer of the books. The deposition of Henry Sharpe, the bookbinder, provides a unique insight into how this process worked: 'Lawrence Wood sayth, that Newman told him, that there was a Packe of Leather at the *Sarazins Head* in Friday Street, which Packe indeede was a Packe of Books, that first came from Warwick to Banbrie, and from Banbury to London. And further sayth, that Newman gave him 5 sh: over night to pay for carriage of that Packe, and gave him 6d to pay a Porter to carry it to a howse near the Tilted Yard.'[9] From there, presumably, they found their way into the hands of professional stationers who were either favourable to the Marprelate message or recognized their profitability – or, most likely, both. The authorities considered 'Boyle's shop at the Rose' a site of special interest and sent undercover pursuivants to entrap unsuspecting vendors or supporters. Marprelate himself described Whitgift's instructions to these pursuivants and, whilst the words themselves were fabricated, there is no reason to doubt the methods he describes: 'And let some one or two of you that are unknown go in thither [into the bookshop], and if there be any strangers in the shop, fall in talk with them of Martin, commend him, and especially his son's last libel [*Theses Martinianiae*]...showing, that by great friendship you got one of them, saying also, that you understood a man might there help his friend to some, if he acquainted with Master Boyle, and offr largely for it...if any shall either enter with you unto any speeches against the state, and in defence of these libels: or else, if any can procure you to the sight of the books, to be sure bring them before us.'[10] Such information demonstrates how an interested party might quite easily find a copy of the Marprelate tracts. No doubt Boyle's shop was not alone in this illicit venture. The extremely successful and eminently respectable stationer Thomas Man was also cited as a potential vendor.[11] The use of hawkers like Margaret Lawson, 'the Shrew of Paul's Gate', provided another method of access for the willing buyer.[12]

Alongside this relatively formalized distribution network existed more informal channels of dissemination. Whilst the press was housed at Crane's manor in East Molesey, copies could be obtained

[8] BL, Lansdowne MS.61, Art.22, printed in E.Arber, *An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy* (London, 1879), p.116.
[9] BL, Mr.Baker's copy in Harl.7042, pp.1-11, printed in Arber, *Introductory Sketch*, p.131.
[10] M.Marprelate, *The Just Censure and Reproof of Martin Junior* (July, 1589) [STC 17458], sigs.A3r-A3v.
[11] BL, Harl. 6849, f.159, printed in Arber, *Introductory Sketch*, p.82.
[12] Pierce, *Historical Introduction*, p.156.

at the houses of prominent locals in nearby Kingston-upon-Thames, like the bailiff Mark Collyns.[13] In another instance, Robert Waldegrave's wife, Mary, acquired two-hundred copies of the *Epitome* for private distribution.[14] Elsewhere, we find evidence of more intimate, hand-to-hand transmission of copies. Elizabeth Crane's servant, Nicholas Tomkins, explained in his deposition how he was exposed to several Marprelate tracts:

> he saw the first one in Pinders hand, as he was reading to Evans his [Tomkins'] brother-in-law, in the Examinates own Chamber, which Booke was this Examinates own, and he had it of Master Wigginton, buy payd nothing to him for it. And furder sayth, that his Wyes [wife] tooke it from him this Examinate, and carried it home with her to her Brother Evans. The other he saw in Master Wiggintons hands, whilst he lay at Mistress Cranes House.[15]

In the course of the official investigation, depositions revealed a wider network of informal dissemination which spread across the country. Giles Wigginton, the notorious nonconformist minister, was interrogated and accused of passing copies to fellow ministers Thomas Cartwright, then based in Warwick, and John More, minister of St Andrew's the Apostle in Norwich.[16] Melanchthon Jewel, another minister, was suspected of having distributed the Marprelate tracts and other illicit books in Devonshire and the south-west.[17] Robert Cawdrey, a Northamptonshire minister, was arraigned before the High Commission for, amongst other offences, holding an underground study group in which the Marprelate tracts were read aloud.[18] We can assume that these examples represent a wider phenomenon. Others involved in the Marprelate network included John Bowman and Augustine Maicocke, accused of working for Job Throkmorton: one "Master Pigot" of Coventry who hosted Martinist dinners; Mr Grimston and Richard Holmes who transported materials to Wolston after the Manchester press was discovered and who hid materials in the house of one Mistress More; and one "Gardiner" who warned Throkmorton that Penry's house was to be searched and transported 1600 books to "widow Adams" in Banbury.[19] There were probably many other hands involved.

Underpinning this network of production, distribution, and collaboration was a system of financial incentives. Whilst John Penry himself owned the press and materials, Waldegrave 'had ye

[13] L.Carlson, *Martin Marprelate, Gentleman* (San Marino, 1981), p.32.
[14] Black, *Marprelate Tracts*, p.li.
[15] BL, Harl. 7042, p.13, printed in Arber, *Introductory Sketch*, pp.84-86.
[16] B.Brook, *The Lives of The Puritans* (London, 1813), pp.423-425.
[17] P.Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967), p.409.
[18] Black, *Marprelate Tracts*, p.xxxiii.
[19] Ibid., p.lvi.

Commodity of ye Sale thereof', that is the initial profits made from selling the copies to the distributor Humphrey Newman. Sharpe, the bookbinder and primary informant in the case, also deposed that Waldegrave had 'gotten the thing he had long desired', the printing rights to Cartwright's *Testament* against the Jesuits. After Waldegrave, Sharpe must have received payment for his services in binding the books (how much is unknown), but the retail of the pamphlets themselves was of much greater value. Sharpe received 700 copies of *Hay Any Worke* for stitching and tried to reserve 100 of these to distribute privately, but Humphrey Newman acquired them all at a wholesale price of 6d per copy.[20] The retail price, according to Nicholas Tomkins, was 9d per copy, providing Newman with a comfortable profit margin of around 33 percent. The professional stationers, like Boyle or Man, were likely able to sell on copies for an inflated price, thus securing themselves a financial reward for their involvement in the illicit trade. To add to this, funds were liberally dispensed to others involved. As we have seen Newman, allotted money to his intermediary Lawrence Wood. The printer, John Hodgkins, paid his assistants £28 in total and must have received an even larger salary himself. Transporters like the tenant-farmer who transported the press to Fawsley Hall received 50 shillings.[21]

The Marprelate tracts were clearly lucrative, creating a chain of profit which enticed numerous people to participate in this illegal exercise, irrespective of their own personal opinion of the contents of the illegal cargo. The profitability of illicit texts is often underestimated and it is important to recognize that financial incentives were often strong motivation for entering into illicit printing activities, particularly when adverse conditions and unemployment prevailed in the book trade more widely. The scheme, however, required significant initial capital investment as the amount of funds dispensed to printers, facilitators and handlers suggests, as well as the initial cost of furnishing the press with materials. Financial backing was necessary; whether this came from some of the wealthy gentry already mentioned, or whether it came from invisible patrons elsewhere, it is illustrative of another layer in the network of production which, for lack of any evidence, must remain hidden. And it is offers a necessary balance to our previous point: there were a range of conjoined interests which underpinned illicit pamphlet production, both financial, political, and religious.

The unravelling of the Marprelate production process reveals a fairly complex and organized system, one which required financial backing and in turn provided financial benefits to those involved. It was characterized by a narrow, close-knit production network – as the preservation of the author's

[20] Black, *Marprelate Tracts*, pp.lii-liii.
[21] Ibid.

anonymity would attest – coupled with a broader and wide-ranging network of distribution, reliant on both established and informal chains of dissemination: the production and distribution might best be characterised as sophisticated, though not yet fully professional, and limited within the official print trade to only a few (if that) committed stationers. The over-arching network was born out of the 'tightly organized cellular structure' of the Presbyterian community, but evidently extended beyond that narrow social strata.[22] The Marprelate tracts may be *puritan*, but they were not entirely the product of puritan hands. One aim of the ensuing chapters of this thesis is to chart the changing composition of the networks involved in the production and distribution of illicit texts, and to analyse how the methods outlined in the Marprelate investigation were honed and developed, or changed, in the following fifty years.

II Defining Martinism

If it were not for the abundance of surviving evidence, the Marprelate tracts are on the surface far from unique. For Elizabethan audiences, subversive writings were not unfamiliar. There were always those willing to tread 'the often elusive line between forwardness and frowardness', and those who overstepped the boundaries – as Stubbes found to his cost.[23] Indeed, the internal conflicts of Elizabeth's reign were fought as much on literary terrain as they were in parliament. In the early 1570s, a controversy originally concerning clerical vestments soon spilled into the literary arena with a series of pamphlets illegally printed by the puritan minister-cum-printer, John Stroud.[24] The printed debate, which rumbled on peripatetically for nearly two decades, seemed less and less a process of religious disputation than an exercise in public politics.

It was during these debates that the future Archbishop, John Whitgift, first invoked the spectre of *popularity* as a pejorative term, which he readily turned against his Presbyterian opponents.[25] In his *Answer to the Admonition*, Whitgift not only conflated the popular elements inherent in the Presbyterian

[22] Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* p.107.
[23] P.Collinson, 'Puritans, Men of Business and Elizabethan Parliaments', *Parliamentary History,* Volume 7, Issue 2, (1988), p.194.
[24] For a detailed treatment of this, the "Admonition Controversy", see P.Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?* (London, 1988). For more on John Stroud, see his entry in B.Brook, *The Lives of Puritans,* Vol.I (London, 1813).
[25] Whitgift's sequel to *An Answere to the Admonition,* imaginatively entitled *The Defence of the Aunswere to the Admonition* (London: 1574) [STC 25430], contained seventy-seven reference to "popular", "popularity", or its Latin forms in the text.

platform with a tendency towards popular government, but also with an underlying impulse towards the politics of popularity more broadly.

> For it is manifest that you seek it most ambitiously in your manner, but because you contemn and disdain to be ruled, and to be in subjection. Indeed your meaning is...to rule and not to be ruled, to do what you list in our several cures, without controllment of prince, bishop, or any other. And therefore, pretending equality, most disorderly, you seek dominion.[26]

The logical implication of the popular election of ministers, Whitgift suggested, was the necessary and continual appeal to the appetites of the people. 'If the minister should apply himself to please the people...his greatest study had need to be how to transform himself daily into a new shape. But most certain it is that you study too much to please the people and that is the occasion of so many novelties, whereby they are most commonly delighted.'[27] Whitgift's critique was not purely theological: perhaps the most prominent of the novelties he envisioned was the recourse to print and the habitual practise of publicly-orientated politics. 'For besides ye opprobrious & unsemely teremes you use towards your superiours,' Whitgift concluded, 'your admonition smelleth altogether of popularitie and vayne glory.'[28]

The perceived Presbyterian appeal to popularity had perhaps most dramatic consequences for the orthodox position Whitgift sought to defend. Peter Lake has argued that the polemical battles of the 1570s and 1580s triggered a sort of dialectical reaction which 'produced a version of the establishment in church and state that was far more assertively authoritarian – not merely monarchical but incipiently absolutist – than any of the formal constructions and justification of (Elizabethan) orthodoxy that had preceded it.'[29] Lake's view has been endorsed by Ethan Shagan, who reached similar conclusions in explaining the development of justifications for the oath *ex officio* in reaction to critical pamphlets of the 1590s.[30] In the polemical debates of the 1570s and 1580s, therefore, we can begin to glimpse the outcomes of a chemical reaction resulting from the combination of illicit print and politics: appeals to the public which challenged the state's control over public discourse activated increasingly authoritarian claims to hegemony over it, and vice versa. The result was the formation of two compound elements: the dangerous, *popular* puritan on the one hand, and the over-bearing, power-hungry bishop on the

[26] J.Ayre, *The Works of John Whitgift*, 3 Vols. (Cambridge, 1851-53), Vol.2, p.406. Hereafter shown as Whitgift, *Works*.
[27] Ibid., pp.8-9.
[28] J.Whitgift, *The Defence of the Aunswere to the Admonition* (London, 1574) [STC 25430], p.139.
[29] Lake, '"Invention" of Popularity', p.469.
[30] E.Shagan, 'The English Inquisition: Constitutional Conflict and Ecclesiastical Law in the 1590s', *The Historical Journal*, Vol.47, Issue 3, (2004), pp.541-565.

other. Even if such distinctions only really existed on the printed page, Noah Millstone has recently demonstrated that what was being said was often a more powerful reality than what actually happened.[31]

Digging beneath the surface of accusation and riposte, however, the waters are much murkier. Even as Whitgift wielded the barb of popularity against Presbyterians, elements within the political and religious establishment (Whitgift included) utilised the self-same tactics and methodology to discredit their opponents. The polemical campaigns against Catholic authors such as Thomas Campion in the 1580s borrowed much more extensively from the toolbox of public politics and appealed much more consciously to an imagined public than John Field, Thomas Wilcox, or Thomas Cartwright had done thus far. Even John Stubbes, a condemned exponent of public politics, was enlisted by the Lord Treasurer Lord Burghley in 1587 to write a response to Cardinal Allen's *The English Justice*.[32] The polemical attack by Bishop John Bridges which initially provoked the Marprelate tracts was another instance of public politics, even as it accused its targets of the same crime.

At the same time, Presbyterian polemic denied any desire to invoke the *public*, broadly conceived. Publicity was not a tactic but a necessary emergency measure. In 1585, *A Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalty*, furtively printed on Robert Waldegrave's London press, framed its recourse to print thus:

> Because our desire was, that this our complaint should be communicated to every one of the honorable of parliament, and finding no other waies to perfourme the same we desired that it might be done by way of printing.[33]

Instead of invoking the public at large, the Presbyterians aimed only at a specific and entirely legitimate public: the House of Commons. These claims, however, were inherently disingenuous. The idea of a *public* parliamentary petition was, as their opponents pointed out, a contradiction in terms.

Here, then, we are approaching what Lake identified as 'the central paradox of the public sphere, post-Reformation style.' 'None of the individuals or groups centrally involved in these developments envisioned a situation in which recurrent attempts to mobilize various publics would become normal, still less normative.'[34] Lake's proposition might be further extended or reframed to state that all of the individuals or groups involved denied invoking the politics of the popularity, even

[31] Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, passim.
[32] J.Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion,* Vol.2: Part 2 (Oxford, 1824), p.306.
[33] Anon., *A Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalty* (London, 1585) [STC 7739], sig.A1v.
[34] Lake, 'Publics and Participation', p.848.

as they consciously and increasingly did so; defenders of the episcopal position like Whitgift gave a name, "popularity", and critique to the tactics which he and other clergy had helped to develop and refine, whilst Presbyterian polemicists continued to deny their desire to use public politics even as they became ever more reliant on illicit print as a platform to express their views. The situation in some respects mirrors the discourse identified by Ethan Shagan in the 1600s, in which the increasing use of the language of moderation went hand-in-hand with increasingly extreme action.[35] It is reflective of a curiously early modern capacity for doublespeak, which fails to mask repeated recourse from all sides to increasingly public forms of politics, especially print.

It might, therefore, be easy to view the Marprelate tracts as a natural escalation in this long-running polemical conflict and to interpret Marprelate's interjection upon the public stage as essentially the same dialogue in a higher pitch. This, however, would obscure the most distinctive element of the Marprelate tracts and Marprelate himself: far from denying or rejecting public politics, Marprelate actively and openly embraced it.

That much was clear from the title-page of his first work, the *Epistle*, printed as it was 'Oversea in Europe within two furlongs of a Bounsing Priest.'[36] Rather than present his platform in the supplicatory tone of previous works like the aforementioned *Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalty*, Martin openly subverted the petitioning genre. His *Epistle* opened with a very different supplicatory address 'to the right puissant and terrible Priests, my clergy masters of the Confocation House, whether Fickers General, worshipful Paltripolitans, or any other of the Holy League of Subscription.'[37] And rather than cloak his appeal to wider publics, or to deny it altogether, Martin actively cultivated the idea. The frequent colloquialisms of 'I trow, ka Mas.Doctor' which intersperse the text, together with the creation of an imagined, critical reader in the form of marginal notes, were aimed specifically at transporting ecclesiastical and political debate 'into the discursive realm of a broader range of readers and listeners.'[38] If the Presbyterians could not affect an ecclesiastical disputation in private, then they should force a public disputation in the realm of print, whereby Martin 'would bring truth into light.'[39]

[35] E.Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation* (Cambridge, 2011).
[36] M.Marprelate, *The Epistle* (Molesey, 1589) [STC 17453], title-page.
[37] Marprelate, *Epistle*, p.1.
[38] Ibid., p.16. J.Black, 'Pamphlet Wars: The Marprelate Tracts and "Martinism," 1588-1688.' (University of Toronto, unpublished thesis, 1989), p.93.
[39] M.Marprelate, *Hay Any Work for Cooper* (White Friars, 1589) [STC 17456], p.14.

This prevailing claim to truth was the second fundamental element which aroused the ire of Whitgift and the ecclesiastical and political establishment. Martin's message was not simply confined to the rarefied sphere of ecclesiological debate. As Martin's adversary, Bishop Thomas Cooper identified, Martin was not 'contented to lay down great crimes generally, as some others have done, but with very undecent tearmes, charge some particular bishops with particular faultes.'[40] For Martin, this was simply a matter of 'telling the truth openly...I am plain, I must needs call a spade a spade, a pope a pope.'[41] True to his word, the Marprelate tracts are littered with a litany of crimes by particular bishops supported by detailed and apparently factual evidence. In the *Epistle,* one of Martin's most explosive revelations exposed Bishop John Aylmer for misappropriating stolen goods from some dyers. 'The dyers' names are Baughin, Swan and Price. They dwell at the Old Swan in Thomas Street, I warrant you', Martin proclaimed, 'Martin will be found no liar, he bringeth in nothing without testimony.'[42] It was precisely Martin's 'willingness to name names', Black argues, which 'shattered conventions of decorum that had governed debates about the church since the Elizabethan settlement.'[43]

Martin's truth-claims, however, amounted to much more than a new and shocking style. Underpinning his accusations and exposés was a thorough justification for his actions as Christian and lawful: the actions, in short, of a reforming Protestant and a dutiful commonwealth citizen compelled by the imperative of necessity. The clearest exposition of his position is delineated in *Hay Any Worke*:

> I am not disposed to jest in this serious matter...But my course I know to be ordinary and lawful. I saw the cause of Christ's government, and of the bishops' antichristian dealing, to be hidden. The most part of men could not be gotten to read anything written in the defence of the one and against the other. I bethought me therefore of a way whereby men might be drawn to do both, perceiving the humors of men in these times...to be given to mirth. I took that course. I might lawfully do it. Aye, for jesting is lawful by circumstances, even in the greatest matters. The circumstances of time, place and persons urged me thereunto.

In Martin's conception, Martinist whistle-blowing played an essential role in the common weal.

> My purpose was and is to do good. I know I have done no harm, howsoever some judge Martin to mar all...In that which I have written, I know undoubtedly that I have done the lord and the

[40] T.Cooper, *An Admonition to the People of England* (London, 1589) [STC 5683], pp.36-37.
[41] M.Marprelate, *The Epitome* (Fawsley, 1588) [STC 17454], sig.A2r.
[42] Marprelate, *Epistle*, pp.8-10.
[43] Black, *Marprelate Tracts*, p.xvi.

> state of this kingdom great service. Because I have in some sort discovered the greatest enemies thereof...I affirm them to be the greatest enemies that now our state hath, for if it were not for them, the truth should have more free passage herein, than now it hath.[44]

Martin's justifications, of course, had precedents. In the mid sixteenth-century, the Protestant propagandist William Turner's *Romyshe Vuolfe* defended the use of satire in the service of truth: 'amonge all kyndes of huntyng [i.e satire] me thynke, that is best, whyche as it hath measurable pastyme, so is most profytable for the commonwealth.'[45] Cartwright had likewise conceived that conflict within a commonwealth was, at times, necessary. Peace 'without truth is more execrable than a thousand contentions', he argued.[46] Marprelate was, therefore, blending together a well-established rhetorical concoction; the language of the commonwealth and the language of the saints, as identified by Ethan Shagan, and the language of necessity highlighted by Peter Lake, were fused together to legitimise his recourse to the reading public.

Marprelate also used the well-established rhetorical canon of the 'public man', but his aim in doing so was to turn it in a new and far more radical direction. If we accept Job Throkmorton's authorship of the Marprelate tracts, then Marprelate himself was, as Richard Cust argues, the embodiment of the 'public man'; the political outsider, untarnished by courtly corruption, and guided by the Ciceronian ideal of the *vita activa*, a life dedicated to the benefit of the Commonwealth. These 'simple men of the country', as Throkmorton himself labelled them in 1587, were typically content to limit themselves politically to their local spheres.[47] When Martin Senior criticized Martin Junior for 'meddling in matters too high for thy capacity', Marprelate confronted his readership with the old and the new: in extreme circumstances, was it beneficial for public men like Throkmorton or Marprelate to restrict themselves to their localities, or to intervene in national affairs?[48] The public man's office, in Marprelate's view (and that of his literary scion, Martin Junior), extended from the local to the national, and from the realm of private counsel to public politics. In intermixing established rhetorical strategies with the more subversive tactics of whistle-blowing, prophesying, drama, satire, and colloquialism, Marprelate further re-imagined the legitimate scope of action available to the public man in pursuit of the *vita activa*. Marprelate was, therefore, not so much re-hashing the old as re-inventing it; Marprelate

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[44] Marprelate, *Hay Any Work*, pp.14-15.
[45] W.Turner, *The Huntyng of the Romyshe Vuolfe* (Emden, 1555) [STC 24356], sigs.A1r-A2r.
[46] P.Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?* (London, 1988), p.64.
[47] R.Cust, 'The 'Public Man' in late Tudor and early Stuart England' in Lake, Pincus, *Politics of the Public Sphere*, p.116.
[48] Marprelate, *Just Censure*, sig.B2r.

was imagining a public space in which lies might be exposed and truth promoted, 'bishops' English' to be replaced with plain-speaking, and he invoked new public men like Martin Junior to fill it.[49]

As Patrick Collinson noted, it was not the identity of Marprelate which was important, nor indeed his theological leanings or political objectives, but the *idea* he represented. Marprelate acknowledged this himself. Behind Martin was *Martinism*: 'to be a right Martinist indeed, is to be neither Brownist, Cooperist, Lambethist, schismatic, papist, atheist, traitor, nor yet lord bishop: but one that is at defiance with all men, whether he be French, Dutch, Spanish, catercap, pope, or popeling, so far forth as he is an enemy to God and her Majesty.'[50] Where Martin led, others would follow. He had already created one in his "son" Martin Junior: 'thou art Tom Tell-Troth, even like thy father, and that thou canst not abide to speak unto thine uncle Cantur. by circumlocutions and paraphrases; but simply and plainly thou breakest thy mind unto him.'[51] But he envisioned more Martins, all of whom would be capable of weaponizing print as Marprelate had done in order to expose the truth. 'I hope in time', he wrote, 'they shall be as worthy Martins as their father is, every one of them able to mar a prelate.'[52] 'I still heartily rejoice to think that all the honestest and best affected subjects her Majesty hath, will one day become Martinists.'[53] Martin's choice of metaphor here is not simply a biological one. Anonymous books were commonly referred to as bastards and their authors, should they be discovered, were their fathers. Here, therefore, Martin is expressing his hope of the continued weaponization of print in the future – a generation of writers who might be influenced by his work and continue his project. 'I know that you will not have your dealings so known unto the world, as I and my sons will blaze them...For the day that you hang Martin, assure yourselves, there will twenty Martins spring in my place.'[54] Whilst Martin could be silenced, *Martinism* could not.[55]

Before defining exactly what Martinism *was*, it is necessary to explain what it was not. Although the impetus behind the Marprelate pamphlets was to defend *puritan* ministers from the perceived assaults of their episcopal antagonists, and to promote the Presbyterian platform to a widely-conceived public, the pamphlets were not simply an extension of the Presbyterian movement. Martin himself was quick to point out that Presbyterian ministers had disavowed his works. 'The puritans are

[49] Ibid., sig.C4r.
[50] M.Marprelate, *The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat* (Wolston, 1589) [STC 17459], p.25.
[51] Marprelate, *Just Censure*, sig.B3r.
[52] Marprelate, *Epistle*, p.40.
[53] Marprelate, *Protestatyon*, p.25.
[54] Marprelate, *Hay Any Work*, p.20.
[55] Marprelate predicted that '...the last year of *Martinism*, that is, of descrying and displaying of lord bishops, shall not be till full two years after the last year of *Lambethism...' The Protestatyon*, p.7.

angry with me, I mean the puritan preachers. And why?' Marprelate asked, 'Because I am too open. Because I jest...I did think that Martin should not have been blamed of the puritans, for telling the truth openly.'[56] Marprelate drew a clear distinction between his own approach and the traditional polemical strategies of his predecessors. Indeed, when Richard Overton, Jeremy Black's anointed successor to the Martinist throne, conjured Martin's ghost, it was at least in part to haunt the Presbyterian faction within parliament.[57] 'For you see how I am favored of all estates (the puritans only excepted). I have been entertained at Court; every man talks of my worship'; Marprelate recognized that it was not the theological thrust of his arguments which gave him such potency but the invocation of a wider public to adjudicate in the affairs of the Commonwealth, and the style in which he appealed to them.[58]

Martinism then might most appropriately be viewed, like puritanism, as a 'political mode.'[59] Puritanism, however, as Peter Lake has demonstrated, was a pejorative; Martinism was its inverse. Rather than deny popularity, Martinism embraced it. Rather than limiting its appeal to a narrow public, Martinism invoked publics in the broadest possible terms. Rather than abiding by rules of decorum and permissibility, Martinism overturned them, and pushed far beyond previously accepted bounds. Martinism was a specific brand of public politics, explicitly though not exclusively linked to the medium of illicit print, and inherently subversive and provocative in its aims. By Marprelate's own definition, it was 'the descrying and displaying of lord bishops', rather than any positive, concrete agenda, that was the key; and, of course *lord bishops* might be interpreted flexibly in different times and different contexts. To achieve its aims, thus, it sought to use illicit print to create public spaces in which transgressive voices could challenge authority for the good of the commonweal; and it re-invented and re-defined the role of the 'public man', the future Martins, who might enter into those spaces.

To claim Martinism was solely a product of classical ideals of Commonwealth virtue, and to deny it any religious dimension altogether, would be to distort fundamental elements within it. For Marprelate was inescapably part of a much larger unfolding debate, one in which the entire history of the post-Reformation church was contested, and he recognized the role of Martinism within it. As Polly Ha has demonstrated, in the aftermath of Marprelate, 'conformist divines exploited the press to write

[56] Marprelate, *Epitome*, sig.A2r.
[57] Black, *Marprelate Tracts*, p.lxxxvii.
[58] Marprelate, *Epitome*, sig.A2r.
[59] Lake, '"Invention of Popularity"', p.475.

the official history of the puritan rebellion.'[60] In 1593, with the Marprelate press suppressed, Richard Bancroft's *Daungerous Positions* explained that 'it is more than high time, that her Majesty's faithful Subjects should learn to know these Practices, and withal to beware of such Sectaries, as (under their many, both godly and goodly Pretences) do thus seditiously Endeavour to disturb the land.'[61] He proceeded to write, or rewrite, a recent church history which presented the newly-invented Puritan as the central antagonist in the reformation narrative. In this sense, the Marprelate debates were about the *truth*, or rather, competing versions of it. When Marprelate claimed that the bishops 'do suppress the truth, and to keep men in ignorance', he did not only mean the doctrinal and structural purity of the Presbyterian platform, but the underlying impulse of the English reformation.[62] Whilst the conformists attempted to write the official history of the church, Marprelate's ultimate function was to act as its 'counter-historian.'[63] Far from being the antagonist in this history, Martin set himself up as the successor of a tradition of reforming opposition which stretched back into the pre-reformation. As he said himself, 'Martin in his writings is not so much an enemy unto the bishops, as a defender of the doctrine of our church', a continuation of the efforts of 'Master Tyndale, Master Frith, Master Barnes, Master Hooper, Master Knox, Master Lambert.'[64] In 1592, the Marprelate author Job Throkmorton extended this genealogy still further, linking Martin to *Piers Plowman*.[65] In assuming the role of spiritual successor to the paragons of English Protestantism, Marprelate built on the practises of John Foxe and more recently John Field in documenting the persecution of advocates of the truth. The Marprelate tracts are littered with precise examples and dramatized accounts of persecution, many of which are drawn directly from Field's *Register*.[66] His aim was to create a new generation of martyrs who would continue to challenge perceived threats to the spiritual purity of the English Reformation.

To be a Martinist therefore was also to be a prophet: to warn the people, be they peasant or king, of the sins and dangers of at work in the world. Whitgift had much earlier identified puritans as the tail rather than the head of Antichrist, 'for the tail of the beast . . . be false prophets', but Martin aimed to invert that assertion.[67] The true prophet, in Martin's conception, was necessarily an outsider

[60] P.Ha, *English Presbyterianism, 1590-1640* (Stanford, 2011), p.5.
[61] R.Bancroft, *Daungerous Positions and Proceedings* (London, 1593) [STC 1344], p.182.
[62] Marprelate, *Epistle*, p.34.
[63] R.Kendall, *The Drama of Dissent* (Chapel Hill, 1986), p.174.
[64] M.Marprelate, *Theses Martinianae* (Wolston, 1589) [STC 17457], sig.C4v.
[65] J.Throkmorton, *A Petition directed to her most excellent Majestie* (Middelburg, 1592) [STC 1521].
[66] Part of the register was itself printing on Richard Schilders' Middelburg press. See Anon., *A Parte of a Register* (Middelburg, 1593) [STC 10400].
[67] Whitgift, *Works*, Vol.3, p.495.

who was free to speak the truth. And the most effective method for the early modern prophet to spread the word was through print.

III Martinism, Anti-Martinism, and the Dynamics of Public Debate

For all the vehemence of Martin's rhetoric, it might be tempting to characterise the Marprelate tracts as a serious abortive mis-step. The pamphlet caused the levers of an at-best inefficient censorship system to be pulled with a rapidity perhaps never seen before. Within a month of Martin's *Epistle,* at least nine suspects had been interrogated, instructions had been issued to every cathedral chapter in England, alerts sent to local officials nationwide, pursuivants given extraordinary powers to search houses and detain suspects, and a limited espionage system established to uncover the trafficking of illicit texts.[68] The press was in a constant state of tactical retreat and was ultimately discovered within little over a year. All the central members in the press's network, with the exception of Marprelate himself, were identified and imprisoned; and, under the pretext of uncovering the Marprelate network, 'the quest for Martin Marprelate merged into a hunt for further traces of the clandestine presbyterian movement' as a whole.[69] If we are to believe Patrick Collinson, in the aftermath of the Marprelate tracts, the Presbyterian movement as a viable political force was extinguished.[70] It would, however, be misleading to interpret the Marprelate pamphlets as a *failure*, especially in terms of the broader aims of Martinism we have already outlined.

For Marprelate's flame, however briefly it burned, had an immense impact upon contemporary society, triggering an immediate and ongoing debate which forced contemporaries to confront the boundaries of permissibility which curbed and governed public discourse. For those in the inner circle of Elizabethan government, the significance of Marprelate and the implications inherent within the idea of *Martinism* were immediately apparent. Almost as soon as the *Epistle* was published, Lord Burghley wrote to Archbishop Whitgift to express Elizabeth's concerns: 'hir Majesty conceaveth of these kynd of seditious attempted, if they sho[u]ld be suffered, wo[u]ld redound both to ye dishonour of God, to ye disturbance of ye peace of ye church, and daungerous example to encourage privat[e] men in this covert manner to subvert all other kyndes of Government under hir Maiesties charg[e], both in ye church and

[68] Black, *Marprelate Tracts,* p.lviii. Carlson, *Martin Marprelate,* p.58.
[69] Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* p.404.
[70] Polly Ha has been foremost in arguing for the persistence of Presbyterianism as a political and ecclesiological force. See Ha, *English Presbyterianism.*

commem weale.'[71] In other words, the queen and her advisers feared that Marprelate might achieve precisely what he promised, which was to breed a new generation of men who would transpose the private debates about church and state onto the public stage: to challenge the constraints placed upon public discourse, to threaten the sanctity of the *arcana imperii*, and thereby to encroach upon the state's unchallenged authority in that sphere. The royal proclamation published shortly after Burghley's letter highlighted exactly this threat: the Marprelate tracts were attacked not only because they had been written 'in rayling sorte...beyond the boundes of all good humanitie', but because they had been written 'to perswade', to invite publics into the political process 'to the overthrowe of her Highnesse lawfull Prerogative.'[72] Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, echoed the official denunciation. 'A lamentable state of time it is,' he wrote, 'wherin such intemperat boldenes is permitted without any bridle at all.'[73] Cooper deplored that

> we should see in mens hands and bosomes, commonly slaunderous pamphlets fresh from the presse, against the best of the Church of England, and that we should heare at every table, and in sermons and lectures, at private conventicles, the voyces of many not giving prayse to God, but scoffing, mocking, rayling, and depraving the lives and doings of bishoppes, and other of the ministerie, contemptuously defacing the state of the government of this church.[74]

The Martinist tendency to talk, to question and criticize, the *descrying and displaying,* was not to be tolerated.

Although the official denunciation of the Marprelate pamphlets as 'beyond the boundes of all good humanitie' was at least initially clearly defined, the strategy devised by Whitgift and Bancroft, which was to 'have them aunswered after theyr owne vayne in writinge', undermined the clarity of their position.[75] The registers of the Stationers' Company show that Bancroft personally authorized (and no doubt orchestrated) a series of anti-Martinist tracts, libels, and poems to combat Marprelate in print; on the stage, anti-Martinist jigs mocked Marprelate and his imagined readers whilst from the pulpit, Bancroft himself led the denunciations. As Patrick Collinson has convincingly demonstrated, the legal proceedings against the ministers supposedly connected to the Marprelate press were intended as

[71] BL, Lansdowne. MS. 103, fol.102, printed in Arber, *Introductory Sketch*, pp.107-108.
[72] BM, Grenville, No.6463, fol.273, printed in Arber, *Introductory Sketch*, pp.109-111.
[73] Cooper, *Admonition*, p.2.
[74] Ibid., pp.33-34.
[75] J.Strype, *The Life and Acts of John Whitgift,* Vol.II (Oxford, 1822), p.387.

performative show trials rather than executions of justice.[76] And, at the opening of the seventh Elizabethan parliament, Lord Chancellor Hatton began with a ringing denunciation of zealots who 'do greatly deprave the present estate and reformation of religion, so hardly attained to, and with such [intemperate Martinists] her danger continued and preserved; whereby her loving subjects are greatly disquieted, her enemies are encouraged, religion is slandered, piety is hindered, schisms are maintained, and the peace of the Church is altogether rent in sunder and violated.'[77] The anti-Martinist operation was an exercise in public politics. Rather than reject the Martinist style, the flow of anti-Martinist pamphlets, poems, and plays which erupted in 1589 agreed to play by Martin's rules.[78]

Since reason (Martin) cannot stay thy pen,

We'il see what rime will do: have at thee then.[79]

So *A Whip for an Ape* explained.

Pasquill, the literary anti-Martin, went further, exhorting Martin to continue writing so that he might be further refuted. 'Pasquill hath taken up your glove,' he taunted, 'and desires you to charge your weapon at him like a man. If you play with him, as your father and your selfe have doone with the bishops heretofore, if you barke like a curre and bite behind, he will have a tricke with his heele to strike out your teeth.'[80] In so doing, Pasquill's anonymous creator threatened to give credence to and prolong the very public disputation Marprelate so eagerly sought. And, whilst Whitgift and Bancroft may have felt that they had thoroughly won the argument, if only by the sheer weight of their multimedia response, their approach was counterintuitive. Even as they claimed on the one hand that Martinism transgressed far beyond the bounds of permissibility, their implicit and public acceptance of his methods blurred the very boundaries they were trying to establish.

More thoughtful contemporaries were fully aware of these implications. Francis Bacon's *Advertisements*, a manuscript written in the aftermath of the Marprelate debates (although not published until 1657), argued that 'both sorts', sectaries and conformists, 'have been seduced' by the Martinist style. His immediate concern was that to respond to seditious writings was, inevitably, to give credence to them. 'And, indeed, we see it ever falleth out, that the forbidden writing is always thought to be

[76] Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement,* pp.405-430.
[77] Carlson, *Martin Marprelate*, p.58.
[78] For a detailed exploration of anti-Martinist literature, see Carlson, *Martin Marprelate*, pp.53-74.
[79] Anon., *A Whip for an Ape* (London, 1589) [STC 17464], sig.A2r.
[80] T.Nash, *A Countercuffe given to Martin Junior* (London, 1589) [STC 19456], sig.A2v.

certain sparks of a truth that fly up into the faces of those that seek to choke it and treat it out: whereas a book authorized is thought to be but *Temporis voces*, "the language of the time."' Whilst Bacon acknowledged that 'these pamphlets [the Marprelate tracts]' were 'as meet to be suppressed as the other[s]', he questioned the methods by which the suppression had been achieved. 'First of all,' he warned, 'it is more than time that there were an end and surseance made of this immodest and deformed manner of writing lately entertained, whereby matter of Religion is handled in the style of the stage.' 'To turn Religion into a Comedy or Satire;' Bacon continued, 'to search and rip up wounds with a laughing countenance, to intermix Scripture and scurrility, sometimes in one sentence: a thing far from the devout reverance of a Christian, and scant beseeming the honest regard of a sober man.' This was as much a criticism of the anti-Martinists as it was of Martin himself. Underpinning Bacon's critique was a fear that, rather than restrict public discourse, rather than limit the bounds of permissibility, the printed anti-Martinist response would perpetuate the discussion on the public stage and encourage public engagement with it. By inviting publics to participate, they rendered them adjudicators in the affairs of state. As Bacon recognized, this was a 'point of great inconvenience and peril...to entitle the people to hear the Controversies, and all kinds of doctrine...the people is no meet arbitrator.' Instead, Bacon envisioned a return to the traditional conventions of civil and ecclesiological debate, 'the quiet modest and private assemblies and conferences of the learned...The Press and Pulpit would be freed and discharged of these conditions. Neither promotion on the one side, nor glory and heat on the other side ought to continue these challenges and cartels at the Cross and other places.'[81]

Others shared Bacon's anxieties. Gabriel Harvey, rather hypocritically involved in a long-running pamphlet war of his own, criticized the use of hack writers like Thomas Nashe, 'a professed iester, a Hick-scorner, a scoff-maister, a playmunger, an Interluder.' In allowing Nashe to write as if '*Cum Privilegio perennitatis'* the episcopal authorities risked dissolving the boundaries they sought to maintain. 'Had it not bene a better course,' Harvey asked, 'to have followed Aristotles doctrine: and to have confuted levity with gravity, vanity with discretion, rashnes with advise, madnesse with sobriety, fier with water, ridiculous Martin with reverend Cooper? Especially in Ecclesiasticall causes...Church-matters [now] cannot bee discussed without rancke scurrility, and as it were a Synode of Diapason fooles.'[82] It was clear, therefore, that the Marprelate pamphlets presented authorities with a new and complex problem. The contested methods with which Whitgift, Bancroft, and their acolytes sought to compete and confute Martin, and the anxieties and tensions which their methods provoked, 'reveals a

[81] F.Bacon, *Resuscitatio* (London, 1657) [Wing B319], pp.162-179.
[82] G.Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation* (London, 1593) [STC 12903], pp.74-75.

political world still negotiating the uses and implications of print culture.'[83] The potential reach of printed seditious texts, as the Marprelate example demonstrates, meant that to expunge their message altogether was far beyond the capacity of the state; the strategies devise to compete and contest them, on the other hand, raised worrying implications of their own.

Indeed, even though the Marprelate press was successfully suppressed and Martinist arguments were (at least, partially) successfully contested in print, the Marprelate pamphlets were widely dispersed and extensively read across the social strata.[84] As Patrick Collinson argued, by incorporating the common cultural language of popular libel and ballad in printed form, and by presenting it in the theatrical forms of the popular stage, the Marprelate tracts offered an eminently readable access-point to the highest dramas of church and state.[85] Almost immediately, Martin become a cultural reference point, and an archetype in private and public discourse which could be used both positively and negatively. In November 1588, for example, Francis Thynn wrote a letter to Lord Burghley professing his frustration at having failed to secure a position he wanted. He began to complain about the specific individual involved in his non-selection, but cut himself short: 'I will not Anatomyze every perticular default of everye manne and matter in that office. Lest I might be counted one of thee foolishe sonnes of Martine Mareprelate.'[86] Elsewhere, Thomas Bastard's 1591 verse libel, *Admonition to the City of Oxford,* which reflected 'upon all Persons of note in Oxon that were guilty of amorous exploits, or that mixed themselves with other Mens Wives, or with wanton Huswives in *Oxon*', became known as 'Marprelate's Basterdine.'[87] In the same year, a pamphlet attacking Pope Sixtus's defence of the assassination of the French king, Henry III, a subject which bore absolutely no relation to Marprelate whatsoever, chose as its title *Martin e Mar-Sixtus.* The author explained that 'if your Worship shall demaund why I published this pamphlet under the name of Martine, I must tell you, because I purpose for once to play the Martine.'[88] Martin, or rather *Martinism*, had become a signifier for two divergent impulses which the Marprelate tracts themselves had raised to the fore of the public imagination**:** on the one hand, Martinism represented a fundamental challenge to authority by transgressing the bounds

[83] Black, *Marprelate Tracts*, p.lvii.
[84] There are numerous indications that the Marprelate tracts were widely read. See, for example: G.Paule, *The Life of the most reverend and religious prelate John Whitgift, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1612) [STC 19484], p.40, T.Fuller, *The Church-History of Britain,* Vol.IX (London, 1655) [Wing F2443], p.99. See also the evidence of Marprelate himself: *Epitome,* sig.A2r, and *Hay Any Work,* sig.A2r.
[85] For an extended analysis of Marprelate on stage, see Collinson, 'Ecclesiastical Vitriol'.
[86] SP 12/218/35.
[87] Black, *Marprelate Tracts*, p.lxxvii.
[88] R.W, *Martine Mar-Sixtus* (London, 1591) [STC 24913], sig.A4v.

of permissibility and inviting publics to participate in the political process; and, on the other the, a chain of thought which considered this mode of politics as a necessary and justifiable tactic. It is perhaps no surprise then that satire, a genre which inherently seeks to push and probe the boundaries of permissibility, exploded in popularity on both the printed and theatrical stage in the 1590s.[89]

By its very existence, Martin had altered the landscape of permissible debate, even if at this stage the weight of public opinion had yet to adjust to these new parameters. But, if Marprelate's self-defined *Martinism* represents the essence of the printed public politics our study aims to explore, then the reactions and debates which the Marprelate tracts generated provide a pivotal early window into perceptions of public politics in late Elizabethan England. On the one hand, we have Martin himself, whose open embrace of publicity and publics made him unique; on the other, we have Marprelate's Presbyterian predecessors, and the authorities, both of whom increasingly came to adopt public politics even as they decried it publicly. In the middle were those figures like Bacon, who were uncomfortable with the implications inherent in the nature of political performance exhibited during the Marprelate controversy. Whether future generations would take up Martin's call, whether authorities would change their responses to Martinism, and whether publics would come to view it as a legitimate political act, will be a central focus of the ensuing chapters.

IV The Next Martin

Historians have long recognized the roots, impact, and legacy of the Marprelate tracts. The literary scholar Ritchie Kendall has placed Marprelate firmly within a long-standing tradition of nonconformist writing, stretching back from the Lollards to Edwardian gospellers through to the Civil Wars.[90] Looking forward, Jeremy Black has likewise cast Marprelate as pivotal in the creation or rather perpetuation of 'a tradition of oppositional writing.'[91] Here, however, the historiographical problem begins. Ritchie Kendall sees Martin's successor emerging nearly sixty years later in the form of John Milton; in Black's conception, the next "Martin" is Milton's contemporary, Richard Overton.[92] What happened, then, in the interim? For Jeremy Black, the answer, in keeping with the revisionist historical narrative, is essentially nothing. 'Martin's experiments...were certainly not followed up in England to

[89] See Collinson, 'Ecclesiastical Vitriol'.
[90] Kendall, *Drama of Dissent.*
[91] Black, *Marprelate Tracts*, p.xvii.
[92] Kendall, *Drama of Dissent,* p.214.

any great extent until the civil war.'[93] Perhaps over-simplifying the thorny and often misunderstood issue of censorship, elsewhere Black argues that 'censorship of printed texts in England certainly discourage any overt revivals of Martinist oppositional strategies.' Citing an incident in which some Northamptonshire parishioners were discovered reading Marprelate texts in the 1630s, Black argues that they were doing so 'because little else had appeared in print that fulfilled the same purpose.'[94] In essence, it would appear that Martinism skipped a generation.

This thesis will show instead how the elements and strategies of Martinism, as defined in this chapter, were revived and reimagined by a succession of writers, from William Bradshaw and Henry Jacob to Thomas Scott, William Prynne, and Henry Burton, to address and appeal to a variety of publics at key moments of actual or perceived crisis. It will explore how Martinism and anti-Martinism, two sides of the same polemical coin, continued to re-emerge and contest public spaces through print, refining public politics as they did so; in the process, these two dialectical forces helped to redefine the contours of the post-Reformation public sphere(s) and the contemporary perception of it. Finally, it will demonstrate how a cadre of printers and publishers, from William Jones to Michael Sparke, developed a robust and professional underground infrastructure of illicit printing which underpinned and facilitated the polemical conflict of the period, and how these individuals came to view themselves and their trade as successor prophets to Martin Marprelate and his forebears. The sons of Martin are, therefore, the subject of this study.

[93] Black, 'Pamphlet Wars', pp.214-215.
[94] Black, *Marprelate Tracts*, p.lxxxiv, cx, fn 259.

Chapter Two

William Jones and the Ceremonial Controversy, 1604-1610

I A Printer in Parliament

On May 15 1604, William Jones, a young printer and freeman of the Stationers' Company, accosted Sir Robert Phelips, the Speaker of the House of Commons, as he made his way into parliament and presented him with two documents.[1] The Speaker took the documents, read them and, shortly after, 'publisheth to the House, that he had a Bill, and Articles, delivered him by one Wm.Jones, a printer – One Arbury, a Minister, drew it.'[2] The Speaker 'red only the title but would not reade the bill' and, instead, committed Jones 'to the Serjeant, with Commandment, that none shall confer with him.'[3]

The Speaker's reticence was well-founded. The documents were explosive. The first, written by the Minister Anthony Earbury, was entitled 'An Act for Declaration of Certayne Practises of ye B. of London [Bishop Bancroft] to be treason.' It charged that Bancroft 'hath heretofore and lately entertained, and (as is very probable) complotted w[i]th seminaries and priests.' In particular, he had 'consulted w[i]th the traytor Watson, lately executed for high treasonable practises against your Ma[jes]ties most royall person, and...hath p[ro]cured, furthered and animated the said Watson to write, and himself hath caused to be published in print, certen trayterous books, in w[hi]ch...the due execution of Justice in this realme, is openly and maliciously traduced and slaundered, the dignitie of the crowne of England purposely vilified and disgraced' and 'the subjects of this realm incited and p[ro]voked, to rebell against their sov[er]aigne.' The Bill further 'conjectured, that the said B[ishop] hath had intelligence and given way, and sent more secretly into the countrey to print and publish other bookes, containing matters of high treason, and hath concealed certen trayterous p[er]sons and other bookes, tending to the subverting of some of your Ma[jesties] Realms and dominions, when the said p[er]sons and bookes have bin taken and brought unto him.' The Bill warned that, if such practises were not severely punished, it 'may prove a p[re]sident of vnkown daunger to future tymes.' Bancroft, it concluded, should be tried for high treason.

The second document was no less concerning than the first. 'The Information of Will[ia]m Jones, Printer, against the B. of London' contained detailed evidence of the names, places and processes by which the Bishop of London had encouraged and overseen the production of Catholic tracts through a series of secret presses (one was based in Ely House in Staffordshire, another in the Clink prison

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[1] R.McKerrow (ed.), *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of foreign printers of English Books, 1557-1640* (London, 1910), pp.160-161.
[2] *Journal of the House of Commons:* Volume 1, 1547-1629 (London, 1802), pp. 208-210. Hereafter: *JHC,* Vol.I.
[3] Northants. RO, Montagu MS 30, 'Sir Edward Mountagu's Diary of the 1604 Session', printed in C.Kyle (ed.), *Parliament, Politics and Elections, 1604-1648* (Cambridge, 2001), p.79. *JHC,* Vol.I, pp.208-210.

itself), and had shielded a number of papists from imprisonment.[4] The Information tied Bancroft directly to papist agents including William Watson, who had recently been executed for his leading role in the Bye Plot.[5] And it placed him at the head of an illicit printing operation which endangered both the Crown and its subjects.

Worst still, the specificity and detail of the information Jones had provided added flesh to rumours which had been circulating for months: rumours which historians have since demonstrated to be true.[6] The whistle-blower's reward for this act of public service was to spend the following two months in incarceration, but Jones's remarkable intrusion upon the political stage was only the beginning of his involvement in a more prolonged and dramatic episode.

For, following his release, Jones did not subside into quietude. Instead, he went abroad to the Netherlands, established a secret press, and produced a series of pamphlets which would unleash a full-scale polemical assault upon the ceremonial forms and structures of the Church of England, and in particular its bishops. After the press's eventual suppression in 1609, its existence slipped from historical memory and would have remained forgotten were it not for Mark Curtis's 1964 article, which used typographical analysis to resurrect Jones's press and attribute several important texts to it.[7] Its wider significance, however, has been overlooked in subsequent historical accounts of early Jacobean history. Even Curtis, who correctly recognized that Jones's secret press represented a 'campaign of propaganda' aiming 'to influence national policy', failed to grasp the implications of Jones's initial detainment, the scope and sophistication of the broader campaign to which his press was intimately connected, and the extent of the state's response to it.

This chapter will rehabilitate the story of Jones's secret press within the context of the political and religious controversies which marked James I's accession to the English throne. It will reconstruct the networks which connected Jones to a web of nonconformist ministers, Dutch printers, lawyers, and

[4] Both documents have been printed in full in H.Plomer, 'Bishop Bancroft and a Catholic Press', *The Library,* Vol.8, Issue 30, (1907), pp.172-176.
[5] The Bye Plot was a conspiracy to kidnap the newly-crowned King James. Watson was executed in late November, 1603.
[6] Dr John Rainolds reportedly complained to James I about Bancroft's dealings with Catholic polemicists at Hampton Court and was rebuked by the king, who stated that Bancroft was acting with the assent of the Crown. Of course, this dialogue was not included in the official account of the conference. See Collinson, *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2013), p.192. For two articles proving the veracity of the accusations against Bancroft, and implicating Cecil and James, see H.Plomer, 'Bishop Bancroft', pp.164-176, and G.Jenkins, 'The Archpriest Controversy and the Printers, 1601-1603', *The Library,* Vol.2, Issue 2, Sept., 1947), pp.180-186.
[7] M.Curtis, 'William Jones: Puritan Printer and Propagandist', *The Library,* Vol.19, Issue 1, (1964), pp.38-66.

political sympathizers within parliament. In doing so, it will demonstrate that his press formed part of a co-ordinated, nationwide publicity campaign which invoked and appealed to publics in order to influence the shape of the nascent Jacobean church. And, it will trace the ways in which this campaign was combatted in public spaces. From the appearance of a little-known printer on the steps of parliament emerges one of the most extensive exercises in public politics in early modern England.

II The Bill and Information in Context

In Curtis's conception, William Jones's intrusion upon the political stage was an isolated incident: a spontaneous act which highlighted the increasingly fractured state of 'Puritanism', a view broadly concurrent with historiographical narratives of the time. 'The ill-conceived enterprise', Curtis argued, 'is one of the earliest signs of a breakdown in confidence among Puritan groups or blocs and consequently in liaison and tactical planning among Puritan leaders.'[8] The Bill and Information he presented, Curtis continues, were swiftly dismissed: Jones and Earbury 'received no support for their proposal.'[9] This, however, was not correct nor, I would argue, was Curtis's wider contention. Far from being an isolated incident, this Chapter will demonstrate how Jones's engagement with the Speaker in May 1604, and his illicit printing activities which followed, were closely connected to a co-ordinated campaign for further reformation of the Church of England.

First, we must note that the Bill and Articles were not immediately dismissed, neither were Jones and Earbury acting alone. On May 17, two days after Jones had delivered the documents to the House, the Speaker was pressed to give a further account of the Bill, but was still unwilling to venture any specifics. 'He said, it touched the Government of the State in her late Majesty's time: That his Majesty, being made acquainted with it, for that it concerned personal Treason did assume to himself the Examination of it, and did not think fit to have it examined here, and therefore retained it in his own keeping.' Far from passively accepting the Speaker's explanation, a rush of motions ensued. It was agreed firstly 'that it might not be drawn into the Precedent, for any Speaker, being trusted by the House, to deny to read a Bill, which he receiveth; to withdraw it out of the House; to inform the King, or any other, before the House be made acquainted with it'. Secondly, the House agreed to petition the king

[8] Ibid., p.43.
[9] Ibid., p.46.

for the Bill, and thirdly requested 'that some of the House might be present at the Examination of Jones.'[10] This request was evidently denied for on May 21 Jones was examined by the Speaker alone.[11]

The examination revealed the immediate network through which the Bill and Information had been produced. The information, Jones explained, 'he first collected owte of c[er]ten notes drawen owte of his owne knowledg'. He then delivered the notes to 'Mr Erberie lying in ye howse of my Lord de Laware [Lord De La Warr] whoe framed ye same into ye forme & matter' in which it was now presented, except for at least one of the articles which Earbury had gathered from 'one Mr Lewes a minister' dwelling in St. Helens at 'ye howse of Mr [Foute].' Another minister, 'one Mr Swanne…lying in hi[s] brothers howse of his in Fenchurch Streete' was also 'acquaynted & pryvie' with the Bill and may have had a role in framing it. Jones had also 'acquaynted one Mr James Bamford mynister dwelling Southwark of his purpose conc[er]ning Articles to be exhibited againste ye said Bishopp' but Bamford would 'neth[er] p[er]swade nor diswade yt.'[12] Anthony Earbury was less willing to divulge information. Whilst he admitted that the Bill was 'by himself penned', he suggested it was originally 'written by one whose name he refuseth to discov[er].'[13]

Two days later, on May 23, the Speaker suddenly 'remembered of his promise, to give the House satisfaction touching the Bill against A.B.' He 'Answered, that a Message was delivered unto him by a great Lord from his Majesty' commanding the Speaker to hand the Bill over, and explaining that he was warranted to do so. Once more, 'many motions ensued', including those by the godly-inclined MPs for Northampton and Plympton Erle, Henry Yelverton and Sir William Strode. The following extract from the House of Commons *Journal* gives a clear sense of the House's response:

> Much Exception against the Precedents – Injurious, that any Speaker should deliver a Bill to the King, without the Privity of the House -
>
> No Bill whereof the House is possessed, to be delivered to the King, or any other, without Notice and Leave of the House –

[10] *JHC*, Vol.I, pp.212-213.
[11] Anthony Earbury was examined the following day, also by the Speaker alone.
[12] SP 14/8/50. For Earbury's examination, see SP 14/8/51. For his later petition to Cecil, see SP 14/8/52.
[13] SP 14/8/51. There is very little evidence to identify the ministers Lewes and Swann. The minister 'Bamford' was James Balmford, rector of St. Olave's Southwark in 1603, who in 1600 had dedicated a work to Henry Hastings, the third Earl of Huntingdon. The tract, *A position maintained by I.B. before the late Earle of Huntingdon: viz. Priests are executed not for religion, but for treason* (London, 1600?) [STC 1334.5], justified the execution of Catholic priests on the basis of treason.

We lose our Privilege, if we lose our Bill –

The House demanded that the Speaker go before the king personally to request the Bill 'in the Name of the House', and that 'Jones, the Prisoner,' was 'to be sent for hither, and to attend his Discharge from the House.'[14]

Despite this, it appears that the king – and the Speaker – remained resolute in suppressing the contents of the Bill. Jones, too, remained in prison, but neither were forgotten. On June 2, 'after the Rising of the House, Mr Parkinson delivered...a Petition of one Wm.Jones, a Printer, against the Bishop of London; which was given him by Mr Herbert Pelham.'[15] Pelham, the Lincolnshire-born MP for Reigate, was a client of Lord De La Warr and was married to one of his daughters.[16] At the end of the day, the clerk further noted that Jones's petition was 'left upon the Table by a member of the House' in clear view of any inquisitive members who might happen to chance upon it.[17] Evidently, forces working both within and without parliament were keen to have the Bill exposed, and to secure Jones's release from prison. Some were working with equal force to oppose them, and it was not until July 5 that Jones was finally released.[18] This, then, was not simply 'a rash act': it had been pre-meditated, several ministers had been consulted, and the document itself carefully crafted. Moreover, Jones at least could clearly rely upon a degree of support within parliament.

If the production of the documents was indeed indicative of a wider design, how and why were Jones and Earbury chosen as instruments of its execution? Jones was uniquely placed to gather the intelligence necessary to expose Bancroft. His nine-year apprenticeship, which ended in 1596, had been served under John Windet and, by 1604, his only known business associate within the book trade was the Staffordshire-born printer, Richard Field: both Windet and Field were directly involved in printing Catholic tracts for Bancroft. Field was an unlikely figure to be found printing popish materials, however. He had served his apprenticeship under the Huguenot printer, Thomas Vautrollier, and succeeded him in the business after marrying his widow.[19] When Field died in 1626, he passed the press onto George Miller, another printer with godly inclinations.[20] Field may, therefore, have been willing to leak

[14] *JHC*, Vol.I, pp.222-223.
[15] Ibid., p.231.
[16] See *ODNB*, 'Herbert Pelham'.
[17] *JHC*, Vol.I, p.231.
[18] Ibid., pp.252-253.
[19] For Field's role in printing Catholic tracts, see Jenkins, 'The Archpriest Controversy'. For Field's printing career, see A.Kirkwood, 'Richard Field, printer, 1589-1624', *The Library*, Vol.12, Issue 1, (1632), pp.1-39.
[20] Miller's son, Abraham, would become an important printer of Presbyterian propaganda during the civil wars and Interregnum.

information to his associate, Jones, provided he was not identified directly. And if Jones had not acquired the intelligence through Field, his future long-standing business associate, the stationer Michael Sparke, who was serving an apprenticeship at the time, was also aware that his master 'spent his time in Staffordshire at Worly-Hall in binding, venting and putting to sale Popish books, Pictures, Beads, and such Trash.'[21] Jones's involvement serves an early and important reminder that having a source within the print trade, one positioned to capitalise upon its secrets and rumours, was a valuable commodity in early modern politics. Information, its use or misuse, was a central component in the performance of public politics.

Anthony Earbury's connections are more readily apparent. A client of the West family, he had been presented as rector of Wherwell, Hampshire, by Anna West, Lady de la Warr, in 1602 and held it in conjunction with the nonconformist minister, Stephen Bachiler, who had been the vicar of Wherwell since 1587. In 1603, Earbury had been a key figure in gathering support for the Millenary petition in Sussex (a document which both Thomas West, Baron De La Warr, and Herbert Pelham signed), and was also part of a London committee led by Henry Jacob and Stephen Egerton which coordinated attempts to advance the cause of further reformation following the Hampton Court Conference.[22] That Earbury was involved in a direct attempt to discredit Bancroft, the most vocal opponent of the non-conforming ministers at the Conference, just a few months later, was, as we shall see, no accident**.** Contrary to Curtis's argument, Jones and Earbury's Bill and Information were part of a wider project.

To demonstrate how, we must return to the days surrounding the Hampton Court Conference in January, 1604. The Conference itself has been judged by various historians as a failure for those seeking further reformation, an image reaffirmed by the official (and only public) account, which itself was printed by two of the printers, John Windet and Thomas Creed, who had been tied to Bancroft's underground Catholic printing operation.[23] More nuanced readings have suggested that the Conference was contrived by the Crown, and the outcome decided before it had even begun: Lake and Fincham, for example, view it as a 'premeditated attempt to settle the issue of puritanism once and for all.'[24]

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[21] M.Sparke, *A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla* (London, 1652) [E.675[29]], pp.5-6.
[22] *ODNB*, 'Anthony Earbury' and 'Stephen Bachiler.' See also the entry for Anthony Earbury in theclergydatabase.org.uk, ID # 56628.
[23] See M.Curtis, 'Hampton Court Conference and Its Aftermath', *History Journal,* Vol.46, Issue 156, (1961), pp.1-16, and J.Morgan, 'Popularity and Monarchy: The Hampton Court Conference and the Early Jacobean Church', *Canadian Journal of History,* Vol.53, Issue 2, (2018), pp.197-232. For the official account of the conference, see W.Barlow, *The Summe and Substance of the Conference* (London, 1604) [STC 1456.5].
[24] P.Lake, K.Fincham, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', *Journal of British Studies,* Vol.24, No.2, 1985), pp.171-172. For the argument that the conference was contrived as a demonstration of royal authority,

Nonconformist contemporaries certainly cast it in similar terms.[25] What is important to recognize is that, whilst the Conference failed to secure the settlement nonconformists desired, it did not mark the end of their efforts to achieve their aims: it was not, as Patrick Collinson argued, a 'campaign which began with the Millenary Petition and ended with the Hampton Court Conference.'[26]

At some point either during or immediately following the Conference, the London committee penned a document entitled 'Advice Tending to Reformation.'[27] This crucial document outlined a detailed plan by nonconformists for a continued campaign to achieve further reformation to the structures of church governance and its forms of worship. It aimed, ultimately, to alter James's perception 'that if he please the Bishops he shall please all England.' To do so, it argued, there must 'be sundrie petitions of ministers of sundrie parties, and yet but a fewe in a petition to avoyde the suspition of conspiracie, and the petitions to varie in words, but agree in the desire of reformacon to be according to the word...provided *they do not expresslie desire the removing of Bishops*.' Grievances should be raised about the oath ex officio, subscription to the form of the Book of Common Prayer, to ceremonies, the power of ecclesiastical courts and excommunication 'for triffles.' 'Besides these petitions', ministers should present notes against the bishops and 'likewise *some notes of their unlawfull and indirect favour to Papists.'* This directive was, perhaps, the inspiration behind Earbury and Jones's accusations against the Bishop of London. 'The Ministers are also to stirre up the people to a desire or a liking for reformation, both in preaching, as in praying against the superstitious ceremonies, and tirannie of Prelates.' The document also charged the godly laity with a major role. 'Also Lawyers, against the tyme of Parliament, *are to provide and make readie penned statutes* tending to this purpose. *And others are to write some learned treatises* against that tyme.'[28] It was, in short, a political programme aimed at influencing key policy-makers and publics in order to shape the future of the Jacobean church; a programme which blurred the boundaries between 'private' and 'public' politics by fusing together focused parliamentary political manoeuvring with a broader publicity campaign targeting publics and public opinion at large. The following six years witnessed a wide-scale attempt to execute the strategies detailed in the 'Advice.'

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see F.Shriver, 'Hampton Court Re-visited: James I and the Puritans', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol.33, Issue 1, (1982), pp.48-71.

[25] See, for example, H.Jacob, *A Christian and Modest Offer* (London [i.e Middelburg?], 1606) [STC 14329].

[26] Collinson, *Bancroft*, p.183.

[27] BL, Add MSS. 28571 f.199, 'Advice Tending to Reformation': the document itself is printed in full in R.Usher, *The Reconstruction of the Church of England*, Vol.II (London, 1910), pp.358-359.

[28] Ibid., pp.358-359, my italics.

Four days into the first session of parliament, Sir Edward Montague, a leading MP in the Commons and a patron of godly clergy, launched the first assault upon 'the Intollerable burdene vexation trayvale & charge of the commissaries courtes as they are now used to the suspention of grave learned & soberminded ministers for not observing certayne ceremonies long time by many disused.'[29] The specific list of grievances which Montague outlined, numbering over sixteen separate points, echoed – sometimes almost to the word – the aims tendered in the 'Advice.'[30] Most dramatically, Montague outlined a radical solution to counter the increasing powers of ecclesiastical courts. Reviving Edwardian statute, Montague proposed that a new body should be set-up of '16 spirituall men & 16 Temporall men to examine & compile ecclesiasticall laws.' The men were to be 'chosen oute of both houses, & they to view, search & examine, what constitutions & cannons are fit to stand & what to be left oute, And then to bring them in articles into the house, & they to allow of those which in there wisedomes they shall thinck fit to stand And then to present them to his Majestie for his Royall assent…the rest to be adnulled & abrogated.'[31] Here was a direct challenge to the power of the episcopacy, an assertion of the Commons' power to legislate in ecclesiastical affairs, and a means of circumventing the results of the Hampton Court conference. On May 5, the Commons continued its attack upon episcopal authority. They drew up a set of points, including alteration to the Thirty-Nine articles, which, the historian Roland Usher has argued, 'embodied the full Puritan scheme for the indirect introduction of the Book of Discipline.'[32]

The Bishop of London, Richard Bancroft, however, had his own plan. On the very first day of Convocation, whilst the Commons was preoccupied with a controversial contested election, Bancroft called for the creation of a committee to enact the decisions of the Hampton Court Conference. On April 17, the Speaker informed the Commons that the Bancroft desired a conference between the Commons and the Convocation to debate precisely these issues. Citing precedent, the Commons 'utterly refused yt,' and instead agreed to a conference with the House of Lords.[33] This, Collinson has argued, was a 'cunning ploy to exclude Parliament from the settlement which Bancroft was processing through Convocation.'[34] Indeed, the Lords almost immediately sought to delay the proposed conference on

[29] Kyle, *Politics*, p.55.
[30] NRO, Montagu MS 29, 'Notes and Draft Speech made by Sir Edward Montagu during the 1604 Session', printed in Kyle, *Politics*, p.94.
[31] Ibid., p.95.
[32] Usher, *Reconstruction, I*, pp.348-349. For the articles themselves, see *JHC*, Vol.I, pp.199-200.
[33] Kyle, *Politics*, p.69.
[34] Collinson, *Bancroft*, p.213.

religion.[35] In the meantime, Bancroft persuaded the king to put forward a message, contrary to his suggestion to the Commons on the 16, that 'concerning Religion', Convocation alone was empowered by the king to 'dispute and determine those points which are in Question out of the Scriptures.'[36] By the time the conference was finally set for May 18, Bancroft seemed to have effectively nullified – at least for the time – the attempt of the Commons to seize control of the religious settlement. 'If only', as Usher wrote, 'he could be discredited, or best of all, removed from office' altogether.[37]

It is in this context, then, that the timing of Jones's intervention on May 15 assumes full significance. If the network of reformers both within and without parliament could remove Bancroft at this crucial juncture, or tarnish his spiritual authority, they could seize control of religious affairs and force the king to distance himself from a man perceived as the greatest enemy to further reformation; at the very least, public disclosure of the allegations might stain Bancroft's reputation sufficiently to drive members of both houses of parliament to support wider ecclesiastical reform.

Jones's 'Petition', finally heard on July 5, makes clear the steps taken to stop the Bill and Articles entering the public space. As we recall, on 23 May the Speaker admitted that upon receiving the documents, 'a Message was delivered unto him by a great Lord from his Majesty.'[38] The 'great Lord' in question was Sir Robert Cecil, the Lord Privy Seal. Jones informs us that, having been detained by the Speaker, he was the next day 'carried to my Lord Cecill's chamber, and there delivered to a messenger, to attend the Lords of the Council in the Afternoon.' He was sent to the court at night and then taken to the Speaker's house in the early morning – May 17, the day before the conference – 'where being come, Mr Speaker commended your Suppliant to attend the Parliament-house; the which your suppliant did Friday and Saturday, still beseeching Mr Speaker to move this honourable assembly on your Suppliant's behalf; who promised, on Monday the following, to do it.'[39] So Jones had attended parliament, on the day before (and possibly the day of) the conference, waiting to inform parliament of his information but had been deliberately prevented from doing so. Again, despite continued efforts to have the Bill and Jones's petition read, the matter was delayed and Jones only released on July 5, just two days before the end of the parliamentary session. Clearly Cecil, as both the chief political orchestrater and enforcer of Crown policy (and also complicit in Bancroft's popish printing scheme,

[35] *JHC*, Vol.I, pp.190-193.
[36] SP 14/8/53. See also Usher, *Reconstruction*, I, pp.344-346.
[37] Usher, *Reconstruction*, I, p.346.
[38] *JHC*, Vol.I, pp.222-223.
[39] Ibid., pp.252-253.

alongside the king), and Phelips, James's voice in parliament, had deliberately stifled the attempts to discredit Bancroft.

On May 18, as the members of the Commons presented 'the full Puritan scheme for the indirect introduction of the Book of Discipline' to the Lords and king to no avail, a copy of the Thirty-Nine Articles – entirely unchanged – 'was signed by all the bishops with much parade and ceremony.'[40] Parliamentary efforts to affect change in religious policy had been stymied but, as the 'Advice' had indicated, the (theoretically) private realm of parliament represented only one stage for political performance. In the ensuing months, the campaign would be taken into public spaces in villages and towns across England, and into print.

III The Mechanics of the Illicit Print Campaign

Following the closure of the first session of parliament, James issued a royal proclamation declaring that all clergy would have to subscribe to the prescribed forms and ceremonies of the Church of England.[41] Aiming at multiple publics, James urged 'all in generall' (though, one senses, the Commons specifically) to 'conforme themselves thereunto, *without listning to the troublesome spirits of some Persons*, who never receive contentment, either in Civill, or Ecclesiasticall matters, but in their owne fantasies, especially of certaine Ministers, who under pretended Zeale of Reformation, are the chiefe Authors of Divisions and Sects among our People.'[42] He gave the clergy until November 31 to conform to the new church settlement.

As the December deadline for conformity drew closer, the reformers responded by initiating elements of the publicity programme outlined in the 'Advice', the first of which was the call for 'sundrie Petitions.' Beginning in late November, a nationwide web of local magnates, MPs, and ministers organized a succession of petitions submitted to James as he toured his newly-acquired English lands.[43] These were highly performative acts in themselves: compiled and presented by members of the godly gentry, Lords, and the clergy, embodiments of multiple publics which constituted the body politic, they neatly paralleled the parliamentary dynamic of the campaign. Nor were they intended to remain

[40] Usher, *Reconstruction,* I, p.348, p.345.
[41] This followed James's proclamations demanding subscription to the form of the Common Prayer Book and adherence to the new ecclesiastical Canons.
[42] J.Larkin, P.Hughes (eds.), *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, Vol.I (Oxford, 1973), p.90.
[43] For a detailed appraisal of the petitioning campaign, see B.Quintrell, 'The Royal Hunt and the Puritans, 1604-1605', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol.31, Issue 1, (1980), pp.41-58.

'private' political documents. After James issued a condemnatory proclamation in response to the petitioning campaign, at least two of the petitions emerged in print, followed by a succession of pamphlets in support of the petitioners.[44] Two important points emerge here. The first is that the petitioning and print campaigns were operating in unison. The second is that, in publishing their appeals in print, the petitioners demonstrated their desire to broaden the scope of debate beyond the traditional (and permissible) bounds of political performance: both by counteracting the official narrative of events as told through the royal proclamations, and by inviting publics to judge the legitimacy of their terms for themselves. After their 'private' political efforts to affect change had been obstructed, reformers turned to public spaces to assert their demands.

The recourse to print had, in fact, begun long before the printed petitions. Following the directives outlined in the 'Advice', which called upon the brethren 'to write some learned treatises' in support of reform, two tracts emerged between May and July 1604 directly challenging the outcome of the Hampton Court Conference. The first was William Stoughton's *An Assertion,* the second Henry Jacob's *Reasons taken out of God's Word,* for which he was arrested and imprisoned in July.[45]

The works were clearly connected. Both had been printed in Middelburg by the printer Robert Schilders. Schilders, a former 'Brother' of the Stationers' Company who had worked in London for twelve years between 1568 and 1580, was imbedded within English godly networks. He had printed the works of numerous Calvinist divines during his time in London and continued to do so once he had established his own press in Middelburg, acting as a leading outlet for English nonconformist writers in the 1590s.[46] He had also worked closely with Jacob before, having printed all of his anti-Brownist treatises between 1597 and 1600, when Jacob may himself have been living in Middelburg as minister to the Merchant Adventurers' Company.[47]

Over the next six months, a further four pamphlets written by William Bradshaw followed.[48] These were not the product of Schilders' press, but there is clear evidence to suggest that they emanated

[44] Anon., *An Abridgement* ([Middelburg], 1605) [STC 15646]. Anon., *To the Kinges Most Excellent Majesty* ([Middelburg], 1605) [16779.12].
[45] W.Staughton, *An Assertion for True and Christian Church-Policie* (Printed by R.Schilders, Middelburg, 1604) [STC 23318]. H.Jacob, *Reasons taken out of God's Word* (Printed by R.Schilders, Middelburg, 1604) [STC 14338].
[46] R.Mckerrow (ed.), *Printers*, pp.237-238.
[47] See *ODNB*, 'Henry Jacob'. For information on the printing of radical religious tracts in the Low Countries, see K.Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower: English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands, 1600-1640* (Leiden, 1993).
[48] See Appendix 1.

from the same illicit network. Superficially, the pamphlets appeared to represent the work of Schilders himself: they utilised a typeface almost indistinguishable from Schilders' own, including letters and ornamentation which closely mimicked Schilders' elegant materials. It is only through Curtis's careful typographical analysis that scholars have identified the Bradshaw pamphlets as the work of a separate, secret press. It was, in fact, operated by William Jones, who must have established the press almost immediately upon his release from prison, at a speed which would suggest the move had been pre-meditated. The imitation, then, was an intentional manoeuvre. Jones may have either shared or borrowed type from Schilders directly, or employed the same letter founder to craft type and ornamentation designed to replicate Schilders' materials, as a means of shielding the existence of a second press.[49]

Whilst the location of Jones's secret press remains uncertain, it was probably based in the United Provinces, as Curtis suggested.[50] Certainly, the numerous notes Jones left to his readers – an unusual but highly useful source of internal evidence – indicate that Jones was not based in England. In one of the first Bradshaw tracts produced in 1604, Jones apologised to his readers for the errors made in printing: the reason, he stated, was that 'I wanted an English compositor therefore have I failed more than I would.'[51] In the following year, he pointed to similar difficulties for mistakes in Samuel Hieron's *A Short Dialogue*: 'the mystery of printing can easily tell, how a ragged copy, absence of author, and want of a carefull corrector, by reason of farr distance of place, doe usually bring forth slipps.'[52] A third, rather ambiguous statement, suggests a degree of homesickness: he offered the reader Bradshaw's *A Treatise on the Nature and Uses of Things Indifferent* 'as a testimonie of my vowes for the good of my Countrey, the weale whereof shall ever possesse me, though I cannot possesse it.'[53] The most decisive evidence comes in 1608, in the last of the press's works. In his note to the reader, Jones related recent efforts to suppress his press: 'Whereas it hath pleased God to hide me (as he did Jeremy and Baruch) on this side of the seas, nothwithstanding the Archbishop of Canterbury sent over two men to seeke me.'[54] The internal evidence suggests that the press was likely in the Netherlands, and possibly in close proximity to Schilders' press. In one of the works Schilders produced, we find a highly unusual note

[49] Curtis, 'William Jones', pp.49-58.
[50] Ibid., p.58.
[51] Bradshaw, *Proposition Concerning Kneeling*, p.29.
[52] S.Hieron, *A Short Dialogue* ([Middelburg?], 1604) [STC 6814], p.69.
[53] W.Bradshaw, *A Treatise of the Nature and Uses of Things Indifferent* ([Middelburg?], 1605) [STC 3530], unpaginated – see 'Printer to the Reader'.
[54] Anon (W.Jones?)., *Informations, or a Protestation* ([Middelburg?], 1608) [STC 14084], 'Printer to the Reader.'

from the "Corrector to the Christian Reader": a sign that at least one Englishman was at work on Schilders' press.[55] The similarities to Jones's equally unusual printer's notes to the reader might indicate that Jones himself was that Englishman.

What is clear is that both Jones and Schilders' presses were working in close concert with each other, and that they were clearly co-ordinating their efforts in conjunction with the broader reforming campaign. Aside from the 1604 works and the printed petitions, Jones and Schilders printed a number of other pamphlets in the following six years whose authors could all be directly or indirectly linked to the campaign. William Bradshaw and Henry Jacob acted as the principal pamphleteers and both, as we have seen, were intimately engaged in opposing the outcome of the Hampton Court Conference. Jones also printed several works by the clergyman Samuel Hieron. Hieron, the son of Robert, vicar of Epping and friend of the martyrologist John Foxe, was a renowned Devonshire preacher patronised by Sir William Strode, MP for Plympton Erle, who we have already identified as a prominent advocate for the publication of the 'Bill' and 'Information' presented by Jones and Earbury. Jones also printed the works of the laity. One tract was written by Sir Thomas Whetenhall, possibly a member of the Kent gentry.[56] Another was written by Nicholas Fuller, lawyer and London MP, perhaps the leading oppositional figure in the Commons between 1604 and 1610, who possessed longstanding godly credentials: in the late 1580s and early 1590s, Fuller gained notoriety for defending Presbyterian-inclined ministers John Udall and Thomas Cartwright.[57]

And, of course, the pamphlets themselves were timed to support and amplify other elements of the campaign.[58] Fuller's example is particularly instructive. Following the prorogation of parliament in May 1606, four pamphlets were published – two probably in the interim between May and the next session, beginning in November, and a further two during the parliamentary session itself – which took aim at the form of church ceremonies and the overweening powers of the episcopacy.[59] Building on the groundwork outlined in the pamphlets, Fuller led the verbal assault in the Commons upon the episcopacy and, in particular, upon the growing power of the High Commission. He called upon the Commons for remedy and redress of 'the Multitude of Spirituall Commissions…Commonly called High Commissions, whereby diverse Bishops have, and all may have more Authority then appertayneth to

[55] Anon., *Certaine Considerations drawne from the Canons* (Middelburg, 1605) [STC 4585], 'Corrector to the Christian Reader'.
[56] See 'Thomas Whetenhall of East Peckham in Kent', *The Downside Review*, Vol.15, Issue 1, (1896), pp.29-48.
[57] See *ODNB*, 'Nicholas Fuller'.
[58] These interactions are shown in Appendix 1.
[59] The full list of pamphlets, and a suggested chronology, is given in Appendix 1.

the Arch Bishop in his ordinary Iurisdiction.'[60] And he had also taken on a case which would allow him to interrogate the legality of these powers in the courts. Shortly after his speech in the Commons, he used his defence of the deprived minister Richard Maunsell and the merchant Thomas Lad to provide a detailed exposition of the various illegalities of the High Commission. He continued his attack upon the High Commission in the remainder of the session whilst under parliamentary immunity, but was arrested following its prorogation in July. Fuller remained imprisoned until January but, in December he had smuggled a draft text of the arguments he had presented in defence of Maunsell and Lad out of prison via Josias Horne, the deprived vicar of Orwell, Cambridgeshire. Orwell prepared the text for publication and then sent it to Jones, who printed it. The printed pamphlets were then smuggled back into England and distributed by the stationers Richard Ockold and Richard Boyle, William Jones's future business partner, who had been involved in distributing the Marprelate Tracts in the 1580s.[61] This episode is indicative of the ways in which illicit print functioned in co-ordination with other forms of politics within the campaign, serving both as a means of setting the parliamentary agenda, and publicising 'private' political efforts for reform conducted through the courts and Commons.

How these pamphlets reached wider audiences is less clear. Given the success of Schilders and Jones in evading discovery for several years, there is a distinct paucity of evidence regarding their production and distribution tactics. Nonetheless, two surviving sources provide important clues. Boyle's deposition, alongside those of his wife, his servant, the stationer Richard Ockold, and the imprisoned clergymen Richard Maunsell and Stephen Bachiler, provide key insights into the tract's distribution.[62] In January 1608, Boyle himself received one hundred unbound copies of the tract at his shop, though he did not say from whom. He sold twenty of these in two weeks at six shillings a piece. His wife lent three to friends; a neighbour in Blackfriars, a gentleman in Hounslow, and Mr Lewes, 'a mynister sometimes dwelling or abyding in Bishopsgate Street': presumably the same Mr.Lewes who had had a hand in framing Earbury's *Bill* against Bancroft. Boyle's servant gave a further two to his master's friends, one of whom was a beer-brewer's clerk. What became of the rest is not clear. Richard Maunsell, the defendant for whom Fuller had acted, received twelve copies whilst in prison at Marshalsea, seven or eight of them from a man named James. Stephen Bachiler, a fellow client of Lord de La Warr alongside Earbury, and also in prison, received one copy from a woman he claimed not to know, and five or six more from Maunsell. He gave them all to a person 'who came out of London unto

[60] D.Wilson (ed.), *The Parliamentary Diary of Robert Bowyer, 1606-1607* (Minneapolis, 1931), pp.102-103.
[61] TNA, STAC 8/19/7. For information on Boyle, see McKerrow (ed.), *Printers*, p.46, for Ockold, pp.205-206.
[62] The case can be found at TNA, STAC 8/19/7.

him for them' so as 'to informe himselfe & those to whome hee delivered them of the truth concerning ecclesiasticall Iurisdiccion.'[63]

The depositions demonstrate the multiple ways through which illicit material could be disseminated and the potential reach of its distribution. They could be sold by willing stationers like Boyle or borrowed, given away, and shared through private, hand-to-hand distribution networks. Nor indeed were they necessarily restricted to a radical fringe or a particular social scale: ministers, beer-brewers, and servants all shared in the material. Regardless of how well they might understand the particulars of legal statutes or theological exposition, they could imbibe the underlying message. It is possible, indeed *probable*, that the pamphlets themselves were not only read but *heard*: one pamphlet, *The Removal of Certain Imputations* began by stating, 'Let no man *hearing* or reading this.'[64] Clearly, a single pamphlet could reach more than one reader (or listener) and cut across social boundaries in the process.

It also gives an important sense of the speed and scope with which tracts could be produced. If Fuller managed to smuggle his text out of prison in December, and Boyle received three hundred copies by January, clearly Jones's press could both receive the manuscript and print it in reasonable quantities within a matter of weeks.

The second example conveys a very different dimension of the distribution process. Samuel Hieron's *Defence of the Ministers Reasons* was probably printed by Jones in mid-1607. Copies were then 'packt up in ye goods of an eminent Marchant of Plymouth, Mr T.Sherwill', transported to England in bulk and from there distributed. At least some of the copies were disseminated in a specific and targeted fashion:

> Some were sent superscribed to ye 26 bishops, and unto other of his [Hieron's] Antagonists, and to sundry persons in ye Citty and Universitys. Some copys were dropt on purpose in ye very streets, others left at the doors of Schollers and learned Ministers. Some were hung upon heges in ye high way. And thus ye whole impression was freely and generously given away.[65]

[63] TNA, STAC 8/19/7 and Curtis, 'William Jones', p.60.
[64] Anon., *The Remoovall of Certaine Imputations* (Middleburg, Schilders 1606) [STC 14037], sig.A2v.
[65] Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, p.163. Sherwill's involvement evidently did not hinder his reputation in Plymouth where Hieron was a frequent lecturer to the godly. He was appointed Mayor the following year and elected to Parliament in 1614. See the entry for Thomas Sherwill (c.1571-1631) in A.Thrush, J.Ferris (eds.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1604-1629* (Cambridge, 2010).

On the one hand, this testimony is indicative of an innovative and provocative marketing strategy; if the hedge-row advertising was reminiscent of Martinist strategies, the targeting of specific bishops, antagonists, and other eminent persons was an escalation carefully concocted to generate as much *publicity* as possible. Whether other pamphlets in the campaign were disseminated in this manner or not, it is nonetheless evidence that illicit pamphlets were not solely distributed furtively, nor restricted to the already-converted. And in stating that 'ye whole impression was *freely and generously given away*', the source provides another key piece of information. Pamphlets were not cheap to produce, nor were new materials and type an insignificant investment. Jones's press was a costly venture and, in normal circumstances, one would expect at least some of the value to be recouped through the sale of the pamphlets themselves. That, in at least one instance, the pamphlets were distributed freely is a clear indicator of another layer within the print network: hidden financial support. Although this aspect of illicit print networks is particularly difficult to unpick (and in this case perhaps impossible), we will see in Chapters Seven and Eight how financiers were involved in supporting the production and dissemination of illicit texts.

However limited and partial, the surviving evidence has enabled us to produce a clear outline of a nascent infrastructure for illicit printing in early modern England. It was evidently more sophisticated and complex than the networks which had produced the Marprelate tracts. The printers and publishers had developed tactics to avoid detection; they had organized importation channels and multiple avenues of distribution; built up innovative marketing methods to publicize their works; and, albeit limited to just two printers, the operation was already transnational in scope. William Jones's press would ultimately be discovered when he attempted to resume printing his texts within London itself around 1609, but he had already laid some important cornerstones for the development of the infrastructure of illicit printing in seventeenth-century England.[66]

IV Martinism and Anti-Martinism Reborn

The printed works of Schilders and Jones were not operating in a vacuum. As we have seen, they formed a major component of a wider reforming campaign within England, but they were also provoked by, and responding to, an equally orchestrated conformist print operation. This campaign, the reformers believed, received official or semi-official sponsorship from the episcopal authorities. The

[66] Curtis, 'William Jones', pp.37-38, 58.

anonymous author of *Certaine Demandes* criticized the hostility of the bishops' 'worthie Orators' and 'pamphleteers', warning them 'that hereafter you would be advised by us, not to license your Scribes and prolocutors, to cast an imputation of Noveltie upon the Ministers of Christ.'[67] Others were framed as explicit rebuttals of conformist tracts and occasionally named their purported patrons. The author of *The Remoovall of Certaine Imputations*, for example, stated that his work was a specific rebuke to Thomas Hutton, the 'champion…of the B[ishop] of that See.'[68]

The suspicions of the non-conformist writers were certainly justified. In six years, twenty-three pro-conformist tracts were written by sixteen different authors, all of whom were intimately tied to the establishment. Two of the first tracts to be produced by the conformists were dedicated to James I; one by Egeon Askew, minister of Greenwich, based on a sermon given before the king, the other by William Wilkes, a royal chaplain, which reprinted James's royal proclamation in the text.[69] A third was by the clergyman Samuel Gardiner, and dedicated to Archbishop Bancroft. Another, by Oliver Ormerod and dedicated to the king, claimed not to have received official sponsorship, though its highly polemical nature belied the author's statement. William Covell dedicated his work to William Chaderton, Bishop of Lincoln but the year before had written an anti-puritan defence of Richard Hooker, which he dedicated to Bancroft. The following year, he was presented to the rectory of Mersham, Kent, by Bancroft. Thomas Hutton dedicated his work to the Bishop of Exeter, William Cotton, and was presented to the vicarage of St. Kew, Cornwall, and the rectory of North Lew, Devon, by James I in 1607. Leonard Hutton, who dedicated his work to Bancroft too, was also the recipient of a crown living and had been appointed by James as one of the translators of the new edition of the Bible. John Dove and Gabriel Powell were both well-known church polemicists.[70] Powell, chaplain to Bishop Vaughan, would later be rewarded with the rectory of Chellesworth, another crown living. George Downame was another royal chaplain. Thomas Bell, a Catholic convert, was already in receipt of a £50 per annum stipend as a crown polemicist, whilst the other two authors, Thomas Rogers and Francis Mason, had – or would have – successful clerical careers as defenders of the church establishment. Thomas Spark

[67] Anon., *Certaine Demands* ([Middelburg], 1605) [STC 6572.5], p.67.
[68] Anon., *Remoovall of Certaine Imputations*, sig.A3r.
[69] E.Askew, *Brotherly Reconcilement* (London, 1605) [STC 855]. W.Wilkes, *Obedience or Ecclesiasticall Union* (London, 1605) [STC 25633].
[70] For more on Dove and Powell, see A.Milton, *Catholic and Reformed* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.207-210, 45-46.

admitted that the manuscript of his tract had 'beene in the view of some of the most reverend Bish. [sic]…& hereupon having bene by the[m] and many others…much urged to publish it.'[71]

The vast majority of the tracts were registered and licensed, and most were printed by prominent stationers – six of whom had worked for Bancroft secretly producing Catholic texts between 1601-1603.[72] Those that were not registered with the Stationers Company were printed at Oxford by the university printer, Joseph Barnes, no doubt with the active support of the University's MP, Sir Daniel Donne, who was heavily involved in the ecclesiastical commission and, in particular, with efforts to suppress books published without authority.[73] These works, therefore, constituted a unified and co-ordinated response to the illicit tracts produced by Jones and Schilders, emanating from the very centre of the ecclesiastical establishment and drawing upon the state's own well-established networks of support within the print trade.

Collectively, both sides produced approximately fifty tracts over a six-year period.[74] It represents, therefore, perhaps the largest print controversy of the Jacobean period. Whilst much excellent scholarship has analysed the linguistic and theological implications of the printed debate, what matters for our present study is how these texts interacted with publics and how they shaped public perceptions of church politics.[75]

Writers on both sides of the debate invoked and appealed to publics directly as jurors in the ecclesiastical debates of the church. This was a significant progression, an explicit acceptance of the Martinist argument that publics should serve as participants in the affairs of state. In some cases, these appeals were made to specific and traditional publics, namely *parliament. Certaine Arguments* framed itself as a 'humble petition', 'acknowledging the godly forwardness of many in both houses, so also earnestly desiering to quicken the zeale of the best, and to provoke all other, to take the cause heere handled to heart, not only as the cause of poor distressed men, but as the cause of God; yea, to accompt

[71] T.Spark, *A Brotherly Perswasion to unitie* (London, 1607), sig.A3v. For the majority of these individuals, I have relied on information contained in their respective entries on *ODNB*. For Thomas Bell, see E.Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation* (Cambridge, 2011), p.131.
[72] G.Jenkins, 'The Archpriest Controversy', p.186. The six printers, or presses, were Richard Field, Felix Kingston, John Windet, Thomas Creed, Robert Barker and the Eliot's Court Press. For proof of registration and licensing, see E.Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640:* Volume III (London, 1876).
[73] W.Notestein, *The House of Commons, 1604-1610* (Yale, 1971), p.162.
[74] For the full list of tracts, see Appendix I.
[75] The linguistic and theological aspects of the debate have been addressed in both Milton, *Catholic and Reformed,* and in Shagan, *Rule of Moderation*.

it also the maine cause of the whole land, of your selves and all your posteritie, and therefore to prefer the same…before all other causes whatsoever.'[76] Probably published between January and May 1606, either before or during the second session of parliament, *Certaine Arguments* aimed specifically to shape the Commons agenda. In *The Rejoynder*, published as part of the English translation of Powell's *De Adiaphoris*, Powell made a counter petition, imploring parliament to suppress illegal libels and pamphlets, 'because it lieth in your power, to stay the false and slanderous exclamations and to put a finall end to all quarrels amongst Brethren, by enacting some Iust and straight Law, for punishing the wilfull and obstinate Superstition of the factious Schismatique.'[77] Both sides, therefore, sought to use print to appeal to policy-makers and participate in the political process.

In a broader sense, however, writers sought to engage with publics at large. This intention is evident from the prefaces addressed to the 'Christian Reader' which furnished most of the tracts, urging them to take a side in the ongoing controversy. *The Removal of Certain Imputations* stated: 'be thou iudge (good Reader) whether it be fitting for us to keepe silence, when our Adversaries lade us with so many great reproches, and in writings and in sermons do traduce us…to holde principles and to maintayne those opinions…that we never thought.'[78] William Jones's frequent addresses to the reader made expressly clear that his tracts were produced to inform and enlighten the public: 'I thought it behoofull for my Countrimen that they should be made acquainted with it, that by meanes therof that might receave some light of the truth for which so many suffer.'[79] Thomas Jackson, in his translation of Gabriel Powell's *De Adiaphoris*, conveyed the same sentiment: 'having received so great profit by this Booke: I thought it part of my dutie, to communicate the same unto others, in a more familiar language.'[80] That both Ormerod's *Picture of a Puritane* and Samuel Gardiner's *A Dialogue or Conference between Ireneus and Antimachus* were written in a dialogic form, designed to mimic the popular stage, further demonstrates how such tracts were consciously constructed to appeal to the widest possible audience.[81]

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[76] Anon., *Certaine arguments to perswade and prouoke the most honorable and high court of Parliament* ([Middelburg?], 1606) [STC 7736], sig.*1r.
[77] G.Powell, *De Adiaphoris* (London, 1607) [STC 20146], p.101.
[78] Anon., *Remoovall of Certaine Imputations*, sig.A2v.
[79] W.Bradshaw, *A Treatise of the Nature and Uses of Things Indifferent* ([Middelburg?], 1605) [STC 3530], 'The Printer to the Reader', sig.A2v.
[80] Powell, *De Adiaphoris*, 'The Translator to the Reader', sig.A2v.
[81] O.Ormerod, *The Picture of a Puritane* (London, 1605) [STC 18851]. S.Gardiner, *A Dialogue or Conference between Ireneus and Antimachus* (London, 1605) [STC 11575].

This is not to say that writers on either side of the debate necessarily believed in a learned public, capable of grasping the intricacies of theological debate. Appeals to the 'learned' reader were rhetorical convention. When William Jones or Thomas Jackson claimed their desire to communicate the truth in 'a more familiar language', they were really aiming at shaping public perceptions of politics within the church. What emerged from the interactions between *illicit* and *official* texts was a public construction of politics which was both dichotomous and conspiratorial.

Underpinning arguments against further reform was the resurrected spectre of the 'Puritan.' In the official conception of events, the reform movement was orchestrated by a sinister network of puritans with long-held plans to overthrow the established governance of both church and state, of which the recent flurry of illicit pamphlets was a visible extension. Oliver Ormerod charged that nonconformist ministers 'have never ceased since shee [Elizabeth] was gathered to her Fathers untill this day, by their conferences in private, by thir Broakers and coursers up & downe, by their bookes and Pamphlets in print…to defame that most auncient kind of commendable Church-government.'[82] Nor was this conspiracy restricted to ministers. Wilkes complained that 'grand-juries' and 'churchwardens' were 'associates of this Newfangled faction': some 'are Puritans in heart' and think canons and ceremonies 'so much contrarie to their puritanized opinion.'[83] 'You Gentleman at Lawe', Wilkes continued, 'have your eyes dazeled with the first view of Fancie proiects, your affections sounded with the first touch of zealous passion.'[84] Members of the clergy, the legal system, and the gentry were all complicit in the 'Puritan' scheme. Wilkes warned his readers in explicitly conspiratorial terms to be 'more eye-full…over this creeping and incroaching evill.'[85]

And, of course, the 'Puritan' was tarred with the stain of *popularity*. Reformers made 'Tribuniticall clamours' to the people: they railed 'in the pulpit, and before the Common-people, unto whom nothing is more pleasing, than railing and back-biting.' Those 'such as hate quietnes, or hunt popular applause' were 'THE AUTHORS OF SCANDAL', Powell wrote, and were to be blamed for driving 'multitudes of Soules from God' and encouraging Antichrist.[86] At root, these signs pointed to one underlying aim, which Thomas Rogers outlined: 'for all their doings and discourses…are but to erect a newe (which they tearme a true) ministerie; and their discipline among us.' 'A true ministery

[82] Ormerod, *Picture*, sig.A3r.
[83] Wilkes, *Obedience*, p.23.
[84] Ibid., p.48.
[85] Ibid., p.14.
[86] Powell, *De Adiaphoris*, pp.60-62.

they shall never have,' Rogers continued, 'till Archbishops and Bishops be put downe, and all Ministers made equall' and 'till Kings & Queenes doe subiect themselves unto the Church, and submit their scepters, and throwe downe the Crowes [sic] before the Church, and lick up the dust of the feete of the Church.'[87]

At the same time, illicit writers sought to construct their own narrative of events in similarly conspiratorial terms, although they initially adopted a more circumspect stance. The petition of the Lincolnshire ministers from 1604, for example, simply warned its readers that 'we shalbe in danger to be corrupted in the substance of Religion and purity of doctrin and even to fall back again into idolatry if we conforme ourselves to Idolaters in their ceremonies, and retaine the monuments of their superstition, yes if wee shew not all detestation unto them.'[88] In the process of interaction with official texts, however, the language and scope of the threat escalated. Not long after the Lincolnshire petition, William Bradshaw made the connection between ceremonial forms and popery explicit. His *Proposition Concerning Kneeling* argued that 'the abuse of kneeling (viz Idolatry)…was and is in the synagogue of Rome': 'we have communion with Antichrist' through 'bread worship'.[89] This was no longer a matter of *things indifferent,* but something which constituted an existential spiritual threat.

And just as official texts revivified the anti-Martinist 'Puritan' trope, so too did reformers draw on Martinist language to reanimate the image of the popish bishop. *The Removal of Certaine Imputations* saw clear comparisons between the growth of episcopal power and the historical rise of popery: 'the Episcopall Primacy swelling by degrees', relying on 'Ceremoniousnesse and Ambition,' 'the one furnishing it with a seeming beauty to allure, the other with an unresistable power to affright', all neatly paralleled the corruption of the Catholic church and heralded the arrival of Antichrist.[90] In these controversies, Henry Jacob argued, 'the Papists and the Prelates goe hand in hand'; and, if episcopacy were not constrained, Fuller warned, it might enact its original aim, founded in a time of popery, 'to suppresse the gospell.'[91] The reformers' narrative thereby rendered the framework of debate in equally antagonistic, dichotomous terms. Readers were presented with a clear choice: between godly reform and antichristian ceremony. Those of 'our brethren, who are opposed against us puritanes',

[87] T.Rogers, *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion* (Cambridge, 1607) [STC 21228], sig.**3r.
[88] Anon., *An Abridgement of that Booke which the Ministers of Lincoln Diocess Delivered to his Majestie upon the first of December Last* ([Middelburg?], 1605) [STC 15646], p.18
[89] Bradshaw, *Proposition Concerning Kneeling*, p.8, p.9.
[90] Anon., *The Remoovall of Certaine Imputations* (Middelburg, 1606) [STC 14037], p.3.
[91] H.Jacob, *A Christian...Offer*, p.11. N.Fuller, *An Argument* ([Middelburg?], 1607) [STC 11460], p.7.

Parker wrote, were 'Calvino-papistes or halfe-papists'.[92] Only godly reformers stood against 'the incroaching of this Antichristian mystery.'[93]

The effect of these two competing narratives was to resurrect the oppositional and antagonistic discourse of late Elizabethan England and to establish it as a basis for public conceptions and perceptions of Jacobean politics. It provided a framework through which the essential polarity of Calvinist faith, the eternal struggle between good and evil, Christ and Antichrist, was transposed onto the religio-political landscape. This framework would shape the dynamics of illicit and official interactions in print in the ensuing decades, but it also impacted upon perceptions of the role of illicit print at a fundamental level.

For reformers, the ceremonial controversy represented a moment at which some illicit writers, printers, and publishers became *Martins.* Robert Parker, one of the authors, is another case in point. Whilst he had been in trouble for nonconformity in the 1580s, he had subscribed in 1591 and served as prebendary of Stanton St. Bernard, Wiltshire, without issue from 1593-1607.[94] The inflammatory discourse used against the reformers had driven him to take radical action. The godly, he argued, have 'bene termed Puritans and Donatistes: bene pinioned with Barrowistes, yea Anabaptistes: yea Familists: bene accused of singularitie in our selves, of schisme in the church, of sedition in the common wealth', and 'whereas our writers, to clear our religion from the infamie of division…averre and avouch, there is no sect of puritans in this land, and prove this nick name doth but fill up the old reproach of the Christians termed *Nazareni.*'[95] Parker, like Marprelate, inverted the pejorative associations of 'Puritan.' 'Puritans' were not schismatical but, like the persecuted Christians of apostolic times, defenders of godly truth and combatants in the eternal war with Antichrist. Reformers were to be 'Gods reme[m]brancers, giving no rest, untill he set up Ierusalem the prayse of the world.'[96] This self-conception, a continuation of Marprelate's ideas, became an identity which had important implications for illicit print. In this framework, godly printers, publishers, and writers would play a pivotal role in the battle. William Jones certainly viewed himself in these terms. His work as a printer had a divine purpose: 'I am resolved (through his grace) to be as helpful as (I can) in pulling downe the tower of Babel. Which to do I am perswaded, every Christian as well bound in conscience as to build up the

[92] Parker, *Scholasticall Discourse*, pp.111-112.
[93] S.Hieron, *A Short Dialogue* ([Middelburg?], 1605), sig.A3r.
[94] See *ODNB*, 'Robert Parker'.
[95] R.Parker, *A Scholasticall Discourse Against Symbolizing with Antichrist in Ceremonies* (Printed by R.Schilders, Middelburg, 1607) [STC 19294], p.111.
[96] Jacob, *A Christian...Offer*, sig.*1r.

tower of Sion.'[97] This early justification for the role of illicit print as an agent of truth would have a significant impact upon later debates.

Whilst officially-sponsored writers clearly embraced public politics in print to oppose the efforts of reformers, inherent in their writings was a competing vision of its role and usage. In the official narrative, puritanism, popularity, appeals to the public in print (and public politics more broadly) went hand in hand. The latter was an extension of the former: a representation of disorder and disobedience which threatened the Commonweal. There is 'nothing more pregnant to advance the common good', wrote William Wilkes, 'then obedience.'[98] Appeals to the public in this respect stood in contrast to good government, and to larger ideas of *iure divino* episcopacy and the divine right of kingship which the conformist tracts increasingly propagated. This, at least, seems to have been James's opinion. One copy of Henry Jacob's *To the High and Mighty Prince James* held in the archives at Lambeth Palace Library belonged to James himself. Crammed in the margins of the pamphlet, bound in dashing white goatskin and inlaid gold, are a stream of the monarch's personal dismissive responses and jokes. Throughout, we find comments like: 'an ugle manifest lye', 'an olde threede bare calumnie', 'a senseles & savourles calumnie.' It was not only Jacob's arguments which offended the king, but the impulse which underpinned the text, an impulse which James saw as inherent in puritanism itself: *popularity*. To engage publics in the affairs of state was to accept that 'shoe makers then are better judges…of eclesiasticall causis' than learned divines, or indeed divinely-appointed kings.[99] Whether we can read in these comments a competing vision of politics or not, it is enough to illustrate that, whilst some perceived illicit print as a godly endeavour, others had deep reservations about the nature of public politics and its implications more broadly. It is certainly telling that, following Bancroft's death in 1610, the ceremonial controversy represented the last extensive exercise in state-sponsored public politics under James's rule.

The first six years of James's reign marked a formative period for illicit print in early modern England. As we have seen, the illicit print campaign undertaken by Jones and Schilders laid firm foundations for the development of an illicit printing infrastructure in early modern England, developing networks and tactics which were more formalized and sophisticated than those which produced the Marprelate tracts. The success of this nascent infrastructure forced church policy onto the public stage,

[97] Anon., *Informations, or a protestation* ([Middelburg?], 1608), 'The Printer to the Reader', sig.*1r.
[98] W.Wilkes, *Obedience*, p.2.
[99] H.Jacob, *To the High and Mightie Prince James* (Middelburg, 1609) [STC 14339]: Lambeth Palace Library, Copy Reference ZZ (1609.42) James's quotations are taken from his marginal annotations, pp.9-14.

generating a public debate in print which would rumble on for half a decade. And whilst the dynamics of the debate mirrored the shape of Martinist and anti-Martinist discourse in late Elizabethan England, we can trace within it the emergence of competing conspiratorial narratives and competing conceptions of politics, the implications of which shall be explored in the following chapters. Perhaps most importantly, this chapter introduces us to the printer, William Jones. Following his imprisonment in 1610, Jones would re-enter the trade with the support of his collaborator in the campaign, Richard Boyle.[100] In 1616, he acquired the aged Boyle's press, allowing him once more to resume his printing activities. Curtis wrongly believed that Jones himself had died in 1626 but, as we shall see, he would instead survive and thrive, becoming a central figure in the illicit print trade for the next thirty years.[101]

[100] The little information which survives for Jones's trial is found in TNA, STAC 8/11/18.
[101] Curtis, 'William Jones', p.66. The William Jones, printer, who died in 1626 was probably Jones's son. He was buried in March, shortly after his wife, Elizabeth, possibly succumbing to the plague which struck London in that year: see W.E Miller, 'Printers and Stationers in the Parish of St Giles Cripplegate, 1561-1640', *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol.19, (1966), pp.15-38. For the survival of Jones's the elder, see Chapter Eight, page 210.

Part Two: 1618 - 1624

Chapter Three: The Bohemia Crisis, 1618-1621

Part Two explores successive illicit print campaigns conducted between 1618-1624, which attempted to generate public debate about James I's contentious foreign policy aims and, in so doing, challenged the state's hegemony over public discourse of state policy. It will reconstruct the networks which underpinned these print campaigns, and it will explore how illicit writers used their texts to participate in, and shape, the political process. It will also analyse the narratives and ideas they developed to appeal to publics and to justify their actions in doing so. This chapter focuses upon the first of these campaigns which emerged at the onset of the Thirty Years' War. It shows how interest groups used print to generate public interest in the war and shape public perceptions of English foreign policy, and it traces the transnational contours of those interest groups and their connections to the world of underground print.

I England's Connection to the Thirty Years' War

In late 1618 a great comet flashed across the sky like 'a fire-brand wrapped in a red cloak.'[1] Visible to the naked eye, the English subjects who witnessed this wonder were struck by the sensation that its passing was portentous. Some, indeed, were convinced that the comet augured ill. Looking back a year later, the diarist and politician Sir Simonds D'Ewes noted that his intention to keep a diary to 'relate the sad and doleful events of Christendom, which happened this present year [1619]' was an 'immediate consequence of that great and dreadful comet I had myself been an eye-witness of the last year.'[2] It was, after all, 'receyued for an vndoubted truth, that Comets carry with them a Prognostication of some strange wonder...it hath beene precisely noted, and by due obseruation confirmed, that they threaten some eminent euill & mischiefe: for which consideration a Blazing starre was called, a signe of Heauen' and 'a token of great feare', or so a sixteenth-century pamphlet, no doubt hastily reprinted to capitalise upon the phenomenon, surmised.[3]

Such prognostications, however, were far beneath a wise and learned prince like James I. To attempt to divine God's truth from the stars was a foolish enterprise. Those 'which thought it [the comet] bring the world some newes from fate, / The letter is such that none can it translate: / And for to guesse at God Almighties winde / were such a thinge might cozen all mankinde.' To James, his subjects' "irrational" views about the comet were symptomatic of a deeper and more disturbing tendency to *talk*:

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[1] G.Roberts (ed.), *Diary of Walter Yonge,Esq.* (London, 1848), pp.31-32.
[2] J.Halliwell (ed.), *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes,* Vol.I (London, 1845), p.136.
[3] F.Nausea, *A Treatise of Blazing Starres* (London, 1618) [STC 18413.7], sig.C3v.

not simply the idle chatter of private discourse, but the discursive impulse to debate weighty matters of state, to delve into the king's prerogative realm of *arcana imperii*. In particular, the focus of his subjects' tongues had set upon the Spanish match, James's long-held diplomatic objective to marry his heir Charles to the Infanta of Spain. To his subjects, the match between England's Protestant prince and a Catholic princess would mark a dramatic regression towards the darkness of popery; for James, it represented an achievement worthy of the title 'Peace-maker', a means of restoring confessional peace to an increasingly fractured Christendom, and an immediate solution to the Crown's fiscal crisis without resorting to the conditional generosity of parliament. His subjects could entertain their fears in private, but to discuss such matters in public spaces – in theatres, taverns, the book-lined walks around St. Paul's, and in print – was both inexpedient and an infringement upon his prerogative. 'Therefore I wish the curious man to keepe / His rash imaginations till hee sleepe: / Then let him dreame of famine, plague and warre, / And thinke the match with Spayne hath cays'd this starre. / And let him thinke that I thye Prince, and Mynion / Will shortly change, or which is worse, religion: / And that hee may have nothing else to feare / Let him walke Paules, and meete the divell there'[4]

Less than a year after the comet's passing, events in Europe unfolded which would further complicate James's foreign policy aims and exacerbate the fissures in domestic politics which had begun to emerge in support and opposition to them. On August 22 1619, the Estates of Bohemia voted to depose their ruler, the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor, and offered the crown instead to James's son-in-law Frederick, the Elector Palatine and titular head of the Protestant Union of German princes. Frederick's acceptance plunged central Europe into a conflict which would ultimately escalate into the Thirty Years' War. Frederick and his Protestant allies stood against the Habsburg-led Catholic League, supported by Spain. Frederick's crushing defeat at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, however, effectively ended his capacity for further military resistance before the campaign had even begun; without foreign aid, Frederick would lose both his newly-won crown in Bohemia and his hereditary lands in the Palatinate.[5]

Hope, however, was never entirely extinguished. As Geoffrey Parker observed, Habsburg success had been predicated upon 'a careful diplomatic campaign which shattered the pattern of alliances built up by the Palatine party and isolated Frederick from his more powerful potential supporters.'[6] Both traditional diplomacy and what Helmers has recently termed 'public diplomacy' –

[4] SP 14/104/31.
[5] G.Parker (ed.), *The Thirty Years' War* (London, 1984), pp.2-83.
[6] Ibid., p.62.

that is, public politics conducted *across* state boundaries – had been highly effective political tools for Spanish and Habsburg agents. Nonetheless, participants on either side of the confessional divide were aware that the Habsburg position was still extremely fragile.[7] 'Skilful propaganda' on the Protestant side, the use of international publicity specifically, 'could easily arouse fears of boundless Habsburg ambition' and re-invigorate the collection of states who wished to see the power of the Habsburgs and, by marital association, Spain, curtailed. What was also abundantly clear was that England, whose intimate connection to the war through James's daughter, Elizabeth, the queen of Bohemia, and its geopolitical significance, was positioned at the centre of the crisis. By the winter of 1620, England 'served as focus for Palatine – and, indeed, for all Protestant – diplomacy.'[8] As a result, English publics increasingly became the focus of official and unofficial international diplomatic appeals. This chapter will trace the outlines of one particular transnational network, coalesced around the Palatine court-in-exile, which leveraged the illicit print infrastructure of England to launch an extensive international publicity campaign, aimed both at shaping public perceptions of the crisis in favour of the Palatine court, and constraining the state's latitude to pursue policies which undermined their cause: the Spanish Match most notable amongst them. In the process of invoking and appealing to publics as jurors in matters of state, this publicity campaign contributed to the breakdown of boundaries between 'private' and 'public' realms of political discourse, creating public spaces which allowed for fuller participation in politics and which challenged the state's (at least theoretical) dominion over foreign policy.

II Informing Publics: Illicit News and Private Intelligence

This process was dependent upon informed publics and, indeed, a willingness to be informed. The uniquely fragile continental situation, coupled with the public interest in, and affection for, the Elizabeth, 'a queene, if not of Nations yet of harts', fostered and sustained a new market for cheap, regular, and reliable news: international intelligence that had heretofore circulated through manuscript subscription services and had been confined to the mercantile or politically-engaged publics who could afford them.[9] The first to fulfil this market was the corranto or "current", a regular feature of public life

[7] See J.Polisensky, *Anglie a Bila Hora: The Bohemian War and British Policy, 1618-1620* (Prague, 1949). Polisensky's account pays particular attention to the influence of printed pamphlets in this period.
[8] Parker, *Thirty Years' War,* p.63.
[9] N.Akkerman (ed.), *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*: Volume I, 1603-1631 (Oxford, 2015), Letter 179, pp.247-249.

in the United Provinces. The first *surviving* copy of these early corrantoes reached England in late November when a Dorchester merchant, William Whiteway, recorded in his diary that 'newes came to the towne that the King of Bohemia was overthrown by Count Bucquoy and fled with the queen into Silesia.'[10] Further news followed, with uncertain reports of the Battle of White Mountain filtering into the country in December.[11] These corrantoes were translations of Dutch originals and produced in Amsterdam. They were printed by Joris Veseler, an Amsterdam printer with commercial ties to English nonconformists in the Netherlands, and sold by Peter Van De Keere, a map engraver and illustrator who had fled Ghent to London with his Calvinist family as a child and had maintained business contacts with England since.[12] The corrantoes were sold wholesale, probably to Thomas Archer, a bookseller based in Pope's Head Alley, not far from the Dutch Reformed Church at Austen Friars, and from there disseminated throughout London and beyond. Hastily-printed in an old, damaged Gothic type, without an adorning title-page, these corrantoes were short, informative works designed for quick, cost-effective distribution; but they also contained a level of detail and specificity, naming an array of combatants and places, which suggest that they were marketed towards an increasingly aware and engaged reading public.[13]

James's reaction to this influx of foreign news was swift and in January 1621 he prevailed upon the United Provinces to issue a ban on its export. On January 16, the States General issued a proclamation against both secret and public printing, forbidding Dutch stationers 'to send the same [news] to other countries and realms and particularly not to send...scandalous writings and pamphlets concerning other kings and potentates, friends and allies, touching their political or ecclesiastical governments, and especially none against the King of Great Britain.'[14] The decree, however, did little to stem the flow. At least initially, van de Keere and Veseler continued to print foreign news unabated. In March, the Amsterdam corrantoes stopped, possibly due to the arrest of Veseler in early 1621 for his role in illegally printing pro-Arminian pamphlets in the Netherlands.[15] Rather than ceasing production altogether, however, the locus of printing simply shifted from Amsterdam to London itself. Thomas Archer began publishing news directly using contacts on the continent. Edward Allde, a master printer

[10] J.Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War* (Boydell, 2011), p.65.
[11] See *New Tidings* (Amsterdam, 1620) [STC 18507.1], and *Corrant out of Italy* (Amsterdam, 1620) [STC 18507.2-3].
[12] Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, p.102, Boys, *London's News*, pp.65-66.
[13] See *New Tidings* [STC 18507.1], for example.
[14] Boys, *London's News*, p.68.
[15] Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, p.102.

with a long history of illicit printing, produced the corantoes.[16] Again, there is no indication that the official constraints placed upon printed news impacted upon its production; rather, the shift from Amsterdam to London removed the expense and difficulty of importing newsbooks and facilitated a wider and more regular dissemination of news than ever before. The Archer-Allde corrantoes continued from April to August uninterrupted at an almost weekly rate, providing the MPs attending parliament with ready access to the latest, if not always entirely reliable, information on European affairs.[17]

Printed news, however, was never restricted to the halls of parliament. As an essentially commercial enterprise, it cultivated a much wider market for information which extended far beyond London, permeating the entire body politic of Britain. Analysis of surviving correspondence reveals the rapidity with which printed news became a primary staple of information, supplementing and, often, supplanting regular private channels of information. The letters of intelligencers like Joseph Mead and John Chamberlain are filled with detailed information gleaned from printed news and it became common practice, for Mead at least, to send printed copies or transcriptions to his correspondents.[18] Joseph Mead's example demonstrates exactly how such printed news passed through the veins of the political nation. Mead referred to Thomas Archer as 'my corrantoer' and likely had something akin to a subscription-based arrangement with the bookseller, mimicking the established business practises of private, hand-written newsletter circulation.[19] Once news arrived at Christ's College Cambridge, which, Millstone argues, Mead had turned into a 'center of scribal reproduction', the news would be digested and appended to the letters of his various correspondents.[20] The Suffolk gentleman Sir Martin Stuteville was one such correspondent who regularly received news from Mead and he in turn relayed such information to the visitors, friends, and correspondents who constituted Stuteville's social network, including the puritan Isham family of Northamptonshire, the lawyer Simonds D'Ewes and the

[16] See Boys, *London's News*, pp.289-296 for a detailed bibliography of corranto printing in England. For more on Allde, see Mckerrow, *Dictionary of Printers*, pp.5-6.
[17] Boys, *London's* News, p.290. There is some reason to believe that Archer and Allde, or perhaps another news syndicate, had been producing printed news in England pre-dating the Dutch imports. In a letter in February 1622, John Chamberlain for since two yeares that the forge or mint was set up at Amsterdam we have never left off coyning, so apish are we in imitation of what is worst.' N.McClure (ed.), *The Letters of John Chamberlain,* Vol.II (Philadelphia, 1939), p.423.
[18] See D.Wedgbury, 'An Edition of the Letters (1621-1625) of the Reverend Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville of Suffolk in BL MS Harleian 389' (Leicester University, unpublished thesis, 1991), hereafter referred to as Wedgbury, *Letters*, and N.McClure (ed.), *The Letters of John Chamberlain, Vol.II* (Philadelphia, 1939) hereafter referred to as Chamberlain, *Letters*, II.
[19] Wedgbury, *Letters,* p.151.
[20] N.Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation and the Invention of Politics in the Early Stuart Period* (Cambridge, 2016), p.43. For example of letters being attached, see Wedbury, *Letters,* Nos. 22, 31, and 35.

antiquarian Sir Robert Cotton. Cotton in turn fed a further circle of associates including John Selden, Ben Jonson, and John Holles. Cotton's circle, Millstone argues, was 'a spectacular example of a rather more common phenomenon' and we might expect that networks across the country drew their information from similar processes which originated in the illicit productions of Thomas Archer and Edward Allde.[21] Indeed when such channels of intelligence failed, foreign news dried up. In the same week that Thomas Archer was arrested in August 1621, John Chamberlain failed to write a letter at all, conceding the following week that 'the last weeke was so barren that I had no list to write.'[22] Nor should we assume that such news was restricted to educated circles like those of Stuteville at Dalham or Mead at Christ's college. At the start of the 1621 Parliament, Secretary Calvert moved to reassure MPs that James's January proclamation against lavish and licentious speech was not aimed at them, but 'intended against such as make ordinary table talk state matters in taverns and alehouses.'[23] Whether illicit news production was central to the tavern *table talk* referred to here (it certainly would have been both accessible and affordable), it clearly played an important function in providing the raw intelligence necessary for the cultivation of politically-engaged publics.

News production, however much it stimulated unwanted discussion of 'state matters', was not the primary focus of the royal proclamation. More alarming was a series of at least twenty-five pamphlets published from 1619 to 1621 which encroached much more severely upon the *arcana imperii*. The pamphlets were produced either without an imprint, bearing a false imprint, or were illegally imported from the United Provinces; some were translations of tracts circulating in Europe, some were direct responses to Catholic libels, and others were newly-written accounts shaped specifically for an English readership. Together these pamphlets provided detailed and pointed political commentaries upon the rapidly shifting events unfolding in Europe: collectively, they propagated a narrative of the Bohemia crisis framed from the perspective of Frederick and Elizabeth's supporters, a narrative which both countered continental Catholic propaganda and reinforced the web of rumours and intelligence which percolated throughout the English body politic.

[21] Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, p.42. See also C.Kyle, *Theatre of State: Parliament and Political Culture in Early Stuart England* (Stanford, 2012), particularly Chapter Four, for his extensive discussion of what he terms 'a national social network of information and communication.', p.99.
[22] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, pp.396-398.
[23] R.Zaller, *The Parliament of 1621* (Berkeley, 1971), p.38.

The first wave of four pamphlets came in late 1619 (some possibly as late as early March 1620) and were likely printed, as their imprints suggests, at Dort by George Waters.[24] The first two pamphlets, *The Reasons* and *A Cleare Demonstration*, provided detailed accounts of both the reasons for removing Ferdinand as the king of Bohemia, and the legality of doing so. Together they cast Ferdinand in a role familiar to English theatre audiences, as a tyrant acting against God; 'whensoever the priviledges of a State are uniustly undermined...& Orthodoxe religion sharply persecuted or banished...such a Government must needes degenerate into a most outrageous tyrannie, and that all bonds of faith, love, and obedience, which doe tye the Magistrate and Subiects to one another, must needes be dissolved.' When a ruler violates the 'Lawes and the Liberty of true Religion', the 'foundation' of 'Christian and lawfull rule', it is evident 'that that rule, is neither lawfully constituted, nor can long continue.'[25] By framing the removal of Ferdinand in such terms, they rebutted the charge of rebellion levelled against the Bohemians and established a basis for the depiction of Frederick and Elizabeth as religious and political liberators of an oppressed people. The importance of propagating this message to an English readership was clearly considered pivotal; the translator apologised for not printing 'as exact an impression as the subject requireth' because the copy upon which it was based 'was written over in hast, and also by a stranger: and printed likewise in hast, the Compositors also strangers.'[26] The translator's account of Frederick and Elizabeth's journey from Heidelberg to Prague, by contrast could afford to wait: the translator 'for some reserved reasons...deferred' its publication until 'after the newes of their Maties entrie, Coronation & all other Solemnities [had] past', but it must have followed no later than three or four months after the coronation in late October.[27] If speed of publication was deemed politically imperative, so too was imagery. The final product of the quartet of Dort tracts was a single-sheet broadside ballad, *The Most Illustrious Prince*, containing a large woodcut image of the newly-crowned king and queen of Bohemia set above a verse ballad.

[24] These are: Anon., *The Reasons...to Reject the Archduke Ferdinand* (Printed at Dort by George Waters, 1619) [STC 3212], Anon., *A Cleare Demonstration* (Printed at Dort by George Waters, 1619) [STC 10811], Anon., *The Most Illustrious Prince* (Printed at Dort by George Waters, 1619) [STC 11360], Anon., *A Short Relation* (Printed at Dort by George Waters, 1619) [STC 12859].
[25] *A Cleare Demonstration*, p.1.
[26] *The Reasons...to Reject the Archduke Ferdinand*, 'To the Reader'.
[27] *A Short Relation*, 'To the Reader'.

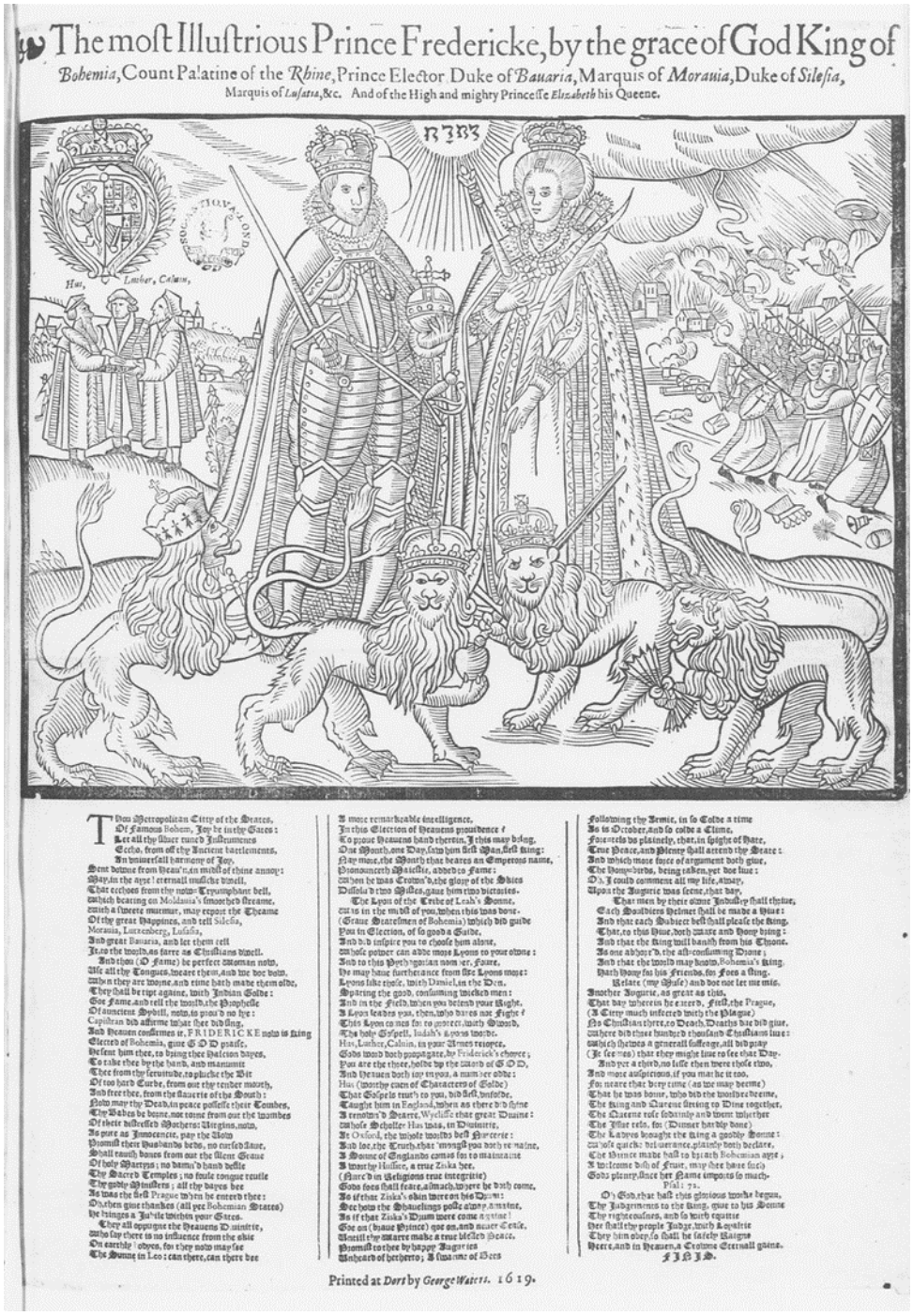

Figure 1: Anon., *The Most Illustrious Prince* (Dort, 1619) [STC 11360].

The woodcut depicted Frederick and Elizabeth as the epitome of godly rulership; Frederick, the image of martial majesty, bedecked in armour and wielding the sword of state in his right hand, bore a sceptre, whilst Elizabeth carried the rod of justice in one hand and, perhaps tellingly**,** a quill in the other. Directly

behind them hung the sun, whose godly rays beat down upon them; at their feet, prowled four crowned lions drawn from the Scripture. To their left in the background, Jan Hus, Calvin, and Luther embrace, to their right the Catholic forces flee in terror. The Dort quartet, thus, neatly encapsulates the two main strands of the wider set of illegal pamphlets produced between 1619 and 1621; the first was to establish practically and intellectually the legitimacy and legality of Frederick's reign in Bohemia, and the illegality of Ferdinand's response, the second was to cultivate an image of both king and queen as glorious and godly monarchs. This depiction stood in direct opposition to James, who steadfastly refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of Ferdinand's removal or Frederick's subsequent claim to the Bohemian throne.

As events accelerated, and indeed worsened, the need to produce rapid public responses became more pronounced. It is for this reason, I would argue, that the locus of printing shifted from Dort to London itself. Between March 1620 to about September that same year, around twelve pamphlets were issued; from September to the end of 1621, a further ten followed, all of which were likely printed in the capital itself. Several explicitly aimed to justify or criticize the political situation. *A Declaration of the Causes* explained Frederick's reasons for accepting the Bohemian crown, *A Relation of the late Journey of the Jesuits* justified the expulsion of the order from Bohemia, whilst *An Answere to the Question* and the *The Declaration and Information* criticized in explicit terms the legality of Ferdinand's political procedures and his decision to issue an Imperial Ban against Frederick.[28] Perhaps the most significant pamphlet of the series, *Bohemia Iura Defensa*, offered an explicit rebuttal of Imperial propaganda, namely the no longer extant *Informatio Fundamentalis* which had circulated in manuscript in England and across Europe.[29] The pamphlet was published, the translator stated, to refer the argument 'to the censure of all those who favour the equitie of this so Christian a cause.' It was, he wrote, a necessary response to

> the Adversaries both of Truth and Religion, who are now growne to that height of impudency, as they Informe, affirme, yea and contradict and denie almost any thing, thought as cleare as the Sunne, either in matter of right or fact, to maintayne their owne desperate cause. Witness

[28] Anon., *A Declaration of the Causes* (Middelburg [i.e London?], 1620) [STC 11351], Anon., *A Relation of the late Journey of the Jesuits banished out of...Bohemia* ([London?], 1620) [STC 13537], Anon., *AN ANSWERE TO THE QVESTION: Whether the Emperour that now is, can bee Iudge in the BOHEMIAN Controuersie or no?* ([London?], 1620) [STC 10810], Anon., *The Declaration and Information of the High and Puissant King of Bohemia* ([London?], 1620) [STC 11350].

[29] Two manuscript copies survive in English archives. See BL Add. Ms.69911, f.90, and BL Harl. 252, ff.75r-98r.

> all those idle rumors wee have heard with our eares, from time to time dispersed amongst us, and daily heare...comming from the father of lyes, and his malicious instruments: with such contumelious and unworthy aspersions, upon that most Noble and Heroicall Prince, now King of Bohemia, and his proceedings.

The translator hoped to overcome Imperial propaganda by making 'all the world eye witnesses and iudges thereof by the event.'[30] Such claims to truth, albeit heavily inflected, served to allow this series of pamphlets to formulate the existing rumours and snippets of news into a coherent and compelling narrative framework, one which set the crisis in comprehensible and familiar terms to an English readership. This was yet another act in the familiar drama between the servants of religion and the 'father of lyes, and his malicious instruments', between God and Antichrist.[31]

Nor did the pamphlets rely on explication and argument alone to counter the misinformation of their adversaries. The pamphlets contained a host of official or semi-official documents: secret letters, constitutional and legal documents, and proclamations all of which claimed to provide the *truth*. As the supposed author of *Two Letters*, William Barlow, claimed 'To his assured Friend, H.C', he did not wish to 'weary' him with endless news, which 'will be stale ere it come to your handes by my meanes', but instead had 'chanced on something, which I am sure none can helpe you to, but by my meanes.'[32] In this way, these pamphlets constituted something decidedly different and, to the authorities, something decidedly more threatening; they claimed a degree of authenticity, of secret intelligence, which could not be obtained through regular channels of information. The *truth* was an elusive but very real entity, one which was masked and manipulated by malevolent forces, and which could only be uncovered by godly and honest citizens.

We can see in the pro-Bohemia pamphlets two important developments at work. In the first instance, this series of illicit pamphlets claimed to provide its readers with secret, 'private' political material: material which could not be found elsewhere, either in newsbooks or other 'official' accounts. It marked the beginning of a process whereby illicit writers began to market illicit print as a necessary and desirable element in political discourse: an untainted source of political intelligence. By playing out this performance in print, these pamphlets further sought to transform secrets of state into public truths: to transport these truths out of the private realm of the monarch's *arcana imperii* and to submit

[30] Anon., *Bohemia Iura Defensa* ([London], 1620) [STC 3205], sig.A2v.
[31] Ibid.
[32] [STC 3215] Anon., *Two Letters* (Amsterdam [i.e London], 1620), sig.A2r.

them instead before the fora of public judgement. These pamphlets both erected a public stage and invoked a public to act, not as spectators, but as jurors and judges in the theatre of state. The pro-Bohemia pamphlets effectively politicized the idea inherent in Martinist arguments of the Marprelate and ceremonial controversies: the idea that truth, whether it be God's truth or geopolitical realities, should be rendered public. As we shall see in Chapters Four and Five, the anonymously-authored *Vox Populi* represented the strongest affirmation of the ideas behind the pro-Bohemia pamphlets. Published in November 1620, *Vox Populi* claimed to provide explicit and detailed insider information of a secret planning committee of Spanish, Habsburg, and Papal agents. It revealed, or claimed to reveal, the plots and practises by which these agents, and primarily the Ambassador to England, Gondomar, had manipulated the international crisis and the Spanish Match in order to undermine the English state. To its readers, it provided a clear basis for opposing the Spanish Match and supporting Frederick and Elizabeth on the Continent; to the political supporters of James's foreign policy, it demonstrated the explosive political and propagandistic potential of this newly-defined genre of private-public exposé.[33]

III Unravelling the Network

On Christmas eve, only a month after *Vox Populi's* publication, James issued a proclamation against public discussions of the *arcana imperii* in any public fora. 'There is at this time', the proclamation stated, 'a more licentious passage of lavish discourse, and bold Censure in matters of State, then hath been heretofore, or is fit to be suffered.' The proclamation, therefore, was

> to give forewarning unto Our loving Subjects, of this excesse and presumption; And straitly to command them and every of them, from the highest to the lowest, to take heede, how they intermeddle by Penne, or Speech, with causes of State, and secrets of Empire, either at home or abroad, but containe themselves within that modest and reverent regard, of matters, above their reach and calling.[34]

In other words, it asked James's subjects to heed the warning of his private verses to 'hold your pratling spare your penn / Be honest and obedience men.'[35] Less than a week earlier, James had issued a similar

[33] *Vox Populi* will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters 4 and 5.
[34] Larkin, Hughes (eds.), *Stuart Royal Proclamations,* No.208, pp.495-499.
[35] A.McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge, 2004), pp.97-98.

directive to his clergy, ordering them to forego discussions of Spain, the Spanish Match, or any other matter of state.

There has been much historiographical debate concerning the stimulus for James's proclamation. Cogswell has argued that the proclamation marked the start of the "evill times" of repressive government measures which sought to curtail free speech and public discussions of political issues.[36] Sheila Lambert, by contrast, has argued that the proclamation 'made no mention of printing' and was instead a focused response to direct verbal attacks against Gondomar.[37] I would argue, however, that the flow of pro-Bohemia pamphlets, crowned by the publication of *Vox Populi*, were the chief catalyst for official remedial action. Contemporary observers themselves were certain that it was precisely the *printed* attacks which had so enraged the ambassador and his allies. Three weeks before the proclamation, the Venetian ambassador had already commented upon *Vox Populi's* impact: 'it severely castigates the Spanish ambassador here,' he reported, 'who therefore foams with wrath in every direction and it is said that he has sent it to the King to make complaint. This has transpired and given rise to much comment.'[38] When he saw the proclamation on December 27, Simonds D'Ewes reached a similar conclusion: 'I saw and perused a proclamation...inhibiting or forbidding any of his subjects to discourse of state-matters, either foreign or domestic; which, *as all men conceived* to have been procured by the Count of Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, because the before-mentioned book, called "Vox Populi", became the subject of many men's discourses.'[39] To avid consumers of the *Vox Populi* conspiracy, of course, Gondomar was the perpetrator of all insidious political machinations; historians likewise have accepted this narrative too uncritically. As a result, both Boys and Wright have proposed that *Vox Populi*'s publication was timed to coincide with Gondomar's return to England in late 1620.[40] Certainly this may have been one consideration, but the political timing of its publication should also be seen in the context of an upcoming parliament and parliamentary elections, which were announced on November 6 1620.[41]

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[36] T.Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English politics and the coming of war, 1621-1624* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.6-53.
[37] S.Lambert, 'Coranto Printing in England: The First Newsbooks', *Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History*, Vol.8, (1992), p.7.
[38] A.Hinds (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice,* Vol.16, 1619-1621 (London, 1910), No.644, p.491 [hereafter referred to as *CSPV*].
[39] Halliwell, *Autobiography*, pp.161-162, my italics.
[40] Boys, *London's News Press*, p.68. L.Wright, 'Propaganda against James I's "Appeasement" of Spain', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol.6, No.2, (1943), p.152.
[41] Larkin, *Stuart Royal Proclamations,* Vol.I, p.493.

Those closest to royal policy were certainly aware of *Vox Populi's* political potential. A week before the proclamation, Francis Bacon wrote to Buckingham to express his concerns about the direction of parliamentary elections: 'the prognosticks are not so good as I expected,' he wrote, 'occasioned by late occurrences abroad, and the general licentious speaking of state matters.'[42] For *Vox Populi* specifically provided a vocal opposition to royal policy. Whilst James argued for peace, *Vox Populi* called for war; whilst James aimed to treat the Spanish match and the Palatinate as separate issues, *Vox Populi* formulated them as part of the same coherent Spanish plot to achieve universal monarchy. D'Ewes' report of James's own reading of *Vox Populi* shows that the king was fully cognizant of this point: 'the King himself, hoping to get the Prince Elector, his son-in-law, to be restored to the Palatinate by an amicable treaty, was much incensed at the sight of it, as being published at an unseasonable time.'[43] *Vox Populi* exposed the paradox at the heart of James's foreign policy. The restoration of the Palatinate and the Spanish Match were mutually exclusive goals, neither could hold whilst the other survived. Whilst James himself evidently did not see the situation in such terms, its construction of a counter-narrative to his own ends, and its emergence at such a delicate political moment, were clearly key in the issuance of his proclamation. He perhaps feared, as Gondomar reportedly did, that 'the people's eyes...be opened so far with the perusal of this book and their hearts to be so extremely irritated with that discovery of his [Gondomar's] villanous practises.'[44]

That Gondomar, James, and his advisers viewed *Vox Populi* as a serious threat is further shown in the 'speedy search' that was made for both its author and printer.[45] By November 28, Secretary Calvert informed Buckingham that he had already been charged with 'the discovery of that seditious book called Vox Populi, whereof I have a hope to find out the author, and am now busy about it.'[46] Although his search was initially unsuccessful, by January Calvert had enlisted a network of spies to infiltrate the circles of stationers involved in *Vox Populi*'s distribution and it appears his tactics proved successful.[47] A month later, on February 2, Thomas Lake wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton that one 'Scot, who was questioned about a book of birds, in Somerset's time, is suspected of having written the discourse sent [Vox Populi].'[48] The next day John Chamberlain reported that 'the author of Vox Populi

[42] Spedding, Ellis, Heath (eds.), *The Works of Francis Bacon,* Vol.14: *The Letters and the Life, 7* (Cambridge, 2011), p.152. Hereafter: *Works of Francis Bacon,* V.14, 7.
[43] Halliwell, *Autobiography*, pp.158-159.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] S.Gardiner (ed.), *The Fortescue Papers* (London, 1871), pp.143-144.
[47] SP 14/118/139.
[48] SP 14/119/103.

is discovered to be one Scot a minister, beeing bewraied by the printer, who thereby hath saved himself and got his pardon, though the booke were printed beyond sea.'[49] Within two weeks, the minister Scott was himself sent for but he had fled 'it is thought, to Holland.'[50] Despite the evident intent to capture the pen behind the people's voice and to make an example of him with 'sharp censure', Scott had managed to escape to the relative security of the United Provinces.[51] Whilst Scott himself would later claim to have been warned of the coming of pursuivants in a dream from God the night before, the more observant contemporaries suspected that he may have benefited from insider support. Joseph Mead, well-supplied with reliable court intelligence, suspected as much, writing to Stuteville that 'Scott of Norwich, who is sayd to be the Author of Vox Populi, they say is now fled having as it seemes *fore-notice* of his pursevant.'[52]

Hints of a wider conspiracy had indeed emerged during the initial hunt for Scott. In his search for the author, Secretary Calvert had searched the house of a 'suspicious person', Thomas Gainsford, Archer's corranto editor, and discovered the manuscript of 'another pamphlet in his chamber of the like nature [as Vox Populi] entitled Sir Walter Ralegh's ghost, or a conference between Gondomar the Friar Confessor and Father Baldwin the Jesuit, at Ely-house in Holborn.' It was, Calvert assured Buckingham, 'as seditious a book as the other, if not much worse, but not yet printed.'[53] Their similarities no doubt raised suspicions that a wider campaign was unfolding, fears further compounded when, in the new year, a print entitled *The Double Deliverance* began circulating. It depicted the English victory over the Armada and the discovery of the Gunpowder plot. Above the scene, God's eye beams down upon Fawkes with the motto 'Video Rideo' whilst his angels blow the winds which sunk so many Spanish ships; at the centre of the image, the Pope sits in the council with the Devil, a Jesuit, and a number of Spanish advisers and commanders.

[49] Chamberlain, *Letters,* II, p.339.
[50] SP 14/119/207.
[51] Halliwell, *Autobiography*, pp.158-159.
[52] Wedgbury (ed.), *Letters*, pp.6-11.
[53] Gardiner (ed.), *Fortescue Papers,* p.143.

Figure 2: S.Ward, *The Double Deliverance* ([Amsterdam?], 1621), BM, No. 1847,0723.11.

Its creator, another minister, one 'Mr Ward of Ipswich' was swiftly 'sent up for by a pursevant, on Don Gondomers complaint', so Joseph Mead told Stuteville.[54] Although Ward claimed to have created the engraving as a personal project some five years before, and would later petition the king that he had created it 'without anie other sinister intencion, especiallie of meddling in any of your Majsties secret affaires', to the authorities it seemed to contain exactly the same conspiratorial, providential, and pointedly political elements as *Vox Populi*.[55] Whether Ward's defence was valid or not, its timing was also highly suspect: it began circulating just a month after *Vox Populi*'s publication, at the outset of parliament. Print scholars have shared these suspicions. Helen Pierce noted that the picture was brought to Amsterdam to be engraved and printed by high-quality engravers with 'a political agenda very much in mind.'[56] Anthony Griffiths goes a step further. The engraving, he argues, likely produced by a member of the Hondius dynasty, was possibly arranged by Scott himself who, as we shall see, possessed the relevant contacts in Amsterdam; 'Scott and Ward', Griffiths asserts, 'were allies, and Ward's print, despite its apparent commonplace subject, formed part of the same

[54] Wedgbury (ed.), *Letters*, p.10. Mead referred to Samuel Ward, a prominent Ipswich preacher, who frequently clashed with the episcopal authorities: see *ODNB,* 'Samuel Ward, 1577-1640.'
[55] SP 15/42/120.
[56] H.Pierce, *Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (Yale, 2008), p.39.

campaign.'[57] We do not, unfortunately, have evidence to press the case further but the severe length of Ward's imprisonment, stretching at least from February 1621 to April 1622, indicates that the authorities viewed *The Double Deliverance* as a visual companion piece to *Vox Populi*.

Nor was Ward the only figure to suffer imprisonment in 1621. The hunt for *Vox Populi* and its author precipitated a much wider investigation into violations of the royal proclamations and encroachments into the *arcana imperii*, not just in the realm of illicit pamphleteering but in all public fora. In January, the Secretary initially charged with the hunt for Scott, Robert Naunton, was arrested alongside an unnamed minister, and the Archbishop of Canterbury himself interrogated.[58] Ward was arrested in late January or early February, whilst the Palatine ambassador, Baron Dohna, and Elizabeth's principle agent in London, Abraham Williams, were also detained and questioned.[59] By the end of March, Dr.Everard, a London lecturer at St. Martin's-in-the-Field was imprisoned 'for glauncing on Sonday...at the Spanish match, and discifring the craft and crueltie of the Spaniards in all places' and another minister, who Chamberlain was unfortunately unable to name, 'was clapt up, for collecting and setting out a treatise of the intermarriages of the house of Austria,' possibly a reference to the 1620 illegal pamphlet, *A Plaine Demonstration*, which delineated in some detail the inbreeding (and thus illegitimacy) of Habsburg monarchs.[60] In June, the powerful anti-Spanish MP Sir Edwin Sandys and Henry Wriothesley, the Earl of Southampton, were arrested and imprisoned in uncertain circumstances alongside the lawyer, John Selden. The following month Dr George Hakewill, Charles's personal chaplain and the brother of the anti-Spanish MP William Hakewill, was arrested for presenting Charles with a manuscript advising against marriages with those of another religion, whilst the minister Ralph Clayton was imprisoned for sermonising upon the dangers of importing Spanish ewe.[61] At the same time, the printer Edward Allde and the stationers Thomas Archer and Nathaniel Butter were imprisoned for their role in producing a number of the illegal pamphlets on Bohemia previously discussed.[62]

[57] A.Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689* (London, 1998), pp.152-153.
[58] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, pp.336-340. McClure wrongly identifies the 'silenced minister' as Thomas Scott, but Scott had already fled and so could not have been detained as the letter stipulates.
[59] *CSPV*, Vol.16, No.725, pp. 548-566.
[60] French Gent., *A Plaine Demonstration of the Unlawful Succession of the now Emperour Ferdinand the Second* (London, 1620) [STC 10814].
[61] Wright, 'Propaganda', p.155.
[62] W.Jackson (ed.), *Records of the Court of the Stationers Company, 1602-1640* (London, 1957), p.137. SP 14/130/130.

Stansby, who had printed at least one pamphlet illicitly at Butter's behest, had his business closed down.[63]

Historians have, by and large, ignored the significance of these arrests, or at least treated them as disparate and unconnected events. Cyndia Clegg, for example, does not reference Robert Naunton's arrest at all and views the arrests of Southampton and Sandys in traditional terms as being wholly motivated by personal politics.[64] Thomas Cogswell has also cast them in similar terms but does recognize their wider political context. He cites a letter from a priest, Father Bishop, to a friend in Douai which rejoices that the king had 'disgraced them that are hottest against us, canterbury, nanton, southampton' and instead 'promoted to the chief offices men better affected to our religion.' James's political appointments, Cogswell observes, were indeed consistent with Father Bishop's observation; Sir Thomas Murray was replaced by the pro-Spanish diplomat Francis Cottington, Lord Cranfield and John Williams rose to the positions of Lord Treasurer and Lord Keeper, whilst the crypto-Catholics George Calvert and Richard Weston were also given promotions.[65] In other words, the series of arrests in 1621 were part of a programme of punishing those who opposed James's foreign policy and rewarding those who actively supported it; what this narrative obscures, however, is that some, if not a majority, of those arrested were directly or indirectly involved in an organized plan to promote the Bohemian and Palatine cause through illicit print.

To begin to unentangle the web of connections which constituted this plan we must begin with the printers. The printer of the earliest tracts has, of course, already been noted. George Waters was a deacon of the English Church at Dort, a regular printer of English puritan works including those of William Ames and William Bradshaw, and a key figure in the channels of intelligence which circulated throughout the English European diaspora.[66] Two other printers can be directly identified through the surviving evidence of their arrests. On August 13 Edward Allde was arrested alongside Thomas Archer for printing *A Briefe Declaration* under the false imprint of an extremely wealthy Dutch printer, 'Aert Meuris at the Hayf.'[67] Allde was imprisoned for a short a time and released, before being questioned again for printing 'diverse bookes without lycense or entrance, and being called into question for the

[63] SP 14/157/44.
[64] Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, p.263 fn.103.
[65] T.Cogswell, 'Phaeton's Chariot' in J.Merritt (ed.), *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621-1641* (Cambridge, 1996), pp.36-38.
[66] K.Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism* (Eugene, 1982), p.183, p.308.
[67] Anon., *A Briefe Description* (The Hayf[gue] [i.e London], 1621) [STC 11353].

same.'[68] He may have been responsible for a further two works, *A Proclamation* and *Present State of Affairs*, based on the attribution of the Short-Title Catalogue and on typographical similarities between the three works.[69] Allde and Archer had, as discussed, co-ordinated the printing of the unlicensed newsbooks in the early months of 1621 and it is significant here that we should find those chiefly responsible for cultivating politically-informed publics *also* engaged in the printed pro-Bohemia campaign: the two forms of media were mutually reinforcing.

Shortly before this, the printer William Stansby and the bookseller Nathaniel Butter had also been arrested. The timing of their arrests is not clear – only their prison petitions survive – but it seems likely that they took place in late May or early June for there is a noticeable cessation in Nathaniel Butter's entries in the Stationer's Registers from May 17 until December 1621. Stansby's petition to Secretary Calvert, also undated, makes clear that the pair had been arrested for printing *A Plaine Demonstration of the Unlawfull Succession...of Ferdinand*. Stansby admitted to having printed a small treatis 'conteyning A demonstracon of the unlawfull Succession of the nowe Emp[er]or.' He did so, he claimed, 'by the instigacon and p[er]swacon of Nathaniel Butter Staconer...by reason that many tractes concerning the affaires of forraine Princes have byn printted this last yeare to bee publiquely sold w[i]thout anie contradiction.'[70] In a second version of the petition, Stansby further conceded 'that the said Butter not onlie assured the Peticoner that there could be no danger to print the same but also promised to save him harmles from all trouble thereby to arise.'[71] This was not, however, as Stansby claimed, a single moment of weakness. The severity of the response to Stansby's indiscretion – both his presses were taken down and his materials confiscated – suggest that the authorities suspected Stansby had committed greater sins and typographical evidence indicates that they were right.[72]

What is clear is that several of the pamphlets produced between 1619 and 1621 were printed on the same press. Using close typographical analysis, Mark Bland has identified that a significant number of the pro-Bohemia pamphlets were produced by William Stansby.[73] The STC suggests that

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[68] W.Jackson (ed.), *Records*, pp.137-138.
[69] Anon., *A Proclamation made by the high and mighty Frederick* ([London], 1620) [STC 11352], Anon., *The Present State of Affairs betwixt the Emperor and the King of Bohemia* ([London], 1620) [STC 10815].
[70] SP 14/157/44.
[71] SP 14/157/45.
[72] SP 14/157/44.
[73] M.Bland, '"Invisible Dangers": Censorship and the Subversion of Authority in Early Modern England', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, Vol. 90, No. 2, 1996), pp.177-178. These were: Anon., *An Answere to the Question*, Anon., *The Late Good Success and Victory* ([London], 1620) [STC 11356], Anon., *A Declaration...made by the King of France* ([London], 1620) [STC 16838], M.Opitius, *An Oration...to Frederick* ([London], 1620) [STC 18831], and Anon., *Two very lamentable Relations* ([London?], 1620) [STC 20866],

William Jones was also heavily involved, being responsible for printing *Bohemia Regnum Electum.*[74] In other cases, however, it seems that there was likely more than one printer was at work – something Bland overlooks entirely. Shared printing, as Peter Blayney has ably demonstrated, was not an uncommon practice even for shorter works such as pamphlets: in this case, shared printing may have been particularly useful, allowing for faster production and thus greater ability to adapt and respond to changing political circumstance.[75] It also made it difficult for the authorities to identify the presses in question. The confusion has led the STC to list a number of works as being either the work of William Stansby or William Jones: in these instances, it seems likely that both printers were working cooperatively on the same texts.[76]

That we should find William Jones and Edward Allde involved in this business is perhaps unsurprising; both had long careers in illicit printing. Thomas Archer and Nathaniel Butter would both be heavily involved in news production and Butter had close trade ties with George Waters.[77] The outlier here seems to be William Stansby. Stansby and Jones had been apprentices together under the prominent printer John Windet, but had experienced very different career trajectories; Stansby had taken on Windet's thriving business and, whilst he was not entirely averse to bending the rules (as seems the case with most printers), he had generally avoided controversy, whilst Jones had built an entirely different career on the fringes of the company.[78] Stansby, it seems, had fewer scruples when it came to matters of conscience, whilst Jones (see Chapter Two) was a zealous advocate of further religious reformation.[79] We cannot know for sure why Stansby was involved in the project but it is possible that he was used as a screen: it is telling, for example, that the majority of shared printing begins with Stansby's work and is continued by Jones, and that Jones himself was the only member of the group not to be caught. As a more respectable member of the Stationer's Company, Stansby was also less

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Anon., *A Most True Relation* ([London], 1620) [STC 3210], Anon., *True Copies* ([London], 1620) [STC 3214], A.Scultetus, *A Short Information* ([London], 1620) [STC 22126], and Anon., *Consideration and Judgement of the Divines...of Wittenberg* ([London], 1620) [STC 25933].

[74] Anon., *Bohemiae Regnum Electiuum* (London, 1620) [STC 3206].

[75] P.Blayney, 'The Prevalence of Shared Printing in the Early Seventeenth Century'**,** *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* Vol. 67, No. 4, (1973), pp. 437-442.

[76] These were: Anon., *Bohemica Iura Defensa* (London, 1620) [STC 3205]; Anon., *A Declaration of the Causes* (London, 1620) [STC 11351.3]; Anon., *The Late Good Success and Victory*; Anon., *The True Copies*.

[77] Boys, *London's News Press*, p.75.

[78] For more on Windet, see M.Bland, 'John Windet and the Transformation of the Book Trade, 1584-1610', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* Vol.107, Issue 2, (2013), pp.151-192.

[79] In 1624, Stansby was warned by the Stationers' Company to sever ties with two 'forreno[u]rs' in his employ, Jeremy Maidstone and Peter Smith, the latter of whom was involved in operating an underground Catholic press: Jackson, *Records*, p.169.

likely to arouse the suspicion of Company and government pursuivants: it was, after all, only after two years that Stansby was finally arrested. Why Stansby agreed to risk his business in the production of these tracts is, perhaps, a more interesting question. He may, of course, have been politically and religiously committed to Frederick and Elizabeth's cause but this does not seem to be reflected in his career overall. It seems more likely that Stansby was offered a financial inducement to bear primary responsibility for producing the pamphlets. He was, as his petition suggests, further assured that 'there could be no danger to print the same' and 'also promised' that he would be shielded 'harmles from all trouble thereby to arise.'[80] Stansby evidently believed that there were certain forces operating to protect him from discovery, or from harm should he be discovered. The nature of the production of these tracts, using three printers, sometimes working together directly, and two stationers, certainly suggests that these pamphlets were part of one orchestrated and organized campaign, one which deployed a degree of deception to ensure production continued without disturbance.

Identifying the authors and translators of the pamphlets uncovers another layer of this campaign. Three can be readily identified. *The Reasons...to Reject the Archduke Ferdinand*, *A Short Relation* and *Bohemia Iura Defensa* all contained 'To the Reader' sections signed by their translator and part-author, John Harrison. Harrison, once a groom of the privy chamber for Prince Henry, was a commercial and political agent who had sought Frederick and Elizabeth's patronage in 1618. As *A Short Relation* evinces, Harrison fulfilled a role within their inner political circle and travelled with the pair on their journey from Heidelberg to Prague in late 1619. Given that a number of the other pamphlets in this series were translations, we may also assume that Harrison may have had a more extensive role in their construction. The other, the author of *A Short Information*, was Abraham Scultetus, a renowned Calvinist theologian and court preacher to Frederick. Scultetus had been a religious adviser to Frederick and Elizabeth since their marriage and 1613, and had travelled with Frederick to England in 1612 cultivating relationships with a number of leading English divines, connections he renewed when representing the Palatinate at the Synod of Dort. He may also have had a direct connection to William Jones: in 1618 Jones printed Scultetus' *A Secular Sermon*, one of only three of Scultetus' works printed in England during his lifetime.[81] The only other author who can be positively identified was Thomas Roe, a diplomat, MP for Cirencester in the 1621 Parliament, and close confidante to Elizabeth. On June 17 1620 he wrote to the queen to inform her that 'I did offer my selfe to Ma:ts Ambassador the Baron Dona at his first arrivall as your servant, & he hath vouchsafed so to use mee, & employ my endeaveors

[80] SP 14/157/45.
[81] A.Scultetus, *A Secular Sermon* (London, 1618) [STC 22124].

in all his occasions, in which I have discharged my se[l]fe faythfully & I hope some way to his advantage.' For his 'first labour', Roe wrote, 'I adventured abroad a defence of the free liberty of Election in the kyngdome of Bohemia, since in the wayes of Court & in the Contributions I have served him.'[82] The pamphlet in question was probably *Bohemiae Regnum Electium*, likely printed directly by Jones. Roe's involvement again is unsurprising. In January, Elizabeth had already given him 'a Commission to be my Agent for all newes of England' and 'assurance by them, that your doing me that favour shall never doe yow harme' and, indeed, Elizabeth's surviving correspondence, filled with news from Roe, suggests that he was happy to accept the role.[83] He too had been promised protection, but like many of Elizabeth's other supporters, Roe was forcibly removed from the political scene. His appointment as Ambassador in Constantinople in July 1621 may seem a lighter penalty than most, but Roe himself understood it to mean 'his exile': a punishment for his literary endeavours upon behalf of the Winter Queen.[84]

As Roe explained, however, he was not acting independently. His decision to write the treatise was at the instigation of Baron Dohna, Frederick's ambassador, and one Abraham Williams .[85] Dohna's mandate as Frederick's ambassador was clear; Williams occupied a more ambiguous role, having, as John Chamberlain tells us, acted as an 'Agent here for the Palsgrave and the Lady Elisabeth' since at least 1617.[86] Dohna and Williams were the perfect instruments for orchestrating a print campaign on behalf of Frederick and Elizabeth; Dohna, partially shielded by diplomatic immunity, had a licence to travel freely to and from England and 'to take with him his servants, followers, and retinewe, together with his chests, trunkes, and other carryages *without search, lett, troble, or molestaeion.*'[87] Dohna and presumably Williams, therefore, could act as a conduit for the manuscripts, private letters, and secret intelligence which formed the basis for the illicit pamphlets. Polisensky has suggested, with good reason, that Dohna himself was at least partially responsible for writing one of the pamphlets in question.[88] Both Dohna and Williams were crucial cogs in the network. As serving diplomatic agents that had access to privileged diplomatic information and political documents, their involvement provided a physical conduit between 'private' and 'public' forms of politics.

[82] Akkerman, *Correspondence*, Letter 170, pp.247-249.
[83] Ibid., Letter 160, pp.214-215.
[84] Ibid., p.5.
[85] See Akkerman (ed.), *Correspondence*, Letters 179 and 180, pp.247-249.
[86] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, p.120.
[87] PC 2/30/87, my italics.
[88] Polisensky, *Anglie*, p.201.

Pivotally, Dohna and Williams were also able to exploit Elizabeth's strong ties to influential figures at court and in parliament. Elizabeth's surviving correspondence and scattered records in the State Papers give a sense of the extensive connections she had cultivated by 1619; the Earl of Pembroke acted as an unofficial political adviser to the queen, whilst Lucy Russell, wife of the Earl of Bedford, provided her with the latest information from court.[89] Elizabeth maintained correspondence with one of James's future chaplains, John King, via the influential diplomatic Sir Isaac Wake, and solicited the support of the Duke of Buckingham, Charles's chaplain Thomas Murray, the Marquess of Hamilton, and the future Secretary of State Sir Edward Conway, amongst others.[90] Dohna and Williams continued to strengthen these connections in London. When James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, arrived in London in early 1620, for example, he had a private audience with Baron Dohna and spent the night at the lodgings of Abraham Williams.[91] One may assume that a number of meetings like this one took place behind closed doors, under the cloak of Williams' and Dohna's official diplomatic activities.

Nonetheless, we can identify with some confidence at least one important recruit to the illicit printing campaign: Hay's brother-in-law, Secretary Robert Naunton, the man who was at least partially responsible for leading the investigations into illicit printing in late 1620. In January 1621, Naunton was arrested and Secretary Calvert 'sent to search his papers.'[92] The standard account of Naunton's arrest was that it was carried out at the behest of Gondomar, for engaging in secret marriage negotiations with France (on, it must be noted, James's own instruction).[93] This narrative, which still permeates historiography, risks once more bowing to the popular contemporary view that placed Gondomar at the beating heart of all Spanish plots: a reflection of the lasting success of illicit propaganda. Gondomar may have caused Naunton's arrest, or supplied the information which ultimately exposed him, but an exclusive focus on Gondomar masks other possible explanations. There were, as John Chamberlain informed Sir Dudley Carleton, 'many surmises...touching this alteration' but the one that struck him 'most probably' in his judgement was this: 'that there was some secret intelligence twixt him, the Baron Dona and others about the business of Bohemia, with divers writings and remonstrances that are not allowed.' Chamberlain noted that 'Baron Dona himself...hath ben in question' and 'yt is doubted some others may follow.' 'A silenced minister' had already been 'committed about the like matters, and spreading of scandalous pamfletts.' In his next letter, Chamberlain was still in 'suspence' but, he noted,

[89] SP 14/130/20.
[90] See Akkerman (ed.), *Correspondence,* Letters 143, 150, 156, 225, 305 amongst others.
[91] Chamberlain, *Letters,* II, pp.280-281.
[92] Chamberlain, *Letters,* II, pp.335-337.
[93] See *ODNB,* 'Robert Naunton, 1563-1635'.

'his frends sticke to him, specially the Lord of Doncaster' (the same Doncaster who had surreptitiously met with Dohna and Williams). He also reported that 'The archbishop of Caunterburie by the Kings apointment was questioned' and cleared.[94] The Archbishop of Canterbury was, at least in theory, the licenser and overseer of the press.

If Chamberlain thought that he had discovered the covert print campaign, so too did the authorities. Following their capture of Naunton, Thomas Scott was discovered, Samuel Ward arrested, numerous ministers imprisoned, and two of the three printers and all of the stationers involved in the publication of the pro-Bohemia pamphlets were arrested. Only William Jones survived unscathed. Frustratingly, however, for the historian, the surviving records raise more questions than answers. How this network came to be unravelled is not clear, beyond that which we have already established; and the exact contours of the campaign itself, beyond those already identified, remain equally uncertain. Baron Dohna has left little trace of his actions, whilst Elizabeth's surviving solicitations of support were often ambiguous and leave much room for interpretation. How did the ambassador to France, Sir Edward Herbert, interpret Elizabeth's letter of December 9 1620, calling on him to 'doe the King and me all the good offices you can where you are'?[95] Should we read any significance into the fact that, the very next year, *Vox Populi* found its way into print in France or that a translation of Thomas Roe's *Bohemiae Regnum Electium* seems to have been circulating in Paris in manuscript form around this time?[96] How should we judge the roles of men like Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador to the United Provinces, or Secretary Francis Nethersole, appointed *by James* but whose correspondences seem to indicate their loyalties lay with Elizabeth?[97] To what extent should we consider figures like these as part of covert and subversive actions to support Elizabeth, especially through print? We should not place too much emphasis upon suggestive or circumstantial evidence. The covert printed campaign was probably, by necessity, limited to a number of select but key individuals – individuals we have outlined in the preceding section. That these networks functioned undetected for some time, however, suggests that they operated with a degree of tacit support from those within government and parliament. Nethersole and Carleton, who were both tasked with administering aspects of the highly personal censorship

[94] Ibid., Letters 369 and 370, pp.335-340.
[95] Akkerman (ed.), *Correspondence*, Letter 209, p.286.
[96] Folger Shakespeare Library, Call No.228-326q: T.Scott, *Voix du Peuple* ([France?], 1621). Bibliothèque Nationale, Colbert 386, 'Mémoires concernant l'Alemagne', f.268.
[97] In October 1619, Nethersole was receiving two commissions: one to act as Stuart agent to the princes of the Protestant Union worth £165 per annum, the other from Elizabeth to act as her secretary worth £200: Akkerman, *Correspondence*, p.396.

system, were in a position to provide support (or, at least, to be lax in their duties) and both had personal or political interests in doing so.

A more provocative and intriguing case may be made for the roles of Earl of Southampton and Sir Edwin Sandys. Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, was one of the most influential political figures in the 1621 Parliament and a key member of what Cogswell termed the "Patriot" coalition, alongside the Marquess of Hamilton and the Earls of Warwick, Oxford, and Lord Saye & Sele.[98] He was closely tied to Elizabeth and was a political confidante of Thomas Roe.[99] He was also a key engine in mobilizing and organizing collections for the Palatinate.[100] Edwin Sandys, MP for Sandwich, was another influential orchestrator of Commons business and an active supporter of Frederick and Elizabeth's cause. Southampton may also have had direct ties to Jones himself. Southampton's family chaplain was another William Jones, a Northamptonshire-born minister, who was also pastor of Arreton on the Isle of Wight.[101] Northamptonshire was home to a number of clerical dynasties and there are numerous families of Jones's in the parish registers.[102] It is, therefore, difficult to establish with any certainty familial ties between them, but there was a direct business connection: all but one of the minister William Jones's works to appear in print were registered to and printed by William Jones, including Jones's 1625 sermon *A Treatise on Patience in Tribulation*, dedicated to Southampton's wife and preached upon the sudden deaths of the Earl of Southampton and her son. [103]

As with the case of Sir Robert Naunton, the prevailing historiographical narrative posits that the arrests of Southampton and Sandys in June 1621 were due to their behaviour and management of parliament, or, in Southampton's case, as a result of his opposition to Buckingham.[104] Contemporaries,

[98] Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, p.15, 83. S.Adams, 'Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624' in Sharp (ed.), *Faction and Parliament*, p.144.
[99] See Akkerman (ed.), *Correspondence*, Letter 273, pp.382-384: Southampton's son was accompanying the Elector Palatine on his travels in the summer of 1622. For his connection to Roe, see, for example, SP 14/155/77.
[100] Ibid., Letter 179, pp.247-249.
[101] For Jones, see his entry in theclergydatabase.org.uk, ID #90266.
[102] Northamptonshire Record Office, All Saints 223P/1 and Chacombe 62P/1: William Jones the minister may have been the William baptised in Chacombe on June 10, 1581, the son of another clergyman, Hugh Jones. It is worth noting that at least one of the printer William Jones's sons, John, joined the ministry: see Curtis, 'William Jones', p.66.
[103] These were *A Treatise of Patience in Tribulation* (London, Printed by William Jones, 1625) [STC 14747], *A Brief Exhortation to all men to set their houses in order* (London, Printed by William Jones, 1631) [STC 14741] and *The True Inquisition* (London, Printed by William Jones, 1633) [STC 14748]. The latter two were reprinted as STC 14742 and STC 14749 in 1637 and 1636 respectively. The exception was *The Mysterie of Christ's Nativity* (London, 1614) [STC 14379]. This may be explained by the fact that Jones, who had had his press and materials confiscated in 1610, only gained hold of another press in that year.
[104] Adams, 'Foreign Policy', p.145.

however, disagreed. Whilst Theodore Rabb claims Sandys was arrested for 'mischievous intrigues with members of the Commons', John Chamberlain stressed that his arrest 'is confidently geven out that yt is not for any thing don nor said in parlemenet.'[105] James himself corroborated this in a letter to the Speaker of the House, Sir Thomas Richardson, in December.[106] Mead also suggested that the matter was not as straightforward as has been typically portrayed: there was, he wrote, 'no cause known of these thinges [the arrests], but that it was his Majesties pleasure for reasons reserved to himselfe alone.'[107] The cause of Southampton's arrest was equally mysterious. 'Some say' Chamberlain told Sir Dudley Carleton, it was 'for animating Sir Henry Yelverton in his peevish and obstinate courses, some for conventicles and plotting about parlement matters, some for inconsiderat and undutifull speaches bewrayed by some Lords whom he familiarly trusted.' Chamberlain, however, felt there was a more serious underlying reason, 'some further matter, els wold they not have proceeded thus far.'[108] A month later he suggested the question was perhaps better answered by Sir Dudley Carleton at the Hague, where Frederick and Elizabeth resided: 'You may perhaps guesse better on that side, for some thincke yt [Southampton's arrest] was for looking too much that way.'[109] Joseph Mead also suspected that Southampton's arrest was directly related to his relationships with Frederick and Elizabeth, telling Stuteville on July 7 that the cause was due to 'some private entercourse and practise with the King and Queene of Bohemia, to further their cause, and meanes of relief from hence, and some beginning as it were of a confederation, in that there were letters sent by him subsealed with many hands as undertaking in their behalfe.'[110]

The most compelling evidence, however, lies in the fragmentary reports of their interrogations. Southampton, who Chamberlain tells us was interrogated by eight commissioners, 'the Duke of Lennox, the erle of Arundell, the bishop of Winchester, the Lord Fawkeland, Secretarie Colvert, Sir Lionell Cranfeld, the Master of the Rolles, and the deane of Westminster' John Williams, all of whom were notable supporters of pro-Spanish policy, initially refused to answer the questions submitted unto him, a fact which gave 'further cause of suspicion.'[111] In the course of 'several examinations', however,

[105] See *ODNB,* 'Edwin Sandys'. Rabb's entry for Sandys summarizes the arguments of his monograph study of Sandy's career: T.Rabb, *Jacobean Gentleman: Sir Edwin Sandys, 1561-1629* (Princeton, 1998). Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, p.385.
[106] G.Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of King James VI & I* (California, 1984), Letter 183, p.378.
[107] Mead, *Letters*, No.20, p.108.
[108] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, p.385.
[109] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, pp.389-391.
[110] Mead, *Letters*, No.22, p.125.
[111] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, p.385.

Southampton did finally respond, admitting that he had 'conversed sometimes with members of the Commons, but did not plot...to thwart his Majesty's ends, or to send over the subsidies granted direct to the King of Bohemia, without their passing through the exchequer.' He denied expressing discontent against the government 'but has spoken freely, as did others, of evils in the State.' He also refuted having attacked Buckingham's hold over the king. Crucially, the final telling questions focused upon 'his intercourse with Baron Dona' and 'his correspondence with the Brownists.' Either Southampton refused to answer these questions, or his replies were – for whatever reason – not recorded.[112] In Sandys' case, only the questions posed to him survive but again the focus was not upon parliamentary misdemeanours but of 'what conference he had with Baron Dona...what conference he had concerning the match with Spain', 'his correspondence with the Brownists' and a letter discovered 'in his closet' during a search of his papers 'from Mr Brewer of Amsterdam.'[113] Why were Southampton and Sandys in correspondence with 'Brownists' like Thomas Brewer? An English separatist and merchant who, alongside William Brewster, had funded and operated the illicit "Pilgrim Press" in Leiden which had only recently been discovered in 1619, Brewer was, as we will discuss later, deeply implicated in the production of Thomas Scott's pamphlets. Their secret intercourses with Baron Dohna, too, echo those of Robert Naunton. Even if the chief cause of their detainment was, indeed, a plan to funnel benevolence funds directly to Frederick and Elizabeth, as was popularly acknowledged, part of the plan to raise the benevolences was to promote the cause of the Palatine rulers in print. It certainly seems possible, then, that both Southampton and Sandys were two of those anonymous-backers whose tacit support allowed the presses of Allde, Jones, and Stansby to survive and to circulate propaganda unmolested for so long.

The secrecy which surrounded both their arrest and eventual release is perhaps another indicator of the unusual and explosive nature of their detainment. Southampton's release (albeit into house arrest) was described by John Chamberlain on July 21. Precipitated by the arrival of Buckingham in London, Southampton was visited by John Williams, the Lord Keeper, 'on Wensday morning very early' and 'caried...to Tiballs, where the King...had long conference with him none beeing admitted into the roome but the Lord Keper and the Lord of Buckingham.' The Lord Keeper, it seems, was 'reputed the cheife instrument of his deliverie and of reconciling and salving all that was amisse.' If Southampton's arrest had indeed been for indiscretions related to parliament, or even for over-zealous orchestration of a benevolence campaign, we may have expected a more public protestation of guilt and royal mercy. Instead, there remained secrecy and confusion: 'we', Chamberlain wrote, still 'cannot ayme at the cause

[112] SP 14/121/251.
[113] *The Cecil Papers,* 130/54, 'The examinations of Sir Edwin Sands' ([1621?]).

of his restraint.'[114] We may speculate that the continued secrecy stemmed from James's desire to shield from the public a plot involving prominent political actors to undermine James's foreign policy, both in practice and in print. What exactly allowed for the 'reconciling and salving' is also unclear, but it is notable that, during the period of Southampton and Sandys' interrogations, both Stansby and Butter were caught and imprisoned, and around two weeks after Southampton's reconciliation with the king, Allde and Archer followed their fellow conspirators to jail. Only Jones remained at large and he, as we have mentioned, may have had personal ties to Southampton which afforded him greater political protection.

Five days after Southampton was allowed to retire to his seat at Titchfield, James issued another royal Proclamation 'against excesse of lavish and licentious speech of matters of state.'[115] James was forced to express his grave discontent that, despite his forewarnings made only last December, he has now 'thought it necessary to redouble Our Princely Direction...wishing all men to rest assured, that howsoever Our owne nature hath bin alwayes prone unto mildnesse and clemencie; yet We are, and shall be sensible of such presumption, so highly and directly affronting us in our Royall commandement.' He reiterated his warning, in a referential nod to the arrests of Southampton and Sandys (amongst others), to 'all maner of persons, of what estate or degree soever...not to offend against Our said former Proclamation, either by licentious and bold Speaking or Writing, or by applauding, entertaining, covering, or concealing such unfitting Discourse, upon paine of Our indignation and displeasure, and whatsoever other punishment shall bee meete to inflict upon such Delinquents.'[116] Coming as it did in the midst of a government crackdown on the illegal pamphleteering of the last two years, this proclamation should be read as a direct response to, and a growing recognition of, the political threat of print. As early as July 1620, Francis Bacon had written to Buckingham praising James for his efforts 'to suppress this licentious course of talking and writing' without 'shewing much or regard of it' – the 'applauding' and 'entertaining' James referred to in his proclamation.[117] This was important, Bacon felt, because allowing such seditious speech on state matters would only enhance discontent: as 'old Lord Burghley was wont to say, that the Frenchman, when hath talked, hath done;

[114] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, pp.389-391.
[115] Larkin, Hughes (eds.), *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, No.218, p.519.
[116] Ibid., p.520.
[117] *Works of Francis Bacon,* Vol.14, 7, p.110.

but the Englishman, when he hath talked, he begins. It evaporateth malice and discontent in the one, and kindleth it in the other.'[118]

To this end, James did make a concerted effort to rein in loose pens. As well as the series of arrests and the breaking up of illicit presses described above, James also worked to assert control over news production. From October 1621, foreign news began to be registered in the Stationers' Company Registers and licensed by Sir Francis Cottington.[119] Cottington was the English ambassador to the Spanish court, intimately associated with Gondomar, and a fervent advocate of James's pro-Spanish policy – a fact for which he was disparagingly referred to as 'an Hispaniolized Englishman.'[120] Alongside Cottington's appointment as de facto press licenser, the newsbook production was itself reorganized into a syndicate of stationers who exercised sole control over the distribution of news: these were the now (it seems) rehabilitated Nathaniel Butter and Thomas Archer, Nicholas Bourne, William Sheffard, and Bartholomew Downes.[121] As Cyndia Clegg has noted, the "official" news of 1622 onwards was 'markedly different' from its earlier manifestations: 'the approved reports contain nothing that casts a negative light on Spain or resorts to attacks on the Catholic church', albeit newsbooks stopped short of actively promoting the Spanish match or non-intervention on the Continent.[122]

The suppression of illicit printing and the attempt to assert control over the corranto market marked a recognition that *news* mattered: the cultivation of politically aware publics, making active appeals to those publics, and the attempt to curb those appeals, all suggest that contemporaries viewed news and this exposé brand of illicit pamphlet literature as increasingly powerful tools for conducting public politics. Here was an acknowledgement of the power of print to influence public opinion and set the agenda for political debate both in the halls of parliament and the taverns, churches, and streets of the country at large: and, a growing acceptance that public opinion itself needed to be shaped.

The state's response, to attempt to constrain rather than contest public debate, marks another departure from our previous case studies. There are various factors at play. By the early 1620s, James

[118] Ibid.
[119] Cottington was actually in Spain at this point on his third term as Spanish ambassador. However, several entries of works of news appear from October 1621 entered 'vnder the hands of Master Cottington'. It seems likely, therefore, Cottington had instructed agents to fulfil this role on his behalf until his return to England in Autumn 1622. See, for example, the entry of William Lee on October 23rd, SRO7454, https://stationersregister.online/entry/SRO7454 (accessed January 2022).
[120] For more on Cottington's close relationship with Gondomar, see G.Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (Yale, 2003), p.54. Bourcier (ed.), *Diary*, p.102.
[121] Boys, *London's News Press*, p.91.
[122] Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, p.182.

had lost two savvy politicians, fully versed in the arts of public politics, in Whitgift and Bancroft; and Bancroft's replacement, Archbishop Abbot, was, as we have seen, fully averse to James's foreign policy objectives. Indeed, the terms of debate in this instance had shifted. Whilst, in previous episodes of illicit printing, it had been possible for the authorities to dismiss illicit pamphlets as the product of a marginal fringe, and to stain opponents with the tar of popularity, here illicit writers could convincingly position themselves as moderates, defending the royal line and international Protestantism whilst opposing the old enemy, Spain. But the failure to contest the pro-Bohemia narrative in print may also be indicative of those tensions we discussed in Chapter One: the growing discomfort with appeals to the public as contrary to good governance and the performance of kingship.

It represents either a failure to grasp, or a reactionary response to, a fuller realization that the relationship between politics and *publics* were changing, that the conduct of *politics* itself was changing. Public spaces could be created by small printing houses in dark corners of London, who could draw upon support from multinational interest groups which reached into the heart of government and operated across state borders. The beginnings of the Thirty Years' War, and the peculiar context of England's relationship to it, internationalised publicity and the performance of politics. Publics could be invoked to engage with, and judge upon, issues of state policy which had previously been the unquestioned realm of the monarch. The *arcana imperii*, state secrets, were increasingly open truths: the boundaries between the 'private' and 'public' were shifting. And whilst these *publics* and *public spaces* could dissipate as quickly as they emerged, whilst censorship mechanisms could at length suppress them, they could not be destroyed altogether. For although James was able to stem the flow of illegal pamphleteering temporarily, the silence would not last long. Even as Cottington brought the news under official control, Thomas Scott, the author of *Vox Populi* who had fled to the United Provinces, was busy writing a new narrative: one which would transform the political landscape James had worked so hard to construct and, in so doing, help to reconstruct the form of politics to come.

Chapter Four: *Vox Populi* and the English Print Underground

One of the most skilful propagandists of his times, Thomas Scott has proved incredibly useful and flexible to historians in our own period, serving as exemplar to a host of historiographical narratives. He has been framed as the doctrinal ideologue of moderate puritan consensus, a key proponent of freedom of speech, and a leading exponent of English classical republicanism: but his vivacious and eminently quotable literary style has tended to lend itself to abstractions, rather than focused analysis.[1] For rarely has a figure been so quoted and yet so de-contextualised. Whilst Scott's works have been absorbed within the broader story of the history of ideas and the story (or non-story) of early modern conflict and consensus, he remains conspicuously absent from the political narratives of his own times. His *ODNB* entry, for example, is written by Sean Kelsey, a historian whose expertise is more firmly rooted in the republicanism of the 1650s than the political factionalism of late-Jacobean England – even Thomas Cogswell's masterful narrative fails to fully accommodate Scott's role in the *blessed revolution*.[2] All this is to say that Scott's works have never been subjected to sustained analytical treatment viewed within the context in which they were written.[3]

In doing so, the following two chapters will argue that the focus of Scott's long-term significance has been largely misplaced; by treating Scott as an illicit writer and not as the embodiment of various abstract ideas, Scott becomes much more clearly a successor to Marprelate and his "sons". In the course of his writings, Scott revived Martinist strategies, *and* crucially those of the anti-Martinists, and redeployed them to address the peculiar political context of the early 1620s. Drawing on the anti-episcopal and anti-puritan invective of the 1590s, Scott instead turned the polemical cannon towards more historical and universal targets: Spain, the Pope, and Antichrist. Around this enemy he constructed an all-encompassing conspiratorial narrative which neatly explained and exposed the existential threat to English Protestantism now unleashed, and the misdirection of James's domestic and foreign policies. In the process, Scott usurped the mantle of defender and preserver of English freedom and religion traditionally held by conformist writers, reversing the dynamic which had existed in polemical debate since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

But Scott also reshaped and refined ideas that were only in their infancy in Marprelate's writings. The writer as *prophet*, as a *public man*, and *publics* as valuable and necessary participants in the politics of the Commonwealth were given coherence and form in Scott's works in ways which would prove pivotal to his progeny in print. And illicit print, indeed, was further cemented as the

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[1] See P.Lake, 'Constitutional Consensus and Puritan Opposition in the 1620s: Thomas Scott and the Spanish Match', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1982), pp. 805-825, D.Colclough, *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 2005), and M.Peltonen, *Classical humanism and republicanism in English political thought, 1570-1640* (Cambridge, 1995).

[2] See Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*.

[3] Peter Lake's analysis in 'Constitutional Consensus' considers the broader context, but it is still much more concerned with *what* Scott said than the processes which explain *how* and *why*.

foremost tool in the canon of media weapons which constituted public politics; Scott's position as orthodox bastion of Protestantism redefined not only how illicit writings were received, but also how the specific brand of politics it represented was perceived across the political spectrum.

This chapter, however, focuses upon the networks which underpinned the production and distribution of Scott's extensive pamphlet campaign. It will reveal the development of a complex and co-ordinated transnational operation, one which utilised and developed upon the multinational networks of support seen in the previous chapter and which relied upon an increasingly capable domestic illicit printing infrastructure, run by a growing cadre of printers and stationers. That these networks were never officially uncovered, nor the printers themselves discovered, attests to the strength and sophistication of the operation and the support it received.

I The Origins of Thomas Scott

If Thomas Scott had been misunderstood and under-represented in historiography thus far, the lacuna is at least explicable and perhaps forgivable. A chronic lack of archival evidence has rendered Scott a vague and equivocal figure. *Who* he was, *where* he came from, and *what* he did for most of his life have long tormented a select and rather masochistic group of historians, ever since a nineteenth-century enthusiast scribbled on a loose scrap in the State Papers the perplexing assertion that Scott was a 'preacher related to the Earl of Strafford.'[4] For a very long time, historians could soundly proclaim Thomas Scott to be a minister at Bury St. Edmund's, a chaplain to the Earl of Pembroke and later to James I himself.[5] This too has proven to be a case of mistaken identity and, whilst historians are now more of confident of who Scott was not, positive affirmations remain elusive.

Kelsey suggests that Thomas Scott was 'possibly the son of a Norfolk cleric of the same name', the rector of Northwold who matriculated at Cambridge in 1566, although, he argues, he was 'equally like to have been a Scot', perhaps the Thomas Scott who matriculated at St. Andrews in 1618. Another point of contention is whether Thomas Scott was the author of *Philomythologie*, a vast collection of satirical verses chiefly concerning the Essex divorce scandal, which was printed in two parts in 1616. Kelsey is highly sceptical. I would argue, however, that it is highly likely Thomas Scott was the son of

[4] SP 14/118/140. Unfortunately, no further reasoning behind the identification was provided and I have been unable to find any evidence to support it.
[5] The most prominent example of this misidentification (and perhaps the source of the confusion) is found in L.Wright, 'Propaganda', pp.149-172.

the Rector of Northwold, that he attended St. Andrew's, *and* that he authored *Philomythologie*. An annotation in a manuscript copy of *Vox Populi* owned by John Rous, a contemporary Norfolk cleric, stated that Thomas Scott was from 'Norwold'.[6] The first verse of *Philomythologie* meanwhile was dedicated to 'the religious knight Sir Edmund Mondeford and his Lady a true lover of learning', a prominent Norfolk gentleman based in Hockwold and Mundford, two villages neighbouring Northwold. Moundeford was well-connected within the network of Norfolk's gentry families and would represent Thetford in the 1628 Parliament.[7] He also seems to have moved in puritan circles; a friend of John Winthrop, he, like Scott, was an avid support of western colonisation, being one of the founding cohort of the Providence Island Company alongside the Earl of Warwick, Lord Brooke, Viscount Saye and Sele, John Pym, Richard Knightley and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd.[8] The second verse of *Philomythologie* was dedicated to Sir Henry Bedingfield whose family seat was at Oxborough Hall, a living Thomas Scott the Elder also held. We know that Scott the Elder was in contact with Moundeford and other prominent Norfolk families, as we might expect. In 1602, he reached out to Bassingbourne Gawdy asking him to gift a benefice, either Bridgeham or Stanton Downham (there was some confusion), to his son-in-law.[9] Given these connections, there seems some justification to accept Thomas Lake's contemporary assertion that the author of *Vox Populi* was the same 'Scot, who was questioned about a book of birds, in Somerset's time.'[10] *Philomythologie's* frontispiece contained images of various 'Outlandish Birds, Beasts, and Fishes' and was undoubtedly the 'book of birds' in question. That the other ten dedications were almost all directed to East Anglian families further cements Scott's position within the social dynamic of Norfolk and Suffolk's godly gentry families.[11] We also know that Thomas Scott had a brother, William, and a nephew, also called Thomas.[12] William may have possibly been the same William Scott who became Rector of Knettishall (also not far from Northwold) and North Lynn

[6] BL, Additional MS 28640, ff. 92r-100r.
[7] T.Scott, *Philomythologie, Part One* (London: 1616) [STC 21870], sig.B2v.
[8] For a detailed history of the Providence Island Company, including information on Sir Edmund Moundeford's involvement, see K.Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630-1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge, 1993), passim.
[9] W.Rye (ed.), *Reports on the manuscripts of the family of Gawdy* (London, 1885), p.83, numbers 534-536. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to identify the son-in-law.
[10] SP 14/119/103.
[11] The other dedicatees were, in order, Sir Henry Rich and his lady, Sir John Pooly and his good lady, Sir Hugh Smith and his worthy lady, Sir Robert Rich and his noble lady, Sir Arthur Heveningham and his truly religious lady, Sir John Heveningham and his charitable lady, Sir Thomas Southwell, Sir Hamond Le Strange, Master Floyde, and Sir John Crofts and his happy lady.
[12] Anon., *A Briefe and True Relation of the Murther of Mr.Thomas Scott* (London, 1628) [STC 22106], p.2.

in 1626.[13] Intriguingly, he succeeded a Thomas Scott to his North Lynn living: the same Thomas Scott of Bury St. Edmund's with which Scott the writer was for so long confused. There may even have been a family connection there. Scott the Elder's father had himself been a minister, the vicar of Mildenhall (not far from Bury St. Edmund's) and clearly had roots in west Suffolk. Of the nephew Thomas Scott, nothing else is known. Given the absence of parochial records for the relevant parts of Norfolk for the time, uncertainties are always going to remain.

What we can establish with some degree of assurance was that Thomas Scott came from a well-connected, locally-prominent clerical dynasty based around Thetford, with ties to a wider network of East Anglian puritan families. Nor was Scott's *Philomythologie* his only foray into the world of illicit writing before 1620. In 1616, Scott wrote a poem to Sir Walter Raleigh – one of the heroes of his later works – commending his recently published *History of the World*. It was conveyed to Raleigh, then in prison, by Dr John White, the puritan Dorchester minister who was also an active promoter of colonisation. How the pair came to be connected is not clear, but it does suggest that, even before he became a minister, Scott had cultivated a wider network of puritan contacts and a sympathy for Raleigh's tribulations which he would later accuse the Spanish ambassador of orchestrating.[14]

If Scott's early literary activities were somewhat unconventional, his entry into the ministry was also highly unusual: an aspect which has thus far been entirely overlooked. An engraving of Scott, produced by Crispin Van De Passe in 1624, stated that Scott was forty-five, allowing us to date his birth to either 1578 or 1579.[15] This means that Scott's decision to enter the ministry came conspicuously late in life. As Simon Adams suggests, Scott probably matriculated at St. Andrew's in 1618 and *possibly*, as Venn posits, gained his BD from Peterhouse in 1620, shortly before he took up the rectorship of St. Saviour's in Norwich.[16] Scott's own writings certainly support the first part of that narrative. In the foreword to his collected works in 1624, Scott claimed that it was only when he had 'past the river

[13] He was probably also the 'brother' of Scott, as Locke wrote to Carleton in November 1622, who was introduced to the Archbishop of Canterbury by Bishop Harsnett of Norwich. Evidently Scott's actions did not prohibit his brother's advancement.

[14] Bodleian MS Rawlinson. Poet. 26, fol. 6v. The attribution to Thomas Scott is given by Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae: see A.Bellany, A.McRae (eds.), Early Stuart Libels: an edition of poetry from manuscript sources, *Early Modern Literary Studies*, Text Series I (2005). <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/texts/libels/>

[15] See National Portrait Gallery D25999. A later portrait engraving, created to commemorate Scott's death in 1626, states Scott's age as forty-six, so we can be fairly confident in positing a birth date of 1578-1579. See Royal Collection Trust 680625, *VERA EFFIGIES VENERABILIS VIRI THO: SCOTT* (London, 1626).

[16] S.Adams, 'Captain Thomas Gainsford, the '*Vox Spiritus*', and the Vox Populi', *Historical Journal,* Vol.49, Issue 119, (1976), pp.141-144. J.Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis,* Vol.4, Part One (Cambridge, 1927), p.33.

Twede and recovered the Scottish soyle and ayer' that he 'took penn in hand, and wrote that vision which I had seene amongst the people.'[17] This places Scott in Scotland at some point before 1620, when *Vox Populi* was published, a timeline which corresponds to Scott's studies in St. Andrew's in 1618. Secondly, in *The Projector*, Scott stated that he was better placed to understand the 'tainted manners of these times' and was 'the more earnest against these common and crying iniquities, because I my selfe was long subiected to them, and doe yet beare the scarres and cicatrices of their malice both in mind, body, and fame.' Looking back, Scott lamented 'the time I wasted idlely in their company.'[18] What these cicatrices were exactly we do not know, but Scott's reference to his own ungodly past is consistent with the surviving scraps of evidence. Regardless, what is clear is that Scott was already forty-years old when he assumed the rectorship of St. Saviour's in Norwich and can have been in his clerical post no more than a year before being forced to flee following the publication of *Vox Populi*.

From thence, his story becomes (slightly) clearer. Shortly after arriving in the Netherlands, Scott was appointed chaplain to one of the English army regiments stationed at Gorinchem with an apparent smoothness that suggested the move may have been pre-arranged. The following year he was inducted as minister of the newly-formed (or re-formed) English Reformed Church at Utrecht by the Scottish minister John Forbes, a position he held until his death.[19] Scott was quickly accepted into the social and religious fraternity of his compatriots in the United Provinces. He was one of the eleven founding members of the English Synod in the United Provinces, an institution actively supported by the English Ambassador Sir Dudley Carleton despite James's scepticism. Membership in the Synod offered Scott access to a web of important connections amongst the clergy, laity, and military: each army chaplain was to bring an officer representative to the Synod, each congregational minister was to bring a church elder.[20] Its members included its first president, John Forbes, Andrew Hughes, the chaplain to Sir Edward Cecil, John Wing of Vlissingen, John Hassall, chaplain both to the general Horace Vere and to the Palatine court-in-exile of Elizabeth Stuart, and Samuel Bachelor, chaplain to Sir Charles Morgan's regiment. Scott cultivated friendships with fellow ministers like Samuel Bachelor, for whom he wrote a commendatory verse in 1625, and developed contacts with high-ranking English

[17] T.Scott, *Workes* (Holland?, 1624) [STC 22105], sig.*3v.
[18] T.Scott, *The Projector* ([Amsterdam?], 1623) [STC 22081], sig.A1-A4v.
[19] C. De Jong, 'John Forbes (c.1568-1634) Scottish Minister and Exile in the Netherlands', *Dutch Review of Church History*, Vol.69, No.1, (1989), p.31. In 1626, the year of his death, Scott was acting as scribe for the Synod, penning a letter in an extremely neat hand to the English Secretary of State for the reforming of abuses and corruptions in the English churches in the Netherlands with the particular aim 'to prevent Arminianisme and all Schisme.' See SP 84/131/220.
[20] K.Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Reformed Churches in the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Brill, 1982), pp.290-294. See also De Jong, 'John Forbes', p.39.

military and political figures who had direct ties to the Palatine court-in-exile and the upper echelons of English government.[21] He was, in other words, tapped in to the international networks which had coalesced in support of Frederick and Elizabeth, seen in Chapter Three.

Scott attended every single Synod until his death in 1626 at the hands of a deranged soldier (or, alternatively, a paid assassin), by which time he had evidently become a renowned and respected figure in Utrecht and the wider religious community in the United Provinces. He was buried, so a contemporary pamphlet described,

> after a very honourable manner, accompanied with all the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the severall Congregations; with the Deputies of the States of the Prouince, and most of the Magistrates of the towne in mourning cloakes; with a traine of Burgers, and the Commanders, Captaines, Officers and Souldiers of the Garrisons, the like hath not beene seene, nor knowne in Utricht; with a generall lamentation of all men for the losse of so worthy a man.[22]

As well as embracing his clerical role, Scott also displayed all the characteristics of a highly educated, intellectually curious, seventeenth-century gent. His surviving works demonstrate his capacity to read Latin, Dutch, and Italian (at least), a command of classical authors and myths, and an eager appetite for history. He was also evidently conversant with the latest geographical knowledge, detailing in an *Experimental Discovery* an exposition of the lands of Mughal India and the East Indies clearly drawn from recent published accounts.[23] He was, in this sense, representative of many of his readers: he shared with them an appetite for information, a thirsting for knowledge, and a growing awareness of worlds far beyond England's shores.

Scott, then, was unusual in a number of respects. If our description of his life and career are correct, he was much better-travelled, learned, and intellectually curious than many of his contemporaries – and certainly more so than an average provincial clergyman. Nor was he in any way a typical minister; his late entry into the ministry, the highly unusual circumstances which almost immediately followed it, and his willingness to forego his comfortable living less than a year later, might justifiably be described as highly peculiar. In another respect, however, Scott was typical *sui temporis* and, in particular, of the prominent country figures who constituted the backbone of the

[21] For Scott's commendatory verse, see S.Bachiler, *Miles Christianus* (Amsterdam, Printed by R[ichard] P[later], 1625) [STC 1106], sig.B1r-B1v.
[22] *Murther of Mr.Thomas Scott*, pp.5-6.
[23] T.Scott, *An Experimental Discoverie of Spanish Practises* (London, 1623) [STC 22077], sig.F3r-v.

political nation. Locally respected and connected, politically aware and at least nominally engaged, tapped-in to the veins of intelligence which channelled information out from the centre, and yet self-consciously distinct from the perceived corruption and vested interests of courtly culture, Scott shared many of the characteristics of the 'public man' of Elizabethan and Jacobean England. He was, therefore, not dissimilar to Job Throckmorton, the man behind Martin. And, indeed, when Scott finally took up his pen, there was more than a little Marprelate in the ink.

II Printing Scott's Pamphlets

Like the biblical prophets of old, Scott claimed his evasion from capture was due to the intervention of God, 'when by a *Dreame* I was warned of the danger, and willed to make haste; and led, as it were, by the hand, like *Lot* out of *Sodome.*'[24] Contemporary intelligencers like Joseph Mead, however, were convinced Scott's '*fore-notice*' was of human origin.[25] That Scott remained at liberty for the rest of his life despite openly flouting the laws of England and the United Provinces suggests that Mead's suspicions were accurate: much like the writers, printers and publishers involved in the production of the "Bohemia" pamphlets of 1619 to 1621, Scott was no lone penman. His works required the collusion of printers, compositors, stitchers, and booksellers; the operation needed funding for men and materials, a method of overseas transportation (at least, for a time), a system of distribution, and political protection on both sides of the North Sea. Peter Lake has tentatively suggested that Scott may have received the backing of hidden sponsors: I would argue that it was infeasible that he did not.[26] Uncovering the identities of these backers is a much more difficult task. Archival evidence is lacking, but typographical analysis of the pamphlets themselves can provide some compelling clues, if not certain answers.

This analytical approach is necessarily tricky. As Jason McElligott observed, 'even when properly used, bibliography generally requires a large amount of work for relatively little information.'[27] He is certainly correct in the former, but rather too dismissive in respect of the latter. For what little

[24] T.Scott, *Vox Regis* (Holland? 1624) [STC 22105], p.3.
[25] Wedgbury, *Letters*, pp.6-11.
[26] P.Lake, 'Constitutional Consensus and Puritan Opposition in the 1620s: Thomas Scott and the Spanish Match', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 4, (1982), p.814. See also S.Adams, 'Captain Thomas Gainsford, the '*Vox Spiritus*', and the Vox Populi', *Historical Journal*, Vol.49, Issue 119, (1976), pp.141-144.
[27] J.McElligott, 'Propaganda and Censorship: the underground royalists newsbooks, 1647-1650' (Cambridge University, unpublished PhD thesis, 2000), p.75.

information it does provide, especially in the absence of archival evidence, is crucial to our investigation, much as it was to contemporary investigators.[28] In this instance, the fruits of typographical analysis allow us to demonstrate the stages of the production process and suggest (however tentatively) the printers and the location of the presses involved. This, in turn, allows us to build from the ground up an indicative picture of a network of production which extended from a clique of illicit printers operating on both sides of the English Channel to the highest echelons of state.[29]

To begin to stitch together the complex and often elusive strands which constituted this network, we must begin with the production of *Vox Populi* and the fictionalized speech of Sir Edward Cecil which swiftly followed it. The printing of both pamphlets followed a uniform process. Both *Vox Populi* and *Speech in the Lower House* were initially printed in English type font; the quality of the printing was poor and a hastily added errata list on the final page of *Vox Populi* highlighted several errors, suggesting that speed rather than accuracy was the printer's primary concern. A second version was printed in a smaller Pica type font, with a different title-page and ornamentation. Errors had been corrected in the text but the errata list remained. The third and final version was identical to the second but with the errata list removed altogether.[30] A *Speech in the Lower House* followed the same pattern. It was reprinted using the smaller Pica type font, sharing the same layout, ornamentation and, based on a preliminary typographical survey, several shared and distinctive broken type.[31]

As Chamberlain reported to Sir Dudley Carleton on February 2 1621, the first press had been 'betrayed by the printer, who thereby hath saved himself and got his pardon, though the book were printed beyond sea.'[32] Nonetheless, production continued unabated, shifting to a second press which has remained unidentified until the present day. The damaged type did, however, re-emerge three years later: at least one version of Scott's *Aphorismes of State* was clearly printed using the same broken type as the second and third editions of *Vox Populi*. Whilst *Aphorismes of State* claimed to have been printed in Utrecht (a clear signal that it was not), it was almost certainly printed in London, suggesting that the second and third editions of *Vox Populi*, together with *A Speech in the Lower House*, were too.

[28] See, amongst many other examples, SP 14/159/56 in which Secretary Calvert prevails upon Conway to use the King's printer, John Bill, to identify the printer of Reynold's *Votivae Angliae* by examining its type.
[29] See Appendix 3 for the accompanying typographical analysis.
[30] T.Scott, *Vox Populi* ([?], 1620): the three versions are STC 22098, 22099, and 22100.
[31] T.Scott, *A Speech made in the Lower House* ([?], 1621): the two versions are STC 22086 and 22087.
[32] Chamberlain, *Letters,* II, p.339.

So, there were two presses involved in the initial production process. The first, swiftly suppressed, was thought to have 'been printed beyond sea', by which it has been assumed Chamberlain meant the United Provinces. This is, however, doubtful: had the book been printed in Holland *and the printer confessed,* it would surely have come to the attention of his correspondent, Sir Dudley Carleton, the ambassador to the United Provinces. Since there is no evidence to suggest that Carleton *was* aware of the printer or involved in his capture, it might be safer to assume that Chamberlain's assertion in this instance was simply an educated guess or that historians have been mistaken in presuming that 'beyond sea' automatically equated to the Netherlands. It is tempting to speculate instead that the first version of *Vox Populi* was printed abroad, not in the Netherlands but rather in the city in which Scott claimed to have first written the tract: Edinburgh. The printer Edward Raban, a veteran of the English volunteer regiments who fought against the Spanish in the early 1600s, had only just arrived in the city.[33] Fresh from working on the "Pilgrim Press" of Thomas Brewer (whom, as we have already noted, may himself have been involved in the production of the "Bohemia" pamphlets), he spent only a very short time in Edinburgh before moving briefly to St. Andrew's (where Scott had recently studied). From there, he assumed a lucrative post as printer to the city of Aberdeen. He was reportedly induced to do so by the vehemently puritan Scottish bishop Patrick Forbes whose brother, John, was working with Scott as the leader of the Synod of English Reformed churches in the Netherlands and first initiated him into the church. In Raban's only surviving Edinburgh pamphlet and, indeed, throughout his works, he used a selection of ornaments identical to those found in the works of the "Pilgrim Press" and it is likely he either bought them from, or was given them by, Thomas Brewer.[34] The ornamentation shares distinctive damage with a number of later Scott tracts. Of course, speculative guess work is no substitute for hard archival evidence, but it is nonetheless enough to suggest Raban as a possible candidate for printer of the first edition of *Vox Populi*. He had the motive, means and pedigree for the role, and his movements and use of ornamentation both align with what we know of *Vox Populi's* initial production.[35]

The printer behind the second and third versions of *Vox Populi* is equally elusive, but one candidate was the young and impetuous printer John Dawson. Only recently appointed a master printer

[33] Almost all of the biographical details concerning Raban's early life are drawn from his own testimony in two pamphlets he produced in 1622: E.Raban, *Rabans Resolution against Drunkennes and Whoredome* (St. Andrew's, 1622) [STC 20597] and Anon., *The Popes New-Years Gift* (St. Andrew's, 1622) [STC 20113].
[34] A.Simson, *Christes Testament Unfolded* (Edinburgh, 1620) [STC 22565] is the only work known to have been printed by Raban whilst in Edinburgh. He can have stayed in Edinburgh only a few months for he printed J.Michelson, *The Lawfulness of Kneeling* (St. Andrew's, 1620) [STC 17856] later that year.
[35] For more on Raban's career, see E.Duff, 'The Early Career of Edward Raban, Afterwards First Printer at Aberdeen', *The Library*, Vol.II, Issue 4, (1922),pp.239–256.

by Archbishop Abbott, he would reappear in several episodes of illegal printing alongside the notorious illicit printer William Jones.[36] In 1623, the STC cites John Dawson as the printer of a small octavo version of Scott's *The Belgicke Pismire* and *Projector* combined. It utilised a similar Pica type font, design, and ornamentation: it also contained a number of damaged letters which made an appearance in both *Vox Populi* and *Speech in the Lower House*.

Whilst the identity of the printers can only be suggested at for now, the process of production indicates that Scott's first two works were neither printed in isolation nor produced without a longer-term plan in mind. *Vox Populi* and *Speech in the Lower House* were clearly intended to work in concert with each other: indeed, in a number of instances, the two works were bound (and likely sold) together.[37] The discovery of the first press failed to disrupt the dissemination of the pamphlets, in both print and manuscript, because a second press had either been pre-arranged or quickly found in anticipation of the suppression of the first. *Vox Populi* was also quickly translated into Dutch and a French edition was printed at Paris in 1621.[38] Nor was this the full scope of project. In the hunt for the *Vox Populi* press, Secretary George Calvert discovered the manuscript of a third work, *Vox Spiritus*, in the house of a 'suspitious person', the newspaper editor Thomas Gainsford.[39] 'Captain Gainsford', another former soldier, was operating as an editor out of the printing house of Thomas Archer: one of the principle newsbook producers who would soon be neutralized by James's agents. Gainsford was, according to Chamberlain, 'our newsmonger', another figure embedded in the web of intelligence emanating from the capital.[40] His *Vox Spiritus* was, as Simon Adams has convincingly argued, 'clearly intended' as the final instalment in a 1620 trilogy of anti-Spanish works.[41] Picking up where *Vox Populi* had left off instructing its reader to look out for further news 'the next fayre wind', *Vox Spiritus* advanced the anti-Spanish case even further, propounding a number of measures which 'almost amounts to a programme for parliament.'[42] Discovered before it reached the press, it was nonetheless circulated in manuscript like its prequel *Vox Populi* and *Speech in the Lower House*.[43] These texts therefore were not isolated

[36] SP 14/119/68.
[37] BL, Reference RB.23 a.6782: T.Scott, *Vox Populi*.
[38] BL, General Reference Collection T.2424: [T.Scott] *Nieuwe tydingen* (Amsterdam, 1621). Folger Shakespeare Library, Call No.228-326q: T.Scott, *Voix du Peuple* ([France?], 1621).
[39] See Chapter Three, page 79. For more on the text, see S.Adams, 'Captain Thomas Gainsford, the '*Vox Spiritus*', and the Vox Populi', *Historical Journal*, Vol.49, Issue 119, (1976), pp.141-143.
[40] Boys, *London's News Press*, p.130.
[41] Adams, 'Gainsford', pp.141-143.
[42] T.Scott, *Vox Populi* ([London?], 1620) [STC 22098], sig.D2r. Adams, 'Vox Spiritus', p.143.
[43] See, for example, BL Additional MS 61993, ff. 1r–52v. For *Vox Populi*, see for example BL, Additional MS 28640, ff. 92r-100r. For *Speech in the Lower House*, see BL Harl. 387 ff 67v, 70-71r.

intrusions upon the public stage: they represent a calculated, pre-meditated endeavour to raise the issue of English foreign policy in the public imagination and shape the tone of the upcoming parliamentary sessions in 1621. We might reasonably conclude that the early Scott pamphlets were an extension of, and development upon, the pro-Bohemia pamphlet campaign discussed in Chapter Three.

As we have already demonstrated, the publication of *Vox Populi* and its ensuing popularity provoked a concerted effort to suppress illicit pamphleteering and unlicensed news production. It was, albeit temporarily, successful: the printers of the "Bohemia" pamphlets were imprisoned, news production was placed under the watchful eye of the crypto-Catholic Francis Cottington, and a number of Elizabeth Stuart's domestic supporters were sent into the political wilderness. The second wave of Scott pamphlets, which began in 1622, thus emerged at an inauspicious moment for the anti-Spanish cause and for anti-Spanish writers in particular. Geopolitical developments on the Continent and the crackdown on public discussion of the *arcana imperii* domestically had created distinctly unfavourable conditions for illicit pamphleteering. Even great intelligence-mongers like John Chamberlain were unnerved by the change of climate: 'I...shall not be very forward hereafter', he told Sir Dudley Carleton in February 1622, 'as beeing discouraged divers wayes, for the times are daungerous and the world growes tender and jealous of free speach.'[44] It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, that the next set of Scott pamphlets emerged from a very different source to the *Vox Populi* trilogy.

The first four of this next wave of pamphlets, published between 1622 and 1623, *The Belgicke Pismire*, *The Projector*, *The High Wayes of God*, and *News from Pernassus*, as well as Henry Hexham's *Tongue-Combat*, were all printed with identical title-page layouts, a set of shared ornaments, and the same distinctive broken English type. *The Projector* and the *The High Ways of God* used the same 'T' ornament design, featuring two snakeheads (one damaged or distorted). Both ornaments have identical damage in three points: just below the mid-point of the spine, at the bottom right foot of the 'T' where both display a slight bulge, and at the end point of the right branch. The typographical evidence strongly suggests that all four works, together with Hexham's own pamphlet, were produced by the same press (see Appendix Three).

By the same process of identification, *Symmachia*, *Vox Regis*, and *Digitus Dei*, printed between 1623 and 1624, seem all to have been printed on a separate press. The type used is at least largely dissimilar and shares a distinct set of broken type. On the surface, therefore, it might make sense to

[44] McClure (ed.), *Letters*, Letter 402, pp.422-425.

accept the STC's attribution of *Vox Regis* to the Utrecht-based Dutch printer, Abraham Van Herwijck, and to add to that the printing of *Digitus Dei* and *Symmachia*. But the STC's identification overlooks important points of overlap between the two presses. Both sets of pamphlets used a common set of ornamentation. The specific ornaments were not the same (they display different wear and tear) but it is significant that, despite using only a few ornament designs, two were the same. The use of superficially identical materials may have been a calculated move to befuddle contemporary typographers (as it has later historians), a tactic we have seen deployed by Schilders and Jones at Middelburg in Chapter One; or, it may suggest that both presses were drawing their materials from the the same source.

For most intriguingly, all of the ornaments used in both sets of Scott pamphlets can be found in the works of William Brewster and Thomas Brewer's illicit "Pilgrim Press" at Leiden. In at least two instances, the ornamentation displayed exactly the same damage as those used in pamphlets of the "Pilgrim Press" itself. This typographical evidence, combined with the fact that Brewer has already appeared in our narrative in connection to the Bohemia pamphlets and his correspondence with the Earl of Southampton, warrants further inspection.

The history of the "Pilgrim Press" at Leiden has been covered extensively by Rendel Harris and Stephen Jones, but it will suffice here to provide a brief overview.[45] The press was established in 1617 as the printing arm of John Robinson's separatist congregation. It was operated primarily by William Brewster and funded by the merchant Thomas Brewer. They may have owned or borrowed a press, but they certainly possessed their own type and materials and, from 1617, proceeded to publish a number of seditious religious texts which aroused particular consternation in England. Like Thomas Scott and William Jones, Brewster and Brewer shared a belief that books were vital weapons in the struggle 'between the Saints and Antichrist.'[46] By 1619 Sir Dudley Carleton, who had been tasked with suppressing the press, finally discovered its whereabouts but not before its operators had fled. William Brewster later reappeared in Plymouth, America. Brewer, it seems, travelled instead to England for a short time before departing for Amsterdam. The purpose of this rather mysterious interlude is unclear but, as previously discussed, shortly after, letters from 'Mr Brewer' were found in the possession of Sir Edwin Sandys, and both he and Southampton were interrogated about the nature of their correspondence. One can only speculate as to why these two prominent politicians were in direct contact

[45] R.Harris, S.Jones, *The Pilgrim Press* (Cambridge, 1922).
[46] Anon., *A True, Modest, and Just Defence of the Petition for Reformation* ([Leiden], 1618) [STC 6469], sig.A2r.

with a man labelled by Sir Dudley Carleton as a 'subject delinquent' but Brewer's motivations upon his return to the Netherlands were clear.[47] Seriously ill the year before, he had drafted a will which bequeathed, amongst other charitable donations, a fund for distributing Puritan books.[48] Upon arriving in Amsterdam, it seems he continued to engage in the world of seditious printing: in what exact capacity is unclear, but he may have resumed his previous role of funder and facilitator. AF Johnson has shown how Brewer's ornaments and materials have resurfaced in the products of Edward Raban's press in Scotland and the English Amsterdam press used by a succession of English separatists and semi-separatists in the city from around 1622. Scott repeatedly suggested that his work was being printed overseas, on more than one occasion asking his readers to 'pardon' any 'errors' found in the text, 'whether of myne, or the *Printers,* be it in matter, in wordes, or letters, or in pointes...it is like there may be more, since I could not be neere the Presse, and the *Printer* vnderstands no English.'[49] Indeed, given the circumstances in England in 1622 previously described, it would make sense for his press to be based abroad, at least initially.

The Amsterdam set-up, therefore, is another possible candidate for one or both of Scott's overseas presses. It was, from 1622 onwards, under the direction of Richard Plater, a member of Paget's English Reformed Church. In that year, two other printers connected to Brewer and the "Pilgrim Press", John Reynolds and Sabine Staresmore, began working with Plater. Scott's *The Second Part of Spanish Practises* also contained an extract from Thomas Wood's translation of *De Jure Belli Belgici,* which was printed in full that same year by the Amsterdam press; it also featured an 'Adjoynder' written by Stephen Offwood, another figure heavily involved in facilitating the production of radical texts in Amsterdam.[50] It is not inconceivable, therefore, that at least one of Scott's Dutch presses was located at Amsterdam, or that Brewer may have played a role in facilitating the production, by providing financial support, type and ornamentation, and perhaps even by appealing to sympathetic political figures within in England. The motive and the means were certainly there.

Regardless of their precise locations, the two sets of Scott pamphlets printed abroad in 1622 and 1623 were evidently linked, as the publication of Scott's *Works* in 1624 demonstrates

[47] SP 84/94/f.1.
[48] Sprunger, *Trumpets*, p.135.
[49] T.Scott, *Vox Dei* ([London?], 1623) [STC 22097a], sig.****v.
[50] [STC 18837] J.Verheiden, Thomas Wood (translator), *An Oration or Speech* (Amsterdam: 1624). For more on Stephen Offwood's career, see M.Moody, 'Trials and Travels of a Nonconformist Layman: The Spiritual Odyssey of Stephen Offwood, 1564 – ca.1635', *Church History,* Vol.51, No.2, (1982), pp.157-171.

further.[51]What is peculiar about the *Works* is that it features only a selection of Scott pamphlets: *Vox Populi, Vox Dei, Vox Regis, Digitus Dei, The Belgicke Pismire, Symmachia, The High Ways of God,* and *The Projector*, together with Henry Hexham's *A Tongue-Combat*. Why *these* pamphlets? By the time the *Works* was published, Scott had ventured forth a number of new and highly vendible tracts. And why include Hexham's work in a volume dedicated to Scott? The publisher had gone to the expense of including a fine engraving of Scott by the renowned Utrecht engraver Crispin Van De Passe, so it seems unlikely he would omit other pamphlets in error. The second peculiar feature of the volume provides the answer. All of the pamphlets included in Scott's *Works* were not newly-printed editions, except one. They were, in fact, "ponce" volumes, meaning that they were leftover stock held by the printer or publisher.[52] The only pamphlet to be specifically reprinted was *Vox Populi*: this time, it was printed in 94mm English type, in line with the others, but was corrected as per the third edition with the errata section removed. *These* pamphlets were used because they had all been organized and published by the same publisher, on either one or two presses. *Someone* had access to the existing stock of Scott pamphlets and to the author himself: the *Works* features a foreword written by Scott especially for the volume. Hexham's work was included not to add bulk and value to the edition, but because it was part of the same co-ordinated programme. The "Dutch Press", or "Presses", therefore, were operating in unison.

By late 1623, as the Scott propaganda machine ramped up its output, the centre of production migrated once again. The identity of this press, however, is more certain than its Dutch predecessor. Through typographical analysis, we can demonstrate that another set of Scott of pamphlets, beginning in late 1623 and continuing throughout 1624, were all produced on the same press using a 94mm English type. These were: *An Experimentall Discovery, The Belgick Soldier, Boanerges, The Spaniards Perpetuall Designs,* at least one version of *Second Part of Vox Populi*, and Scott's last printed work, *Sir Walter Raleighs Ghost.* To these, we can also add *Vox Coeli*, one of two infamous works by John Reynolds which emerged in concert with Scott's pamphlets in 1624; and, possibly, another anonymous work, entitled *A Brief Information of the Affaires of the Palatinate*. Once again, damaged type provides conclusive evidence.

Who was responsible for the later 1623 and 1624 works? William Jones has already been cited as the potential printer of at least one version of the *Second Part of Vox Populi* by the STC. Although

[51] T.Scott, *Workes* ([Netherlands], 1624) [STC 22105].
[52] My thanks go to Stephen Tabor, Curator of Rare Books at the Huntington Library, California, for his insights on this volume and for discussing the production of early modern books in general.

Jones affixed his name to only one printed work in 1624, Thomas Barnes's *Archidamus*, typographical analysis of this tract, together with his 1622 printing of *New Englands Trials* and his 1618 *The Speech of Sir Dudley Carleton*, supports the STC's initial hypothesis and allows us to take it further; for in fact, we find typographical matches to all of the later Scott pamphlets. It seems reasonable to suggest, therefore, that Jones's uncharacteristic drop in official productivity was because he was at work producing at least six of Scott's pamphlets and one of John Reynolds' pamphlets.

Jones, however, was not responsible for all the Scott pamphlets printed in 1624. It seems likely that another errant printer, Nicholas Okes, produced at least one version of *Second Part of Vox Populi* and Scott's mid-1624 ode to anti-Catholic prejudice, *Englands Joy*. *Robert the Earl of Essex his Ghost* has also been attributed to John Beale.[53] The claim that Okes was the primary printer of *Vox Populi*, however, and that William Jones pirated the first edition, appears incorrect.[54] In light of the fact that Jones was the printer of the majority of Scott's other works in 1624, it seems unlikely that he would be cut out of the printing of one of Scott's most lucrative pamphlets. Instead, I would argue that Okes's involvement was a case of demand exceeding supply. The concentrated burst of printing activity of Scott's works in late 1623 and 1624 required the printing of thirteen pamphlets, many of which were lengthy, and all of which were time sensitive. The popularity of some of these works, *Vox Populi's* sequel in particular, also necessitated printing in large quantities and Jones, at least officially, was permitted to own only one press.[55] It seems more likely, therefore, that Okes and Jones were working together in a co-ordinated, co-operative effort designed to maximise the numbers of copies available on the market, spread risk, and ensure that all the pamphlets were published at the desired moment.

Neither printer was a surprising choice. Jones, as we have seen, had been involved in the production of "Bohemia" pamphlets and may have had personal and political ties to the earl of Southampton and other anti-Spanish politicians and clergy. He, like Brewer and Scott, shared in a vision of the press as proselytizing tool and truth-telling instrument, and had already accrued a vast amount of experience in the world of underground printing. Okes, likewise, was a perpetual re-offender in the records of the Stationers Company, 'a ragged rascal' according to Ben Jonson, who had only recently

[53] For more on Beale, see Chapter 6.
[54] J.Astington, 'Visual Texts: Thomas Middleton and Prints' in Taylor, Lavagnino (eds.), *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture* (Oxford, 2007), p.240. Astington cites his source for this assertion as Peter Blayney, but Blayney has never published his reasoning.
[55] Blayney has argued that it was an 'economic necessity' that printers owned more than one press, despite official regulations. Even allowing for this, the demand for Scott's pamphlets (and the speed with which they were required) necessitated an additional printer. Blayney, *The Texts of King Lear and their Origins,* Vol.I (Cambridge, 1982), p.41.

extricated himself from the scandal surrounding the publication of the satirical and scurrilous *Wither's Motto* in 1621.[56] Although Okes and Jones never officially co-operated until 1636, they were no doubt familiar with each other as two of the foremost illicit printers in London.[57] And Beale too would (as we shall see in Chapters Six and Seven) cooperate with Jones and the publisher Michael Sparke in their efforts to combat the Laudian licensing system in the latter 1620s. There is, further, some evidence to suggest that Sparke may have also been involved in the London-based pamphlet production network. A second edition of Scott's *Works* was printed in 1624, this time including *all* of his pamphlets: both those printed in the Netherlands and in London. The Bodleian Library was gifted a copy in 1627 by the publisher Michael Sparke.[58] Taken in conjunction with his close ties to Jones and Beale, Sparke's involvement in distributing the Scott tracts is at least possible, if not probable. Together they provided Scott with an organized, experienced, and efficient production base in the heart of the political nation at a moment of immense importance: delays, as Scott reiterated time and again, were dangerous.[59]

Despite Scott's statements to the contrary, this aspect is often lost in analyses of illicit pamphleteering. Timing was key, and having the flexibility to respond to rapidly unfolding political events had an immediate political value. The extreme fluidity of the political situation only accentuated this. In this respect, the Scott pamphlet production network was highly effective. Perhaps the most telling example of this can be seen in the publication of *The Belgicke Pismire* in early 1622. Its propagation of Anglo-Dutch entente was not simply an expression of timeless Protestant patriotism, but a political necessity of the moment. In early 1621, the Dutch East India Company had taken the islands of Banda and Lantore in the Banda Sea, islands which, it was claimed, had already declared themselves for the king of England.[60] By late 1621, the news, finally filtered back to England, had escalated mercantile tensions between the two countries. Dutch special ambassadors had been sent over to ease relations but, as Scott noted, 'the Enemie' was busy fanning the flames of the incident and 'raising false fires to affright us.' What appeared a minor squabble over insignificant islands on the other side of the world was being used by 'those who labour to effect a division betwixt us, and to this end, to revive old

[56] Ibid., p.50.
[57] E.Pagett, *Christianographie* (Printed by W[illiam] I[ones] and N[icholas] O[kes] at London, 1636) [STC 19111].
[58] T.Scott, *The workes of...Thomas Scott* (Utrecht [i.e London?], 1624) [STC 22064].
[59] As we discussed earlier, John Dawson may have acted as a fourth London-based printer in the Scott campaign.
[60] For a discussion of the print controversy surrounding the East Indies see A.Milton, 'Marketing a Massacre: Amboyna, the East India Company and the public sphere in early Stuart England' in P.Lake, S.Pincus (eds.), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2007).

grudges, and provoke new quarrels.' The 'generall disposition of most men is wavering': there were some, Scott feared, who 'desire to shift their old approved friends for fresh suiters.' It was, in short, a Spanish attempt to disrupt an Anglo-Dutch anti-Spanish union. Once again, the controversy coalesced around print. 'Pictures and Pasquills are day by day there vented.' Through such pictures and pasquills, Scott argued, 'it is our Enemies plot, to stirre up our heady and hastie humours, and to cause the Prince to discontent his best and truest subjects' and his closest allies.[61]

Two of the pasquills Scott was almost certainly referring to were *A Courante of Newes from the East India*, which was written on February 8, and *A Second Courante*, printed, it states, on February 18.[62] The first was supposedly written by Thomas Knowles, an English factor operating on the islands, the second by Patrick Copeland, minister to the East India Company. Anticipating the later printed conflict over the Amboyna massacre, both pamphlets denounced the behaviour of the Dutch and emphasized their threat to English trading interests. Such pamphlets necessitated a response and Scott was ready to oblige. If he had already prepared the pamphlet for publication, it seems he may have added or reshaped his foreword 'To the true hearted British Readers' to address the anti-Dutch *pasquils* circulating in print. What is remarkable is how swiftly this was achieved. Simonds D'Ewes noted on March 14 that he 'went into towne to visit my tutor, and had with him much good discourse. I ther allsoe read a good parte of a little booke, latelye come foorth, called the Belgicke Pismeere, made by Mr Thomas Scott whoe had before sett out Vox Populi.'[63] If we take the *Secound Courante*'s claim to have been printed on February 18 at face value, and accept D'Ewes assertion that Scott's pamphlet emerged in early March, we can see that the Scott press could produce a response to new political developments within two to four weeks. Since we have established that *The Belgicke Pismire* was probably printed in the Netherlands, within that time the manuscript was either written or adapted, printed, transported, and then distributed in England apparently without any interruption. It points in the first instance to the immediate political power of the printed text to intercede in current affairs. Scott subsumed what was an escalating commercial conflict into his wider conspiratorial narrative of Antichristian nefariousness and Machiavellian Spanish realpolitik: 'For I verily believe, that that disgust betwixt the two Nations in the East-Indies, was not sent thither without a Romish practise.'[64] 'The only

[61] Scott, *Belgick Pismire,* sigs.A1-A4r.
[62]Anon. [Thomas Knowles?], *A Courante of Newes from the East India* ([London], 1622) [STC 7457].
P.Copland, *A Second Courante of Newes from East India in two letters* ([London], 1622) [STC 7458].
[63] Bourcier, *Diary,* pp.125-126.
[64] Scott, *Belgick Pismire,* sig.K2r.

way to conquer us both,' Scott reminded his readers, 'is to dis-unite and divide us.'[65] It worked on D'Ewes, at least, an ever-favourable reader of Scott's works: 'Ther weere manye ierkes at the Spaniarde', D'Ewes noted happily, 'and much commendation for the Low Cuntries and good caveats for our King and State, had it pleased God wee could have observed them.'[66] In the second, it demonstrates the immense political value of having an organized and efficient production network. Once the focus of production moved to London, and into the hands of seasoned underground veterans, we may rightly assume that the efficiency of the system only increased.

A reconstruction of the production processes behind Scott's pamphlets reveals an illicit printing infrastructure which was far more advanced than any of its predecessors; and it overturns the widely-accepted assumption that the Scott pamphlets and, indeed, most illicit English pamphlets of an explicitly political or religious nature, were by necessity printed abroad, either due to the supposed censorship system or to a lack of expertise. What emerges instead was a system that was transnational in scope, using multiple presses on both sides of the North Sea, flexibly switching production sites to avoid detection and maximise efficiency. In England specifically, Scott could rely upon a fast, effective, and discreet production base. It was a clear progression from the itinerant Marprelate press and a large step forward from the anti-ceremonialist Jones press, which produced pamphlets at a comparative trickle, over years. With the assistance of Nicholas Okes, John Beale, and John Dawson, Jones produced thirteen pamphlets in a concentrated burst of only a few months.[67] He was further supported by a vast unseen network of binders, hawkers, paper merchants, ink suppliers, publishers, booksellers, and *buyers*, extending like the tentacles of an unfurling octopus throughout the narrows streets and walks of the capital. By 1624, therefore, we might suggest that the Scott campaign had established the infrastructure for England's first fully-functioning print underground, or at least a solid outline of it.

III The Wider Networks

Regardless of the efficiency of its underground infrastructure, any illicit campaign of such a length and scale would undoubtedly provoke the ire of the authorities. What is, therefore, most striking about the production of Scott's pamphlets is that there is no evidence to suggest that any of these presses, whether based in London or abroad, were suppressed, despite the evident capacity of the authorities to

[65] Ibid., sig.O1r.
[66] Bourcier, *Diary*, pp.125-126.
[67] See Appendix 2.

do so. Whilst the United Provinces did proffer greater latitude for printers, authorities in England could project their power into the Netherlands and prevail upon the Dutch government to suppress harmful presses. This was the case in 1619 when Sir Dudley Carleton had the Pilgrim Press shut down.[68] England's capacity to successfully intervene was dependent on two factors: the co-operation of the Dutch authorities, and the support and initiative of the English ambassador to seek out offending parties. It seemed, however, that James failed to mobilize the support of either. Had the Dutch press(es) been based in Amsterdam, as I suggest it may have been, Carleton would have been well aware: he possessed a capable informant in Francis Hill, an unemployed English printer based in Amsterdam, who held sample pages of various English presses and supplied Carleton with intelligence for a number of years.[69] The ambassador, therefore, certainly had the means to intervene, but lacked the motivation. He was, as discussed, closely tied to Elizabeth Stuart. Reading their correspondence, one could easily forget that Carleton was an employee of the English crown, rather than the monarch's daughter.[70] More importantly, however, Carleton was also acutely sensitive to changes in the political climate in England. Carleton was relentless in pursuit of a promotion and, by late 1623, it had become increasingly apparent that the political will of the nation, including its two most popular figureheads Charles and Buckingham, if not the monarch, were for war. Another neglected factor is that James's health had been deteriorating from a number of years: suffering recurring bouts of severe gout, rumours frequently surfaced of his impending death. It was clear that the future lay with the prince and favourite. This proved to be the case. With Buckingham's support, Sir Dudley Carleton was indeed elevated to Vice-Chamberlain and the Privy Council in 1625. The Dutch government, for their part, had just as little interest in suppressing works which were wholly beneficial to their cause and had a long history of promoting propaganda favourable to their aims.[71]

Scott himself appeared confident in his security in the United Provinces. In the *Second Part of Vox Populi*, dedicated to Elizabeth Stuart and Maurice of Nassau, he claimed the favour and support of both of them. The inspiration for his works, Scott asserted, 'was out of my love, my loyalty, for such (most grace Q:Elizabeth) hath heeretofore your respect beene towards mee (farre unworthy God knowes of any of the least favours from so Magnificent a Princesse) that ever since, I have contented my selfe to adventure and Act something, that might have power still to preserve me in your Royall Memorie.'[72]

[68] SP 84/94/1, f.49, f.84, for example.
[69] Sprunger, *Trumpets*, pp.95-96.
[70] See his correspondence with Elizabeth Stuart in Akkerman (ed.), *Correspondence.*
[71] C.Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht, 1987), p.131.
[72] Scott, *Second Part of Vox Populi*, sigs.A-A2v.

Ringing a very similarly note to Thomas Roe, there seems to be a pattern forming here: those men who received Elizabeth's favour seemed to repay her by writing pamphlets, whether instructed or compelled by a sense of duty to do so. Buckingham, at least, suspected that Elizabeth was responsible for channelling secret intelligence into unwanted hands. In December, he wrote to her expressing his support for her cause, but refused to send her 'the present dispatches in to Spayne for mistrust of your use of them.'[73] To 'Prince Maurice', Scott expressed similar sentiments: 'since I have had sometime dependance on your Excellence, I hold it my Dutie gratefully to repay, some part of what (I cannot say iniustly) I have gained under you.'[74] Exactly what Scott gained remains unspoken, nor how it was justly acquired, but political protection was a currency Scott required and Maurice was willing to lend. This was certainly the view of one of Spain's most capable propagandists, Richard Verstegan, the Antwerp-based writer and journalist. In his opinion, the anti-Spanish coalition in England and the Netherlands was 'a monster with many heads' and Scott this monster's 'worthy secretary...a speciall Agent of the enemyes of peace.' Scott's relationship to the Dutch was a symbiotic relationship nurtured since his publication of *Vox Populi*: 'so highly to the purpose, and well liking of [...] the Hollanders' was it, 'that they forthwith upon the appearance thereof to the world in English, did publish it also in Dutch, to the end it might worke like effects on both sydes the sea togeather at one tyme, as we see it hath done through the diligence of the post of the ayre the Puritan-flying-divell aforesaid.'[75]

Anglo-Dutch relations within the campaign ran deeper however. Henry Hexham, whose pamphlet, the *Tongue-Combat,* was also printed on the Dutch press, reinforced the implication that he – and, by association, the press – had powerful support. Hexham stated that 'the many bookes I have...translated touching this Subject', the subject of Spanish perfidy, he did 'for the satisfaction of my selfe' and on behalf of 'some honorable friends, who are knowne to be too religious, to enter into courses doubtfull or questionable; at least into warres openly wicked and unwarrantable.' This support was at least partly Dutch, as Hexham explained: 'It is my duty (I take it) to doe thus; for my meanes I receive of the States obligeth my tongue, hand, heart, and whole man, to promote their just cause in wordes, waitings, actions, prayers.'[76] Hexham himself was personally acquainted with the Dutch leaders

[73] Akkerman (ed.), *Correspondence*, Letter 307, p.437.
[74] Scott, *Second Part of Vox Populi*, sig.A2v.
[75] P.Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven, 2004), pp.19-21.
[76] H.Hexham, *A Tongue-Combat* ([Netherlands], 1623) [STC 13264], sigs.A2r-A2v.

Maurice and his half-brother Frederick Henry, but Hexham's connections suggest that some of his 'honorable friends' were English.

Hexham had begun life as a soldier, serving as a page to Francis Vere between 1601 and 1607, before shifting his services to Horace Vere, who had become governor of Brill in 1610. His side-career as a writer and translator started around this point and he produced at least three works in support of international Protestantism, dedicating one to Horace's wife, Mary.[77] By 1625, he was acting as quartermaster to Horace Vere's regiment then engaged against the Spanish in the Netherlands. His *Tongue-Combat* was dedicated to Sir George Holles, Sergeant-Major to General Vere. Vere himself was an active patron of puritan ministers like John Burgess and William Ames (who had also been implicated in the Pilgrim Press operation) and had strong political connections in England; his cousin, Henry Vere, the eighteenth Earl of Oxford, was a close ally of Southampton and Sandys, and had been imprisoned alongside the pair in 1621 in equally uncertain circumstances.[78] It may be no more than a coincidence that Francis Vere held the livings of Hockwold and Feltwell, two villages neighbouring Scott's home village of Northwold, and appointed the rector there, Thomas Randall, as his chaplain.

Hexham was also well-acquainted with Sir Edward Conway, another military leader soon to become Secretary of State and a Privy Councillor. In 1641, Conway claimed to have known Hexham for as long as he could remember and vouched for his character as an upright Protestant. Like Vere, Conway was also an active supporter of puritan ministers, championing John Davenport for minister of St.Stephen's parish in London, and was an active supporter of the classis of English ministers in the Netherlands, of which Scott was a member.[79] He was married to the daughter of a Dutch merchant, Giles Heuriblock, and had close ties to the Dutch Reformed Church in London of which his wife, Katherine, would also become a member.[80] And, like Carleton, Conway was a close confidante of Elizabeth. In one of many politically sensitive letters to Elizabeth, Conway admitted that 'I writt thus freelie to you because I know I may trust you.' This relationship was reciprocal: Nadine Akkerman notes that on a number of occasions Conway failed to record receipt of Elizabeth's letters in his entry book as was customary procedure, whilst Elizabeth consigned her most sensitive correspondence to the

[77] J.Polyander à Kerckhoven [translated by H.Hexham], *A Disputation Against the Adoration of the Reliques of Saints* (Dort, 1611) [STC 20095], sigs.A2-A3r.
[78] Sprunger, *Trumpets*, pp.139-141.
[79] Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, p.91.
[80] O.Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London* (Brill, 1989), p.52.

fire.[81] Like Scott too, Conway maintained the same outlook on foreign policy, being a firm advocate of Anglo-Dutch co-operation and a vigorous opponent of the Spanish Match.[82] Indeed, it was later reported that Conway was promoted to his position in late 1623 'because the late Duke of Buckingham wanted then for his own ends a Martial Secretarie.'[83] As the principle state office in charge of investigating illicit pamphleteering, Conway held a potentially pivotal position in the anti-Spanish pamphleteering network.

One final link bears investigation, for it posits a potential connection between Scott and the other leading man in Jacobean politics, William Herbert, the third earl of Pembroke. Whilst Scott was not, as previously assumed, Herbert's chaplain (that was the *other* Thomas Scott, minister of Bury St. Edmund's), the circumstances surrounding the publication of Scott's *Newes from Pernassus* suggest a rather more veiled connection. It was not an original work but, in fact, a heavily adapted translation of the *Ragguagli di Parnaso* by the Italian satirist, Traiano Boccalini, first printed in 1612 and believed to have first been translated into English in 1656 by the Earl of Monmouth.[84] Nor was it intended as an isolated work. In 1626 Scott's version, with some alterations, was included as part of William Vaughan's three-part translation of Boccalini's *Ragguaglis*, entitled *The new-found Politicke*.[85] The pamphlet was dedicated to James I and thus clearly written prior to his death, not, as the publication date would suggest, in 1626. The first section was translated by John Florio, the final part by Williams himself, and the middle section 'by one, vnto whom the common-wealth cannot as yet be beholding for his name', a clear reference to the as yet anonymous Thomas Scott. Its intention, Williams claimed, was to highlight 'the incroaching power of the House of Austria' and the Spanish threat more broadly.[86] The adaptation of Boccalini's satire was, therefore, not simply an intellectual project: it echoed Scott's narrative and reflected the political aims of its potential patron, the earl of Pembroke.

For both Florio and Vaughan had strong connections to the Earl. John Florio, the son of an Italian Protestant exile who had tutored the second earl of Pembroke, William's father, was a writer and language teacher. His pupils and later patrons included the Countess of Bedford, the Earl of

[81] Akkerman (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.433-434, p.1. It is also worth noting that one of the conveyors of Conway's letters to Elizabeth was Sir Horace Vere, Hexham's commander.
[82] See, for example, SP 84/116/11.
[83] Anon., *Cabala, Mysteries of State, in letters of the great ministers of K.James and K.Charles,* Part One (London, 1653) [WING C183], p.33.
[84] H.Carey, *I Ragguagli di Parnaso* (London, 1656) [WING B3380].
[85] W.Vaughan, *The new-found politicke* (London, 1626) [STC 3185]. It was also printed in the same year under a different title, *The Golden Fleece* (London, 1626) [STC 24609].
[86] Vaughan, *New-found politicke*, sig.^2.

Southampton and the Earl of Pembroke, with whom he remained in contact with until his death in 1625: he named as one of his executors Theophilus Field, Bishop of Llandaff, another close member of Pembroke's circle.[87] William Vaughan, meanwhile, was a writer, local politician, and active promoter of colonization of the new world; he was the second son of Walter Vaughan, twice MP for Camarthenshire, and followed his father into local politics, becoming sheriff of the same county in 1616. He was thus a prominent local figure in the heartland of Pembroke's political power base and an active proponent of two issues dear to both Scott and the earl, colonization and anti-Catholicism. Vaughan's 1626 *The Golden Fleece*, written under the pseudonym *Orpheus Junior*, was a vehement demonstration of both.[88]

How Scott fits into this picture is less clear, but nonetheless intriguing. Scott's *Newes from Pernassus* contained a preface written by an anonymous source, purportedly at least the original translator of the work. The writer, sensitive to the highly political nature of the satires in their current context had 'fully resolved to keepe them from the Presse, as from the fire: for the length of time maturing things, that, which for infinite respects, in our Age is odious.' He instead 'presumed to hide these my Writings in your Lordships Librarie, vnto whom I present them, to the end they may be published to the world at such time as they cannot giue distaste to any one.'[89] If we assume the anonymous writer to be John Florio, who had been working on the translation of Boccalini since 1619, we may also assume the unnamed Lord to be the Earl of Pembroke. In 1625, Florio bequeathed to 'the right honourable, my singulare, and ever honored good Lord William Earle of Pembroke... all my Italian French and Spanish bookes, as well printed as unprinted, being in number about Three hundred and fortie' to be kept either in his library at Wilton or Baynard's Castle in London: it is, therefore, possible that he had already given many of his more suspect manuscripts to the earl for safe keeping.[90] And if this was the case, then Scott's claim that the 'papers' came 'by chance into my hands' is also highly dubious. Such a claim was common in illicit pamphlets and was likely a coded way of saying he had been *sent* the material. Scott for his part, no doubt as was intended, thought it wrong 'to conceale what God hath sent into my hands' and instead 'judged them fit for all mens eyes... the generall information and benefit of all Christendome.'[91] Whilst we cannot establish with certainty who specifically sent Scott

[87] F.Yates, *John Florio* (Cambridge, 1934). For Vaughan, see *ODNB,* 'William Vaughan, c.1575-1641'.
[88] W.Vaughan, *The Golden Fleece* (London, 1626) [STC 24609].
[89] T.Scott, *Newes from Pernassus* (Holland? 1622) [STC 22080], pp.3-4.
[90] W.Marquardt, 'The First English Translators of Trajano Boccalini's "Ragguagli di Parnaso": A Study of Literary Relationships', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* Vol.15, No.1, (1951), p.8.
[91] Scott, *Newes from Pernassus,* sigs.M3-M4v.

the material, it seems unlikely that it could have come into Scott's possession in Utrecht *without* the tacit consent of the Earl of Pembroke. On both sides of the Channel, then, it appears Scott had powerful backers.

This makes the timing of the switch in production from the United Provinces to London in the latter half of 1623 all the more significant and suggestive. Although it is difficult to pinpoint the timings of the switch precisely, it was certainly only a few months after Conway had secured the crucial post of Secretary of State at Buckingham's behest and only narrowly preceded Buckingham and Charles's return from Spain. It also took place shortly before the political rapprochement between Buckingham and his chief adversary, the Earl of Pembroke: a realignment which was pivotal to the anti-Spanish cause and was in effect from at least the start of parliament in February 1624.[92] It seems inconceivable that Scott would choose to abandon the relative security of his production base in the Netherlands, ensured by the support of the Stadtholder Maurice and Elizabeth Stuart, if he had not been certain of receiving the same protection in England. And such protection could only be assured with the political support of either the Earl of Pembroke *or* the Duke of Buckingham, or both.

Indeed, the move mirrored a marked shift in the freedom of the press more broadly. Van Male, representative of the Spanish Netherlands in London, sent back to Brussels a flavour of the outpouring of the anti-Spanish, pro-war propaganda 'de ce puritains enrages que pensent nous faire la guerre avec la plume.' In mid-June, 1624, Wooley remarked that 'Daily almost their commeth forth new Pamphletts' and sent his friend Trumbull half a dozen, 'not for the worth but to shewe what privilege men take in these days more than heretofore without being once questioned or demanded why they did it.'[93] In February, John Williams, the Lord Keeper, had written to Conway with instructions to suppress another seditious pamphlet. 'The King', he wrote, 'is very sensible of the wicked libel which traduces his person and government; it is stuffed with scandalous untruths, mentions preachers as imprisoned by Council who never were so, gives letters and speeches which never were written nor spoken, &c.' Conway, he stated, should take steps to discover the author and the press. 'The author might perhaps be detected by employing Mr. Bill to find out, by the type, where it was printed. All the copies met with must be suppressed, and a proclamation should be issued forbidding the reading of it, as filled with most foul and treasonable aspersions; also promising a reward for discovery of the author, and

[92] S.Adams, 'Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624' in K.Sharpe (ed.), *Faction and Parliament* (Oxford, 1978), p.156.
[93] Van Male and Woolley's remarks are quoted from Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, p.281.

forbidding the printing or selling of any book not approved by an authorized person, as is done in other Christian countries,—a course which would be neither offensive nor inconvenient, and would prevent libels.'[94] The pamphlet in question is probably Reynolds' *Votivae Angliae*. Whilst Reynolds was eventually apprehended and imprisoned, it was not as a result of Conway's effort to catch him (Conway made no effort to do so) and only *after* he had published a second work, *Vox Coeli*.[95] That at least forty-eight copies survive today further attests to the failure to enforce the king's will. In England, as in the Netherlands, the crown was unable to effectively exercise its powers of censorship: a marked departure from the situation in 1621, where the state had (eventually) been able to disrupt the print networks behind the production of the pro-Bohemia pamphlet series.

Where before there had been imprisonment, now there was privilege, because those in control of levers which enabled censorship were unable, unwilling, or actively opposed its enforcement. Indeed, the decline of enforcement correlated to the shift in political power away from the king and towards his son and favourite. As the Venetian Ambassador observed in May, the king 'considers himself practically deprived of the scepter...his mind is ulcerated and full of poison, disposing him to ruin not only others but possibly his son.'[96] Charles's power, by contrast, was soaring. The month before, the Countess of Bedford reported to Elizabeth that he 'winns dayly more and more upon the harts of all good men, and hath begotten, by his Princely and wise proceedings, such an opinion of his reallity, iudgment and worthy intentions for the publicke good, as I thinke never Prince was more powerfull in a howse of Parliament.'[97]

Scott, like many of those seeking protection or elevation, was well aware of the changing power relations in the kingdom; the Scott pamphlets produced in London struck a decidedly different tone in their treatment of the king and the direction of their praise. The king was increasingly, and ever more openly, questioned. As the Earl of Essex's ghost stated in one Scott pamphlet, he 'never doubted, that such a prudent, learned, and religious prince, should bee so farre misled, by (some) false hearted Counsellors at home, and fawning Forraine Embassadors from the enemies of God and the Gospell professed in England, to the detriment of the Kingdome.'[98] Whilst the king quickly became a fool, both Charles and Buckingham became the heroes of Scott's narrative. Spanish intrigues, Scott's Gondomar

[94] SP 14/159/56.
[95] SP 14/169/59. It was not until July that a 'poor man' was reportedly charged with printing *Votivae Angliae*. Jones, who printed *Vox Coeli*, evaded capture.
[96] C.Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, 2001), p.163.
[97] Akkerman (ed.), *Correspondence*, Letter 320, p.458.
[98] Scott, *Robert Earl of Essex*, sig.A4v.

claims, would have been a success 'had not the comming over of prince Charles in Person into Spaine, with the Duke of Buckingham spoyled all.'[99] They were, he exclaimed, 'our prime and principall opposers.'[100] Gondomar then launched into a rather perverse and gratuitous ode to Buckingham, 'a Noble, Wise, and Generous Prince, unto whom the King his Maister hath deservedly conferred his grace, and those transcendent Honnors, yea though for no other merit else then the resolute and wise carriage of himselfe, in the usinesse of this Treaty amongst us, whereby he hath not onely assured himselfe of the affection and heart of the King and Prince, but infinitely for his faithfull service (another *Fidus Achates*) unto him gained the generall love of the Common people.' For Charles, Scott's praise was equally effulgent:

> shall we imagine then Prince, yea such a Prince as Charles of Wales...upon whom and whose action's as a bright blazing Comet Europe begins to fixe her eye, affraid and doubtfull, where the fatall effect of his discontent will light, will carry coales, and cry quittance with his enemies, yet doubtless, his mettle is of another temper.[101]

In *Symmachia*, Scott framed 'the most excellent Prince of Wales' as 'a principall Agent' in securing parliamentary war subsidies, dissolving the Spanish negotiations, and planning for war: 'the whole frame was first of his composure.'[102] Charles and Buckingham embodied precisely the type of "Englishness" Scott had championed in his works: they represented, in short, true heirs to England's glorified martial past and, just as Aeneas and his companion Achates would lead the Trojans to Rome, so too would they lead England into an ever more glorious and godly future. But what are we to make of this sudden outpouring of praise? I would argue it suggests that, by the time the press had move from Amsterdam to London, Buckingham had lent at least his tacit support to the campaign. It seems inconceivable that Buckingham was unaware of Reynolds' pamphlets before they were published, Reynolds being the chaplain to his nephew and "creature" Lord Fielding; equally, given the number of powerful people involved in the exercise of censorship – like Conway – who owed their political elevation to Buckingham, it seems highly unlikely that a press could have survived so nakedly in London against Buckingham's will.[103] He was, as Thomas Cogswell has convincingly demonstrated, closely attuned to the power of publicity and Scott, if nothing else, had proven himself to be a popular

[99] Scott, *Second Part of Vox Populi*, p.21.
[100] Ibid., p.25.
[101] Ibid., pp.25-26.
[102] Scott, *Symacchia*, sig.A3r.
[103] Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, p.290.

and persuasive voice.[104] Charles, too, the Venetian Ambassador observed, 'desires by every means to win general popularity among the people.'[105] Furthermore, by the time the pair had returned from Spain in late 1623, he had effectively made Scott's cause his own and had no interest in seeing it fail. Indeed, as Lord Admiral, Buckingham stood to be perhaps the chief beneficiary of a naval war with Spain; Spanish gold, as Scott had earlier argued, was indeed a powerful motivator and the potential earnings from such a war could fund the dispensation of patronage upon which his political survival rested. Whether Scott's networks reached the very highest echelons of government or not, it is important to recognize that the shift in production from the Netherlands to London coincided with the shift in power relations within the English court. Both were mutually beneficial and this might ultimately explain why the Scott production networks flourished, uninterrupted and undiscovered, in 1624.

This chapter has attempted to use typographical analysis to uncover the presses and processes through which Thomas Scott was able to give voice to the people, and to establish the contours of the wider network which supported him. The evidence is necessarily circumstantial and suggestive; illicit printing was, by nature, furtive, written evidence tying individuals to its production was purposefully suppressed at the time by those involved (who knows, for example what information has been lost to the flames of Elizabeth or Conway's fireplaces), and in most cases only came to light in the event of the network's suppression. This, of course, is not the case here. Nothing survives: but absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. To the contrary, the silence of the archives in this case speaks to the success of the operation and the influence of those involved in orchestrating it. What Scott's case does demonstrate is that illicit print was increasingly impactful upon the performance of politics; it was a medium which allowed international interest groups to intervene in the domestic affairs of state and combat the official diplomatic methods of competing interests. Rather than the nationally-restricted idea of a 'patriot coalition' envisioned by Cogswell, which coalesced around the 1624 Parliament, we can glimpse here an argument for a wider, transnational community of interests which cohered primarily around illicit print: one which was rooted in but not restricted to religious or patriotic fervour, flexible enough to encompass a variety of personal and political interests and actors, all of whom stood to gain from war with Spain, the recovery of the Palatinate, and anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish rhetoric more broadly. Illicit print was a means to achieve the aims of those interest groups and, crucially, the infrastructure which supported it formed an essential bridge which allowed these interest groups to

[104] See Cogswell's excellent essay, 'The People's Love: The Duke of Buckingham and Popularity' in T.Cogswell, R.Cust, P.Lake (eds.), *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain* (Cambridge, 2002).
[105] *CSPV*, Vol.18, 1623-1625, no.263, p.211.

engage with parliament and wider publics. If, in the process of producing Scott's pamphlets, we can trace the emergence of a nascent English print underground, it was not inherently oppositional but deeply embedded in the processes and networks of domestic and international politics and diplomacy.

Chapter Five: Thomas Scott and the Politics of Popularity

Having established the wider contexts in which Scott's pamphlets emerged in Chapter Three, and having shown how the pamphlets were produced in Chapter Four, this chapter focuses upon how Scott used his pamphlets to participate in, and impact upon, the political process. It will show how Scott developed an all-encompassing conspiratorial narrative which translated contemporary events into a framework intelligible for wider publics: a narrative which allowed him to both shape public perceptions of politics at large and impact upon the immediate performance of politics specifically. In the process, it will argue, Scott refined Martinist ideas to justify his intervention upon the public stage, carving out a role for illicit print as an essential component in the performance of politics. Finally, it will consider the contrasting reactions to Scott's pamphlets and ask whether they reflect increasingly divergent readings of politics in early Stuart England more broadly.

I Refining Martininsm: or, how Scott appealed to publics

Vox Populi, more overtly than any Marprelate tract, was styled in the manner of the stage. Perhaps drawing upon the recent anonymously-printed poem, *Prosopopoeia*, which imagined a conference between the Pope, the Emperor Ferdinand, and the king of Spain, *Vox Populi* took the form of a sinister secret meeting between the Spanish ambassador Gondomar, the Duke of Lerma, and several papal agents.[1] Characters come and go off stage in the text, perform dramatic insidious monologues, and fulfil the role of stock "evil" characters: the readers are informed of their plans but the heroes of the story remain tragically unaware. The pamphlet itself ends abruptly with the news that 'our most trusty and able Pentioner Barnevelt' had been apprehended, whereupon all the *dramatis personae* 'tooke horse and posted to Court.' The reader is told to 'expect newes the next fayre wind', as though waiting for a second act.[2] The *Second Part of Vox Populi*, published four years later, described another conspiratorial meeting of plotters in which Gondomar, the archetypal Machiavellian courtier, takes centre stage. Middleton's play, *A Game at Chesse*, almost directly lifts allusions and characters from the text.[3] The dramatic device of the revivified ghost is also brought to bear in several of Scott's pamphlets, and provides the central arc for John Reynolds' *Vox Coeli*: indeed, Reynolds himself specifically invoked the image of the theatre when he implored Charles not to let 'Griefe, Dispayre, and

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[1] Anon., *Prosopopoeia. Or, A conference held at Angelo Castle* ([London, 1619?]) [STC 20443]. According to the online database, *Manuscript Pamphleteering in Early Modern England*, there are also 11 surviving MS copies of the text, one of which was sent by Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville: see BL, Harl. MS 390, ff. 84r-85r.

[2] T.Scott, *Vox Populi* ([London?], 1620) [STC 22098], sig.D2r. As we have already suggested, the second act was probably intended to be Thomas Gainsford's *Vox Spiritus*.

[3] For a more detailed contextual discussion of Middleton's *A Game at Chesse*, see T.Cogswell, 'Thomas Middleton and the Court, 1624: *A Game at Chess* in Context', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* Vol. 47, No. 4, (1984), pp. 273-288.

Ruyne, to act theyr severall partes uppon the stage, and Theatre of theyr afflicitons.'[4] Theatricality was, thus, at the heart of Scott's pamphlets and those which shared in his aims. Like Marprelate, who requested 'leave to play the Duns', Scott was willing '*to play the fool* (as wisemen say) *in print*' but his purpose in doing so was not merely to entertain or sell copies.[5] By couching his narrative in the language and setting of the stage, Scott rendered a complex and unstable geopolitical situation intelligible to broadly-conceived publics, and infused their understanding of politics with the conspiracy, drama, and dynamics associated with popular theatre. In an England which had developed longstanding associations between the political and the dramatic stage, and had already begun to conceive of parliament as the 'theater of state', this Martinist strategy was perfectly measured to appeal to the widest possible readership.[6]

Crucially, however, *Vox Populi* did not claim to be fiction. It was, as the title-page asserted, 'translated according to the Spanish copie.' Drawing on the genre of "secret letters" previously deployed in the pro-Bohemia pamphlets which preceded it, *Vox Populi* purported to present a version of the truth which, however implausible, carried with it an authenticity which was difficult to dispel.[7] Scott's next pamphlet continued under the same shroud of validity, claiming to be a transcript of a speech made by the general and MP Sir Edward Cecil in the opening session of the 1621 Parliament. Railing against the Spanish threat and urging immediate military action, Cecil's speech was precisely what Scott felt *should* have been said but, despite Cecil's active involvement in parliamentary debate, the speech in question was never actually given. Its 'factitious' nature was deliberately deceptive; whilst Sir Dudley Carleton, who knew Cecil personally, expressed doubts about its validity, Joseph Mead presented the manuscript version to Sir Martin Stuteville as *fact*. The manuscript appeared no different to the body of parliamentary separates which were being leaked from within parliament with ever-increasing

[4] J.Reynolds, *Votivae Angliae* (London, 1624) [STC 20946.1], sig.*iiv. J.Reynolds, *Vox Coeli* (London, 1624) [STC 20946.5]. For more on the role of ghosts in Jacobean theatre, see S.Outterson-Murphy, 'Playing Dead: Staging Corpses, Ghosts, and Statues in Early Modern Drama' (City University New York, unpublished PhD thesis, 2015) and J.Alsop, 'Playing Dead: Living Death in Early Modern Drama' (Exeter, unpublished PhD thesis, 2014).
[5] Marprelate, *Epistle*, p.1. Scott, *Vox Dei*, sig.****v.
[6] C.Kyle, *Theater of State: Parliament and Political Culture in Early Stuart England* (Stanford, 2012), p.1. In his introduction, Kyle argues that, more than any other venue or institution, parliament resembled a theatre: it was 'preeminently a place of performance', p.2.
[7] *Vox Populi*, title-page.

frequency.[8] It was so successful an illusion that it was re-printed and recast as Cecil's opening speech to parliament in 1624![9]

To borrow from our own discourse, Scott had effectively created "fake news." This was a new development and one which went a step beyond the libellous reports and accusations of Marprelate, a step further still from the 'private' documents revealed in the pro-Bohemia pamphlets. By assuming the dual guise of news report and leaked document, Scott lent legitimacy to his own accounts and allowed him to present a seemingly authentic view of the truth which existed in the public space, if not in reality. This is certainly how Simonds D'Ewes understood it, noting in his diary on December 4 1620:

> I perused a notable book styled "Vox Populi"...marvellously displaying the subtle policies and wicked practises of the Count of Gondomar, the resident Ambassador here from the King of Spain, in prevailing with King James for connivance toward the Papists, under the colourable pretence of our Prince's matching with the Infanta Maria of Spain; and that he laboured to accomplish two things, without which the State of England could not be ruined; the first, to breed to distaste and jealousies in the King towards his best subjects under the false and adulterate nickname of Puritans, and so to prevent all future parliaments; and secondly, to nourish jars and differences between Great Britain and the United States of the Low Countries, that so being first divided each from the other, they might afterwards be singly and assuredly ruined by Spain, and the house of Austria.

Whether or not D'Ewes believed the conference itself to be fiction, the 'particulars of singular notion and of moment' encapsulated a narrative which he, and many others, believed to be true.[10] And this, of course, was precisely what Scott intended. As he would later admit, the veracity of his account was unimportant, for it contained the essence of 'the common-peoples private and retired discourses.' It was, in short, 'the shadow...of the substance it ushereth.'[11] It made public what people believed in private and, in so doing, it reversed the traditional dynamics of illicit print. Scott's truth-claims in this instance were neither subversive nor oppositional: they presented a truth which expressed and reinforced fundamental ideas and fears already circulating in the public imagination.

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[8] For Colclough's neat phrase, 'factitious', see *Freedom of Speech*, p.107. McClure (ed.), *Letters*, No.418, pp.463-465. For Mead to Stuteville, see BL Harl. MS 387 f.67v, 70-71r. On the increasingly porous nature of parliamentary documents, see C.Kyle, *Theater of State*, passim.
[9] T.Scott, *A Speech Made in the Lower House of Parlament* (London, 1624) [STC 22088].
[10] Halliwell (ed.), *Simons D'Ewes,* pp.158-159.
[11] T.Scott, *Vox Regis* (Holland? 1624), p.3, p.69 [STC 22105].

The adaptation and development of Martinist strategies served a key purpose for Scott in strengthening the idea at the logical root of his narrative: a grand conspiracy, shielded from the eyes of England's conceited subjects. Whilst his news-hungry readership were all 'wise and perfect polititians in State periods and revolutions of the world... for discerning the incrochments made by *Antichrist,* and his assotiates,' he warned, 'either like Fooles we observe them not, or like Hypocrites dissemble what we see, as men wishing well to his silent and close invasion, to his seacret and darke underminings.'[12] As Scott had laid bare in his exposés of their secret meetings in *Vox Populi,* the *Second Part of Vox Populi, An Experimental Discovery,* and *A Second Part of Spanish Practises,* there were already Spanish and papal agents working to further Antichrist's aims within England. Chief amongst them was the Spanish Ambassador, Gondomar. He had, or so his factitious literary manifestation claimed, already used his proximity to James, 'unto whom I had free accesse at all times', to free papists and defeat key opponents. He had caused the disgrace and death of the Scottian hero Sir Walter Raleigh: 'the hand was mine that gave him the blow', he boasts with satisfaction in one of his many Machiavellian soliloquys in the *Second Part of Vox Populi*.[13] Pivotally, 'one of the principall services' he had rendered was to work 'such a dislike betwixt the King and the lower house by the endevour of that honorable earl [Robert Cecil] and admirable Engine (a sure servant to us and the catholike cause whilst he lived) as the King will never indure parliament againe.'[14] At the centre of Scott's conspiracy was an issue of *realpolitik* which played upon the long-standing suspicions, harboured since the 1604 Treaty of London, that the Spanish overtures towards England were entirely disingenuous: a pretext only to disrupt, disarm, and discombobulate the English political system.[15] In exposing Spain's true intentions, Scott laid bare the futility of James's pacific foreign policy. The Spanish Match, as Gondomar claimed, was and had always been 'a cover for much intelligence, & a meanes to obtaine whatsoever I desired.'[16]

Alarmingly, Cecil had not been the only 'Engine' in the service of Spain. Gondomar had achieved his goals 'partly by the meanes of well affected friends' within England and recounted the 'favors I received' from the king, 'sundry of the Nobility', and various persons at court.[17] The court too, as was common in popular theatre, was equally suspect: it 'hath not onely every corner, but publicke

[12] T.Scott, *Digitus Dei* (Holland? 1623) [STC 22075], sig.B2v.
[13] T.Scott, *Second Part of Vox Populi* (London, 1624) [STC 22104], pp.14-16.
[14] Scott, *Vox Populi*, sig.B3r.
[15] It also exploited another prevalent fear that James would never call a parliament again. See A.Thrust, 'The Personal Rule of James I, 1611-1620' in T.Cogswell, R.Cust, P.Lake (eds.), *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain* (Cambridge, 2002), pp.97-99.
[16] Ibid., sig.B2v.
[17] Scott, *Second Part of Vox Populi*, pp.10-15.

walkes filled with Papists, and Hispaniolized temporisers' whose 'corrupt hearts taught their tongues to vent forth blasphemy.'[18] There were always 'divers Courtiers who were hungrie and gaped wide for Spanish gould' or, worse still, papists ready to attempt another Powder Plot.[19] 'Wee live intermingled in our Land with the subiects of *Antichrist*', Scott exclaimed, 'unto whom wee are more odious then the Jewes to Caesar, or Pontius Pilate.'[20]

This was not simply a matter of politics, base xenophobia, or anti-Catholicism: Scott nurtured the shoots of all three into a fully-bloomed conspiracy, orchestrated from both within and without, and which threatened the state, the church, and the future of the true faith itself. Domestic and political events in England, the Netherlands, and Germany were all inextricably linked. For, as the fictionalized Cecil warned his readers, the acquisitiveness of their 'greatest Enemy...the Catholike King [of Spain]' would not be restricted to a small German electorate: 'it hath been his ambition to create himself Monarch of the world' and to strive for 'universall Monarchy.' 'The defence of religion' at large 'and the safetie of the land', Cecil argued, 'are the things in danger.'[21] The universal monarch itself was a powerful cultural identifier. In 1620, the prominent minister Thomas Gataker published a treatise by the late William Bradshaw, in which the coming of the Antichrist and the emergence of a universal monarchy were intimately intertwined. Bradshaw argued that 'the place of Antichrists tyrannous dominion, shall be the Christian world...in the Catholike and universall Church upon earth.' The 'man of sinne' was not to be a Muslim, but a Christian who shall 'carry himselfe...as *God*...He will be the head of the whole church, the supreme and uncontroulable Governor: he will prescribe lawes and Canons to the whole Christian world...he will take upon him to binde mens consciences to his will, as to the will of the eternall God.'[22] In Scott's narrative, the Spanish king was the 'King of kings indeed', Ahasuerus (or Ashuerus), a recurrent character in the old Testament commonly associated with Xerxes, the king of Persia, most infamously known for his role in the Book of Esther, in which he is persuaded by evil counsellors (specifically *an* evil counsellor) to order the murder of the Jews in his realm only to be tricked by his Jewish wife Esther into sparing them. Needless to say, the evil counsellors and their co-conspirators are subsequently slaughtered: with a little imagination, the story could easily be adapted

[18] T.Scott, *Englands Joy, for suppressing Papists* (London, 1624) [STC 22076], sig.A4r.
[19] Scott, *Vox Populi*, sig.C1r.
[20] Scott, *Digitus Dei*, sig.C3v.
[21] *Speech made in the Lower House*, sig.A3r-v.
[22] W.Bradshaw, *A Plaine and Pithy Exposition* (London, 1620) [STC 3523], pp.102-103. For a detailed discussion of the prevalence of Antichrist in contemporary thought, see P.Lake, 'William Bradshaw, Antichrist, and the Community of the Godly', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol.36, Issue 4, (1985), pp.570-589.

to the English context and the internal threat of popery, just as Bradshaw's vision of a Christian monarch consuming the world could be read as an allegory of Spanish imperialism.

It was a symbol Scott and his printers would continue to be deploy. In the *Second Part of Vox Populi*, the printer, William Jones, used the pseudonym *Ashuerus Janss*, and Scott's later works were resplendent with biblical references to the king of kings and his nefarious plans. For the universal monarch was a useful and flexible image, at once highly specific and universal: it allowed Scott to link Spanish aggression, the Spanish Match, and the Palatinate crisis together (issues James strove to separate), and it allowed him to place them firmly within a wider narrative of Popish conspiracy and a pan-European assault on Protestantism. Gondomar's machinations, English papists, Spanish attacks on the Netherlands, and the assault on the Elector Palatine's hereditary lands were all yoked together in a contest between two clearly defined forces: 'wee being for Christ, hee for Antichrist.'[23] In a such a struggle, Scott thought 'it Treason to the Church and State' to refuse a call to arms in what was in essence a 'Rebellion against God', the true 'King of Kings.'[24] It is telling that the House of Commons' 'Petition', written in December 1621, presented the geopolitical landscape in exactly these terms. 'The point of your [James] sword', it read, should aim 'against that prince...who first diverted and hath since maintained the War in the Palatinate.' The king's enemies, it concluded, were 'the Pope of Rome and his dearest son, the one aiming at as large a Temporal Monarchy, as the other at a Spiritual Supremacy.'[25] There is a long and distinguished historiography regarding anti-Catholicism and Hispanophobia in England, but in Scott's case we can see how popular prejudices could be manipulated for specific ends and primed as weapons of public politics.

By framing the issue of the Spanish Palatinate and the Spanish Match within a narrative of God versus Antichrist, the battle between the King of Kings, Scott also furnished for himself a powerful justification for his flagrant intrusion upon the *arcana imperii*. The time-old Martinist argument of necessity, expressed successively by Stubbes, Cartwright, and Marprelate, had never held so much legitimacy. 'Ordinarie courses are for ordinarie crimes', he wrote, 'but that ordinarie course failing (as here it did) and extraordinarie crimes arising, and extraordinarie practises appearing, and extraordinarie feares provioking everie man, *Necessitie* drove me to seek out an extraordinarie meanes of remedie.' 'Pardon that which I now write: pardom that which is past', he beseeched the king, '*for what have I*

[23] T.Scott, *The Belgicke Pismire* ([Amsterdam?], 1622) [STC 22069], sig.I3r.
[24] Scott, *Digitus Dei*, sig.C2r-C3v.
[25] J.Kenyon (ed.), *The Stuart Constitution, 1603-1688* (Cambridge, 1986), 'Commons Petition', p.41, 39.

now done? Is there not a cause?'[26] Again, Scott took refuge in the story of Esther and Asahuerus: '*If I perish, I perish. For whas there not a time to speake? Was there not a cause?*'[27] Marprelate had used the same story in his conspiratorial tale of episcopal tyranny, asking the bishops whether they thought 'there is never a Mordecai to step to our gracious Hester, for preserving the lives of her faithfullest and best subjects, whom you so mortally hate, and bitterly persecute?'[28] But, in actuality, Scott's argument of necessity was much more closely aligned to those of the anti-Martinists. In their counter-narrative, the puritans were the insidious faction working to subvert the state and religion in much the same way as the Spanish in Scott's account. Like Scott, they rested their appeals to the public on this basis. 'The surest prop of all princes', Thomas Nashe argued, 'is to promote true religion and to keep it inviolable when it is established...one secret faction in a realm doth more hurt than any general plague.'[29] And just as the anti-Martinists could 'out-rail, out-joke and out-shock' Marprelate whilst posing 'more or less poker-faced, as the defenders of order, orthodoxy, learning and degree', so too could Scott convincingly claim to be the defender of true religion, sound policy, and the safety of the realm whilst producing illegal works which directly undermined the Crown's foreign policy.[30] In Scott's narrative, the puritan stereotype of anti-Martinist invective had been substituted for the hispaniolised, crypto-papist courtier, and the puritan himself reconstituted as the ultimate upholder of English Protestant values. It was a remarkable reversal of the traditional dynamics of illicit print. Scott, the author of sedition, had become a bastion of orthodoxy: his opponents, who existed as much in the ill-defined ether of the public space, could not combat him without admitting their own guilt. How could one argue against hispanophobia, anti-Catholicism, and the preservation of religion and the realm?

The biggest sin for the puritan, or more simply *Protestant*, therefore, was to stay silent 'whilst the Enemy approcheth.' The burden fell upon Scott especially, as a minister, to speak out, 'my Office also being to see, to watch, to speake, to blowe the Trumpet, to give warning both of the sinne, and the punishment for sinne.'[31] The Lord, Scott warned, 'is against vs, who sit still in the meane time, and will not ioine with him, and take his part against these politique Theeues, who steale away the Word from vs and our neighbours, saying in the meane time that Truth commands vs neither to say nor doe any thing to the contrarie, but only to winke and shew our consent to their Sacriledge, by silence, like blind

[26] Scott, *Vox Regis*, pp.69-73.
[27] Ibid., pp.23-24.
[28] Marprelate, *Epistle*, p.32.
[29] T.Nash, *The Returne of the Renowned Cavaliero Pasquill of England* (London, 1589) [STC 19457], sig.A4v.
[30] P.Lake, M.Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat* (Yale, 2002), p.556.
[31] Scott, *Vox Regis*, p.18

and dumbe dogges'[32] It was, therefore, both for religious and geopolitical necessity that Scott had to speak out. Resurrecting William Jones's conception of the illicit printer-writer in the 1600s, Scott envisioned himself as political whistle-blower fused with biblical prophet, whose words 'proceede from pennes of light.'[33]

It was an identity which Scott consciously cultivated. His *News from Pernassus* was printed, so it claimed, at 'Helicon', a mythical Greek mountain associated with the Muses and poetic inspiration, as well as the location of the Dionysian Mysteries: a ritual in which intoxicants were taken to remove inhibitions and social constraints, whilst also providing liberation for outcasts and individuals at the margins of society (perhaps, for example, writers-in-exile). Parnassus himself, the son of a prophetic nymph Kleodora, developed a new method of prophecy by using birds (a referential nod to his avian-themed satire, *Philomythologie*). Scott embraced these classical allusions, just as he emphasized his role of biblical prophet, one of those cast from the court of Ahasuerus in the Book of Esther. Like Esther's hero Mordecai, it was only the warning of a dream from God which had allowed Scott to escape capture in 1620 to fulfil his duty, or so at least he claimed.[34] And, like many biblical prophets, Scott's former life had been tainted by sin.[35] It was this dual identity, as both satirist and exiled clergyman, a double-prophet, which compelled him to liberate his tongue from the existing constraints upon public speech: like Marprelate, Scott 'cannot keep *decorum personae.*'[36] The same compulsion had inspired John Penry to intercede in the Queen's affairs in the *Humble Supplication* of 1587, writing 'with as loud a voice as ynck and paper can sound, affirme and publish that she would have the truth made knowen unto al her people, and wish al of them to be prophets.'[37] But, crucially, cast in the framework which Scott had constructed, his prophetic claims were shorn of much of their radical potential: set in their specific political context, Scott could, with some authenticity, claim to be following in the hallowed of footsteps of Protestant martyrs past rather than the subversive steps of "madmen" like Hacket, Coppinger, and Marprelate, who had himself asserted rights to that lineage. This was another reversal of longstanding anti-Martinist arguments, a further inversion of the dynamics of illicit print. Not all puritans so-called were *false* prophets.

[32] Scott, *Digitus Dei*, p.4.
[33] Scott, *Second Part of Vox Populi*, p.7.
[34] Scott, *Vox Regis*, p.3.
[35] See Chapter Four, page 99.
[36] Marprelate, *Epistle*, p.1.
[37] J.Penry, *A Treatise containing...an Humble Supplication* (Oxford, 1587) [STC 19611], p.40.

Of course, for most of his life Scott had been neither clergyman nor prophet. He was, first and foremost, a citizen, a "public man", and it was this notion, in its infancy in the writings of Marprelate, which Scott developed into a coherent identity in his own. Political truth-telling was at the heart of this identity: a form of public duty in service of the Commonwealth, the opposite of ever-more pervasive self-interest which was, in turn, 'the effect of privacie, whilst every man cares onely for himselfe, and neglects the Commonwealth.'[38] Scott had fallen susceptible to self-interest himself. In *News from Pernassus,* he recalled how he had received secret papers which he kept 'and thought whithall to be silent, and to keepe these Papers from flying abroad, for feare of heaving my owne wings clipt.' But public duty won out. When he saw events unfolding and the noble actions of men like the Prince of Orange heroically defending the faith,

> it made me resume courage, beholding the immediate hand of God in this worke, and to thinke, surely God will have all the glory to himselfe, that hee employes such instruments, whose estates, in comparison, are but drops to the Spanish Ocean: I will not therefore be guilty of so much cowardize as to reserve my selfe, where these men fight...or at least, not of so much dishonesty as to conceale what God hath sent into my hands, perhaps to publish for the generall information and benefit of all Christendome.[39]

To see and forewarn was not solely the preserve of prophets like Scott. It was the duty of *all godly* citizens: 'everie mans vocation bindes him to prevent evill and to doe good. So that whensoever I have opportunitie to doe it, I have a calling to doe it. For the generall calling of a Subject, and of a Christian, warrants any particular action, which I doe for the benefit of the State and Church, whereof I am a member.'[40] It was, in Scott's conception, one of a series of corresponding (and escalating) choices which confronted contemporaries: between public duty and private self-interest, between England and Spain, between God and Antichrist. There were 'in the Court men [who] dare not speake what they know, and what they ought, for feare of losing that preferment, which Countrey-man lookes not after', just as there were popish agents seeking to disguise the truth from the king. The presence of both made it even more imperative that good, honest citizens spoke out, 'for if good counsell from God cannot enter into the eares by the tongue of the faithfull...then assuredly evill counsell shall power to enter into the heart, by Satans Instrument.'[41] Hence, Essex's ghost presumably felt justified in stating that 'I list

[38] Scott, *Belgicke Pismire*, p.36.
[39] Scott, *News from Pernassus*, sigs.M2-M3.
[40] Scott, *Vox Regis*, p.15.
[41] Ibid, pp.29-31.

not neither to meddle with Arcana imperii, of your King and State, further then shall beseeme a zealous Patriot, that tendreth still, and wisheth the welfare and flourishing State of his once dear and native Country.'[42] Scott's 'public man' was in many ways a restatement of Marprelate's, but it differed in two keys respects. Firstly, it extended the scope of the public man's remit to include discussion of the *arcana imperii* which, Scott argued, must no longer be 'sealed up in silence.'[43] Secondly, it once again changed the perspective in the 'active struggle over the line between public duty and private conscience' which, as Ethan Shagan has detailed, had been contested since the 1590s.[44] Then, at least, puritans were accused of entering public debate on the basis of private conscience in contradiction of their public duty to maintain order, uniformity, and peace in church and state. Now, however, Scott claimed those who spoke out against the course of government policy, whether in parliament, pulpit, or print, did so *because of* their public duty to both. Those who opposed them were, conversely, driven by self-interest or popish malignancy.

Central to Scott's interpretation of the 'public man' was an informed public. The surest weapon against the lies and deceptions of the grand conspiracy was the *truth*. By this logic, Scott's repeated violation of the existing bounds of permissibility were both necessary and beneficial; for, Scott argued, 'there is nothing written but for our learning if examples make us to beware and be wise.'[45] In this respect, the factuality of Scott's various accounts and secret meetings was not important. They were, 'probable, and possible, and likely.' Even if 'not historicall', his warning fulfilled an important function: 'intelligence', he argued, 'is to be taken any way, every way.'[46] For his purpose in using subversive methods and approaches 'was not to exhort, but to informe.'[47] The understanding and engagement of a variety of publics was essential, as his repeated invocation of the 'diligent', 'politicke', 'true-hearted', 'Christian' readers attests. Scott's arguments provided intellectual and religious justification for the changes which were already reshaping the relationship between publics and politics which we have explored in previous chapters.

This process, however, worked both ways. The participation of the public, or *publics*, served an important function too for, as Scott argued, 'truth comes sometimes amongst the vulgar'; 'as Famine is felt first by the Poore; and as Frost strikes the Valleys, when higher grounds scape free: So euen the

[42] T.Scott, *Robert earle of Essex his ghost* (London, 1624) [STC 22084], sig.B2r.
[43] Scott, *Belgick Pismire,* p.37.
[44] Shagan, 'English Inquisition', p.543.
[45] Scott, *Digitus Dei,* p.13.
[46] Scott, *Vox Regis,* p.10.
[47] Ibid., p.16.

Commons are they, where the disorders of a State, & the mischiefes approching, are first felt, and soonest discerned. As Kings are for these, so Kings from these may gather the best and most certaine intelligence of their Domesticke affaires'[48] Scott insisted that he had only 'collected such Passages of States...together with the peoples censure and comment upon them...Because I thought...that all those mischiefes grew up in darkenesse, whilst they were not seene by supreme Authority; and would (with the Basiliske) die, as soon as they were discovered by soveraigne providence.' The idea was 'to let his Maiestie heare and see by the Market-folke (who ever talke freely and feelingly of their owne affaires) how the Market went': to 'convey this *Mirror of the Multitude* into his Maiesties hands' since, Scott reasoned, 'Princes...are more carefully guarded from their friends, and from truth, then from their enemies and from falshood.'[49] Illicit print, and indeed illicit writers, which served as a communicative bridge between different publics, therefore acted as both warning bell and burnished blade against their enemy: 'for they [the enemy] know if Kings, Princes, and People, recover their wits, and become sober, the kingdome of Antichrist must downe at an instant.'[50] This was a strident and coherent evocation of the relationship between illicit print, the Prince, and the public; one which was symbiotic rather than inherently oppositional, far more supportive than it was seditious. 'This Ship is the Church, is the State: the Windes, the Waves, the Rockes, the Sans and...profest Pirates assault it. It concerns us all to looke about us, even from the Master to Ship-boy.'[51]

The frontispiece to *Vox Regis* bears an engraving which reflects Scott's idea of a symbiotic interpretative community: the king, who sits in council with the entire body politic, is, of course, at its head, but the clergy, peers, *and* people are all active participants. It was a physical representation of what Scott delineated in writing: the most fully-defined visualization of a public space yet conceived, one which he based upon his experiences of the relative freedom of the United Provinces.

[48] Ibid., p.18.
[49] Ibid., p.2.
[50] Scott, *Digitus Dei*, p.18.
[51] Scott, *Vox Regis*, p.24.

Figure 3: T.Scott, *Vox Regis* ([Netherlands?], 1624), frontispiece.

Onely I observe a generall freedome permitted and vsed, where generall actions which concerne all, and are maintained by all, are generally debated, argued, sifted and censured by all men without contradiction. And this (I thinke) to the end either that Rumour having scope enough to play in, may die without an Eccho, or that so the best and worst may bee seene or heard, and all danger and advantages discovered which are subject to the common eye. But after all this,

> the resolution and conclusion is silent and sodaine, vvhilst they giue all men libertie to informe, they themselues only direct and dispose of the businesse: for they seeke not the satisfaction of their owne vvils so much, as the generall satisfaction of all, vvhere it may be with the good of all. And whilst men doe no hurt vvith their hands, they permit them freely to do all the good they can with their tongues, without feare of punishment.[52]

Illicit print in Scott's conception dispelled rumour and exposed lies: it provided the *truth* which was necessary to inform the public and overcome the enemy. But it wanted *space*, a space in which publics could participate and prove the truth, a space which required much greater latitude to discuss and debate issues of state without fear of reprisal. Without it, the public man could not do his duty. Whilst his conceptualization of this space was heavily rooted in the political culture of his adopted home, it was not dissimilar to William Fulke's vision of a consensual, open and godly interpretative community free from the control of the authoritative voice: his *Learned Discourse,* ironically published without his consent in 1584, imagined a space where

> there bee much searching of the trueth by sufficient reasoning without all by matters, quarrels, evasions and colours whatsoever, that there be much order, when the spirite of everye prophet shall be subject unto the spirits of the other prophets, & the judgement of al shalbe sufficiently heard, without stopping of free & sufficient answere, without Lordly carrying away of the matter.[53]

Scott, however, was keen to stress that his vision was linked to a very specific context: illicit print, the *public man*, the *public*, and the *public space* served an urgent and necessary function in unmasking and defeating a grand popish conspiracy which posed an existential threat to the state, the church, and the Protestant faith at large. This was *a* public sphere, not *the* public sphere. But, in doing so under the guise of orthodox defender of the public realm, Scott went further than all his forebears in stimulating and legitimating public discussion of issues which were still officially and explicitly beyond the boundaries of permissibility. When the Spanish threat diminished the conspiratorial framework he had constructed, the ways of doing public politics he had advocated, and the positive vision of *a public space* he had affirmed, remained intact.

[52] Scott, *Belgicke Pismire*, p.90.
[53] [W.Fulke], *A Briefe and Plaine Declaration* (London, 1584) [STC 10395], sigs.A3r-A3v.

Scott's Martinism, therefore, despite using all the same tropes and techniques, posited itself as much less radical. It reversed many of the dynamics of debate which had beset Marprelate in the 1590s and the anti-ceremonialists in the 1600s, usurping the claims to loyalty, order, and orthodoxy which had previously been the preserve of conformist writers, whilst simultaneously bringing greater coherence and strength to more radical claims and justifications for the uses of illicit print and the parameters of permissible debate. Scott's works – albeit "seditious" and illegally-printed – were positioned as the *mainstream*, a crucial step in normalizing the use of illicit print, the type of politics it represented more broadly, and in neutralizing much of the stigmatizing force of the term "puritanism" which had been so effectively associated with it. For the term "puritan" was in its current form, Scott insisted, a polemical tool cultivated by the Spanish. In *Vox Populi*, Gondomar declares that he can have those who dare to speak out against him disgraced and removed 'with the imputation [of] pragmatick Puritanisme.'[54] This was true even of the staunchest Protestants, including Archbishop Abbott himself: 'yea when your reuerend and honorable Archbishop whose Statue deserues to be set vp in gold, proued the Lords Champion against some Papisticall motiues, and mixtures to be made amongst you, some prophane tongue calld him *Puritan Bishop,* and wicked stomacks belched contradiction in his face.'[55] The 'brande of Puritanisme', Scott argued, was precisely that: another deception in the Spanish playbook.[56] Scott inverted the image of the puritan: in Scott's narrative, to be a puritan was simply to be an active Protestant, willing to speak out against the conspiracy Scott had illustrated. The poem *The Interpreter*, often attributed to Scott but more likely written by the far more radical minister Alexander Leighton, expressed Scott's depiction of the puritan in succinct if somewhat exaggerated terms:

A *Puritan* is hee that speakes his minde
in Parliament: not looking once behinde
to others daunger, nor yet sidevvaies leaning
to promisde honour, his direct true meaning.

And yet if Policie would worke a fraction
to crosse religion by a forr[e]igne faction
pretending publique good, heele joyne with those
who dare speake truth, not onely under the Rose

[54] Scott, *Vox Populi*, sig.C3r.
[55] T.Scott, *Boanerges* (London? 1624) [STC 3171], sig.D2r.
[56] Scott, *Vox Regis*, p.71.

But though the white Rose and the Red doe heare
and though the pricking Thistle too be theare.

If in this cause hee suffers; and contemnes
All dangers in his way. Nay hee condemnes
All such as Traytors be to Church and state,
who for the loue of one all others hate,
And for particular ends, and private aymes
forsake their Countrey & their conscience maymes.
His Character abridg'd if you would haue.
Hee's one that would a subiect, bee, no slaue.[57]

The puritan, embracing public duty and eschewing self-interest, with a willingness to speak out for the sake of public good, embodied the 'public man' as described in Scott's works. This was a development upon ideas expressed by William Jones, Robert Parker, and Henry Jacob in the 1600s, but cast in Scott's narrative framework, the reappraisal of the puritan as a loyal citizen gained greater credence. The 'Protestant' or rather 'Formalist', by contrast, embodied the corrupt courtier whose complicity in Spanish machinations had threatened the safety of the church and state.

Is hee free-tongu'd? though serious and discreet,
Proclaime him silent: whip him through the street:
Thus whatsoe're is done, no bird shall dare
To warne the rest, till all bee in the snare...

A Protestant is hee whose good intention
Deserves an English and a Spanish pension
both for one service, and obteynes it too
By winning Spaine more then their armes could doe.[58]

Whilst the puritan is typified by virtue, duty, and public engagement, the formalist is defined by silence and acquiescence; the latter tends to the closing up of debate, the former to its promulgation. Whilst in the debates of the 1590s and 1600s, public debate in print had been bound to *popularity*, and popularity

[57] [A.Leighton?], *The Interpreter* (Edinburgh? 1622) [STC 14115], sigs.A3r-A4r. For the attribution to Leighton, see Milton, 'Marketing a Massacre', p.171.
[58] *The Interpreter*, sigs.A7-A8v.

in turn to the *puritan*, and the puritan to subversion and disorder, Scott's works fundamentally reorientated the underlying metrics of the equation.

II Popularity and Impact

Of course, the ingenuity of Scott's appeals to publics were of little consequence if nobody read his pamphlets. We must, therefore, begin our assessment of his popularity and impact by considering the basic issue of reach.

His first work, *Vox Populi*, was hastily printed, sold illegally, unbound with only basic stitching, and one might expect it to have therefore survived in only limited numbers. Instead, at least 130 copies survive, discounting the number which no doubt lurk uncatalogued in private collections or antiquarian bookstores.[59] If we assume a generous print of 1,000 copies per printed edition (an unlikely figure in this case), we arrive at a survival rate of around 4%.[60] If, however, we assume a smaller press of around 500 copies, which might better suit the furtive circumstances under which it was first printed, we find a survival rate of closer to 10%. For a small, fragile, and most importantly illicit pamphlet to have survived in such quantities is testament to the importance with which it was held by both contemporaries and later owners. By comparison, 131 copies survive of the first four editions of Sir Walter Raleigh's extremely popular and far more substantial and robust *History of the World.*[61]

Whilst we cannot calculate the total printed output of *Vox Populi*, we can nonetheless conclude that demand far exceeded printed supply. For almost immediately after its publication, *Vox Populi* began to be eagerly transcribed into manuscript form by stationers who were unable to obtain printed copies. In January 1621, Secretary George Calvert received a spy report which elucidated this process:

> Althoughe such bookes as vox populi, and other suche as daylie tooe audaciouslie are dispersed, are forbid[d]en and ought by noe good subiect be intertained or openly divulged, yet (as I am lykewayes credibilie given to understand)) there bee dyvers stationers soe soone as they heare of anie such bookes, as have noe publicke authoritie they indevo[r] upon whatsoever condi[ti]on to gett them in thire hands and hopes some younge Fellowes to transcrybe them, & sells them

[59] The numbers of surviving copies referenced in this chapter have been calculated using the ESTC.
[60] This is an unlikely figure given the disruption which forced production to move to another press at least once; a limited printed supply is also suggested by the demand from stationers for manuscript copies of the work.
[61] W.Raleigh, *The History of the World* (London, 1614) [STC 20637], for example.

> to such Nuefangle persons as will not spare anie charges for acqueiringe such trashe as infatuats the foolishe vulgare w[i]th a misprision of lest-actions, and w[i]th w[hi]ch they ought not to medle.

Vox Populi's popularity, or perhaps *notoriety*, was highly vendible. Indeed, the rush to have the pamphlet transcribed set off a battle between scriveners for this new illicit market. Calvert's spy

> did inquyre of a younge Fellowe a scriviner whoe dwelleth neere to a Stationer who (as I heare) is a man of good meanes whether he had transcrybed anie of the bookes called vox populi to his neighbo[r] the stationers, he did tell mee he had agreed w[i]th him for a dusson, but findinge that he would not wryte them soe cheape as in an other place he could have them, he had onelie writen one of them, and soe had taken backe the Copie and putt them out to some other.[62]

Noah Millstone has argued that the 'extreme interest' in *Vox Populi* even began to outstrip the capacity of capable copyists, noting that a number of surviving manuscript copies display a substandard level of handwriting.[63] That thirty-five manuscript copies (at least) survive certainly suggests a high level of interest.[64]

Vox Populi was, thus, an unprecedented publishing success: it might be rightly termed the first "underground" bestseller since the Martin Marprelate controversy. Over the winter of 1620 it was 'the subject of many men's discourses': the talk of taverns, bookshops, and dinner-tables across the country.[65] Printed editions in both French and Dutch in 1621 further illustrated its international appeal. And by 1624, much like *Martin*, the pamphlet had become a bi-word for Hispanophobia and militant Protestant fervour. After witnessing a performance of Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chesse*, the diplomat Anthony Wooley described to a friend as 'a vox populy for by reporte it is 6 tymes worse against the Spanyard.'[66]

Neither should we underestimate the broader popularity of Scott's collected works. Of the twenty pamphlets which can be definitively attributed to him, 752 copies survive, a survival rate broadly concurrent with that of *Vox Populi*. Scott's later works, *Vox Dei, Vox Regis* and the *Second Part of Vox*

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[62] SP 14/118/f.139.
[63] Millstone, *Manuscript Pamphleteering*, p.134. For an example of a *Vox Populi* MS with poor handwriting, see BL Sloane MS 1435, ff.194-203.
[64] See the online database *Manuscript Pamphleteering in Early Modern England* for a full list of the surviving copies.
[65] Halliwell (ed.), *Simonds D'Ewes*, pp.161-162.
[66] The quotation is taken from Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, p.302.

Populi, all contain engravings – an expense which the publisher (or publishers) would only have incurred had he been confident that the pamphlets would sell enough to compensate for the initial outlay. In 1624, an edition of Scott's collected works was published to capitalise upon the author's popularity. It proudly declared itself to be the 'workes of the most famous and reverend divine Mr.Thomas Scot' and displayed an engraving of Scott on its first page, etched by Crispin Van De Passe: another expensive indicator of Scott's popularity and prominence.[67]

For Scott it seems had gained a fame and popularity, in the modern sense of the word, independent of his works. Although his pamphlets continued to be produced anonymously, his authorship was an open secret and his self-consciously cultivated identity as a prophet, or perhaps *martyr*, only deepened his public appeal. But it was also the natural result of the politics of popularity: the creation of a public narrative centred around heroes and villains. Much like Charles, Elizabeth, and the Duke of Buckingham, Scott's name and person had very publicly come to represent popular Protestant militancy and opposition to the shapeless threat of popery and Spanish political masterdom. William Marshall's engraving of Scott, published in the year of his death, was accompanied by a lionizing epitaph which encapsulated his public image as both prophet, public man and political whistle-blower:

Behould the shaddow heere of whose peircing eyes

Survey'd the insyde of State misteryes

Our Motions turnes, were open to his sence

As he had bine, our orbes intelligence

Cease then brave seamen, all your former bosts

Of strange discoveryes, of Forraine Coasts

Drake, Candish, Magellan, give up the prize,

To admire'd Scotts, more strange discoveryes

You saw, and shewe'd strange, sights before unknowne

But he great Brittaine, to his self hath showne

[67] T.Scott, *Workes* ([Netherlands], 1624) [STC 22105].

And by his care, prewarn'd both king, and state

'Gainst subtill sleights, of Spaines great Potentate

And gave their bould attempt's, a suddaine fall

First plotted by Hell's Vicar Generall.[68]

The copy of the engraving held by the Royal Collection Trust was originally owned by Cassiano del Pozzo, a contemporary Florentine intellectual, antiquary, and avid book collector.[69] Scott's fame, as a political Drake, bravely exploring the previously uncharted waters of the *arcana imperii* had evidently spread far beyond the confines of his native land.

Scott's suspected assassination in 1626, therefore, must have appeared as a vindication of all the rumours, conspiracies, and arguments which had been circulating in the public imagination since 1618. For Scott's works both fed into and spearheaded a much broader cultural discourse which shared in his conspiratorial narrative and framework. Between 1621 and 1624, an array of illegal, anonymous pamphlets were published which served as accompaniments to Scott's oeuvre. *A Relation*, published in 1621 and likely printed by Edward Allde, placed the impending resumption of Spanish-Dutch war within the wider conspiratorial schema.[70] The Spanish, the pamphlet claimed, were simply biding time, waiting for key military leaders like Maurice, Prince of Nassau, to die before invading. 'Therefore, if he [Spain] seeketh to enter into any Treaty with us, it is onely to deceave and spoyle us; to divert us from warre by Sea, for which he most feareth us.' It was his aim, the pamphlet warned, 'To make himself Master of Germany.'[71] Henry Hexham's *Tongue-Combat* also compared the Spanish king to Ashuerus and warned of the perpetual danger of 'universal Monarchies', whilst *A Brief Information*,

[68] Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 680625: W.Marshall, *Vera effigies venerabilis viri Tho: Scott Sacrae Theologiae Baccalaurei obiit. A°. 1626.* (London, 1626).
[69] The print was sold by the London print-seller William Riddiard. Intriguingly, it was published by one John Scott.
[70] Anon., *A Relation of some speciall points concerning the State of Holland* (London, 1621) [STC 22083]. This pamphlet is commonly misattributed to Thomas Scott. It is stylistically unlike any of Scott's other works and much more closely resembles the "Bohemia" pamphlets discussed previously.
[71] Ibid., pp.10-11.

published in 1624, presented a concise history the Thirty Years' War thus far, applying Scott's conspiratorial narrative to a wider European context.[72]

Perhaps the most notable and certainly most radical of these pamphlets were *Vox Coeli* and *Votivae Angliae* written by John Reynolds in early 1624. So successful were they in mimicking Scott's symbolic imagery and narrative thrust that many contemporaries presumed them to be Scott's own works, but Reynolds' message was more brazen, challenging, and critical of James's foreign policy approach. Whilst Scott veiled his criticism of the king in biblical metaphor and Spanish perfidy, Reynolds openly stated that James's pacific foreign policy was misguided; it was, Reynolds thought, 'to deceiue your Majesties deepe knowledge, and to betraye your solide judgment, to thincke that ever it will bee restored, except by your Sword. Noe, noe, it must bee your Sword, not your Tongue, not your Treaties, not your Letters, not your Ambassadours which must refetch it.' James, he argued, had been fooled by the cabal of Spanish ambassadors, '*Spanish Englishman'* and '*English Spanyards*' within the court.[73] The second, *Vox Coeli*, welded Scottian devices of secret councils and revivified ghosts to present a conference from heaven between England's godly monarchs past. Unsurprisingly, they affirmed the only clear course for the future: that was, to force the 'English Romanists...either to love or to feare England.'[74] The message, which Reynolds addressed in a directive to parliament was simple: 'VVarres, warres, then yee (with cheerfull hearts and ioyfull soules) let vs pre|pare our selues for warres.'[75] That Reynolds' pamphlets reportedly earnt their author over £1000 suggests that, like Scott's, they struck a chord with English publics.[76]

If Scott's anti-Spanish, martial message converged with the wider world of underground print, so too did it intersect with the current of feeling circulating in manuscript form. Following the publication of *Vox Populi*, a rash of prophecies supposedly unearthed at Medbourne, St. Denis, and elsewhere began to percolate throughout the nation's intelligence networks.[77] John Rous recorded in his diary the words of no less a prophet than Merlin himself, who foretold that James would disavow his pacific policy and instead, like Arthur, lead his country to war. Inverting the fears of a Spanish universal

[72] H.Hexham, *Tongue-Combat* (London [i.e Holland], 1623) [STC 22090], p.12. Anon., *Brief Information of the Affaires of the Palatinate* (London? 1624) [STC 19126] is also uncharacteristic of Scott's style and was likely written by another author, as per *A Relation*.
[73] Reynolds, *Votivae Angliae*, sigs.C2r-C2v.
[74] Reynolds, *Vox Coeli*, sig.A4r.
[75] Ibid., sig.A3r.
[76] Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, p.290.
[77] The Devonshire lawyer Walter Yonge eagerly recorded the St. Denis prophecy in his diary: see *Diary of Walter Yonge*, p.38.

monarchy, Merlin foresaw James as the future 'Westerne Emperor' leading his Protestant forces to the gates of Antichrist itself:

> At last he calles a Parliament, & breakes it vp in discontent. And shortelie then shall rouzed be, by enemie beyonde the sea; But when in wrath he drawes his sworde, woe, that the sleeping Lyon stird'e. The Valiant acts he then shall doe, greate Alexanders fame out-goe. He passeth seas & fame doth winne, till many Princes ioyne with him, & chuse him for theire Governor, & crowne him Westerne Emperor. And after a while he shall begirte, the City auncient oulde & greate, which on seaven hilles is scituate, till he her walles hath ruinate.[78]

Scott would echo this sentiment (and the metaphor) in the build-up to the 1624 Parliament, urging the Privy Council and nobility to 'stirre him [the king] up, not to let the Lyon in his Princely Breast, any longer to sleepe and slumber, but to awake and rouze up himselfe, and to go forth against the Romish wolves and Spanish foxes…yea the blood of the Saints doth continually cry at Heavens gate for Vengeance.'[79] Within months, another prophecy unearthed at St. Benedict's Abbey in Norfolk (and purportedly written in 1485) provided another hero or, rather, heroine in the story:

When as you see
To *Sixteene* joyned *Twentie three*
For then the *Eagle*
Shall haue help
By craft to catch the *Lyons Whelp*
And hurt him sore, except the same
Be cur'd by one of the *Mayds name*...

Cambridge intelligencer Joseph Mead provided an annotated copy for Sir Martin Stuteville, in which he identified the *Eagle* as 'Rome or the Romish State', the *Lyons Whelp* as Prince Charles, and the *Mayd* as his sister Elizabeth, the curative who would ensure Charles stayed true to his faith. In this prophecy we find Scott's narrative once again filtering into the popular imagination: the guile of Rome and its acolytes attempting to subvert the royal line with Elizabeth, one of the heroines in Scott's account, acting as the saviour. It further reveals how permeable the boundaries between rumour, prophecy, print, and high politics were, and demonstrates the intense interplay between them: as Mead

[78] BL, Additional MS 28640, ff. 101r-101v.
[79] T.Scott, *Robert Earl of Essex his Ghost* (Paradise [London?], 1624) [STC 22084], sig.C2r.

had been assured by his informant, the St.Benedict's prophecy had been going round at court in the Christmas of 1622, before Charles's journey to Spain.[80]

Other manuscripts were even more explicit in echoing Scott's anti-Spanish narrative. *Tom Tell-Troth,* written anonymously in 1622, presented another account of naked Spanish perfidy, castigating Philip IV as 'the greatest Cheator in Christendome.' Like Scott, *Tom* claimed to present the thoughts and feelings of the people. 'In yo[u]r ma[jes]t[y']s owne Taver[n]s', he warned James, 'for one healthe that is begun to yo[u]r selfe there is ten drunke to the Princes yo[u]r forraine Children and when the wine is in their heades/ Lord haue mercy vpon their tongues.' In the people's eyes, Tom claimed, 'there is noe waye to recover yo[u]r losses/ and vindicate yo[u]r honor, but w[i]th fighting w[i]th him that hath cozoned you.'[81] *Tom's* manuscript also passed its way through the usual and channels and received such attention that it warranted a response from the Secretary of State, George Calvert.[82] Others, like Ferdinando Fairfax's *Highway to Heidelberg* appeared to deal with the more straightforward (though still forbidden) issues of *how* to wage war; Fairfax, like Scott, advocated a diversionary naval war in the Americas rather than a European confrontation, but lurking within many of these reason-of-state arguments was the kernel of conspiracy, an ever-present awareness of the religious core at the heart of the geopolitical crisis. Notes in Secretary Conway's almost illegible hand, which may have been intended either for private circulation or perhaps as a policy paper for the his patron Buckingham, present themselves as a series of arguments for and against the Spanish Match, but soon slip into a history of the Spaniards' 'great designs', 'arguments', 'artifisses' and 'powerfull instruments' working to 'incite the holle worlde to be Roman catholikes.'[83] Conspiracy, *Scott's* conspiracy, had bled into the discourse of underground print and manuscript and had filtered into the discourse of the tavern and Privy Council table alike.

This narrative both fed and fanned the flames of a culture which, with the news of Charles's journey to Spain, had become fixated with current affairs. Levy suggests that in 1623 over a quarter of all printed books concerned foreign affairs.[84] Increasingly, however, even supposedly unrelated, legitimate (that is, authorized) pamphlets adopted wider, politicized meanings. Thomas Barnes's *Archidamus,* for example, may have been read as a standard work of classical oratory in another decade:

[80] BL, Harl. MS 389, ff. 335r-335v.
[81] BL, Additional MS 22591, f. 42r.
[82] See, for example, SP 14/126/1, 'Sir George Calvert's Answer to Tom Tell-Troth [1622]'.
[83] SP 94/27/268.
[84] F.Levy, 'How Information Spread among the Gentry, 1550-1640', *Journal of British Studies,* Vol.21, No.2, (1982), p.14.

in 1624, however, Isocrates's address to the Spartan council arguing for war against Thebes for their illegal seizure of Messina had obvious political resonance to contemporary readers. That it was printed by William Jones, Scott's primary London printer, suggests that author, printer, and publisher, were not unaware of its connotations.[85] From the pulpit prominent ministers like Thomas Taylor, Thomas Jackson, Samuel Ward, and Charles's chaplain Isaac Bargave all gave (and then published) sermons which ventured into the dangerous territory of the Palatinate question.[86] Elsewhere ballads were sung and poems read; miniature portraits and engravings were drawn which valorised the noble Queen and abandoned daughter, Elizabeth Stuart, alongside other heroes to the cause like King Frederick, Maurice of Nassau, and the mercenary general Count Mansfeld.[87] Thomas Middleton's enormously popular *Game at Chesse* mocked the Spanish ambassador Gondomar with such ferocity that John Woolley concluded that the play could never have been licensed 'without leave from the higher powers I meane the P.[rince] and D.[uke of Buckingham], if not from the K.[ing] for they were all loth to have it forbidden, and by report laught hartely at it.'[88] Whether true or not, the play was suppressed only after nine days of sold-out performances.[89] Shortly after its suppression, the play was illicitly printed although no effort was made to catch the perpetrators; it contained, furthermore, several engravings which borrowed heavily from the *Second Part of Vox Populi* and may even have been produced by the same engravers.[90]

That Scott's conspiratorial narrative had come to suffuse and dominate cultural discourse between 1621 and 1624 can perhaps best be demonstrated by one final example. The broadside ballad, *The Travels of Time*, presented 'A Dialogue betwixt Time and Truth, Popery and Policy', which coupled imagery borrowed from Ward's *Double Deliverance* and the language of Scott's conspiratorial narrative

[85] T.Barnes, *Archidamus* (London, 1624) [STC 14280].
[86] For a detailed analysis of pro-war sermonizing, see Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, pp.296-298.
[87] Leicester University Library Special Collections, EP36 (1) 12B: Casper Barlaeus, *Elizabeth Stuart* (c.1624?). The engraving features a commendatory verse by Casper Barlaeus, the same Dutch intellectual who had written a verse for Thomas Scott. For more information on the miniature portraiture and engravings of the period and its provenance, see A.Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries, Part II: The Reign of James I* (Cambridge, 1955), particularly Plates 234-237.
[88] Woolley's quotation is taken from T.Howard-Hill, 'Political Interpretations of Middleton's "A Game at Chess" (1624)', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Vol. 21, 1991), p.275.
[89] During this time, Cogswell estimates that 30,000 people, or 10 percent of the population of London, saw the play: Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, p.303.
[90] According to Cyndia Clegg, the printed version of the play went through three editions without being suppressed. See C.Clegg, 'The London Book Trade, 1580-1627' in Taylor, Lavagnino (eds.), *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture* (Oxford, 2007). For more on the comparison between the engravings in the *Second Part of Vox Populi* and the printed version of *Game at Chesse*, see J.Astington, 'Visual Texts: Thomas Middleton and Prints' in the same volume.

to explain the events of the preceding years. *Truth* describes the nefarious practises of Spanish *Popery* and *Politick*, 'their undermining trickes, their iugling shifts, / Their Practice, politicke, and devilish drifts, / Whilst under shadowes, and meere showes of Truth, / They sought to blinde and coozen age and youth.' Happily, however, 'my Great Master GOD Omnipotent...Whose glorious lights eternall piercing Rayes, / Shines with such burning heate through Truths bright Glasse / That errors are consum'd like withered grasse.' Thus awakened 'a Parliament, whose weighty stroke / Found out my [Politick's] Nest, and all my Egges *they* broke.'[91] Truth, *God's* truth, both as a faith and as an illuminating light, was the hero here; *Policie*, who bears a striking resemblance to Gondomar, and *Poperie*, are the enemy. It is striking too that 'Truth', like the earlier woodcut of Elizabeth in 1619, carries a quill: a recognition that the pen and the word were crucial allies, that print was pivotal in the wider war.

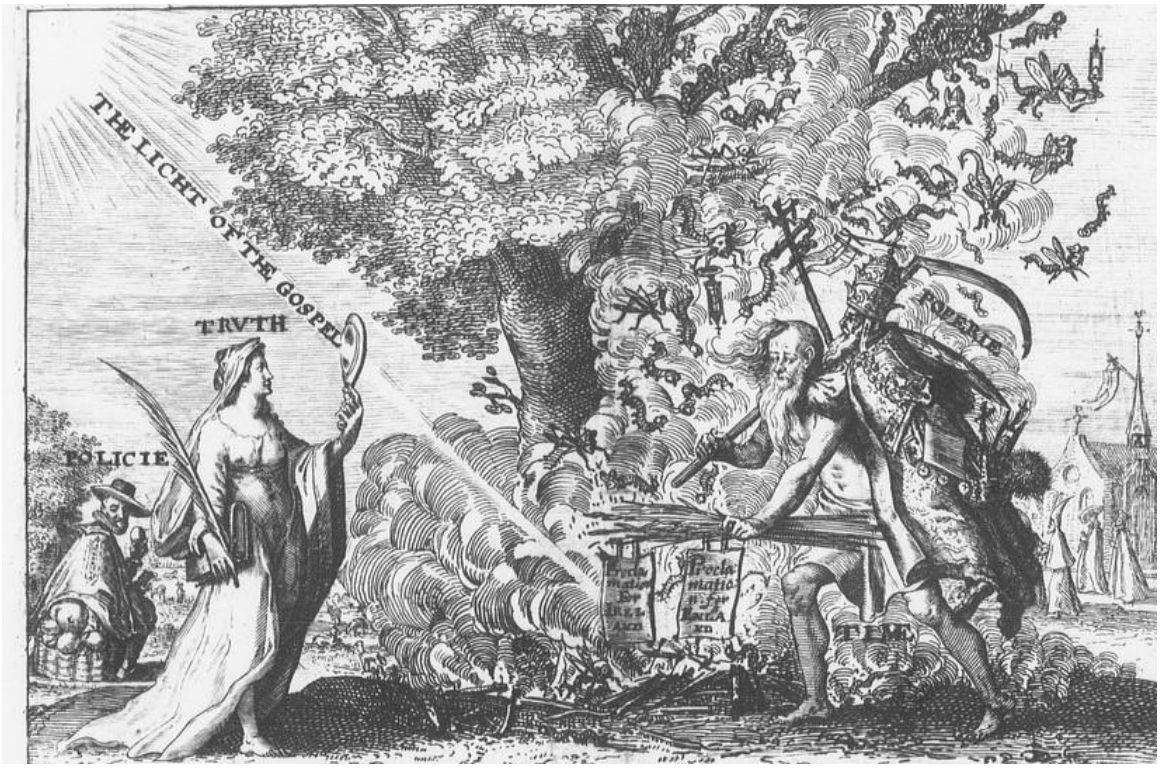

Figure 4: Anon., *The Travels of Time* (London, 1624).

[91] Anon., *The Travels of Time* (London, 1624) [STC 24179]. Note that 'Policie' bears a striking resemblance to the Spanish ambassador Gondomar as depicted in the frontispiece woodcut of the *Second Part of Vox Populi*.

Scott's narrative, thus, had infiltrated the policy papers of the Privy Council, manuscript prophecies, the translations of classical texts, the sermons of respected clergymen, the London stage, *and* the scurrilous poetry of the broadside ballad. What had begun as a solitary pamphlet had come to infuse every form of cultural media. Whether these media efforts were orchestrated or not, it is clear that Scott's conspiratorial narrative had become the dominant language of public politics in 1624.

It was also clear that, in comparison with the aftermath of the Bohemia pamphlets and Scott's *Vox Populi*, very little was done in 1623 and 1624 to attempt to control or censor public media, especially after Charles's return from Spain. Indeed, when Buckingham addressed parliament upon his return, he did not seek to contain the conspiratorial narrative but to confirm it: the rash of secret letters and documents he provided for parliament, précis' of which were swiftly leaked and sold in manuscript form, seemed to vindicate both Scott's conspiratorial narrative of events and the type of politics he advocated.[92] Buckingham's *Narration* legitimised the kinds of private-public exposé which the Bohemia pamphlets and later Scott had purported to leak. It further supported the dissolution of many of the boundaries between 'private' and 'public' politics which Scott had argued for. The wider silence with which the Crown greeted the array of incursions into the realm of *arcana imperii*, furthermore, conceded the existence of a public space in which publics could debate and criticize public issues and lent further weight to the idea intimated by Marprelate, and more firmly voiced by Scott, that the bounds of permissibility which constrained debate were defined *de facto* by publics, and not *de jure* by the Crown.

III Participating in the Political Process

Creating a public sphere was not an end in itself, nor did Scott's works exist in a vacuum for future historians to use. Seizing control of the popular narrative served an immediate and specific purpose. By first manipulating and then bringing to bear the weight of public opinion in print, Scott's aim was to severely constrict the scope of action available to political actors and to channel parliament, the Privy Council and, if possible, the king into the defined course of action he counselled: the first was to stop the Spanish Match, the second to engage England in war with Spain for the assistance of the

[92] T.Cogswell, 'The Politics of Propaganda: Charles I and the People in the 1620s', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.29, No.3, (1990), p.194. Noah Millstone argues that it was specifically the fact that Buckingham had used and treated secret letters and documents as privileged evidence that gave his narrative such force: Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, pp.144-146. For one example of Buckingham's *Narration*, see Huntington Library, Hastings MSS, No.807, 'A Spanish Labyrinthe' (1624).

United Provinces and the restitution of the Palatinate. He had, in many ways, established the *high ways of God* which should be followed and dictated the terms of political debate: one was either a patriotic and godly Englishman, or a hispaniolised Papist, for England, or for Spain. Seen through the narrative lens Scott had constructed, the Spanish Match was untenable, unjust, and dishonourable: 'God hath severed *Iustice* and *Shame*, and *Sinne* and *Honour*, doe we keepe them thus severed? O no! Wee have found a way to make a nullity of this marriage betwixt *Iustice* and *Honour*; and wee have married *Iustice* to *Shame*, and *Sinne* to *Honour*.'[93] England's eternal opposition to Spain was as good as historical fact, as Scott argued in *The Belgick Souldier*:

> Thus must I needs incurre the displeasure of time servers, the scoffs and dirision of Papists, and the repining of Hispaniolised English, when I goe about to prove, that warre hath beene better then peace, and the Common-wealth and religion *England*, have had their fame and propagation by opposing Antichrist, and in plaine termes, must recover her ecclipsed prosperitie reputing *Spaine* our opposite.[94]

This discourse directly impacted upon the capacity of pro-Spanish operators to oppose the pro-war thrust of parliament. As Robert Ruigh argued in his history of the 1624 parliament, 'no matter what their convictions or motives,' opponents 'were immediately and contemptuously identified with Spanish interests.'[95] It was no surprise then that the House of Commons which formed in this climate evinced a singularity of purpose rarely before seen or witnessed again; it may also have influenced the shift of privy councillors from pro-Spanish to anti-Spanish, and perhaps motivated the volte face conducted by major political players like Buckingham who were always sensitive to shifting political winds. There was a sustained hope, too, that by presenting the voice of the people to the king, the monarch might himself be constrained by their demands: 'I never yet could reade of Prince, who contemned his peoples affections, and wilfully contradicted their generall desire, without great perill.'[96] When that hope proved futile, the foci of attention simply switched to other centres of political power: parliament, prince, and favourite.

Of course, from late 1622 through to October 1623, the Spanish Match still seemed like a very real prospect and its progress was the subject of constant discourse and speculation. In what was an accurate representation of the trials and tribulations of the negotiating process itself, news flitted almost

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[93] Scott, *Projector*, sig.F1v.
[94] Scott, *Belgick Soldier*, sig.A3v.
[95] R.Ruigh, *The Parliament of 1624* (Harvard, 1971), p.259.
[96] Scott, *Vox Regis*, p.32.

daily between two poles of success and collapse. News of Charles and Buckingham's dramatic odyssey to Spain only fuelled the fires of confusion and speculation. To professional intelligencers who relied on accurate information, the uncertainty was exasperating. John Chamberlain complained bitterly that the 'varietie of reports is such that we know not what to beleve of that is don here under our nose, and what is geven out to day for certain is to morrow contradicted.'[97]

The veil of secrecy which surrounded the state's foreign policy aims was, as David Coast has demonstrated, carefully cultivated by the king himself. 'Secrecy', Coast argues, 'was as important as censorship in James's attempts to regulate discourse that criticised his rule': a means to control information, misinformation, and rumour.[98] Instead, it allowed rumours, misinformation, and counter-narratives to flourish. The lack of official clarity provided a political space in which Scott could propound his own clear message and organize public opinion: the Match was a sham, a sin no less, and must be discontinued. In 1622, *The Projector* warned its readers that the promise of illusory economic benefits were far outweighed by the very real spiritual toll the marriage would exact: 'No man but God shall make Abraham rich, especially none adverse or diverse in religion from Abraham, as the King of Sodome was. Abraham will have no wealth, but what his conscience assure him is the gift of God.'[99] *Digitus Dei,* likely published in early 1623, began with a quotation from Psalm 45. The psalm itself was a wedding song, sung on the marriage of a king to a foreign bride, often associated with Ahab, the king of Israel's marriage to the idolatrous Jezebel, a marriage which preceded the purgation of God's prophets from Israel and the destruction of the ruling dynasty. What further evidence of God's judgement upon idolatry did the English people need, Scott continued, than in the destruction of 'the Sinagogue of Satan', the French ambassador's chapel, which collapsed upon a vast number of Catholics attending mass only a couple of months before in October.[100] Scott's message was always pliable and responsive, ever willing to incorporate public events into his wider narrative schema to buttress a calculated political point.

The continued encroachments into the monarch's realm of the *arcana imperii* had evidently struck a chord with James, as it had with his subjects. On September 25 1623, James felt compelled to issue another royal proclamation against the seditious impulses of his subjects, the third in three years. This time, he directed his approbation squarely upon the printed text and those behind its production

[97] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, pp.422-425.
[98] D.Coast, *News and Rumour in Jacobean England* (Manchester, 2014), p.212.
[99] Scott, *Projector*, sig.C1v.
[100] Scott, *Digitus Dei*, p.21.

and distribution: 'We doe straitly prohibit and forbid, that no person or persons whatsoever, either Our naturall borne Subject, Denizen, or Stranger, doe at any time hereafter, either within Our owne Dominions, or without, imprint, or cause to be imprinted, or bring in, or cause to be brought in, into this Our Realme, or sow, stitch, binde, sell, put to sale, or disperse any seditious, schismaticall, or other scandalous Books, or Pamphlets whatsoever.'[101] Perhaps James foresaw potential tumult ahead, for in October the political climate shifted dramatically once again. On October 5 the prince landed on English soil unhurt and, to the joyous acclimation of his future subjects, *unwedded*.[102] Within a week, rumours of an upcoming parliament had begun to circulate.[103] The first news marked the effective end of a Spanish Match, although James continued to pursue it. The second opened up the possibility of effecting the policies which Scott had been propagating for the past two years. Disregarding the royal proclamation entirely, the scattered showers of Scott's writings swiftly became a deluge. Between late 1623 and 1624, Scott published thirteen works: a concentrated burst of activity which was directed specifically towards parliament in an attempt to achieve tangible political ends.[104] His base of production switched from the United Provinces to London, the beating heart of the political nation. This, Scott and his associates realised, was a pivotal point in English history and there could be no chances taken. As his publisher warned the 'Gentle reader', 'Delayes are dangerous, specially in matters of moment.'[105]

The relocation of the press to London gave Scott an even greater capacity to intercede quickly in ongoing political events and publication began in earnest almost immediately.[106] The *High-Waies of God and the King*, based on sermon given at Thetford in 1620, was published in late 1623 'for the use of all beholders: No other reason perswading me to it, then the necessitie of the Times.'[107] Clearly, the manuscript had been adapted to address the upcoming elections. It finished with 'A Postscript to all Christian Readers, especially to my brethren and fellow-laborers in the Ministerie, and to the freeholders.' In what amounted to a direct and targeted piece of electioneering, Scott afforded the people not only a voice, but the political power to intervene in the unfolding battle between God and Antichrist. 'The fundamentall customes of our State,' Scott wrote, 'makes every Freeholder a way-maker in this case, not binding any man before he hath bound himselfe by the Knights and Burgesses who are his

[101] Larkin, *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, Vol.I, pp.583-584.
[102] G.Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (Yale, 2003), p.138.
[103] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, p.457.
[104] This is compared to just six in the preceding three years: see Appendix 2.
[105] Scott, *Experimentall Discovery*, sig.A2v.
[106] See Appendix 2 for a full chronology of Scott's pamphlets and their intersection with parliamentary politics.
[107] Scott, *High Wayes of God*, sig.A1v.

Spokesmen.' 'Bee therefore wary,' he continued, 'when you heare a Parliament summoned by his Maiestie, whom you choose Knights of the Shire, and Burgesses of Corporations; that is, whom you constitute in your places to repaire or make these high-wayes of the King, wherein you are bounde to walke obediently for conscience sake.' For Scott, the upcoming election would require a multimedia campaign, and the cooperation of both ministers and citizens, church and state: 'When therefore you heare of a Parliament towards, let the Ministers prepare the people, and warne them of the worke in hand, and let such as are Freeholders conferr together, and...looke upon the wisest, stoutest, and most religious persons.' It was another in the series of corresponding choices Scott presented to his readers: between private self interest and public duty, between the *ancient Englishman* and the *English Spaniard*. Independent public men were key. 'Be carefull', Scott sermonized, 'to choose such as have no dependancie upon Greatness, nor seeke change of the State, Lawes, and Religion, nor hunt ambitiously for place, honor, and preferment; for there is danger in these: but he that is religious will stand for his Countries good.'[108] It was not only voting that counted, active political participation was required: watchfulness, discussion, action were all necessary to overturn the machinations of their opponents.

> Let none amongst you bee seene idlely to sit at home, whilst these things are doing in the full County, as if it did not concerne you: but ride, runne, and deale seriously herein, as for your lives and liberties which depend hereupon. And as you see such as are contrary minded bandy themselves together for their party, to choose one of the opinion for their turne, so see you doe the like, that you may counterworke them and hold the liberty you have got.[109]

Having successfully navigated the elections, Scott's focus switched directly towards those representatives now assembled in Parliament. The *Belgicke Souldier*, likely printed in January before parliament began, was hastily re-printed with a heading 'To the High Court of Parliament' affixed to the first page, and the phrase 'Right Honourable Lords' inserted into the first line: evidently the political utility of this address was seen to outweigh the economic cost of re-printing perhaps one thousand first pages. The *Belgicke Souldier*, like its predecessor, was clear in its aims: its subtitle, 'Warre was a Blessing', made explicit what Scott expected from the 1624 parliament. Drawing on the various strands of his conspiratorial narrative, as previously discussed, Scott now turned it to direct political effect. Blending reasons of state and reasons of conscience, with an appeal to the martial valour of England's past as compared to its decadent present, Scott argued 'that the corruptions of Peace in all ages, have

[108] Ibid., pp.86-88.
[109] Ibid.

like standing pooles increased durt and slime; that is, pleasures and impieties.' War, in Scott's conception, presented an opportunity for national purification, redemption perhaps for twenty years of irreligious, pro-Spanish foreign policy. 'I hope it is now time to looke upon *Spaines* intrusions, and not onely to provide for our selves, but releeve our neighbours.'[110] 'Let us then resolutely assist the Dutch, they and we are all one, good neighbours and friends: and so no doubt France will come in: and then a three fold cable will be very strong.'[111] These direct appeals to political actors continued in earnest. John Reynolds' *Vox Coeli*, printed on the same press as Scott, addressed itself to the House of Commons, 'great Brittaines greatest Palladines and Champions; to you the invincible Bulwarke of our King and his Royall progenie, and the inexpugnable Cittadell and Acrocorinth of our Estate.' 'O hold it no disparagement that I tell you, That sith in all matters of Order, Policie and Reformation, that delayes and protractions prove still dangerous, many times fatall; That you beware least as your Consultations flie away with the time, that occasion and opportunity flie not away with your consultations.'[112] The combination of praise, public pressure and necessity were potent persuasive weapons: so were slights upon the honour of England's political actors. In an ensuing pamphlet, Scott enlisted the Earl of Essex's ghost to 'admonish you all, of the Nobility, Gentry and Communalty.' Firstly, he called for the political nation to 'seriously and yet submissively, to dehort and disswade your King, to leave off an absolutely to dissolve all Treaties of Matches', and secondly to resurrect the martial spirit of Elizabethan parliaments and cry for war: 'is this so degenerate an Age, as you will not be able to defend your owne lande?'[113]

The first of these objectives was accomplished in April when James finally made a formal dissolution of marriage treaties with Spain. The second was also coming to fruition: war was increasingly certain, but the question became exactly what form war would take. James, still clinging to hopes of peace and Spanish alliance, favoured a war exclusively for the Palatinate, against the Emperor but *not* Spain. Many disagreed: the restoration of the Palatinate, nay, the restitution of national honour, could not be accomplished without war with Spain itself. And the best way to war with Spain, as England's Elizabethan heroes like Raleigh had shown, was not to become bogged down in toilsome continental conflict, but to launch a diversionary war, both in the Netherlands and against the Spanish dominions overseas. James ultimately prevented the wider war Scott and his political supporters envisioned, permitting instead a limited and highly ineffective European campaign; but the public

[110] Scott, *Belgick Soldier*, sigs.A3r-A4r.
[111] Ibid., sigs.E3v-E4v.
[112] Reynolds, *Vox Coeli*, *4r-v.
[113] Scott, *Robert Earl of Essex*, sigs.C1v-C1r.

fervour for a wider conflict ensured that the political enthusiasm for James's mal-coordinated campaign swiftly dissipated.

Scott did not limit his reach to foreign policy alone. His long campaign against monopolists, which had been quashed in the House of Lords in 1621, was resurrected and eventually rewarded in an April bill against monopolies. In *Boanerges*, he attacked non-residency, pluralities, and, no doubt influenced by his fellow ministers in the Netherlands, called for the end to mistreatments of ministers who opposed ceremonies or worshipped in the style of continental Reformed churches.[114] Once again, he couched his political aims within the narrative framework he had created. Within the clergy, he argued, there were 'Formalists, Temporisers, flatterers, and meere parasites, in imitation of the Courtly priests in the times of Israels and Iudahs King': like monopolists, it was precisely this kind of naked self-interest which had to be expunged to re-sanctify England's soul.[115] Recusancy, too, and the destruction of the supposed fifth column within the country was another great concern. In *Englands Joy*, itself a play on a pamphlet by John Traske which celebrated Elizabeth Stuart's Palatine marriage in 1616, Scott hailed the measures recently introduced against Papists in the House of Commons.[116] 'What? Papistrie to be suppressed? The Priests and Iesuites to be banished? And the Gospell of Iesus Christ to flourish? My soule leapes for joy.'[117] He thanked God that 'our King and Parliament would goe and buy eye-salve without money, perspicuously to looke into the enormities of the Church and Common-wealth, and not onely with *Nehemiah*, abridged the extreamity of usury: compelled a relaxation of debts and oppression, kept and sanctified the Sabbaoth, drove the Merchants and sellers of meate out of the City, and at last put away their idolatrous wives.'[118] As ever, necessity and conscience required further action. Scott attempted to use the momentum building in the House of Commons to affect much greater repression of English Catholics. He called on king and parliament to exile or execute Papists, seize their wealth, and re-educate their children: 'And so must England doe with brood of Vipers, eyther pull out their stings, or chap them in peeces.'[119]

In this Scott was unsuccessful, but the concentrated burst of political activity in late 1623 and 1624 represented a decisive shift in the aims and impact of illicit pamphleteering. Unlike Marprelate, who embraced his pseudonymous identity to subvert and critique, Scott used his fame and status as an

[114] Scott, *Boanerges*, sigs.B1r-B2r.
[115] Ibid., sig.B3r.
[116] Anon [i.e J.Traske], *Heavens Joy* (London, 1616) [STC 13019].
[117] Scott, *Englands Joy*, sig.A3v.
[118] Ibid., sig.B2r.
[119] Ibid., sig.C2v.

incorruptible public man to attempt to directly shape and influence the course of public policy. This had been attempted by the anti-ceremonialists in the 1600s with little success. Scott succeeded where they had failed because he had overturned the tropes and assumptions which inherently associated illicit print with subversive and seditious minorities. The standard dynamic of oppositional minority versus orthodox majority had been inverted. In combination with a broad base of mutually-interested supporters and collaborators, Scott had successfully unleashed the politics of popularity to establish an unchallenged religio-political narrative which thereby allowed for complete control of the dynamics and flow of political debate. Fusing Martinism and anti-Martinism, Scott had effectively invented (or perhaps, re-invented) political communication strategy, one which necessarily invoked and appealed to publics in order to control discourse in the public space. By making 'private' politics *public*, he restricted the latitude of policy-makers to act in contravention of the will of English publics.

IV The State's Response to Thomas Scott

The total ascendance of Scott's conspiratorial narrative, however, begs an important and as yet unanswered question: why was this narrative allowed to prevail uncontested? To an extent, it *was*. We may cite a number of scattered works which propagated the virtues of peace and stressed obedience to the will of the monarch.[120] Only one, however, made any positive assertions about the benefits of a Spanish Match; the *Rosa Hispani-Anglica*, dedicated to Gondomar, was adorned with a lavish woodcut of Charles and his future bride and littered with high-brow Latin mottoes and verses, but it was a notable exception and it appealed only to a very limited audience at court.[121] Even this, John Chamberlain writes, was 'prohibited to be sold openly' and purportedly 'the printing was stayed.'[122] There was no organized campaign in print, pulpit, or stage to combat the wave of anti-Spanish media, nor any counter-narrative or anti-Puritan invective to match the responses orchestrated by Whitgift and Bancroft which had greeted the Marprelate tracts or the anti-ceremonialists in the 1600s. Instead, James favoured a policy of silence and (attempted) suppression. We have already discussed his efforts to dismantle the print network behind the production of the pro-Bohemia pamphlets and to neuter the official news outlets. In 1621, he further attempted to restrict the flow of news leaking from parliament. The Venetian Ambassador, for example, noted the difficulties he had faced in obtaining a copy of James's opening

[120] See, for example, R.Gardiner, *A Sermon Preached at St Maries in Oxford* (Oxford, 1622) [STC 11568] and J.Stradling, *Beati Pacifici* (London, 1623) [STC 23352].
[121] M.Du Val, *Rosa Hispani-Anglica* (London, 1622) [STC 7376].
[122] Wedgbury, *Letters*, p.254.

speech: 'I enclose a copy of the substance of the king's speech to this parliament, which I have translated. I had great in getting it owing to the efforts to prevent its circulation, contrary to the general custom, for such things are usually printed.'[123]

James's policy was misguided in two key respects, both because the state lacked the institutional capacity to effectively censor and suppress critical material *before* it was printed, and because the performance of politics, and the relationship between politics and publics, was changing. Material could, of course, be suppressed: James's limited success in shutting down the production of the pro-Bohemia pamphlets showed that dissemination networks could be interrupted and printing disrupted, albeit temporarily. At a fundamental level though, Scott's case demonstrates that the censorship system (if indeed "system" is the appropriate term) was a *personal* one; it depended on the compliance and support of key political figures at court and in the localities to be effective. As we have already discussed, by late 1623, the figures responsible for enforcing censorship were at best equivocal in their support of it: Archbishop Abbott, Buckingham, Conway, and ambassadors like Carleton had little interest in disrupting Scott's networks. So, whilst in 1620 and 1621, printers were discovered, presses dismantled, and writers forced into exile, by 1623 Scott's London press continued to print seditious material completely undisturbed and in direct contradiction of repeated royal decrees.

If the system was dysfunctional, it was compounded by two factors. The first was the growing sophistication and scope of illicit printing. It was an increasingly transnational enterprise, neither confined to England or the Netherlands; as the history of the production process shows, the locus of printing could shift flexibly between the two. Furthermore, the numbers of printers and presses involved far exceeded those of previous pamphlet campaigns. The authorities had to deal with multiple presses, in multiple states, receiving backing from key political figures. Suppression was, therefore, a much more difficult logistical task.

The second factor was the changing nature of politics and its relationship to publics. The public appetite for news was, as we saw in Chapter Three, insatiable: information was a commodity to be obtained, bought, sold, or leaked for personal or political gain. Nowhere was this more pronounced than in parliament. Hence, despite James's effort to restrict the dissemination of his speech, the Venetian ambassador *was* able to obtain a translated copy; likewise, Joseph Mead transmitted the details to his correspondents shortly after it was given. The supposedly opaque walls of parliament were becoming

[123] *CSPV*, Vol.16, No.748, p.577.

increasingly porous. Even John Millington, the lowly purveyor of the king's wine cellar, was able to send detailed parliamentary information and documents to his brother in the localities.[124] As Chris Kyle argues, 'in a fundamental way the balance had tipped between parliament as a recipient of information from the governing class and the repository of its concerns, to a *disseminator* of those concerns.'[125] This both reflected and serviced a broader shift in public attitudes to politics. Policy was no longer the property of a select few; whether foreign or domestic, it was to be discussed and debated. This was evident as early as 1620. When James issued his first proclamation against seditious speech at the end of the year, Chamberlain reported that 'the common people know not how to understand, nor how far matter of state may stretch or extent: for they continue to take no notice of yt, but print every weeke (at least) corantas with all manner of newes, and as a strange stuffe as any we have from Amsterdam.'[126] By May 1623, Joseph Mead reported his wonder that an unidentified illicit pamphlet (possibly *The Belgick Pismire,* which D'Ewes had seen in March) had 'growne so common, and men so fearless in communicating it.' Even at court, he reported, such texts had circulated freely, the courtiers 'of late' having 'grown too [—] open both in mouthes and hands.'[127] The tendency to talk which had so irked James in 1619 was on its way to becoming an established facet of English culture. That James was forced to issue five such proclamations in as many years certainly attests to the sense that the parameters of permissibility were increasingly fluid, despite James's repeated attempts to define them. 'Private' politics had, in effect, become public.

James's reaction, or lack thereof, may seem at odds with his historical image. He had always been a king who had used print as a means to communicate his ideas and shape his public identity, but he did so in the manner of a king counselling his people. James's previous publications were communicative acts designed to strengthen his authority in the public space. To engage with illicit print represented something distinct. In James's reluctance to communicate, we can see a strengthening of tensions we have a glimpsed in previous chapters. At the root of the issue were two coherent but increasingly divergent views about the performance of politics and its relationship to publics; one increasingly embraced direct appeals to publics through print and promoted public discussion of previously 'private' subjects as a valuable and necessary political strategy, the other rejected it as the antithesis of good government.

[124] Kyle, *Theater of State*, pp.99-100.
[125] Ibid., p.88.
[126] Chamberlain, *Letters,* II, pp.394-396.
[127] Wedgbury, *Letters,* p.404.

The king's unwillingness to engage in debate with his publics was at the heart of his reticence to summon parliaments throughout the 1610s, despite his evident financial needs. In 1615 he declared that while 'he would not avoid a parliament if he might see the likelihood of comfort by it', he would 'rather suffer any extremity than have another meeting with his people and take an affront.'[128] In a 1616 speech in Star Chamber, James warned his judges to be wary of common lawyers led by 'a vaine popular humour' who 'thinke they are not eloquent and bold spirited enough except they meddle with king's prerogative.'[129] He also once more took aim at those members in the House of Commons who 'cannot be content with the present forme of gouvernment, but must have a kind of libertie in the people...and in every cause that concernes prerogative give a snatch against monarchie, through their puritanicall itching after popularitie.'[130]

Although the focus of James's comments here regarded his long-running contests with parliament over prerogative rights, there is an important linkage to be made between James's interactions in the political sphere and his views of public politics, but especially print. Public discussions violated the king's conception of a public space controlled by the monarch's voice; it corresponded that to concede his authority in this space was to weaken his prerogative at large. And, as we have seen, discussions of state matters were primarily driven by illicit print. To engage with it was to legitimise it. In James's conception, the 'itching after popularitie' he viewed in the Commons, the increasing use of public politics, and the growing reliance on illicit print, were part of the same schema. It probably had not eluded him that the event of parliament itself had served as a trigger for exercises in public politics throughout his reign.

Some of James's closest advisors clearly recognized the value of communication, but they were careful to frame their advice in terms designed to appeal to James's conception of politics. Francis Bacon attempted to persuade James to communicate his Palatinate strategy, for example, by stating that 'although the making of war and peace be a secret of empire, and a thing properly belonging to our high prerogative, royal and imperiall power: yet nevertheless, in causes of that nature which we think fit not to reserve but to communicate, we shall ever think ourselves much assisted and strengthened by the faithful advice and general assent of our loving subjects.' James rejected his suggestion because, as Buckingham informed Bacon, the king 'findeth a great deale more contayning matter of State & the reasons for calling the Parlement, whereof nether the people are capable, nor is it fitt for his Majestie to

[128] Quotation in Thrush, 'The Personal Rule of James I', p.90.
[129] J.Sommerville (ed.), *King James VI and I: Political Writings* (Cambridge, 1994), p.213.
[130] Ibid., p.222.

open now unto them.'[131] In the same vein, the intelligencer John Pory petitioned the king to appoint him 'overseer' of news production, so that James might not only neuter discussion but manipulate it to his own advantage.[132] Effective utilisation of the press would provide a means to 'settle a way when there shalbe any revolt or back slyding in matters of religion or obedience (which comonly growes with rumors among the vulgar) to draw them in...by spreeding amongst them such reports as may best make for that matter to which we would have them drawne.' It would 'establish a speedy and reddy way wherby to disperse into the veynes of the whole body of a state such matter as may best temper it.'[133] What Pory advocated was the exploitation of news as an exercise in public politics: a way of appealing to and shaping public opinion for political gain, in the same way it had been mastered by the French and Habsburgs. Again, however, his overtures were rejected. In his reaction to Scott's pamphlet campaign, we find the clearest illustration yet of two divergent readings of politics. James's failure to adapt to changes in the nature of political communication and the performance of politics caused the death of his favourite policy initiative: it would cost his son Charles even more.

[131] Quotations from Bacon in Thrush, 'The Personal Rule of James I', p.86.
[132] For Pory's life and career, see W.Powell, *John Pory, 1572-1636* (Chapel Hill, 1977).
[133] SP 14/124/360.

Part Three: 1624 - 1637

Chapter Six: William Jones and the Parliament of 1628

Part Three explores the relationships between illicit print and anti-Laudian politics between 1624-1637. Chapter Six reconstructs William Jones's intervention in the Parliament of 1628-29. Placing his intervention within the wider context of 1620s illicit print campaigns, it aims to use this neglected episode to highlight a central dynamic in the politics of Caroline England: the intimate relationships which tied illicit printers, and publishers, and writers to interests within the political realm, and the increasingly prominent role of those printers, publishers, and writers in promoting those interests both on the printed page and the public stage. Chapter Seven focuses upon the Laudian response to illicit print. It details, firstly, how the print trade itself became a site of political conflict: how battles to control and exploit the licensing system became an extension of the power struggles within the Church and state. Secondly, it reconstructs the processes by which Laud sought to identify contours and scope of the infrastructure of illicit printing in early modern England, which he viewed as an increasingly powerful threat by the late 1630s; and it provides a reappraisal of the approaches and solutions he adopted in response to it. Chapter Eight concludes with an exploration of the afterlives of illicit texts. It brings together the argumentative threads developed in the preceding chapters by analysing the implications and impact of illicit print after 1637.

I William Jones, Richard Montagu, and Anti-Arminianism

On August 22 1628 the printer William Jones, now in his late fifties, entered Bow Church, some four miles from his home parish of St.Giles Cripplegate. He was not alone in making the journey, for this was the day of the confirmation ceremony for Richard Montagu to assume the vacant bishopric of Chichester: the church was full of the great and good of the ecclesiastical establishment, as well as Sir Thomas Ryves, the king's Advocate.[1] Whilst, as tradition dictated, a notice of the confirmation had been duly made to the parish, requesting those of the flock to make exceptions to it should they have any, all who had gathered in Bow Church that day no doubt expected an uneventful and perfunctory occasion. It was, as Sir Francis Nethersole informed the queen of Bohemia some months later, taken as 'a mere formality' for 'there hath not beene any exception taken to any B[isho]p since that time of King Henry.'[2] It must have come as some surprise to the church dignitaries, therefore, when William Jones stepped forward onto the public stage to offer his exceptions to the confirmation, which he 'first tendered ore tenus, then in Writing.'[3] Jones presented to Rvyes, who was overseeing the ceremony, with

[1] T.Fuller, *The Church History of Britain,* Vol.III (London, 1837), p.356.
[2] SP 16/135/165.
[3] *JHC,* Vol.1, p.926.

a written list of six objections to the confirmation of Richard Montagu as Bishop. Firstly, he stated that Montagu had written several books which 'affirmed some doctrine contrary & repugnant' to the thirty-nine articles of 1562, the founding values of the Church of England. Secondly and thirdly, he had 'advisedly maynetayned and affirmed that the Church of Rome ys and ever was a true Church' and that it 'remayned firme uppon the same foundacon of Sacra[me]nts & doctrine instituted by god', contrary both to the thirty-nine articles and the Book of Homilies. Fourthly, he promoted the use of idolatrous images 'for the instruccon of ye ignorant.' Finally, and most gravely, he professed the doctrine of conditional election, contrary to the central tenets of Calvinist theology, laid 'a most wicked and malitious scandall uppon ye Church of Engl[and], and 'did and doe consent to those p[er]nitious errors w[hi]ch are Comonly called Armenianisme.'[4]

Ryves, who may have been caught off guard by the intrusion of this poor printer, was aware enough to neutralize the situation through a legal technicality. Was there an advocate's hand to the document, he asked Jones? When Jones admitted that there was not, he rejected the documents validity and refused Jones's request to delay the confirmation in order to obtain one, 'holding it dangerous', he said, 'both to him, and the Archbishop, who gave him the Commission, to delay the Confirmation, conceiving the Danger to be a Praemunire.'[5] Ryves quick-thinking did not suppress the matter entirely, however. Undeterred, Jones presented his objections in a petition to the House of Commons, where it sparked weeks of intricate and heated legal debate, to which we shall return. Jones's detractors were, much like many of the Bow Church congregation, astonished that the printer had dared to intervene in the highest matters of church and state, and that he had gained such traction in doing so. The judge Sir Henry Martin raised a pertinent question: 'if I had bene there', Martin asserted, 'I would have asked Mr Jones what he had to doe with Mr Mountagues confirmacion: not being a shepe of that fold', nor, he might have added, being trained in the art of theological debate and judgement.[6] Sir Henry Martin was probably unaware that this was, in fact, the second time in his life that Jones had stridently and publicly arraigned the spiritual character of an anointed bishop: the first being the then-bishop Richard Bancroft nearly a quarter century earlier in 1604 (see Chapter Two). Nonetheless, his question was a valid one. Jones's intrusion upon the public stage in 1628, which is curiously absent from the leading accounts of

[4] SP 16/110/96.
[5] *JHC,* Vol.1, p.926.
[6] W.Notestein, F.Relf (eds.), *Commons Debates for 1629* (Minneapolis, 1921), p.185.

the period, raises some important and perplexing questions: why did he choose to express his objections in this way? Why were they seemingly taken so seriously? And, perhaps most importantly, why *Jones*?[7]

Jones's assault upon Montagu's theological views was not unique. Indeed, Jones's objections expanded upon a petition to the House of Commons lodged by the ministers John Yates and Nathaniel Ward in 1624. Then, Yates wrote, it 'was apparent unto the world, how the erroneous and dangerous opinions of *Arminius* and his Sectaries have infested' the Protestant Churches and had already 'brought into great perill the states of the united provinces.' Arminian *opinions* had 'of late beene hatched' in England, Yates complained, 'and now begin to bee more boldy maintained by some Divines of this our Kingdome; especially by one Mr Richard Montagu, who hath published a booke with shew of license, by authority...tending to the great danger and disturbance of the true religion professed.' Yates appealed to the House of Commons to solicit the king to stifle the voices of these dissenters before 'their infectious and corrupt Doctrine may spread it selfe.'[8]

The book to which Yates referred was Montagu's *A New Gagg*, first published in early 1624.[9] It had emerged in somewhat unusual circumstances. The year prior, Dr Francis White, future Bishop of Ely and a leading spokesman of the so-called Arminians, had, alongside Archbishop Abbot's chaplain, Daniel Featley, engaged in a disputation with two Jesuits. The contents of their conference were leaked, seemingly by Featley himself, and published anonymously in 1623.[10] The publication sparked a series of rebuttals by Jesuit propagandists and also opened up avenues for Protestant clerics to further the disputation in print. One such minister was Richard Montagu. Rather than simply refute the arguments of the Catholic writers, however, Montagu instead chose to apply the faults they had highlighted to a select and subversive Puritan minority within the English Church. In an inversion of the Arminian conspiracy which would later be assailed against him, Montagu argued that the views of this minority had infiltrated and, in effect, *become* the mainstream position of the Church of England. In *Appello Caesarem*, the follow-up work to *A New Gagg* printed a year later, Montagu claimed that 'those Classical Puritans' with their 'Strange Determinations, Sabbatarian Paradoxes, and Apocalyptical

[7] Jones's intervention was not mentioned in either of the major studies which address the events of this parliament, for example: see N.Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640* (Oxford, 1987) and C.Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics, 1621-1629* (Oxford, 1979). Nor have I found the incident noted elsewhere.
[8] J.Yates, *Ibis ad Caesarem* (London, 1626) [STC 26083], p.46.
[9] R.Montagu, *A New Gagg for an Old Goose* (London, 1624) [STC 18038].
[10] Anon., *A Fisher Catched in his owne net* ([London], 1623) [STC 10732]. The printer has never been identified but the type, battered and worn, looks suspiciously like that of the press used by William Jones to print some of Thomas Scott's pamphlets that same year.

Frensies' had imposed 'their Conceits as our owne Doctrines, because they have cast them upon Vs and upon Our Church, like Bastards upon the Parish where they were borne, or Vagabonds on the Towne where they last dwelt.'[11] As Adrian Streete succinctly summarizes, what made Montagu's two pamphlets so explosive was that he 'classifies all Calvinists as Puritans' and, in so doing, 'offers a radical redefinition of theological orthodoxy and ecclesiastical governance that undermined not just the religious stability of the Church but also of the Church's constitutional role as bulwark of the English state.'[12] It was, in fact, a reversal of the arguments made by Thomas Scott: that all puritans were Calvinists. To those at the centre of ecclesiastical governance like Yates, Featley, and Archbishop Abbott, Montagu's books represented the first public assault upon the Calvinist hegemony of the Church.

For, as was apparent then (or would at least become so in the course of the parliamentary investigation into the publication of *A New Gagg*), Montagu was not operating alone. In December 1623, Montagu had sent a manuscript of the book to John Cosin, the Bishop of Durham's chaplain, with the instruction to 'read it over privately, or att most with Austen [Lindsell] and get it licensed, but of no Puritan.'[13] Furthermore, when *A New Gagg* emerged on the stalls of St.Paul's bookshops, it proudly displayed the claim to have been 'published by authority' and carried with it, so it was rumoured, the approbation of King James himself. The parliamentary committee established to investigate its publication the following year concluded that it had been 'printed by King James's speciall warrant, procured without his privity, as it should seeme, by Dr Lincy [Augustine Lindsell] and Mr.Cosins the Bishoppe of Dorrham's chaplaynes, to whom he sent the booke.'[14] Its successor, *Appello Caesarem,* was, to an even greater extent than the first, a collaborative work. Montagu worked extremely closely with Cosin to craft the document. 'For my booke I committ it wholy to your ordering', he wrote, 'add, alter, do what you will.' He further relied on Cosin to navigate the process between press and publication: 'I shall wholy and totally make you overseer of, and overman to, my book at press.'[15] 'Being countryfied', as Montagu was, he felt Cosin would 'knowe congruityes and conv[enien]cyes there which I can not.'[16] Most importantly, Cosin's participation secured the support of his wider connections. Just as Yates, Featley, Abbott and others suspected, and Tyacke has ably demonstrated,

[11] R.Montagu, *Appello Caesarem* (London, 1625) [STC 18031], sig.A3v.
[12] A.Streete, ''Arminianism is like a flying fish': Region, Religion and Polemic in the work of Richard Montague' in D.Coleman (ed.), *Region, Religion and Renaissance Literature* (Routledge, 2013), pp.106-107.
[13] J.Cosin, *The Correspondence of John Cosin,* Vol.I (London, 1869), p.33.
[14] S.R.Gardiner (ed.), *Debates in the House of Commons in 1625* (London, 1873), p.46.
[15] Cosin, *Correspondence,* I, pp.59-60, p.34.
[16] Ibid., p.61.

Cosin was part of a wider clique of clergymen who were indeed endeavouring to leverage power within the Church of England.[17] Montagu, or rather the success or failure of his books, had become intertwined with that effort. On August 25 1625, in a letter co-signed by Howson, and Buckeridge, Laud petitioned the Duke of Buckingham for his political support in defending Montagu's two works from parliamentary and, potentially, royal opprobrium. 'We are not strangers to his [Montagu's] person, but it is the cause which we are bound to be tender of.' As was so often the case in early Stuart England, politics was being played out on the printed stage. It was crucial, they argued, that in order to defend the doctrine of the Church of England they must first defend Montagu and his books, for their suppression and Montagu's punishment 'may breed a great backwardness in able men to write in defence of the Church of England against either home or foreign adversaries, if they shall see him sink in fortunes, reputations, or health, upon his book-occasion.'[18] Montagu's *A New Gagg* marked the first battle in the polemical wars of Charles's early years, which served as a neglected but nonetheless central component of the political and ecclesiastical power struggles of Caroline England.

Initially, at least, opposition to Montagu manifested via narrowly political means. Alongside Yates and Ward's petition, a set of articles delineating Montagu's doctrinal faults were submitted to the House of Commons. Although apparently distinct from the earlier petition, Montagu himself intimated that this fresh information had emitted from the upper echelons of the clerical establishment: Thomas Goad and Daniel Featley, Abbott's chaplains, were 'as apt as with Dr Hall of W[orcester] and Dr Prideaux, att first to informe or attend informations against me att parlement.'[19] These two documents formed the basis for a parliamentary committee, led by the future Parliamentarian leader John Pym, tasked with investigating Montagu's book and the circumstances surrounding its publication. The committee submitted its initial report in May, echoing the language of the now-lost articles, but concluded 'after much debate and dislike of the booke beinge soe offensive to the state', that the prosecution of the case should be referred to the Archbishop, the Commons 'not willinge to become judges in soe deepe points of religion.' This, Tyacke argues, 'may have been part of a pre-arranged manoeuvre, aimed at strengthening the hand of the Archbishop against the newly powerful Arminian faction at court.'[20] Clearly Montagu himself shared this perspective: the political alignment against him was driven by members of both the clerical and political establishment. 'What adoe is here with Dr Featly and his camerades...Let them gange together in the devill's name', he informed Cosin. Months

[17] For the rise of Laudianism, see N.Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists,* passim.
[18] W.Laud, *The Works of William Laud,* Vol.6 (Oxford, 1857)., p.246.
[19] Cosin, *Correspondence,* I, p.50.
[20] N.Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists,* pp.149-150.

later, as his letters grew in agitation, he conceded that 'the plott is strong against us.'[21] Nonetheless, Abbott's report to the House of Commons, whilst condemning both the contents of Montagu's book and his subsequent behaviour, admitted that his capacity to punish Montagu was constrained by a lack of royal support. All he could do was to advise Montagu to 'goe home, reviewe over your booke' and 'reforme' it.[22]

Days later on July 7 1625, the parliamentary committee renewed its attack on Montagu, presenting an admonition which condemned Montagu's doctrinal positions as being contrary to the thirty-nine articles and tending both towards Arminianism and 'to the disturbance of Church and State': all of which neatly paralleled Jones's later objections.[23] In particular, Montagu's publication of a second book, *Appello Caesarem*, whilst under investigation for his first, was used as a pretext to launch formal judicial proceedings against him for contempt of parliamentary privilege. The following April, the Commons requested Montagu's attendance. When he failed to appear, the Commons judged him 'guiltie of publishing doctyne contrarie to the Articles of the Religion established in the Church of England.'[24] It was then recommended that the Commons complaints should be referred to the Lords as a matter of urgency, 'beinge said to be the greatest busines that hath come into the House since *primo* Elizabeth.'[25] Pym was entrusted to act as sole messenger to the Lords and to submit the complaints of the Commons to their consideration and affirmation. Once again, however, the gambit failed. Before Pym's committee had had time to draft the articles to be sent to the Lords, parliament was dissolved. The day before the king did so, he issued a royal proclamation which prohibited public discussion of contentious religious matters.

Having failed to secure Montagu's punishment through either ecclesiastical or political means, and in-spite of the king's proclamation, the anti-Montagu coalition turned to the press: the break-glass option of early Stuart political manoeuvre. At least eight tracts emerged in 1626 which explicitly attacked Montagu and the growing threat of Arminianism. Together, they aimed to translate the complex theological debate and political manoeuvring of the past two years to the wider reading public: to transpose debate from the private to the public realm, much as Thomas Scott had done in the early 1620s. Their wider purpose was to demonstrate the direct threat which these theological issues posed

[21] Cosin, *Correspondence,* I, p.52, pp.78-79.
[22] Gardiner, *Commons Debates,* pp.34-35.
[23] Ibid., p.49.
[24] SP 16/25/115.
[25] Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists,* p.154.

to the stability of both church and state, and to render these threats in a language intelligible to an educated, but perhaps not theologically-trained, readership. John Yates opened by reminding his readers that the 'liberty of judgement' which Montagu's works had introduced into the religious landscape had been seen before, 'having long infested and well-nigh wasted the tranquility of the Belgick Churches.' 'Who knows what sudden alteration they may produce in ours, passing without observation, or controulment?'[26] Henry Burton, too, framed the threat in prophetic but thoroughly familiar terms. The wrenching of the peace and tranquillity of religious discourse, he warned, 'like a disastrous Comet, portendeth vniuersall ruine both to Church and *State,* if the vast breach made thereby, for the grand enemy to enter, bee not all the sooner and surer (if possible) made vp againe.'[27]

And, of course, it was Montagu and his fellow Arminians who had caused the division. It was Montagu's 'scopticall Divinity, and railing Rhetoric...surcharged with superfluity of spleene, choler, and malice', 'where with (well nigh) every page is pestered', which had broken 'forth into distemper of words.'[28] The reasons for sparking this division, they argued, were as much 'politicke' as they were 'naturall.' Inherent in the Arminian impulse, besides dangerously wayward theology, was the drive for self-interest, advancement, and power. Francis Rous, himself a leading anti-Arminian voice in the Commons, ably dissected its chameleon-like qualities: 'a double-faced thing that lookes to two Religions at once, *Protestantisme* and *Popery,* hee that is in it, is like him that stands in the borders of two adioyning Kingdomes, who is ready to dwell in either, as either serues his turne best. So that an *Arminian* is like a flying fish, if preferment be among the birds, he is ready to fly after it with the birds, and if it be among the fishes, then among the fishes he will swimme after it.'[29] Again, the same views were echoed by Burton who himself gave a 'character' of the Arminian: 'first, he is no lesse ambitious of head-ship ouer men, then his Religion is of copartnership (at least) with God, in His glory. Secondly, as his Religion flatters him, so he men; very officious in soothlesse soothings, the Spaniels, that finde his ambition game.' Like bees, Burton concluded, the Arminian brings a 'kinde of honey to Preferments hiue.'[30]

These early exchanges reveal the persistence of Thomas Scott's conspiratorial framework. Whilst the Spanish threat had receded, the seeds of conspiracy could be nurtured and manipulated to

[26] Yates, *Ibis,* sig.A3r.
[27] H.Burton, *A Plea to an Appeal* (London, 1626) [STC 4153], sig.*3v.
[28] Yates, *Ibis,* sigs.B2v-B3r.
[29] F.Rous, *Testis Veritatis* (London, 1626) [STC 21347], pp.86-87.
[30] Burton, *Appeal,* sig.A1v.

craft new polemical (and, in this case perhaps, *real*) enemies: a new narrative using familiar stock characters through which complex ecclesiastical and political in-fighting could be translated onto the public stage in popular form.

It is also clear that these pamphlets were working in unison with the broader efforts of the anti-Montagu coalition. Two were written by Daniel Featley, Abbott's chaplain, who had spearheaded the early ecclesiastical opposition to Montagu. Another was written by Prynne who, on April 16 1626, had provided a report to Pym's Committee of Religion on Montagu's book and its Arminian tenets.[31] A fourth was written by Bishop Carleton, who, whilst sitting in the Lords in 1626, had specifically sent for the publisher Michael Sparke 'and desired him to print his Book against Mountague; and to encourage him the more, granted him a protection under his owne hand.' Francis Rous wrote *Testis Veritatis*. The manuscript of another book 'against Mountague', written by a veteran Church polemicist, Matthew Sutcliffe, was found in Archbishop Abbot's study and 'suppressed in the Press.'[32] All the books, therefore, had emanated from within parliament or the highest ranks of the clerical establishment.

As Prynne wrote almost two decades later, the whole collection of 1626 works had all been licensed for the Press, 'with a special reccomendation', by Abbot's chaplains, Doctor Goad, Doctor Ward (likely Samuel, not Nathanuel), and 'Dr Belcankwell' and, so Prynne claims, further 'recommended to the Presse by the House of Commons order.'[33] And, they had all been printed and published by a select clique of stationers who had (almost) all been central in the production of the anti-Spanish, pro-Bohemia pamphlets of 1618 to 1624, discussed in the previous Chapters. Burton, Prynne, and Rous's pamphlets were printed by William Jones; Nicholas Okes printed at least one version of Carleton's *An Examination* for Sparke, whilst another was produced at Oxford by Sparke's business associate William Turner; Wotton's *Dangerous Plot* was likely printed by John Dawson, another of Thomas Scott's printers, for Nicholas Bourne. Yates and Featley's works had been published by Robert Milborne, a central figure in the production of Calvinist literature, who Montagu labelled in July 1626 a 'knave' who 'should be half hanged' with the rest as 'the publishers of those libels.'[34] Another stationer cited by Prynne was James Boler, who, as we shall see, also worked closely with Michael

[31] W.Prynne, *Canterburies Doome* (London, 1646) [Wing P3917], p.158.
[32] Ibid., p.159.
[33] Ibid., p.159. I have found no such order in the records of the 1626 House of Commons, though this does not necessarily mean such an order did not exist.
[34] Cosin, *Correspondence,* I, p.100.

Sparke to distribute illicit pamphlets. Whilst Tyacke and others have recognized and traced the political progress of the anti-Montagu coalition, the degree to which this coalition was aligned with, and relied upon, the select network of stationers who operated at its fringes, has been largely neglected.

This relationship persisted far beyond 1626. In the run-up to the 1628 Parliament, and in the period following the abrupt cessation of the first session in June, Jones and Sparke released a further flurry of pamphlets which both sustained the spectre of the Arminian threat in the public mind and linked it to the debate concerning the concentration of political power which crystallized in the House of Commons around the Petition of Right: the assertion of the rights of the individual and parliament in conjunction with the divine right of the monarch and in opposition to the overweening influence of an influential group of leading Arminian churchmen. From 1627 to 1628, Sparke orchestrated the publication of five pamphlets by Henry Burton, two of which were printed by William Jones, the others by Thomas and Richard Cotes, two Cripplegate printers who had recently acquired a press of their own and who would go on to forge close business ties to Sparke.[35] Alongside Burton's pamphlets was another by William Prynne, attacking Cosen's latest tract, again printed by Cotes, and, perhaps most explosively, an anonymous reprint of the old Scottian hero Sir Walter Raleigh's *Prerogative of Parliament.* The tract itself claimed, almost certainly erroneously, to have been printed at Middelburg, but it bears the hallmarks of Cotes' press.[36] Had this been the brainchild of a Middelburg printer, it was some coincidence, for it brought to bear on the heated debates unfolding in the Commons at precisely this time. More likely, it was a further and telling example of the continued cooperation between Sparke, his clique of London stationers, and the anti-Arminian MPs in parliament.

In light of this evidence, it is perhaps less surprising to find William Jones entering Bow Church in August, shortly after the first session of parliament had been dissolved. Had Jones's objections to Montagu's confirmation faded into the ether, as Dr Ryves no doubt expected when he dismissed them upon a legal technicality, it might be supposed to be the act of zealous and zany individual. But it did not. And *why not?* That was the question asked Sir Henry Martin when he found himself debating the legality of Jones's objections for the first two weeks of the second session of parliament in February 1629.

[35] H.Burton, *The Baiting of the Popes Bull* (London, 1627) [STC 4137], H.Burton, *Israels Fast* (London, 1628) [STC 4147], H.Burton, *The Seven Vials* (London, 1628) [STC 4155], H.Burton, *A Tryall of Private Devotions* (London, 1628) [STC 4157], H.Burton, *Conflicts and Comforts of Conscience* (London, 1628) [STC 4140].
[36] W.Raleigh, *Prerogatives of Parliament* (London, 1628) [STC 20649.5].

II The Debate in Parliament

On the opening day of that second session, January 27 1629, Pym's Committee of Religion laid out the parameters of its investigations for the forthcoming weeks: the 'cessation of execution of Laws against Popery', 'countenancing of Popery, and Popish Persons', the 'introducing of Popish Ceremonies', the 'countenancing or preferring those, which [were] of that [Arminian] Opinion', and 'to open a Way for the free Profession of our Religion.'[37] What had begun in 1624 as an isolated but nonetheless public enunciation of Arminian views with Montagu's first pamphlet had become a full-scale assault upon the Calvinist hegemony of the Church. Ecclesiastical and especially episcopal appointments had increasingly been given to pro-Arminian clergy, Abbot had been rendered a lame duck Archbishop, and the control of press licensing – as we shall see – had been weaponized by the supposed Arminian faction. Drastic action was required, action which went beyond the traditional channels of political behaviour. This, I would argue, is why Jones's objections entered into the political arena. In one sense, they represent a clear example of the complex interaction between theology, print, and politics: Jones's objections had begun in the closeted realm of ecclesiastical university debate; they were transposed onto the printed stage by Montagu's *Gagg*, then reformulated as a parliamentary petition and set of twenty-one informations submitted to parliament in 1624; they had then been debated to no end, reprinted in various forms in 1626, and then was reformulated and submitted once more by a lowly printer at the confirmation of a clergyman who had initiated that debate four years before. In another sense, Jones's objections represented the next stage of a co-ordinated manoeuvre to regain the momentum in a power struggle which had mirrored the itinerant objections. For, when Jones decided to submit his objections to the Commons as a petition, he provided the Committee of Religion and the Commons more broadly the platform to strike back at the rapid Arminian seizure of control of the Church and the levers of political power. And, it did so in a way which shielded them from accusations of premeditation: Jones, after all, was a lowly printer who operated in the *popular* realm of the printed page, far disconnected from the halls of Westminster and high politics. Perhaps few realized then, as now, the layers of connections which closely linked the two.

The verbal bombardment against Arminianism, and its propagation in print in particular, began on just the third day of the session. Sir Robert Harley, one of the leading voices in the Committee for

[37] *JHC*, I, pp.922-923.

Religion, declared 'that the books written by Dr Montague...Dr Jackson, Dr Cosins, Dr Duncombe have bene great causers of the increase of Arminianisme.' He set out an early objective by calling for a joint 'Remonstrance to the King' with the Lords, 'that he would be pleased to cause these persons forenamed to be punished and their bookes to be publiquely burnt.' Sir John Eliot escalated the assault, reminding the house that King Edward VI had written 'with his owne hand that some Bishopps for sloth, some for ignorance, some for popery were unfit to be Bishops.' Whilst he acknowledged that some today are 'very worthy and orthodoxe men...but that all our Bishopps are not soe.' Eliot singled out one elected bishop in particular: 'Mr Montague, he will not call him Bishopp.' And Christopher Sherland, Jones's fellow Northamptonian, reaffirmed the centrality of the Calvinist position; the house must, he argued, 'declare that our Religion and faith is conteyned within the 39 articles.'[38]

The following morning, Jones's petition was read: it decried the misuse of print by Arminian writers, echoed Elliot's assessment of Montagu as unfit to be a bishop, and delineated a number of points whereby Montagu had contravened orthodox theology as outlined by the thirty-nine articles. It did not pass without comment and there was, it seems, a quick attempt to nullify the situation at source. Almost immediately, and evidently pre-prepared, Sir Henry Martin provided a legal synopsis of episcopal elections. Although 'the form of the election of bishops is after a congé d'élire', that is a royal message authorizing a Cathedral chapter or diocese to appoint a new bishop, it was in practice a royal appointment, for 'they must choose who the King shall name, and who shall speak against this election or confirmation shall incur a *praemunire.*' The same, he argued, was true of the customary notice requesting objections to a confirmation: it was a formal but essentially ceremonial function. 'I wish this ceremony might be left, for the form is as if they were free, but yet they are bound.' The learned John Selden added a rapid rebuttal, that although the point of royal appointment stands, changed as it was under Henry VIII, 'he taketh the meaning of this Act *not to exclude exceptions which are legal.*' It was then for Thomas Eden II, a rising lawyer in close alignment with the Laudian regime, to inform the house of the improper circumstances in which Jones's submitted his objections; 'the reason as he hath heard for which the articles were not accepted against him was, because there was no advocate's hand unto them.' 'Therefore', he concluded, 'they were illegal.'[39] Whether Martin and Eden felt they had won this initial skirmish or not, the House was unconvinced and decided to debate the matter further 'to be argued by both lawyers of the House.'

[38] Notestein, *Commons Debates,* pp.116-117.
[39] Ibid., pp.118-119, my italics.

On the sixth day of the session, the Commons demanded that Doctor Ryves, who had overseen Montagu's confirmation ceremony, attend the house at 8a.m 'and Mr Jones, the Printer, to be then heard with his Counsel if he will.'[40] Ryves, who (perhaps) mistakenly labelled Jones 'a book binder', gave an unapologetic recounting of the events of the confirmation, how he had refused Jones's objections because they lacked an advocate's hand and that to delay the confirmation was impracticable. Jones himself was also heard at some point, either before or after which the Solicitor General, Sir Richard Sheldon, reaffirmed Sir Henry Martin's legal opinion. Episcopal appointments were, despite the residual language of the Act, *royal* appointments and it was 'unlikely that the intent of the proclamacion is to give more leave to such a man as Jones is, then to the deane and Chapter', neither of whom had the right to alter the king's missive. In other words, he asked, why were the Commons intent on debating this point, based as it was on both an archaic, defunct ceremony and the accusations of a book-binder (or printer). Again, the House remained unwilling to dismiss the case. Jones was assigned two counsellors, Dr Talbott and Dr Steward, and the Commons concluded that debate would begin on 'Friday Morning, Nine Clock', to 'maintain the legality of Mr.Jones his Exceptions against Mr.Mountagewe's Confirmation....and to speak to the Legality of the Exceptions; and whether, at this Day, legal Exceptions, legally put in, against the Confirmation of a Bishop, do make a Nullity of the Confirmation.'[41] Without having considered any prolonged legal advice, the Commons had already begun to highlight the possibility that an elected bishop's confirmation might be nullified on the basis of objections raised by a printer with no legal or theological training, nor indeed any spiritual or personal connection to the See of Chichester now under dispute.

At the same time, the Committee of Religion began to accelerate plans to fulfil the other objectives outlined at the opening of the second session and informations were presented against the other bishops held to be the chief instigators of the perceived Arminian plot. On the same day that Jones's petition was read, Sir James Perrot related a claim that Laud, when Bishop of Bath, did 'enterteyne one Bayliff to be his Chaplaine and has since been a meanes of his preferment, and that this Bayliff did openly holde and defend the opinions of Arminius and say that whatsoever Arminius hath written he is of the same opinion.' The day following, after the initial hearing of Ryves and Jones, one Thomas Ogle brought in another petition which targeted Montagu's chief corroborator in print, John Cosin. Ogle, probably a member of the Ogle family of Eglingham in Northumberland, claimed to have witnessed a sermon given at Durham in which Cosin argued that when 'the Reformers of the

[40] *JHC*, I, pp.925-926.
[41] *JHC*, I, p.926.

Church...took away the masse', it was not 'Reformacion it was a deformacion' and proceeded to provide a further list of Cosin's popish behaviour and sermonising. Again, this petition did not pass unnoticed. Sir Thomas Hoby, a renowned puritan and parliamentary veteran, instantly vouched for 'this Ogle...an honest gentle[man' of good worth' who 'has heretofore bene a Justice for the peace.' Days later, Ogle provided further witnesses to Cosin's crimes and charged that his associate, one Mr Witherington, had 'said the doctrine of the Church of England is heresy' and 'that the protestants of England were heriticks and that it were noe more to cut 100 of their throats then of soe many calves.'[42]

Whether these rather high-pitched stories were intended to be taken seriously or not, they set the tone for the more serious investigations which accompanied the legal proceedings against Montagu. Foremost amongst them was the investigation into the special royal pardons afforded Cosin, Maynwaring, Montagu, and Sibthorpe, which had neutralized the charges brought against them in the first session of the 1628 Parliament. Sir Robert Phillips, another key participant in the anti-Spanish campaign of 1624, reported from the subcommittee that the Lord Dorchester, now secretary of state, had sent the Attorney General a 'warrant under the Kinges hand' for the pardons with notice to 'insert into the pardons such words for printing of bookes and other things as the parties Councell should direct.' The Attorney then 'sent the roughe draught' to Richard Neile, the Bishop of Winchester, 'who amended some things in it with his owne hands and inserted other things, and', crucially, 'whereas it was drawne only for one of those men', (probably Sibthorpe), 'that Bishopp did insert that it should be for all fower parties, and that he did speake to him to hasten Cosens pardon.'[43] Further enquiries were launched and the Attorney General himself was required to provide copies of the warrants, drafts of the pardons, and of the affidavits, but the key information had already been extracted. Once more, the Committee for Religion had unearthed a further pretext for escalating its attack upon the Arminian bishops and their supporters in the clergy.

Indeed, the key witness against Cosin who appeared two days later, and who happened to be a kinsman of Robert Phillips, reported the explosive allegation that Cosen had said 'the King was not supreme head of the Church' and 'had noe more power than his horse-keeper' with regards to excommunication.[44] Thomas King, also of Durham, appeared before the Commons to second the story. That story in particular had been in public circulation for some time, both in libel and print. The year before, Cosin had already complained to Laud 'about a solicitor of Mr Smart's...called Thomas King,

[42] Notestein, *Commons Debates*, p.124, 128-129.
[43] Ibid., pp.38-40.
[44] Notestein, *Commons Debate*, pp.129-131.

but commonly there known as Tom Fame' who had been spreading a slander about him.[45] The slander itself had been repeated from both pulpit and print by the minister Peter Smart, whose vitriolic sermon against Cosin's Arminian and popish tendencies had been printed anonymously during the first session of parliament in 1628.[46] Further allegations continued to flood in against Cosin in the ensuing days. The MP Henry Waller 'heard that Cosens hath come to the printers office and there hath put out of the comon prayer booke the word Minister and put in steede of it priest.'[47] Sir Robert Crane recounted that when Cosen was at Jesus College he read a book entitled *Preparation for the Masse* whilst receiving the sacrament. Similarly salacious stories, though these perhaps with more basis, were targeted at Bishop Neile too. The suspended ministers Dr Moore and Dr Beard provided information that Neile had prevented them from preaching against popery and had opposed the conventional positioning of the altar, claiming it resembled 'a table in an alehouse.' Once again, Moore's stories were seconded by Sir Daniel Norton, Sir John Cooper and Sir Thomas Heale, whilst Beard's information was brought before the Commons by one 'Mr Cromwell.'[48] Again, whether these stories were deemed wholly believable or not, the cases against Neile and Cosin in particular demonstrate the ways in which print, libel, and rumour, *public politics*, could find its way into, and impact upon, the inner political realm. Parliament was, as the Commons acknowledged, a house of information, and information, as we have seen, could be drawn, and capitalised upon, from a number of different sources. Indeed, on the surface at least, influential MPs like Sir John Elliot took these informations at face value or saw the political currency in appearing to, railing against the 'high treason' of Cosin's purported words. And it was with some justification, therefore, that Montagu wrote ominously to Cosin: 'you in the north, I in the south, are the objects of toungs and penns, and I must be unbishop't a geyne.'[49]

The central thread which sustained these multi-pronged attacks against the Arminian clergy, however, were Jones's objections to Montagu and on February 9, as the allegations against Cosen and Neile were flying across the Commons, the legal debate began in earnest. Jones's counsel, Dr Stewart (or Stuart) began by laying out the two principle questions: 'whether the excepcions exhibited by Jones against Montague att his confirmacion were legall', and 'if they were legall then [if] they are of validity.' This was crucial, Stewart reasoned, because, 'if the excepcion were legall and true and admitted then

[45] SP 16/121/37.
[46] P.Smart, *A Sermon preached in the cathedrall church in Durham* (London, 1628) [STC 22640].
[47] Cosin did, as he told Laud, provide 'some marginall directions' for the printers to assist in the 'amending of such faults and omissions in their severall volumes', but he claimed that he 'was not there either to force or to oversee the presse, neither did I commend or enjoyne any thing...' Cosin, *Correspondence,* I, p.140.
[48] *JHC,* Vol.I, pp.928-929.
[49] Cosin, *Correspondence,* I, p.154.

they ought to stay the confirmacion, for the law saith if he [Montagu] be *indignus* his confirmacion ought not to proceed.' And, 'if the confirmacion be voyde...then he is not to be admitted to the Bishoprick.' Stewart, admittedly, was uncertain of this final point: would nullification of the confirmation simply 'sett him in the same state that he was sett the tyme of his elecion and before the confirmacion' or would it have deeper ramifications?[50] This was a point to be reexamined but, in the meantime, Jones's second counsel, Dr Talbot continued the case for Jones. By canon law, Talbot explained, there were two valid objections to an episcopal confirmation: 'the forme of the elecion' and 'against the person elected', based on age, knowledge, birthright, or 'crymes of the person.' 'If the crymes expressed in the Articles of Jones against Montague were to be acounter *inter delicta graviora,* he thinkes the articles were legall' and, if they were 'true and legall he conceiveth the confirmacion is voyde.'[51] And, of course, Montagu's crimes had already been condemned by the Commons repeatedly in the previous three parliaments, denounced by leading clergymen in pulpit, and thoroughly dissected in the pamphlet debates of the last five years.

Sir Henry Martin responded with a detailed history of changes to the law in the election of bishops, how in Henry VIII's reign 'parliament gave...the same authority to the King as was formerly in the popes' and how, therefore, the objections 'are [more] formall then reall, and therein antiquity is observed, and no reason can be given for it.' They were, in essence, archaic and defunct: the election was the king's choice and, just to be sure, he added that only those who were 'a sheepe of the folde and interested in his confirmacion' could object to it in any case. But, he did make a rather glaring theoretical concession: 'the same excepcions that were sufficyent to have hindered his confirmacion, are sufficyent to put him out of his Bishoprick.' If objections should 'be proved legall: it works upon the Election alsoe.'[52] So Martin suggested, on the one hand, that theoretically the law allowed for the nullification not only of an episcopal confirmation, but of an episcopal election as well, and at the same time argued that these points were redundant because the law itself was defunct.

Martin's strained legal defence seemingly offered an opportunity to escalate the attack upon Montagu still further. Two days after the legal debate, Sir Miles Fleetwood charged Montagu with 'Scisme and error in doctryne' and 'sedicion and facion in matter of State.' The first, Fleetwood claims, was 'proved by his books', and selected two examples drawn from Jones's petition as evidence: that Montagu argued 'that the Romishe doctryne is as it was left by C[hrist]' and 'that the difference between

[50] Notestein, *Commons Debates,* pp.133-135.
[51] Notestein, *Commons Debates,* pp.182-185.
[52] Ibid., pp.137-140.

us and the papists are of such an alloye as that they may be easily reconciled.' In a motion passed by the Commons, a further subcommittee was formed that day to collect 'these things that have bene proposed...concerning the danger of the present state of Religion', and, presumably, to formalize the charges against Montagu.[53]

Here the trail begins to go cold. The House of Commons journals become preoccupied with heated debates about taxation. That further action was planned, however, was at least the opinion of one informed observed. Sir Francis Nethersole, who had been providing a commentary of the second session of parliament to the queen of Bohemia, described in detail the course of Jones's objections, the legal debate, and the contents of the series of argument Martin had made in favour of dismissing them: 'notwithstanding', he concluded, 'the common lawyers are not satisfied with this, nor with all his other reasons, and therefor there is a day appoynted for the further debate of this matters which some of them study hard out of an apprehension of the danger our Religion may be in', the same mandate under which the further subcommittee had been formed.[54]

That day never came. Parliament was dissolved on March 2 and would remain so for the following eleven years. What, then, had the purpose of the debates been? Why had the Commons elevated Jones petition and pursued the complex and archaic legal quandary it raised? One aim may simply have been to spark debate about the fitness of recent episcopal appointments, but this, as we have seen, could be easily fabricated by dredging up rumours, informants, and public libels. The debate which followed Jones's objections struck at a deeper root. If anyone, *even a printer*, could offer objections against the confirmation of a bishop, and, if those objections were found valid, that bishops's confirmation was rendered void. This Jones's counsel had established. But where the thrust of their argument was aiming for was to contend that not only was the confirmation void, but the *election* also, as Martin had conceded. The case remained unproven, but if it could be established and legitimised in the high court of parliament, it offered an avenue whereby the Commons might compel the king to revoke the election of a bishop; to set a precedent whereby to establish a degree of control over episcopal appointments and thereby to undermine one of the key means through which, the argument ran, the Arminians had asserted control over the Church and state.

Treated in isolation, the debates around Jones's objections may appear nothing more than an eclectic but ultimately inconsequential legal meandering which quickly disappeared from view when

[53] Ibid., pp.137-140.
[54] SP 16/135/165.

more important issues eclipsed it on the parliamentary agenda. Placed in its broader context, however, it gives us cause to reconsider our perception of the parliament of 1628-29 and the nature of political performance more broadly. In his landmark study of English parliament in the 1620s, Russell concluded that 'Parliaments had little power, and showed little desire to increase what they had.'[55] The extent to which Jones's objections were pressed, and the aims which underpinned that process, might suggest that parliament (or factions within it) were more assertive and more calculating than has previously been allowed. But it also demonstrates the importance of approaching parliamentary politics through a wider lens. Jones's objections and the debates which they spawned should be viewed as a pivotal component of an ongoing political campaign against Montagu and the broader Arminian threat: a campaign which deployed a range of media and political strategies, which opened up multiple spaces as sites of political conflict, and which in turn introduced print, rumour, and conspiracy into the heart of parliamentary debates. Russell touched upon this point when he observed that Sir John Eliot's notorious outburst at the end of the 1629 session was an exercise in 'propaganda' (as he termed it): 'an attempt to appeal to public opinion to bring pressure to coerce the King to change his policy.'[56] But whilst Russell argued that Eliot was deluded in thinking 'that such an act of opposition was practical politics in 1629', I would contend that this episode has demonstrated how closely interwoven 'private' and 'public' politics had become: Eliot's act, Jones's intervention, and the use of his objections, were reflective of changes in the nature of political performance which we have highlighted throughout the preceding chapters.[57] Finally, this episode also exhibits the increasingly close intersection between politicians, clergyman, and stationers as participants in the political process. The centrality of the printer, William Jones, to the 1628 Parliament is an important reminder that the underground world of illicit print was much closer to the official political realm than histories have so far allowed. Nor would it go unnoticed. The increasingly prominent political role played by printers and publishers like William Jones would have a major impact upon the relationships between the print trade and the authorities during the years of Personal Rule.

[55] Russell, *Parliaments,* p.426.
[56] Ibid., pp.415-416.
[57] Ibid., p.416.

Chapter Seven: William Laud versus the English Print Underground

I The Dynamics of the Licensing System

William Jones was not the only member of the print trade to intervene in the second session of the 1628 Parliament. Shortly after Jones's examination before the House, Sir Henry Waller introduced to the Committee of Religion a second document: a petition delivered by the publishers Michael Sparke, James Boler, and the aged, blind stationer John Beale. The petition complained that 'the Bishopp of London [William Laud] and his chaplaines have licensed diverse bookes holding opinions of Armenianisme and popery and suppressed others that are orthodoxall, and if any orthodoxall have bene printed such as have printed or sold them have bene punished for [it] by the highe Commission and their books have bene taken from them.' This, Waller concluded, was reflective of a broader strategy by the Laudian clergy which centred upon print: 'the stop of such books as are written in answer [to Arminianism]...and others suffered to be printed.'[1]

Much ink has been spilt by subsequent generations of historians about the veracity of the account of the censorship system presented here by Jones, Sparke, Boler, and Beale. The most recent analyses, by Sheila Lambert, Suellen Towers, and Cynthia Clegg, have focused largely upon pre-publication censorship, that is what *was* allowed, in order to assess whether the assumed Laudian control of the licensing system had prevented orthodox, Calvinist texts, and broader criticisms of church and state policy, from entering into public discourse.[2] Clegg's conclusion, that whilst there may have been an intent 'to control certain kinds of discourse', the 'means to enforce' it 'beyond the usual machinery of the law courts was meager', is broadly representative of the current historiographical landscape.[3] But debates about the success or failure of the censorship system, and particularly those, I would suggest, which focus on pre-publication censorship, are, as Anthony Milton has already shrewdly asserted, something of a red herring.[4] What matters, Milton contends, is that there *was* an attempt to weaponize the licensing system and further, I would argue, that it was weaponized in a specific and targeted way.

This process can be seen as early as 1625 in a little-known incident concerning Robert Milbourne's publication of Edward Elton's *Gods Holy Mind*.[5] Although usually overlooked, the Milbourne affair was a key moment, for his treatment would become emblematic of a broader strategy

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[1] Notestein, *Commons Debates,* p.136.
[2] S.Lambert, 'Richard Montagu, Arminianism and Censorship', *Past & Present,* No.124, (1989), pp.36-68, S.Lambert, 'State Control of the Press in Theory and Practice: the role of the Stationers' Company before 1640' in M.Harris, R.Myers (eds.), *Censorship and control of print in England and France, 1600-1910* (Winchester, 1992), pp.1-32, C.Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, 2001), C.Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge, 2008), S.Mutchow Towers, *Control of Religious Printing in Early Stuart England* (Boydell, 2003).
[3] Clegg, *Censorship in Jacobean England,* p.225.
[4] A.Milton, 'Licensing, Censorship and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Stuart England', *The Historical Journal,* Vol.41, No.3, (1998), pp.625-651.
[5] G.Elton, *Gods Holy Mind* (London, 1625) [STC 7619].

whereby the licensing system was weaponized specifically to target the printers, publishers, and authors who were central in producing anti-Arminian literature. Four years after the event, Milbourne published Featley's *Cygnea Cantio,* a work which detailed the unusual circumstances in which Elton's book had been suppressed. Elton was, as Featley described, an orthodox, conformist divine with an unblemished record, nor had his previous works caused any controversy. So, Featley was rightly 'confident that there was nothing contrary to the discipline or doctrine of the Church of England' in the first fifty-two pages of *God's Holy Mind* which he had perused.[6] Having passed through Featley's hands and having been published and sold with license, the book was called in and the publisher Milbourne was imprisoned. In a note to the reader attached to *Cygnea Cantio,* Milbourne explained further that 'I had taken from me almost nine hundred bookes, bound an in quires, which (with my Imprisonment, and other charges) cost me above threescore and ten pound', an extremely sizeable sum for a business which operated within slender profit margins. The book was not simply suppressed however: the copies seized from Milbourne were publicly burnt, 'the greatest holocaust that hath beene offered in this kinde in our memorie, for ought I know', Featley recalled.[7]

As Featley later conceded, there may have been certain unorthodox, perhaps even *puritan,* Sabbatarian views expressed in the pages which he had not read. There might, therefore, have been a legitimate reason for the calling the book in, but when Montagu's two books had received licenses despite being condemned both by parliament and the leading divines of the Church, it seemed an unusual step. Nor did it explain the extremity of the response, both in terms of the economic sanctions imposed upon the publisher and the public execution of the book itself: an extraordinary measure rarely implemented in early Stuart England. What, therefore, explains such exemplary punishment?

The answer lies with the publisher Milbourne. After having been released from prison and his books having been summarily burnt, Milbourne was assisted by 'his good friends for some good Copies', that is *books* to publish, 'that would have helped to make me whole againe, (if they might have passed freely without checke or rub).' But Milbourne soon 'found, to my great disadvantage that the Informer, who so persecuted M.*Elton* after his death, held on his course to calumniate the writings of my friends living, and to procure them either to be altogether suppressed or to be so gelded and mangled,

[6] D.Featley, *Cygnea Cantio* (London, 1629) [STC 10731], p.4. Elton died, it seems, as Featley was reading the manuscript for *God's Holy Mind.* Featley later claimed that he read no further than the first fifty-two pages, judging it indeed to censor or license the rest of the text posthumously.
[7] Featley, *Cygnea Cantio,* p.5. Such instances were extremely rare: see D.Cressy, 'Book Burning in Tudor and Stuart England', *Sixteenth-Century Journal,* Vol.36, No.2, (2005), pp.359-374.

that the sale of them therby was very much hindred.' The as yet anonymous *informer* was, Milbourne continued, not 'content to doe me and my friends this wrong while he hovered here about London for such preyes, but since his flight into the *North,* he triumphed and boasted at the table of a great personage, that *he had procured* Pelagius Redividus *to be called in, and utterly suppressed; and that 300 of them were taken from the Printer.'*[8]

The informer in question was almost certainly John Cosin, who had left London following his appointment as Archdeacon of the East Riding of Yorkshire in 1625. He was, as we have seen, a close collaborator with Montagu, charged with the task of guiding Montagu's pamphlets through the press and with impeding the production of those books which opposed them. In one of his many letters to Cosin on the subject, Montagu wrote Cosin to 'forgett not this masked Puritan' and 'if it be possible, to have some exemplary punishment inflicted on him.'[9] The 'masked puritan' in that instance was probably Daniel Featley and punishment was likely the suppression of *Pelagius Redividus* which Milbourne had referred to. It demonstrates Montagu and Cosin's willingness to weaponize the licensing system, and specifically *post-publication censorship,* to achieve their aims. To be sure, Montagu was deeply critical of Elton's *God's Holy Mind* too. 'The Dr's Braynes', he told Cosin, must have been 'made of the papp of an apple that would allowe such stuff to the press.' Whilst he was pleased that the books had been publicly burnt, he lamented that 'they are not burned that made the books.'[10] Given the internal evidence provided in *Cygnea Cantio,* and the external evidence of Cosin's role in suppressing other books, it seems entirely likely that he was the informer to whom Milbourne referred, and that he had engineered the exemplary punishment of Elton's book to undermine the publisher whom, as we may recall, Montagu had already identified as 'that knave' who was the chief publisher of the 'libels' against him.[11] Milbourne's case was an isolated example at this stage, but it demonstrates the willingness of the Laudian clergy to weaponize the licensing system as and when they were able.

Seen in this context, 1626 does represent a turning-point, as Tyacke has argued, in the direction of the English Church; perhaps as important as the alteration in ecclesiastical policy, however, was the change in the climate of licensing and censorship.[12] The shift in temperament is perhaps most clearly evinced in the personnel who undertook the task of licensing. Abbot's chaplains, Daniel Featley and

[8] Ibid., pp.39-40, my italics.
[9] Cosin, *Correspondence,* I, p.33.
[10] Ibid., p.60.
[11] Cosin, *Correspondence,* I, p.100.
[12] Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists,* p.180.

Thomas Goad, both of whom were key in orchestrating opposition to Montagu's tracts, had been the two primary theological licensers of the press. Up to 1626, they were responsible for at least six hundred authorizations, far more than any other licensers. But their dominance was already under threat: in that same year, Featley issued twenty-five licenses, Goad twenty-two, and Worrall, who had licensed *Appello Caesarem,* accounted for nineteen. By 1627, the situation had shifted dramatically: Featley was responsible for two, Goad one, and Worrall thirty-three.[13]

Changes in the licensing landscape were typified by the Royal Proclamation in 1626 'for the establishing of the Peace and Quiet of the Church of England.'[14] The proclamation, Tyacke argues, was understood by the Laudian clergy to mean 'the banning of Calvinism from press and pulpit', but here we can provide a more circumspect interpretation: the aim was not to prohibit *all* Calvinist literature, but to target the stationers who were directly intertwined with the political efforts to oppose the growth of Laudian power within the Church.[15] This was, at least, Prynne's retrospective reading of events, writing in 1646 that Laud, in seeking to 'set up *Arminianisme',* introduced changes to the licensing landscape 'under a specious pretence of silencing both sides: by which policy hee inhibited all writing, preaching and disputes against it, and quelled the opposite *Anti-Arminian* party.'[16]

We need not rely on Prynne, however. That it was used to target anti-Arminian works was clear from the proclamation's inception. Issued the day before the dissolution of parliament, it was immediately set to use to as a pretext for the suppression of the eight 1626 pamphlets we highlighted in the previous Chapter, all of which had received sponsorship from leading figures within the political and ecclesiastical establishment. All eight tracts had formerly received a license too but, as Prynne wrote, 'no sooner was the Parliament ended, but...these Bookes were suppressed by this Bishops [Laud's] meanes.' One of Henry Burton's pamphlets (probably *A Plea to an Appeale*) was even 'taken tardie in the Presse as it was a printing.'[17]

This pattern continued in the run-up to the 1628 Parliament. In 1627, for example, Burton's *Baiting of the Papal Bull,* received a license from Abbot's chaplain, Dr John Jeffrey (who later claimed not to have seen the epistle), was registered with the Stationers' Company on April 26 and thereafter printed by William Jones. In less than a month, on May 20, the masters and wardens of the Stationers'

[13] Towers, *Religious Printing,* pp.174-175.
[14] Larkin, *Stuart Royal Proclamations,* Vol.II, pp.90-93.
[15] Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists,* p.167.
[16] Prynne, *Canterburies Doome,* p.160.
[17] H.Burton, *A Narration of the life of Mr Henry Burton* (London, 1643) [E.94[10]], p.4.

Company were instructed by the Privy Council to seize all copies of the texts and arraign the writer, printer, and publishers.[18] The same was true of Prynne's *Perpetuitie of a Regenerate Man's Estate* which, as Prynne testified before the House of Commons in 1628, 'was allowed, and yet at a second press was taken away from him.'[19] It was, therefore, still possible for anti-Arminian texts to pass through the press with a license, but that did not mean that they would be allowed to circulate freely. Religious conflict was being replicated within the licensing system itself, between pre- and post-publication censorship. Writing to Bishop Williams on Burton's publication, Denzil Holles astutely observed the contest between Abbot and Laud's licensers: 'what Canterbury stopps from the press, London letts go' and vice-versa.[20]

The balance of power, however, was already tilted in favour of the Arminians, a situation compounded when Laud formally assumed responsibility for London licensing as Bishop of London in 1628. The series of anti-Arminian pamphlets produced in combination with the parliamentary assault on Arminianism in 1628 were all printed without license because, as Henry Burton, who wrote six of them, stated, 'none could be obtained.'[21] When Michael Sparke presented the petition to parliament with which we were earlier acquainted, he 'sayd that he had offered *Conflicts and Comforts of Conscience, Babell noe Bethell, Lewis his Legacy'* and the *'Golden Spur to the Celestiall Race*' to Laud's chaplain and newly-appointed member of the High Commission, Dr Thomas Turner. In the latter case, Turner 'made him crosse out: that a man could be certen of salvacion' and, ultimately, given that neither *Lewis his Legacy* nor *Golden Spur* survive, refused both a license. And, Sparke recounted, Turner and the licensers further suppressed Prynne's *God noe Imposture* and his pamphlet *Against Drunkennes*, neither of which were overtly anti-Arminian pamphlets, and seven sermons by the late Bishop Lancelot Andrews. Again, the publisher Sparke was imprisoned and financially sanctioned: 228 copies of Prynne's books were taken from him, along with 225 of Andrews' sermons.[22] As Sparke reported to the Commons, the situation, which had been navigable in 1626 and 1627, was now drastic: 'he [Sparke] says now that Dr Worrall is the only allower of books, and he takes sometimes 5l a book...and sometimes a beaver hat, and he restrains other books without any cause (as Mr Burton's

[18] PC 2/35/396.
[19] Notestein, *Commons Debates*, p.151.
[20] P.Seddon (ed.), *Letters of John Holles, 1587-1637,* Vol.II (Nottingham, 1983), p.352.
[21] Burton, *Narration,* p.4.
[22] Prynne, *Canterburies Doome,* pp.191-194.

book, which a book of conflicts of conscience), *only for the author's sake'* and 'that poor printers and their children are undone.'[23]

Such was the case for the stationer Nathaniel Butter. In 1628, Joseph Hall, the Bishop of Exeter, attempted to publisher *The Reconciler* as a means of vindicating himself from accusations of Arminianism, and appended two letters to the text to this effect. The licenser, Turner, expunged the two passages and forbade their publication. When 'Nathaniel Butter...perceiving these two letters not only extreamly mutilated, but made altogether uselesse, and his Booke less vendible by these Purgations...adventured to print these expunged passages in them', he 'was apprehended...committed Prisoner...to the Fleet, without Baile or maineprize', Butter's books were seized 'and there almost ruined, only for printing those two deleted Passages.'[24] And the same was true for Sparke's associate William Turner at Oxford, who almost certainly printed Nathanuel Carpenter's *Achitophel*, an allegorical work with thinly-veiled attacks on the king's new counsellors. The book was 'presently called in, and all the Passages against Arminanisme expunged by this Bishops [Laud's] Agents.'[25] It was reprinted the following year by two of Laud's favoured printers, Humphrey Lownes and Robert Young, with the passages against Arminianism removed.[26] Whilst Sparke and Prynne protested 'that the Stationers and Printers generally complained, that they could get no good Orthodox Bookes, but only Popish and Superstitious ones licensed', we can see here that Laud and his licensers' focus was highly specific; they used pre- and post-publication censorship to disrupt anti-Arminian pamphlet production, and used their powers to impose financial and physical penalties upon the printers and publishers of anti-Arminian material specifically.[27]

In light of the evidence, it is clear that Sparke and later Prynne's claims that *all* orthodox Calvinist works were barred from the press were exaggerated. But it is also difficult to sustain the conclusion of Mutchow Towers in his analysis of early Stuart censorship: that, 'since the policy itself was unclear, from these results it remains difficult to determine whether the Proclamation of 1626 was directed at either Arminian or Calvinist books or both and how successful it was.'[28] The problem here is one of perspective. Towers' focus on licit tracts, on what *was* allowed, excludes the dynamics of pre- and post-publication censorship. I would argue, therefore, that the predominant historiographical focus

[23] Notestein, *Commons Debates,* p.151, my itcalics.
[24] Prynne, *Canterburies Doome,* p.166.
[25] Ibid., p.166.
[26] N.Carpenter, *Achitophel, or the Picture of a wicked Politician* (London, 1629) [STC 4669].
[27] Prynne, *Canterburies Doome,* p.185.
[28] Towers, *Religious Printing,* p.188.

on what was allowed is far less useful for understanding the political parameters of licensing and censorship than what *wasn't*: or rather, what was allowed and then was subsequently swiftly suppressed. The licensing system had become highly contested and politicized. It had, in effect, been weaponized, but in a specific way. The aim was not to proscribe Calvinist literature as a whole, or indeed to promote only Arminian material: both well beyond the capacities of the state. Rather, Laud and his licensers manipulated both pre- and post-publication censorship to target a clique of stationers whom Laud viewed as key nodes in the illicit printing infrastructure of early modern England.

II Illicit Print Networks in Caroline England

Laud and Laudianism has generated a vast canon of scholarship over the centuries, which began almost as soon as his head had departed his body: so much, in fact, that we cannot assess it all here.[29] Much of the focus has naturally been placed upon the religious elements of Laudian policy and, whilst some attention has been given to the Laudian use of polemic and its relationship to the print trade, much less consideration has been given to Laud's relationship with illicit print specifically. Jason Peacey's thought-provoking article, 'The Paranoid Prelate', is a notable exception, but even he contends that illicit printing only really became a significant concern for Laud in the immediate period between 1636 and 1637.[30] This is somewhat surprising given the increasingly interwoven aims of illicit printers, publishers, and writers, and political factions within parliament witnessed throughout the 1620s. That the print trade had become increasingly contested terrain is clear from the battles to control the licensing system we have already discussed. That leading illicit printers and publishers were becoming more visible on the political stage, and that illicit print networks were intimately intertwined with anti-Arminian campaigns more broadly, was evident to those contemporaries who paid attention to the ongoings of parliamentary debate. It certainly would not have escaped Laud's keen political senses, as his targeting of those same printers and publishers in 1626, 1627, and 1628 attests. By participating so

[29] Anthony Milton provides a fantastic analysis of Laudian scholarship in his 'Arminians, Laudians, Anglicans, and Revisionists: Back to Which Drawing Board?', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* Vol.78, No.4, (2015), pp.723-741.
[30] J.Peacey, 'The Paranoid Prelate: Archbishop Laud and the Puritan Plot' in B.Coward, J.Swann (eds.), *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe: from the Waldensians to the French Revolution* (Ashgate, 2004), pp.113-114.

prominently in anti-Arminian politics, men like Sparke and Jones had marked themselves as potential threats to nascent Laudian authority.

This is significant because it exposes an important yet neglected dynamic of Laudian policy. Laud has often been condemned as a paranoiac by contemporaries and later historians alike, charged with an almost-obsessive determination to root out and suppress his perceived opponents: the brutal public mutilation of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, emblematic of his tyrannical approach. What we will show here is that their punishments were not an instantaneous reaction, however, but the culmination of a decade-long investigation into the contours of the illicit print trade itself. Using the sources Laud left behind in the wake of his investigation, the remainder of this Chapter traces Laud's enquiry in order to demonstrate both the extent and sophistication of illicit print networks in early modern England; the concerted efforts made by Laud to discover and dismantle them; and to explain the legislation he devised as a lasting solution to the problem.

The first investigation into illicit print networks, which began when Laud officially assumed responsibility for the licensing of the London press in 1628, elicited little. Henry Burton was arraigned and through his testimony the authorities discovered that he had given one of the four texts he wrote to William Jones, and the other three to Michael Sparke, claiming somewhat disingenuously that he had expected that they would take responsibility for securing a license.[31] It seems that Sparke and Jones may have attempted to do so, but the hardening of the licensing landscape in conjunction with Laud's new position as Bishop of London made licit publication of anti-Arminian material extremely difficult: in his later *Narration,* Burton stated that 'none [licenses] could be obtained.'[32] Burton, it transpired, had also figured personally in the distribution of the texts, having 'given to diverse of his frends...one hundred [copies] of each and not above yt.'[33] This, in itself, is intriguing. If we assume a print run of 1000 to 2000 copies of a given text, a figure which as we shall see seems to be standard, then Burton's hand-to-hand distribution may have accounted for a significant total of the distributed copies; if Burton's 'diverse' friends numbered as many as five or ten, each receiving 100 copies, we might assume that hand-to-hand distribution, channelled directly through Burton's friends and acquaintances, was the primary method of distributing this cadre of 1628 tracts. This, again, coheres with an image of hostile conditions within the print trade at the time, but it also exposed the persistence of personal webs of

[31] SP 16/119/85.
[32] Burton, *Narration,* p.4.
[33] SP 16/119/85.

connectivity through which illicit texts could be circulated covertly, even without the aid of professional distribution channels.

This furtive method of distribution seems to have worked, at least in the short-term. For it seems that none of Burton's 'frends' were identified and, although Sparke and Jones were caught, the other printers seem to have survived undetected. The authorities had failed to extract from Sparke the names of the printers to whom he had turned over the works - Thomas Cotes, Elizabeth Allde, and Bernard Alsop. And they had failed to connect the Burton publications to a further three anonymous anti-Arminian tracts which Sparke and Jones had also been involved with: Peter Smart's explosive *Sermon* against John Cosin, probably printed by Jones himself, Prynne's *Brief Survey and Censure of Mr Cosens*, which had been printed for Sparke (probably by Thomas Cotes), and the anonymous production of Walter Raleigh's *Prerogative of Parliament,* at least one version of which has now been identified as the work of Thomas Cotes's press - and therefore almost certainly at the behest of Sparke.[34]

Nor, indeed, did their arraignment deter Sparke and Jones who continued to produce illicit tracts unabated: in 1629, a further eight anti-Arminian pamphlets were produced, the majority of which were published during the course of the second session of parliament in which both Sparke and Jones played a visible role; the latter two were responses to two printed attacks upon Burton by Hugh Cholmeley and Robert Butterfield, both of which had been printed by the Laudian authorities' go-to printers Miles Flesher, Matthew Lownes, and Robert Young.[35] Immediately following the dissolution of parliament, Burton, Jones, and Sparke found themselves before the High Commission again, this time accompanied by the printer Augustine Matthews and the stationer Nathaniel Butter.

Burton had once more turned to his point-men and 'deliverd the copie of the booke The seven vyalls to Will[ia]m Jones' and the other 'Babel noe Bethel to Michael Sparke', 'to procure them to be licensed', so he claimed, and 'soe to be printed & published.'[36] And, once again, Jones and Sparke eschewed the licensing process and printed and distributed the books illegally. At the same time, Jones

[34] P.Smart, *A Sermon Preached*, W.Prynne, *A Brief Survey and Censure of Mr Cozens* (London, 1628) [STCC 20455], W.Raleigh, *Prerogatives of Parliament*.
[35] R.Butterfield, *Maschil* (London, 1629) [STC 4205], H.Cholmeley, *The State of the now-Romane Church* (London, 1629) [STC 5144]. The eight pamphlets were: H.Burton, *The Seven Vials* (London, 1628) [STC 4155], H.Burton, *Babel No Bethel* (London, 1628) [STC 4136], H.Burton, *Truths Triumph over Trent* (London, 1629) [STC 4156], T.Spencer, *Maschil Unmasked* (London, 1629) [STC 23073], W.Prynne, *God, No Imposter Nor Deluder* (London, 1629) [STC 20460], W.Prynne, *The Church of Englands Old Antithesis* (London, 1629) [STC 20457], Anon., *Anti-Montacutum* (London, 1629) [STC 18040], J.Hall, *The Reconciler* (London, 1629) [STC 12709a].
[36] SP 16/142/68.

'printed and published without any license a book called Masquill unmasked', a text written by Thomas Spencer, a linen draper of Burton's parish in Friday Street, *probably* at his behest. Matthews, meanwhile, was arraigned for printing Prynne's *Antithesis of the Church of England,* or at least 'a great part thereof', with full knowledge of its lack of license.[37] Butter was summoned for publishing the unofficial version of Joseph Hall's aforementioned, *The Reconciler,* printed *without* the expurgations of the licenser. This was perhaps the most interesting case of them all. As we have discussed, Laud's chaplain Thomas Turner had expunged the passages from *The Reconciler* which the author, Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, had included to relieve himself from the charges of Arminianism which had been brought against him. Butter was well aware of the circumstances and 'confesseth that he caused to be printed some passages of the book here men[ti]oned w[hi]ch the licenser did not allowe of and w[hi]ch the author thereof had in part crossed or blotted out w[i]th his owne hand.' Clearly, therefore, Butter had made a concerted decision to print the text whole, ignoring the input of both licenser and author. He had, he told the High Commission, 'resolved that the judgement of twoe reverend Bishoppe[s] in writing the sayde Passages was to be regarded more than the licensers opinion.'[38] It was, in short, a direct act of defiance against censorship which he deemed to undermine the religious orthodoxy of the Church. In order to get the work printed, Butter repeated a tactic which he had utilised in the publication of pro-Bohemia pamphlets almost a decade earlier. He 'delivered the copie thereof to one Mr Stansby', one of Butter's regular printers, 'and assured him that it was all lawfully licensed' and authorized: 'soe Mr Stansby takinge yo[u]r word went forward with the impression.'[39] By outsourcing the copy to a reputable printer like Stansby, Butter may have hoped that the pamphlet would enter into circulation without attracting attention, becoming indistinguishable with the "official", censored version of the text. It represented another method of circumventing a hostile licensing system.

The Commission's investigation this time exposed a further of layer of information about the illicit print network: not only were some of the auxiliary printers identified, but so too were the number of copies and glimpses of where these copies went *after* they had been printed. Jones, for example, printed between 1000 and 2000 copies of *Babel no Bethel,* and the same range for Spencer's *Masquill Unmasked.* Matthews printed between 1000 to 1500 copies of Prynne's *Antithesis* 'and after' he 'had soe printed them [Matthews] delivered them away in sheetes to the sayd Mr Prinne or such p[ar]ty as he sent for them.' This 'party' was almost certainly Sparke who was accused of having 'caused...to be

[37] SP 16/141/21.
[38] SP 16/142/37.
[39] SP 16/141/21.

bound and stiched' between 200 and 1500 copies and, 'to hasten the sale of them,' had put the book out to another printer 'besides the sayd Augustine Mathews.'[40] The printer, according to the STC at least, was Elizabeth Allde, but she remained anonymous for the time being, since Sparke 'conceaveth that he is not bound by lawe to reveale' his printers.[41]

Burton still played an important role in the distribution of the pamphlets. The High Commission charged Burton that 'with yo[u]r own hand [you] did distribute abroade [to] sundry persons to the number of 200 copies respectively.' Hand-to-hand distribution, therefore, worked in close proximity with vendors like Sparke to quickly disseminate copies of illicit texts, but it also gives a sense of how hand-to-hand distribution functioned. The High Commission further charged that, in the process of delivering the books, Burton did w[i]thall by word of mouth declare unto sundry' that Hall was 'a favourer of the papist religion.'[42] In another instance, we find that one copy of Burton's *Israel's Fast,* was 'brought by Mr Sellers a proctor of the Arches now dwelling in London to Lecester' and, accompanying the pamphlet, Sellers 'brought in a libel in written hand scandalous to his Ma[jes]t[i]e by name and also to the state, mentioning that things could not fare better so long as the king imployed such men as hee did': a reference to the recent Laudian ecclesiastical appointments which was echoed in *Israel's Fast* itself.[43] Sellers, possibly a William Sellers who was formerly domestic proctor to Bishop Bridgeman, was not the originator of the libel.[44] He had heard that 'it was caried to a great man of parliament to bee the publisher of it', who had 'said that being parliament time hee was not bound to give accompt of when hee had it.' Sellers himself confessed that he had 'had the writing to one Markham a goldsmith' and from there had carried it from the capital to Leicester.[45] Not only do these examples give us a deeper insight into the ways in which hand-to-hand distribution might convey a text through multiple owners across the social spectrum, it further demonstrates how the transferral of illicit texts combined with more fragile and transitory forms of sedition like speech or libels, provided a conduit for sharper, more dangerous messages.

[40] Ibid.
[41] SP 16/142/28.
[42] SP 16/141/118.
[43] SP 16/211/106.
[44] For more on Sellers, see B.Quintrell, 'Lancashire's ills, the king's will and the troubling of Bishop Bridgeman', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* No.132, (1982). For Sellers connection to Bridgeman, see Staffordshire Record Office, D1287/18/2 [P/399/1B), *Letter to Williams Sellers from Bridgeman,* 22nd January 1633.
[45] SP 16/211/81.

For our wider investigation, these 1629 examinations are important because they demonstrate what the authorities knew *and* what they did not. It was clear, for example, that they had begun to unravel another layer of the proverbial print underground onion: they had identified at least two more nodes in the printing network in Butter and Matthews, established an understanding of the general quantities of illicit pamphlets being produced, and had begun to solidify their conviction that the trade in illicit print was being undertaken by a relatively tight-knit circle of key printers and publishers. Stansby, for example, despite being identified as the printer of the unofficial *Reconciler,* was not brought before the High Commission. Instead, they focused their efforts against those they conceived to be committed members of the network, those, they charged, who 'have bene often advised & admonished...within this paste yeare...not to print or cause to be printed nor to binde stich or sell any unlawfull or unlicensed books.' They had all 'bin heretofore severall[y] convented' before the High Commission and had been 'severally advised, exhorted and admonished' for this behaviour. 'Neverthelesse', the Commission continued, 'you...have and doe continew in these exorbitant courses incorrigible' and 'will not be reformed.'[46] And they had further (correctly) identified Sparke as *the* chief organizer amongst them, at least based on the exemplary treatment he received. He had already 'indured a hard imprisonm[en]t' since April 2, weeks *before* his examination, and was recalled before the High Commission a month or so later alongside Butter and Burton to undergo further questioning.[47]

There were, however, still significant gaps that they had yet to fill. The High Commission could not extract from Sparke the name of the other printer(s) of Prynne's *Antithesis,* despite repeated attempts to do so, nor did they have any real grasp of how the books were distributed once they had been printed and afterwards bound and stitched at Sparke's behest, beyond the limited copies Burton circulated to friends. Most importantly, they appeared unable to establish links to the other pamphlets of 1629 which were once more very likely organized by the Sparke-Jones network. The anonymous *Anti-Montacutum* (identified by the STC as a Bernard Alsop production), Prynne's *God No Imposter* (printed by Allde), and the unofficial version of Nathanuel Carpenter's *Achitophel,* which like Butter's version of *The Reconciler* had been reprinted without the licenser's expurgations, all seemingly escaped rigorous prosecution – probably because the High Commission lacked the evidence to do so.[48]

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[46] SP 16/141/21.
[47] SP 16/142/28.
[48] Anon., *Anti-Montacutum* ([London], 1629) [STC 18040], W.Prynne, *God, No Impostor, Nor Deluder* ([London], 1630) [STC 20461], J.Hall, *The Reconciler* (London, 1629) [STC 12709a]. See *ODNB,* 'Nathanael Carpenter, 1589-1628': the 1628 edition, which was recalled, does not seem to have survived but an early edition (possibly the same) was printed in Dublin. N.Carpenter, *Achitophel* (Dublin, 1627) [STC 4668.5].

In 1630, the investigations continued as Sparke was once again summoned before the High Commission, this time alongside James Boler, Nathaniel Butter's sometime business partner Nicholas Bourne, and a young Henry Overton: he would become a leading bookseller of radical texts in the 1640s but was, at this point, an apprentice to Mrs Shefford. The examination, however, was unusual. In this instance, the High Commission charged that 'yow or some or one yow caused to be imprinted w[i]thout license' a 'scandalous book...entituled "Romes Ruyn", wherein are sundry passages taxing not only ye wholl state but also some p[ar]ticular Bishopps and p[er]sons of eminent place in the church.' They collectively 'caused to be imprinted 1500 or 1000 [copies] at ye least' and each received 100 to 300 copies to sell.[49]

There was nothing unusual in finding these particular stationers involved in the publication of a pamphlet critical of church and state, but their responses did not follow the usual pattern. Each repeated the same story. Overton came into possession of the pamphlet, he claimed, when 'a little before March...last [1629]', 'a packett of the book ar[ticu]lated', around 20 to 30 copies, 'were left w[i]th his boy at his shopp in Popes head alley' by a 'strange Porter' whilst Overton was away. Bourne likewise contended that 'about halfe a yeare synce a Porter left with a servant' of his a packet of books. Boler repeated Bourne's story, that in his 'absence from home' copies 'to the number of forty and noe more...were left at his house w[i]th his maydservant by a Porter.'[50] Sparke's account followed the exact same narrative.[51]

Each denied any knowledge of the author or who had sent the texts, but Overton added that 'about two monthes agoe twoe men in the habit of saylors came to' Overton's shop 'and demaunded mony of him for the forsayde book.' Overton enquired who had sent them, they did not answer, and Overton refused to hand over any money until 'he might knowe whoe sent them.'[52] Sparke himself had received a mysterious 'noate without any mans name unto yt wherein he was advised to place *Christs Confession and compliment* formost.' Sparke claimed that, upon 'peruseing it [the text]', he 'found the same to be dangerous and as he believeth unlicensed and did thereupon forthwith bring the residue of the sayd p[ar]cell of the book[s]' to the registry of the High Commission.

[49] SP 16/205/148.
[50] Overton, Bourne, and Boler's answers are provided in SP 16/162 f.31, SP 16/162 f.21 and SP 16/158 f.14 respectively.
[51] SP 16/158/66.
[52] SP 16/162/31.

Doubts about the provenance and author of the two texts, however, had not prevented Sparke from selling the majority of the books, which 'in his absence' his servants had sent to 'divers of his Chapmen in Oxford & Salisbury', albeit, so he claimed, without his knowledge.[53] The same was true of Boler whose servants, he maintained, had also sent them 'to some chapmen in the Country' but 'he coming home and after perusall of the sayde book findeing it to be scandalous would not suffer any more of them to be vented.'[54] Both Overton and Bourne also admitted to selling the pamphlets despite harbouring reservations about the texts.[55]

The case of *Romes Ruyn* and *Christs Confession* is a peculiar incident.[56] If we take Sparke et al at face value, it suggests that they were specifically targeted for their reputation, willingness, and ability to successfully distribute illicit pamphlets through their pre-existing channels of sale without asking too many questions. If, however, we read this as a pre-rehearsed, fabricated story designed to shield their involvement in another incidence of illicit pamphlet distribution, it suggests that Sparke, Boler, Overton, and Bourne were in alignment with wider, potentially overseas printing networks, if Overton's remark about men in 'the habit of saylors' holds any significance. This was not, as we shall explore later, an unlikely conclusion. Again, however, it hints at another layer in the network: that is, the wider distribution of illicit texts beyond the confines of London.

Further information arrived shortly after in 1631, when Sparke and Boler were (again!) brought before the High Commission with the Oxford printer and Sparke associate William Turner on account of their suspected roles in producing and distributing Prynne's *Lame Giles his Haltings* and to revisit the distribution of Prynne's *Antithesis*. By now, the authorities were confident that Sparke and Boler were at the centre of events, but still remained vague about the specifics, framing the third article against them in extremely loose terms: that the *Antithesis* and *Lame Giles* 'were printed or caused to be printed by yow or some or one of yow or w[i]th yo[u]r privityes and consent or w[i]th ye privityes of yow or anie of yow.' This, in the terminology of modern police dramas, might best be described as *fishing*. They were more certain, however, that 'yow...had and received divers and sundry of ye same bookes and have stiched or bound them and sold them.'[57]

[53] SP 16/158/66.
[54] SP 16/158/14.
[55] SP 16/162/31, SP 16/162/21.
[56] The book(s) in question are probably: I.P, *Romes Ruin* ([Netherlands?], 1629) [STC 19072] and I.P, *Christs Confession* ([Netherlands?], 1629) [STC 19069].
[57] SP 16/190/124.

All that could ultimately be gleaned from the examination was to identify four more chapmen involved in Sparke and Boler's wider distribution networks. Sparke sent copies to his chapmen, Solomon Turner and Richard Jennings, in Oxford and Cambridge, whilst Boler sent copies to his chapmen, James Ireland and Robert Saunders, both of Cambridge: a very minor development, but nothing more.[58] The Commission found no concrete evidence to tie Boler or Sparke to the production of *Lame Giles* and could extract no more meaningful information about *The Antithesis;* both of which, according to the STC, were partly or wholly printed by Elizabeth Allde's printing house, almost certainly at the behest of Sparke who published all of Prynne's works. It gives a sense, nonetheless, of the slow and arduous efforts of the High Commission to unpick the threads of the illicit print network, and the success on the part of Sparke and others in shielding its full extent from the searching glare of the authorities.

A major breakthrough came in 1633 with the trial of William Prynne for his *Histriomastix,* a work ostensibly written against stage plays but which was widely read as an attack upon Queen Henrietta Maria and Caroline court culture more broadly. At the trial, Lord Richardson memorably denounced it as a '*Monstrum horrendum informe ingens,* a most huge, scandalous, infamous, and seditious lybell against the Kinge and Queene, such as the eye of man never sawe, nor the eare of man ever heard. It is scandalous to all the people of the kingdome.'[59] Whilst it hardly justified such feverish notoriety (a reminder that sedition lies in the eyes of the reader), *Histriomastix* represented a powerful pretext to conduct a far-ranging investigation into the networks behind its production and an opportunity to target some of the primary protagonists engaged in the illicit print trade.

Histriomastix had, it transpired, a long and complex history, but what matters for us here is the knowledge the authorities acquired in the course of their investigations. Firstly, it confirmed their suspicions that Michael Sparke was a key component in illicit print networks and that he was a close conspirator of William Prynne's.[60] Secondly, they were able to bring Elizabeth Allde and Thomas Cotes to trial for their role in printing *Histriomastix* alongside William Jones: two nodes in the network which had thus far proved elusive.[61] Thirdly, the authorities gained a much deeper insight into the extent of Sparke's wider distribution operation. As the Privy Council registers show, the investigation enabled

[58] SP 16/190/124.
[59] S.R.Gardiner (ed.), *Documents Relating to the Proceedings Against William Prynne in 1634 and 1637* (London, 1877), p.20.
[60] Sparke was fined 500li and forced 'to stand by Pryn' in the pillory 'with a booke in his hande, readye to deliver to the hangman to burne': Gardiner (ed.), *Documents,* p.20.
[61] Despite this, all three were acquitted, 'noethinge beinge proved against them'. Ibid., pp.17-18.

the authorities to search and examine 'the remembrances and accounts of the said Sparkes,' from which they were able to glean 'how manie of the said bookes were dispersed into everie of their hands whose names are underwritten.' The Privy Council instructed searchers 'to make diligent enquirie and certificate of all those to whom they [Sparke's booksellers] have solde or dispersed any of the said bookes' along with 'the names for all those to whom they have dispersed any of the said bookes.' It further empowered the searchers to warn them that 'a strict accompt shalbe required of them, wherein they must expect to be charged with concealing of so manie as they shal not discovered to have been vented abroad to others.' This was an immense and surely impossible administrative task, but was nonetheless indicative of the desire of the authorities to utilize *Histriomastrix* as an opportunity to unravel Sparke's illicit distribution network. If the searchers had managed to extract the names of every single person who had bought a copy of *Histriomastrix,* and it seems unlikely booksellers would keep written records of the sale of illicit material, it has unfortunately not survived. But the list of booksellers to whom Sparke *had* sold copies of *Histriomastrix,* does survive.[62]

It reveals a vast network of fifty-seven names and the locations of their shops. Thirty-nine were London-based; familiar names like Milbourne, Boler, Overton, and John Dawson feature, but it also includes a huge number of others, spread across the various parishes of London, many of whom do not appear in the official records of the Stationers' Company and therefore occupied ambiguous roles on the periphery of the print trade. It also provides the names and locations of eighteen booksellers outside of London. There were eight in Sparke's home county of Oxfordshire alone and a further ten spread across the country in prominent urban centres; 'Mr Thomas' of Bristol, 'Mr Hammond' of Salisbury, 'Mr Dight' of Exeter, 'Mr Burrell' of Dorchester, 'Mr Camson' of Norwich, 'Mr Whaley' of Northampton, 'Mr Woller' of Manchester, 'Mr Clarke and Mr Jennings of Ludlowe', and 'Mr Steele' in Nantwich. Nor was this the full extent of Sparke's network: conspicuously absent are Sparke's chapmen in Cambridge, whom the High Commission had already identified, nor are there others like Peter Ince, bookseller of Chester, who would later become implicated in Sparke and Prynne's networks.[63]

[62] Gardiner (ed.), *Documents,* 'Extracts from the Privy Council Register', pp.58-60.
[63] There is a lack of research about regional booksellers in early Stuart England. Matthew Steggle's research on the Hammond dynasty of Salisbury bookseller as part of a forthcoming monograph project provisionally entitled, *Shakespeare in Salisbury, 1603*, will be a welcome addition to this space. I owe thanks to Dr Steggle for sharing some of his initial findings with me.

The ‘Sparke Papers’ gave the authorities their first real glimpse of the scope and scale of Sparke’s network: a nationwide infrastructure, which linked together a chain of provincial booksellers to printers in the capital and facilitated the rapid dissemination of illicit material. It confirmed Laud’s perception that illicit print, and the distribution networks which supported it, was a serious problem that required a lasting and meaningful solution.

Whilst the contours of the Sparke’s networks were now more readily defined, it was still unclear what happened to illicit texts once they had been distributed to provincial booksellers. The lack of surviving evidence pertaining to the print trade in the localities hinders our attempt to reconstruct these networks further, nor is there anything to suggest that the authorities managed to penetrate these networks any further than Sparke’s accounts allowed. There are, however, some scattered and fragmentary pieces of evidence.

One such fragment is drawn from October 1634, when one William Lynne wrote to Laud to complain of his refractory Essex neighbours. Foremost in Lynne’s complaint was ‘Mr Thomas Cotton of Bergholt neere Colchester’, a brother-in-law of Prynne and Burton’s fellow author, Dr John Bastwick, and a renowned ‘great depravour of government.’ He was also, Lynne revealed, a notorious collector of illicit pamphlets, ‘in whose study (I dare saye) all the discontented Bockes and Speeches invective against the Church and State that have bin published old or lately ar knewe to be found.’ From this we might assume that, like the more famous library of his namesake Sir Robert Cotton, those wishing to access such texts might come to Cotton directly to peruse his collection. But Cotton himself was also known to propagate these texts and (at the time) illegal news reports in public. ‘He maintaines’, Lynne wrote, ‘some pevish intelligencer in London weekly to send him the newse of the time w[hi]ch he usually reades in the streete every markett daye att Colchester’ and ‘about whom the zealants [sic] thronge, as people use where Ballate[s] are sunge.’ Here we can glimpse once against the interrelation of different forms of dissent: in Cotton’s case, illicit pamphlets, news, and public readings, which replaced the traditional but nonetheless *political* act of ballad-singing, intermingled to form a public politico-cultural act of criticism. It was one which, if Lynne’s reports are true, was popular with the hotter brand of Protestants who ‘thronge’ around Cotton as he performed his public readings. But they were also connected to another form of public space, the pulpit. Cotton had, on at least one occasion, invited Henry Burton (whose works presumably rested in his library) ‘to his howse’ and there ‘preached a seditious sermon att his privat Church.’ It ‘pleased him [Cotton] so well, as he caused him to preach

the same sermon upon a Lecture daye att Colchester' where Burton 'delivered itt openly in the pulpitt.'[64] This is a small example but one which nonetheless shows how illicit print formed part of a broader culture of dissent, one which we might expect to have been replicated in other *zealous* market towns across the country, and one which was driven by influential local figures like Cotton. Illicit print was thereby a key component in a range of media strategies whereby 'invective against the Church and State' was increasingly discussed in public fora, be it the physical marketplace, the pulpit, or the virtual public space of print.

A second instance is revealed in the investigation into the celebrations held at Chester to welcome Prynne as he was being transported between Caernarvon Castle and Mount Orgueil in Jersey, following his public mutilation for illicit printing in 1637. There, Archbishop Neile's informant John Cestrien reported, he was 'entertained...by foure factious Citizens (as I heare) w[i]th great solemnity.' The 'first one', who greeted him on the outskirts of the city, was Calvin Bruen, 'a silly but very seditious fellow who hath lately been sheriffe of that citty.' Another was John Aldersley, an alderman of Chester: the other two were the stationer, Peter Ince, and his brother Robert, a hosier, who had already been formerly punished for refusing to remove his hat during a church service. Cestrien suggested that the men be brought before the High Commission in York as 'it may bee good for example to others of yt straine.'[65]

In the course of the investigation, it quickly became apparent that this was not a fleeting visit nor indeed a restrained and solemn gathering of five seditious men. Prynne had been paraded 'up and downe upon ye walls of ye Citty, & from shop to shop, and from house to house.' If, Neile told Bishop Bridgeman of Chester, 'his being here was for any longer tyme then a nights lodging, and away, it is to be presumed, it was done by compact and of purpose.[66] The quick discovery and punishment of those involved was imperative, Cestrien thought, for it 'affronts the state to give such countenance to soe infamous an Enimy of both the church and Comonwealth.'[67] This was a view shared by the Archbishop who informed Bridgeman that it 'could not be otherwise taken then as an affront to the proceeding of the state that had twise censured him; and a kinde of iustefying of Prin in that for w[hi]ch he was censured': that is, the writing of illicit and seditious texts.[68]

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[64] SP 16/276/134.
[65] Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 [P-399, 5b-7b].
[66] Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 [A93, Part 1, Letter 7].
[67] Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 [P-399, 5b-7b].
[68] Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 [A93, Part 2, Letter 1].

Three other prominent 'Chester men', Peter Lee, William Trafford, and Richard Goldbourne, were identified as organizers and it was soon discovered that Prynne's parade was accompanied by wider forms of dissent.[69] First, there was the sermon preached, presumably, on the morning of Prynne's arrival, on the subject 'of the affliction of God's children', a topic no doubt carefully chosen. At the inn 'where Prin was lodged', 'there was an assembly at prayers the morning that Prin went from Chester'; and there was discovered 'Pulford the Painter', intriguingly described as 'both Painter and Poet', who had produced (at least) five portraits of Prynne.[70]

By February 1638, six months after the event, it had become clear that print was, or had been, a catalyst in the dissent. As Neile stated, 'yt hath been made manifest to us by their owne confessions [the ringleaders], yt they had seene some of ye seditious libells [of Prynne's, and presumably others,] and yt they did know how Prin had been punished & censured by ye state for them.'[71] Furthermore, one of the ringleaders, Peter Ince, was identified as a key distributor of illicit material: 'wee have no other stationer in ye City', Cestrien reported, 'yett no puritanicall bookes [are published] but yo[u]r Citizens get them as soone as any w[hi]ch I suppose come by his meanes.' Calvin Bruen had, for example, purchased Alexander Leighton's *Sion's Plea,* a book for which Leighton also received corporal punishment, 'as soone as Dr Laytons booke...came forth.' Clearly, then, Ince had been providing illicit texts to the locality since at least 1628 when *Sion's Plea* was published.[72]

Ince was by no means a shadowy figure, however. He was a regular signatory of the churchwardens accounts for Holy Trinity church in Chester; his son, like William Jones', received a £5 yearly exhibition to study at Oxford, and his family were well-established and prominent participants in city politics.[73] Ince's shop itself was situated directly under the mayor's office.[74] It seems unsurprising, therefore, that Bridgeman complained 'of ye backwardnesse of ye Maior & Alderman of Chester' in assisting the investigation, nor that Cestrien warned Neile that Ince's stock of illicit pamphlets 'will hardly bee discovered unles by his owne Answere upon his oath', suggesting that Ince

[69] Ibid., [Letter 3].
[70] Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 [A93, Part 1, Letter 8].The description might suggest that Prynne's portrait was accompanied by a verse libel written by the painter. The pictures themselves were 'sacrificed to Vulcan' (i.e burnt publicly), and have not survived: Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 [P-399, 5b-7b].
[71] Ibid., D1287/9/8 [A93, Part 1, Letter 3].
[72] Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 [P-399, 5b-7b].
[73] J.Mawdesley, 'Clerical Politics in Lancashire and Cheshire during the reign of Charles I, 1625-1649' (University of Sheffield, unpublished PhD thesis, 2014), p.91, Cheshire Record Office, ZA/F/14/35.
[74] Cheshire RO, ZCHD/6/8.

had the political contacts to forewarn him of any plan to search his shop.[75] Indeed, after Ince and Thomas Hunt were due to give public penance, in which they were to confess that they had performed their actions 'Audatiouslie & wickedlie', conspicuously left out the word 'wickedlie', the Mayor Thomas Throppe, who had promised Bridgeman to give a speech denouncing the pair, 'spake not a word': a telling indicator of his own political sympathies.[76]

It also transpired in the confession of Ince's wife that 'her husband hath beene of ancient acquaintance with Prin, for when he was in the tower of London upon his first censure, for his Histriomastix, this Peeter Ince visited him a prisoner there.'[77] There were others, too, who were complicit in the distribution of illicit pamphlets. There was 'one Greene of Congerton, whom we find to be deepe also in Prins busines' and 'Bostock', a lawyer of the Inns of Court, one who 'hath horne enough to run w[i]th all ag[ain]st eccl[es]ia[stic]all authoritye...as ye best.' Bostock 'was more inward w[i]th Prin then any others' and Cestrien did 'veryly beleeve there hath bin no libellous or scandalous bookes published either from beyond sea or printed in England for div[ers] yeares but hee hath gotten it & dispensed it.' He was, like Ince, 'of long acquaintance w[i]th Prin, ere hee wrote his libells' and may have 'afforded him some help therin.' And, like Thomas Cotton of Bergholt, Bostock was involved in other cultural acts of dissent; 'hee hath bin a great Conventicker as his neighbors affirm' and was 'a great expounder of Scripture in private familyes & a follower of seditious Ministers at exercises as they call them.'[78] Another, one Thomas Smith of Manchester, was also brought before the consistory court in York shortly after, for selling 'diverse Scottish, and other schismaticall bookes', as well as for various other acts of nonconformity, and may also have been bound in this regional network.[79]

These examples give us a sense of how illicit print functioned in the provinces and how it interacted with established patterns of dissent. David Como's most recent research has demonstrated how opposition to Laudian policy organized in the provinces through 'micro-communities', linked together by bonds of personal, political, or business affiliation. Here we can see how illicit texts served to foster and sustain these communities, interacting with and generating other forms of media. In Ince's case, at least, those same micro-communities utilized their local power to protect and promote the local

[75] Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 [A93, Part 1, Letter 7], D1287/18/2 [P-399, 5b-7b].
[76] Ibid., D1287/18/2 [P-399, 5b-7b].
[77] Ibid., D1287/9/8 [A93, Part 2, Letter 10].
[78] D1287/9/8 [A93, Part 2, Letter 10], D1287/18/2 [P-399, 5b-7b].
[79] Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1638/113. See also Mawdesley, 'Clerical Politics', p.126. Presumably the same Manchester bookseller Thomas Smith later provided evidence for Thomas Edwards' civil war hit-piece against Independency and Congregationalism, *Gangraena*: see A.Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2004), pp.149-150.

dissemination of illicit print: Ince's shop, and his stock of illicit texts, were shielded from discovery by the support of prominent figures within City government.[80] Ultimately, it supports the view of the authorities that Sparke's organized and sophisticated infrastructure formed the backbone around which these micro-communities sprung, creating publics in the same way that illicit writers invoked them in the texts.[81]

III The 'North Sea' Underground

Perhaps the most explosive and certainly the most well-known episode of illicit printing came in 1636 and 1637 with another rash of pamphlets explicitly attacking Laudian innovation, for which Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick received their infamous public mutilations. The most widely commented feature of these pamphlets were that they were almost all printed overseas in the Netherlands: editions of Burton's works were printed by J.F Stam at Amsterdam, as were five of Prynne's; a sixth, *Quench Coale,* was probably also printed there by the 'master of libells', John Canne, whilst Bastwick's tracts were primarily printed by the English printer James Moxon at Delft and the Leiden printer William Christiaens, aided by the English stationers Benjamin Allen, Overton's neighbour, and William Jones's neighbour, Matthew Simmons.[82] Only Prynne's *Brief Instructions* was printed in London by Elizabeth Allde's apprentice, Gregory Dexter and William Taylor, along with several pages of a 'scandalous epistle', part of a larger work they claimed not to have seen.[83]

Stephen Foster, in particular, has placed great emphasis upon this episode to assert that illicit English-language pamphleteering was largely, if not solely, a Dutch-based enterprise: by the late 1630s, Foster writes, 'Puritan printing had become a virtual monopoly of the Netherlands.'[84] This, I would argue, overlooks the close relationships which bound Dutch printing houses with the established illicit infrastructure for pamphlet distribution in England which we have already outlined. For, whilst there are many colourful anecdotes of the hand-to-hand distribution of these pamphlets, the vast majority of

[80] One of Sparke's other booksellers, Peter Whalley, for example, had similarly strong connections to local politics: see T.Hasker, 'Peter Whalley and the Northamptonshire Godly Community 1634 – 1656' (UCL, unpublished MA thesis, 2019).
[81] For Como's depiction of radical micro-communities, see *Radical Parliamentarians and the English Civil War* (Oxford, 2018), particularly pp.23-49.
[82] Sprunger, *Trumpets,* p.119.
[83] By far the best account of the production process, relied upon here, is Como, *Radical Parliamentarians,* pp.25-49.
[84] S.Foster, *Notes from the Caroline Underground* (Hamden [Conn.], 1978), pp.75-76.

books were shipped across in bulk using well-refined smuggling networks. As Matthew Simmons himself confessed, merchants were central in the process: 'the ship masteres...[are] all so giltie that I know not who to name...There is not one that I know but bring over anie prohibbeted gooedes.'[85] They were so skilled and 'practised' at it, Simmons claimed, that 'nothing comes amisse.' How did they acquire such skill? To repurpose a phrase from the modern detective's handbook, instead of following the money, we should instead *follow the bibles.*

J.F Stam was one of the most well-established printers of English-language books in the Netherlands and especially of English bibles. In 1633, for example, he conducted the printing of a large edition of the Geneva Bible in English, which had been funded by the merchant Thomas Craforth, a central financier of illicit English-language texts in the Netherlands since his support of the "Pilgrim Press" decades before.[86] The same was true of William Christiaenz, an English speaker, who, in 1639 translated *Histriomastix* into Dutch and added a preface of his own devising. He too was heavily involved in the illicit bible trade and printed 1600 copies of another bible run funded by Craforth and his partner Thomas Stafford - both of whom were key backers of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick's tracts.[87] Craforth himself was later arrested for financing the *Brief Relation,* which detailed their suffering at the hands of Laud and circulated widely in England.[88] Moxon's edition of Bastwick's *Letany* was at least partially financed by one 'Mr John', possibly - Sprunger suggests - the merchant John Foote, who paid for the printing and shipping of 1000 copies of each of Bastwick's books, together with a pirated edition of Baillie's *Practise of Pietie,* and an edition of the Bible with unauthorized marginal notes in English.[89]

Who imported these bibles into England and distributed them? This was something the authorities had been keen to ascertain since 1630, when the Privy Council issued a warrant for 'making diligent serch for all such persons as of late have secretly printed or imported anie English Bibles, Testaments, Liturgies, and other Church-Bookes, which of right belong unto the saide Robert Barker both by Charter and Otherwyse.'[90] It was on the basis of this warrant that, in 1631, Barker had sent pursuivants 'to Bristoll and to York and other places' in search of illegal bibles, '& by virtue of the said warrant...found out divers bibles printed beyond seas and unlawfully imported and falsly and

[85] SP 16/387/79.
[86] Sprunger, *Trumpets,* p.112.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid., p.113.
[89] Ibid., p.159.
[90] PC 2/40/79.

fraudulently mingled and bound up w[i]th [authorized] English bibles.' It comes as no surprise to find that the owner was that 'most capitall offender', Michael Sparke, who seems to have had a storehouse in Bristol where he kept his illicit bibles before their onward distribution.[91] Sparke, however, did not relinquish his goods willingly. Instead he 'arrested the porter' who had seized the goods and sent a note to Badger personally, telling him to go the Compter where Sparke had conveyed the porter and to 'putt in bayle to an action' for taking away Sparke's property.[92] As Barker revealed in a subsequent petition, Sparke pursued further legal action, and 'hath lately p[ro]secuted suit at comon law, for seising of ye said Booke[s] and is ready to p[ro]ceed to a trial'; for Sparke, the importation of illegal bibles was one component for combatting a system which he perceived infringed upon religion, but also upon his economic and personal rights.[93]

If Barker's search for bibles in Bristol, York 'and other places' is indicative of the vast scope of the operation to import bibles, a further attack upon Sparke confirms it. In 1631, the authorities once more attempted to search Sparke's premises in the hunt for a book, a *Catechisticall Doctrine*.[94] This was by no means an unorthodox work and the reasons behind the orders for its seizure are foggy: either it was considered part of the 'Liturgies...and other Church-Bookes' defined by the Privy Council warrant, or it was used as a pretext to further proceed against Sparke. The aim of the searchers, at least, was to break into and search Sparke's 'warehouse' in Oxford. Sparke initially refused on the basis that 'he sayde there diverse Oxford mens books as Mr Crips [Henry Cripps, bookseller]' and 'Mr Turner.' Sparke ultimately relented, but when the searchers did finally open the warehouse doors, it was not the *Catechisticall Doctrine* they seized, but illegal bibles. In a further indication of the scope of Sparke's operation, the authorities tried to exercise the same powers to search another of Sparke's warehouses in Cambridge, but Sparke successfully refused, claiming that the warehouse, 'com[m]only called the Cambridge warehouse', was shared by six other partners in the Stationers Company.[95]

That Sparke was heavily involved in the importation of illicit bibles is not surprising. He possessed a formidable illicit distribution network and he had long-standing ties to leading Dutch printing houses, but for Sparke the enterprise also represented another terrain on which to combat the economic and religious injustices he perceived both within and without the print trade. In 1641, Sparke

[91] SP 16/182/109.
[92] SP 16/190/124.
[93] SP 16/185/13.
[94] L.Andrewes, *A Patterne of Catechistical Doctrine* (London, 1630) [STC 603].
[95] SP 16/190/72

penned *Scintilla,* in which he provided a detailed illustration of the ways in which bibles, church books, prayers, and other texts had been monopolized by specific printers in England in concordance with the authorities, and how prices had been subsequently manipulated for the enlargement of both.[96]

Over a decade before, Sparke argued, church bibles were sold for £1 10s but were now sold for £2, a price inflation 'raysed in every Book [of] 10s.'[97] The bible monopolists, the king's printer Robert Barker and his associates Robert Young and Miles Flesher (both of whom, we may recall, were chiefly responsible for the printing of pro-Arminian texts) had achieved this through a variety of means. Firstly, they had made an agreement with Andrew Hart, the leading printer in Edinburgh, that they would sell him bibles at a lower rate than in London on condition that he ceased his production of bibles in Scotland, 'whereby they might keep all priviledges to themselves, since which Robert Young and Miles Flesher, most commonly combined with the Kings printer here...so sunke the Printing-house there, so that now Scotland is destitute; and by this meanes Books are raysed to greater rates here, and there likewise.'[98] The same scheme, Sparke revealed, had been agreed with William Bladen, the chief bible printer in Ireland, 'so that he shall not Print but what list of their priviledge': thus, 'all must be bought at one place to serve three Kingdomes' and 'now al Scots printing of Bibles is taken away by Young and Fletcher, the two main projectors.'[99] It was for these reasons, Sparke implied, that he and others had taken to illegally (or legally, as Sparke saw it) importing bibles into England and why the authorities had been so concerned with suppressing them. Whilst a bible with no notes would cost 10s in England, 'there hath been at least 12000 of the Bibles Quarto with Notes printed in Holland', probably by Stam and Christiaenz, that are 'sold very reasonable: and many brought from thence hither', probably by Sparke and his network. Increasingly, however, 'they have been seised by the Kings printers, and the parties that Imported them, not only lost them, but were put in [Marginal Note reads 'High Commission'] Purgatory, and there glad to lose their Bibles and all cost to get off; and then the Monopolists sold them again, and so kept al others in awe.'[100] Not only did the monopolists control bible production, and 'all the Gospel' (other specific devotional texts), 'but also the Law', and grammar books. Here Sparke drew specific links between the monopoly control of the bible printing and the pro-Arminian thrust of censorship and suppression in the print trade as a whole. There is, Sparke argued, 'more punishment for selling a 4to Bible with Notes, then 100 Masse Books in the High Commission.'

[96] M.Sparke, *Scintilla, or, A light broken into dark warehouses* (London, 1641) [Wing S4818B].
[97] Ibid., p.1.
[98] Ibid., p.2.
[99] Ibid., pp.2-3.
[100] Ibid., p.3.

He concluded that such a monopoly 'picks the Subjects pockets, that eats brown bread to fill *sleeping Stationers* belly with Venison and sacke, and robs the Common-wealth in too still away.'[101] Economic and religious motivations were, therefore, intertwined; just as Laud's interest in suppressing imported Bibles served his religious policy *and* satisfied the financial interests of the printers whom the government relied upon to shape their public outreach, Sparke viewed bible importation both as a means to contest and counter unjust financial monopolies *and* as an extension of his wider pamphleteering mission to educate the reading public, spiritually and politically.

If the battle over bibles exposed another dynamic of the conflicts between illicit printers and the authorities, it also formed an important training ground for the widescale importation of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick's books: an experience which provided merchants, sailors, and publishers like Sparke with an intimate knowledge of the ways and means through which such texts could enter England undetected in large quantities. Some, like Robert Cockyn for example, picked their ports depending on the stringency of their security, taking 'his passage at the port where he thinks to find least security for his person and papers he carieth.'[102] Another method 'to Cozen the devill...' which Simmons described, 'is if they have anie prohibited goodes in theyre ship, then they strik upon the sandes at quinnebarrow and send away all theyre passingers and deliver all these prohibited goodes in some small boate or hige[hoy].'[103] Probably the most easily exploited means was 'by the negligence or falsehood' of searchers and customs officers, who frequently appear in the archives charged with corruption. The customs official John Egerton, for example, discovered 'five packs' of books containing 'Bibles...printed and brought from beyond seas, with the Book of common Prayer in English tongue.', which had been transported from Maldon, Essex, to the Crown Inn at Aldgate. Rather than seize the goods, however, he instead approached the importers – in this case, the stationer William Lee and his associate Thomas Cowper – and made a rather indecent proposal: if Lee paid him 50li a year, or 300li up front, Egerton would 'go to Temple Bar and buy a pair of spectacles to see no further than the length of his arm.'[104] It certainly seems possible that Egerton's case represents an extreme example of a common practice, developed over the years in the process of illegally importing bibles: entry through the barriers which stood between successful importation and seizure - customs officers, searchers, and port officials - could be bought.

[101] Sparke, *Scintilla*, pp.4-5.
[102] SP 84/153/30.
[103] SP 16/387/148.
[104] SP 16/261/189.

There is, therefore, a credible case to be made that Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick's books were imported using the same channels that had facilitated the illegal bible trade, and that these channels were rooted in the networks which underpinned illicit pamphlet production and distribution in England: transnational networks which stationers like Sparke, Boler, and Jones, had developed over the course of decades. Indeed, taking into account the relationships between printing houses and publishers on both sides of the Channel, the involvement of Dutch-based English financiers like Craforth and Stafford, and the huge range of intermediaries and logistical necessities which connected them – the merchants, ships' captains, customs officers, warehouses etc. – all point to the need to reappraise the scope and contours of illicit printing. Rather than define illicit printing as exclusively a Dutch- or English-based phenomenon, we should instead conceive of a much broader, more sophisticated, and durable network, which incorporated a web of individuals in multiple states: a network which we might reasonably call 'the North Sea' underground.

IV Creating the Star Chamber Decree of 1637

In late 1637, the Laudian authorities' investigations into illicit print networks materialized in law with the Star Chamber decree concerning Printing.[105] The decree has long been another bone of historical contention; Sheila Lambert, in particular, has argued that it was primarily driven by economic factors, devised and introduced largely at the behest of the Stationers' Company in order to address the bleak financial conditions which confronted many of its members in the late 1630s and to protect the monopolistic interests of its most powerful tradesmen.[106] The process by which the decree was drawn up, and its final composition, however, suggest that it was principally formulated to address the problem of illicit print: to confront the extensive infrastructure for illicit printing which his investigations had already revealed. Laud's aim was to create a comprehensive and lasting legislative solution, which would cement and extend the powers of the Crown and ecclesiastical courts over the print trade in order to restrict and ultimately dismantle networks of illicit printing, both domestically and overseas.

There are hints that, almost as soon as he had assumed his office as Bishop of London, Laud had taken step outside of the ecclesiastical courts to assert his authority upon the print trade. In 1628, he ordered the Masters and Wardens of the Stationers' Company to prepare a list 'of the names of such

[105] Anon., *A Decree of Starre-Chamber, concerning printing* (London, 1637) [STC 7757].
[106] S.Lambert, 'The printers and the government, 1604-1637' in M.Harris, R.Myers (eds.), *Aspects of Printing from 1600* (Oxford, 1987), pp.1-29.

booksellers in London as dealt in old libraries, mart books, or any other' and to 'bring in a catalogue of such books.'[107] This may appear, at first glance, a purely administrative measure, but it is telling that Laud also prohibited the sale of any of these books until he had first approved them. It was an order emblematic of Laud's concerted desire to gather and analyse information about the London print trade, and a recognition that the networks for the distribution of illicit print had many outlets: a sense which would be confirmed when Sparke's list of distributors for *Histriomastrix* would fall into his hands.

Nor did Laud forego an opportunity to pressurise printers he already knew were central in the production of illicit literature. Such opportunism can be seen in a 'List of the Master Printers of London', drawn up in Laud's handwriting, for contributions towards the repair of St. Paul's. There was seemingly little correlation between a printer's wealth and his contribution. Richard Badger, a leading government printer, paid nothing, nor did the king's printers Robert Barker and John Bill. Two more of Sparke's 'monopolists', Miles Flesher and Robert Young, were charged 21li between them, and John Haviland, who worked in tandem with Flesher and Young and who was one of the richest printers in the Stationers' company, paid only 10li: the same as the poor widows, Elizabeth Allde and Anne Griffin. Nicholas Okes, repeatedly involved in illicit print, paid 15li, Bernard Alsop and Thomas Cotes, both of whom had printed works against Montagu for Sparke and Prynne, were charged 20li each, and William Jones paid 40li, a sum double that of any other printer.[108]

The main process of drafting the decree itself began as early as 1635, when Laud ordered Sir John Lambe to conduct policy research into the history of the print trade and, in particular, to undertake 'a survey of the whole Company of Printers intending to establish such as shalbee thought meet to contynue in that Trade.'[109] The first in a series of wide-ranging notes prepared directly for Laud was a list of the Master Printers of the company, accompanied by Lambe's comments. Alongside the names of each of the printers were a variety of symbols, whose meaning is now mostly lost. There was, however, an 'X' placed next to six names: Okes, Jones, Alsop, Beale, Matthews, and Cotes, all of whom had been involved in some form or another in the print campaigns of the 1620s. All but Alsop and Cotes would be excluded from the list of twenty master printers, finalized in the Star Chamber Decree concerning printing in 1637.[110]

[107] SP 16/117/10.
[108] SP 16/175/110.
[109] SP 16/376/45.
[110] SP 16/307/143.

Next, Lambe prepared a detailed history of the printing houses of London and their transition from printer to printer across several generations, which stretched back into the sixteenth-century. It shows Laud's clear desire to gain a much deeper understanding of the mechanics and personal dynamics of the print trade, as well as his interest in specific printers: next to William Jones's press was a note which reads, 'William Jones hath taken a p[ar]tner to whom he intends to turne over all if [things] succeede not well in High-Com.'[111] The partner in question was Thomas Paine, who would rise to prominence as an illicit printer in the 1640s and who, despite repeated appeals, was also excluded from the final list of master printers.

Lambe also provided Laud with a thorough legislative history of the attempts to exert control over the print trade. Amongst his papers, we find a detailed set of 'notes on the prerogative power of the Crown to regulate printing', which stretched back to the first royal printing presses under Henry VIII.[112] There were systematic notes, too, of the Elizabethan licensing system which he had drawn from 'ye clearke bookes of Station[er]s hall.' Of particularly interest to Lambe were various Elizabethan clauses granting control of licensing to the episcopate: of 'pamphletts playes & Ballets', he noted that 'none shall print them unlesse lic[ensed] by 3 of ye Com[ission]ers for causes eccl[esiastic]all.'[113]

That control, and not economic concerns, were foremost in the minds of Laud and Lambe was further seen in Lambe's 'Notes for Journeymen Printers', written or delivered to Laud on June 14 1637. Although Lambe recognized that journeymen printers were currently suffering from chronic unemployment driven by the influx of foreign workmen, this was of paramount importance because of its consequent impact upon illicit printing: 'There hath no seditious pamphlet, been printed here in England, but some Journiemen printers, or printer hath or have been the directors therein.'[114] Solving the desperate economic conditions of journeymen printers was, therefore, directly linked to the effort to suppress illicit printing.

Lambe's final lists of Master Printers directly addressed this issue. The widow Anne Griffin, 'one them yt reprinted the holy Table', was to be replaced by her more conformable son. The same applied to the widow Mary Dawson, who regularly 'printed unlawfull bookes' but had recently married a minister of good means. Elizabeth Allde was omitted altogether, as were her son, Richard Oulton, and apprentice Gregory Dexter. Augustine Matthews, also 'taken printing ye holie table', was deemed 'a

[111] SP 16/307/145.
[112] SP 16/376/50.
[113] SP 16/339/198.
[114] SP 16/361/148.

beggar & unfitt': he was to be replaced by Marmaduke Parsons, the son of another conformable minister. Okes, who 'peticoneth yt he may leave his place to his sonne', was also removed and his son ignored. Jones, 'a printer of all unlawfull bookes', was also put out and his successor, Thomas Paine, deemed guilty by association. Of the final 20 printers, only Cotes, Alsop, and Dawson had significant connections to illicit printing: that they survived the cull is, in part, testament to their ability to have avoided detection in the preceding decades.[115]

That *control* took precedence over economic rejuvenation was further shown in exchanges concerning the earliest drafts of the Star Chamber Decree, copies of which Lambe and Laud had shared with the masters and wardens of the Stationers' Company. Whilst most of the stipulations aimed at illicit printing passed without comment, one important clause aroused considerable ire: 'that noe p[er]son...doe hereafter reprint or Cause to be printed any Booke or Bookes whatsoever (though formerly printed w[i]th license) w[i]thout being revewed & a new licensed obteyned for the reprinting thereof.'[116] On one of Lambe's drafts is written a comment on the clause, stating that 'it [is] impossible that Chaplaines should be able to read or presses have worke.' He proposed instead that only books 'to 30 yeares' or from the first year of James's reign, '& not since printed', should require renewed licenses.[117] A second draft, however, retained the clause as was. This time the Clerk of Stationers' Hall scribbled his concerns, insisting that it was 'conceived to be an Impossibility...and by this meanes the greatest number of presses must of necessity stand still.' Perhaps appealing to Laud's underlying motives, he warned that 'it will cause' printers and publishers 'to make them try all waies to have them printed...either by Stealth or in Corners here, or otherwise beyond the seas.'[118] To Laud, however, it represented a means by which to exert greater control of the print trade and, in particular, to rein in the reprinting of older texts, which were increasingly being repurposed and reappropriated for subversive ends.

The clause was ultimately included unchanged and the final document itself contains numerous clauses which directly addressed some of the means and methods that Laud had learnt were used to produce and disseminate illicit texts. The first clause, and several following, flatly forbade any stationers from printing, selling, importing, stitching, or having any involvement whatsoever, in any text to scandalous to the church, state, corporations, governments (both domestic and overseas) or

[115] SP 16/364/214. SP 16/376/39.
[116] SP 16/376/42.
[117] Ibid.
[118] SP 16/376/41.

particular persons at the risk of 'seveer punishment either by fine Imprisonm[en]t or other corporall punishment.'[119] It was, in short, a measure designed to tackle the fundamental threat of illicit pamphleteering: that is, the contestation of the public space in terms of contemporary political and religious events, the ability, in short, to engage in public politics.

Others targeted specific production, importation, and distribution tactics. Hence, we find a clause specifically aimed at the corruption of searchers and customs officers, like John Egerton: imported packages of books were no longer to be opened by customs officers or searchers, but instead only to be handled by those appointed by the Archbishop or Bishop of London specifically. In fact, no English language texts were to be printed or imported from overseas at all, ostensibly 'for the better encourageing of printers' domestically, but, as the clause went on, primarily for the 'prevenccon of divers libells pamphletts and seditious books.' A further clause added to the final version of the decree, possibly by Laud himself, further prohibited any 'stranger or foreigner...to vent here, any bookes printed beyond the seas...either by themselves, or their secret factors.'[120] Indeed, the *new* clauses which appeared in the final decree all suggest that the text was constantly being adapted to address the recent tactics of illicit print networks both domestically and overseas. We find, thus, a curious clause that 'noe Merchant Master or owner of any ship or vessell' was to land 'in any Port haven creeks or in any other place', a direct response to the tactic of running aground described by Simmons in his examination from the same year. We also find an addition in clause XXV, 'that for the better discovery of printing in Corners without license,' two wardens or master printers appointed by the Archbishop or the Bishop of London 'shall have power and authority...to search what houses and shops...they shall think fit especially Printing-houses.'[121]

Anonymity of ballads, portraits, and pamphlets was now utterly forbidden: all works were to contain the names of the author or maker, printer, and publisher. Approbation of the Stationers' Company or any other authority was not to be affixed to a text without explicit consent. Tradesman, shopkeepers, haberdashers and all others who had not served as apprentices to the Stationers' Company, were forbidden from selling books in London 'or in any other Corporacon markett towne or elswhere': a measure designed to protect the trade of established stationers, but also to curb the rapid dissemination of texts throughout the country. All twenty master printers were further 'bound with suerties' to the

[119] *Decree...concerning printing,* sig.B1r-v.
[120] *Decree...concerning Printing*, sigs. D4r-v.
[121] To see the differences between drafts and the final version of the decree, compare the printed version of the decree with Sir John Lambe's last extant draft: SP 16/376/29.

king for 300li not to print unlicensed texts and, as a carrot to the very large stick, the financial gains deriving from seized prohibited goods and equipment were to be split equally between the Crown and the searchers, or any other member of the Stationers' Company who had assisted them.[122]

Of the thirty-three clauses in the final decree, at least nineteen deal with the problem of illicit printing, publishing, importation, and distribution: many of them were explicitly designed to combat and legislate for the range of tactics used by illicit printers, publishers, and importers in the course of the preceding decades, of which Laud was now well aware. It seems difficult to concur, therefore, with Lambert's assertion that the Decree was primarily driven by economic concerns. Nor do I agree with Foster's critical assessment, that the decree brought 'the full might of the state to regulating the wrong people.'[123] Foster argued that the majority of clauses, which focused on domestic printing and distribution, were misplaced because he believed that the infrastructure of illicit printing was based in the Netherlands. Laud understood, however, that the challenge posed by illicit printing was transnational in scope, that the distribution networks within England themselves were extensive and sophisticated, and that, in order to tackle them, he had to – as Prynne would later describe - both 'enlarge his Jurisdiction' over the realm of print, and target the *individuals* who underpinned the network.[124]

To that end, in the run-up to, and in the months following, the publication of the decree, Laud brought the weight of the state to bear on several key players. Nicholas Okes was imprisoned, ironically, for printing a "popish" book. As Prynne later argued, this was a confected charge: Okes had, he claims, read over a text he was due to print and found several scandalous Popish passages, which he highlighted to the licenser. He was told to print the text in full, whereupon he was 'imprisoned divers Monthes almost to his utter undoing.'[125] The bookseller, John Bartlett, was arrested for selling Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick's tracts. He was unusually brought before the Privy Council, imprisoned for several months, and ultimately forced to abandon his shop amongst the Goldsmiths' on the basis of an arcane City regulation.[126]

Perhaps the most extreme punishment was reserved for Jones, whom Laud and Lambe had rightly identified as being the central printer of illicit texts in England. Throughout 1636 and 1637 Jones had been kept in and out of prison as he awaited the verdict of his drawn-out High Commission case.

[122] *Decree of Starre-Chamber,* sigs.G4v-H1r.
[123] Foster, *Caroline Underground,* p.63.
[124] Prynne, *Canterburies Doome,* p.515.
[125] Prynne, *Canterburies Doome,* pp.187-189.
[126] For Bartlett's travails, see SP 16/294/171, SP 16/374/24, SP 16/374/25, and SP 16/501/35.

He was, he claimed, effectively barred from his trade for the next '3 yeeres & 4 moneths whereby himselfe his aged wife & vi small grandchildren of his whoe were maintained by his Labo[u]r in his calling are in a miserable condicon.' Finally, in February 1640, he was fined an astonishing '2000li for printing seditious books, much derogatory to the church of England and religion.'[127] He was still being held in prison in May, when, in 'consideration' of his 'age and poverty', he was released upon condition that he 'never...print any more, nor directly or indirectly to meddle with the same.'[128] It had taken Laud nearly ten years, but he might have been justified in thinking in late 1637 that, through his targeted action and legislative means, he had dealt a significant blow to illicit print networks – a momentary feeling that was soon swept away by the tide of Covenanter propaganda which flooded England in 1638.

Laud has been a much-maligned figure in British historiography (and British history more broadly): a figure typified by psychological insecurity, fear, and paranoia according to Charles Carlton, described as 'self-possessed' by Thomas Cogswell, and most recently labelled 'the Paranoid Prelate' by Jason Peacey.[129] Without wishing to endorse the Laudian rehabilitation programme initiated by revisionist scholars in the 1980s, we should nonetheless recognize that Laud possessed a much greater understanding of the contours of the illicit print trade, and the threat it represented, than has heretofore been allowed. These two aspects of Laud are not mutually exclusive. If, as Peacey argues, 'Laud's paranoia lay not so much in perceiving a threat from Puritan ideas, as in his understanding of the collaborative nature of the Puritan movement', then his single-minded efforts to suppress illicit pamphleteering and his ruthless targeting of printers, publishers, and writers become much more explicable. Illicit print *was* collaborative, intersecting both with other forms of dissent and with broader political efforts in parliament. Heavy-handed though he may have been, the legal proceedings and legislative solution which he devised to counter this threat were based on a decades' worth of research and investigation and aimed at providing greater, centralized control over the print trade itself. Our analysis of Laud's approach towards illicit pamphleteering coheres with, and contributes to, the most recent assessments of Laudian and Caroline policy. In his study of Laudianism in early Stuart Ipswich, Millstone shows how the authorities focused 'on diminishing corporate power; or, more precisely, in subordinating local institutions to intermediate layers of control.' This, he argues, is emblematic of Laudian and Caroline projects more broadly. 'What we see emerging in the 1630s, then, was perhaps

[127] SP 16/324/2.
[128] SP 16/324/2.
[129] C.Carlton, *Archbishop William Laud* (Routledge, 1987), p.151, T.Cogswell, 'Underground verse and the transformation of early Stuart political culture' in Amussen, Kishlansky, *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1995), p.277, and J.Peacey, 'Paranoid Prelate'.

not merely a set of disconnected reform programmes but a particular Personal-Rule *reforming style*...a concern to reintegrate privileged localities into lines of vertical authority; and, above all, a careful attention to the geographies of power, to the ways that space and place could create, or close down, room for rebellion.'[130] As we have demonstrated in the preceding Chapters, the print trade was itself a space and place of potential power which could be, and was, harnessed to stoke or suppress dissent. In this light, Laud's legislation, aiming in many respects to both co-opt the Stationers' Company into supporting the regime and in integrating its regulatory responsibilities into the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, was more consistent and less haphazard than Foster and other critics have recognized. It may be considered an extension of the 'Personal-Rule *reforming style*' seen elsewhere which, whether it was well-conceived or not, had its own logical coherence. That Laud's solution failed – as the Covenanter propaganda campaign would soon demonstrate – was far more a reflection of the scope and enduring flexibility of the 'North Sea' underground than it was a judgement upon the 'paranoic' Archbishop of popular conception.

[130] N.Millstone, 'Space, Place and Laudianism in early Stuart Ipswich' in C.Kyle, J.Peacey (eds.), *Connecting Centre and Locality: Political Communication in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2020), pp.88-90. Andrew Foster has also argued that local Laudian initiative represented 'a coherent programme': see A.Foster, 'Church Policies in the 1630s' in Cust, Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in Early Stuart England,* p.216. See also B.Quintrell, 'The making of Charles I's Book of Orders', *The English Historical Review,* Vol.95, Issue 376, (1980), pp.553-572, which makes similar points.

Conclusion: The Afterlives of Illicit Print

I Covenanter Propaganda and Illicit Print Networks, c.1637-1640

Laud might have been forgiven for thinking that his legislative solution to the problem of illicit print, together with the targeted use of post-publication censorship, had been a success. He had, for one thing, eliminated perhaps the most important illicit printer of the past half century, as a petition to the House of Commons in late 1640s revealed. William Jones, a printer for all of fifty-four years, had, 'by the means of the Archbishop of Canterbury...ben deprived of his calling this 3 yeeres & 4 moneths whereby himselfe his aged wife & vi small grandchildren of his whoe were maintained by his Labo[u]r in his calling are in a miserable condicon & had p[er]ished for want before this tyme had not God moved the harts of charitable people to comiserate his condicon in his distresse.' Jones's appeal was never answered; it is possible, based on the extremely shaky hand that added the signature to the document, that he died before a decision could be reached.[1] And with Jones cast from the London scene, alongside Nicholas Okes, Augustine Matthewes, and others, illicit print production in London subsided in the wake of the Star Chamber Decree.

But in most respects, legislative action proved insufficient in combatting the wider issue. When the imposition of a new Prayer Book in Scotland aroused first public opposition, then the creation of a National Covenant, and finally the eruption of full-blown conflict, the flood of propaganda which emerged in support of the Covenanter cause exposed the fundamental weaknesses of Laudian legislation. It relied on the cooperation and consent of those engaged in the print trade and those who monitored it, and it was necessarily limited by national boundaries. Such weaknesses were already visible in mid-1637 when George Gillespie's *A Dispute against English-Popish Ceremonies* was re-printed at Leiden by William Christiaens, smuggled back into Scotland in large quantities before the English Ambassador William Boswell had caught wind of it, and from there distributed widely with little interference.[2] The mobilizing issue of the Prayer Book turned such episodes into an almost continuous cycle.

Laud's frequent personal correspondence with Johann Le Maire, a minister and former informant to Sir Dudley Carleton based in Amsterdam, reveals both his continued personal interest in silencing illicit presses, the inadequacies of the state's attempts to combat it overseas, and the resilience of the transnational infrastructure networks; the same networks which had served to disseminate both Thomas Scott's works and later Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick's, and which continued to produce Covenanter propaganda between 1637 and 1640. In October 1638, Le Maire wrote to Laud that he had 'hindred in the very the comming forth of two seditious and monstrouse bookes...A Worke of the Beast' and 'Wood Street Compters pleat [sic] for its prisoners', the first a narrative of John Lilburne's corporal

[1] SP 16/473/200.
[2] L.Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution: covenanted Scotland, 1637-1651* (Oxford, 2016), p.7.

punishment in February for his role in distributing the Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick books published by John Canne's Richt Right Press, the second written by Prynne's servant Nathaniel Wickens.[3] Three months later, Le Maire wrote with great delight that through his efforts a notorious seditious libeller and printer (presumably John Canne) had been banned from Amsterdam by the city's magistrates.[4] Disturbingly, however, Le Maire had found several copies of *A Brief Relation,* the unofficial account of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick's trial and punishment, which been translated into both Latin and Flemish.[5] Le Maire had looked for 'cet Escossois d'Edinbourg, pour qui ce livre a este imprimé' (*those Scotsman of Edinburgh, for whom the book had been printed),* but they had escaped. 'Ces maligns esprits', Le Maire wrote, had planned to translate the pamphlet into French and spread it 'r'emplir toute la france' (*to cover all France*), but were apparently intimidated by the hostile conditions in Amsterdam. The discovery of the Amsterdam variant did nothing to stop the publication. *Brief and True Relation* was also printed at Leiden by Christiaens, perhaps simultaneously and in huge quantities; there were 'dix mille exemplaires en Anglois' and 'trois mille...en flammande.'[6] Before Le Maire or the Ambassador Boswell could stop them, 'les Escossois' (the thus far unidentified Scots) had transported them to Scotland in 'milliers et centaines.' Another Prynne pamphlet, *News from Ipswich,* had also been translated into 'en nostre langue' (either French or Flemish) and disseminated widely. It was becoming abundantly clear that the interests of those who had published Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, and those of the Scottish Covenanters, were intertwined, and that the latter were utilising the very same printing networks which had sustained the former.[7]

Two months later, Le Maire had begun tracking another seditious libel, first printed in 1556; whilst he had been unable to find the printer, the financier behind its publication was 'that base and seditious fellow Thomas Craffort[h], who hath alsoe caused the true Relation...to bee printed' and who, though it may have been unknown to Le Maire, had also been deeply involved in the overseas' productions of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, the works of Thomas Scott, and the scandalous productions of William Brewster's "Pilgrim Press." They had once again searched for copies but 'can finde not one of them...soe that I beleeve that those coppies are sent into Scotland, before wee did knowe they were printed.' After five months of extensive effort, Le Maire had begun to realize one of, if not

[3] SP 84/156/256. J.Lilburne, *A Worke of the Beast* (Amsterdam, 1638) [STC 15599], N.Wickens, *Woodstreet-Compters Plea, for its Prisoner* (Amsterdam, 1638) [STC 25587].
[4] SP 84/154/312.
[5] J.Bastwick, *A Brief Relation* (Amsterdam, 1637) [STC 1569].
[6] SP 84/155/6. Bastwick, *A Brief Relation* (Leiden, 1638) [STC 1570].
[7] SP 84/155/6.

the, central problem in combatting the established infrastructure of the "North Sea" print underground: 'I finde by experience, that those evill-dooers, zeeing our Magistrates care to hinder them, *doe go to other cytties,* as for example [Hatch?], scotsman and lawer, who was here before, is gone to London, for to publish a libell, as I heare of the Scottish libertie, and to animate them.'[8] Le Maire suggested that a proclamation be made that 'no English booke should bee printed, before it was seene, and reade, by a learned man, that understands the tounge', but this kind of pre-publication censorship, just like elements of the Star Chamber Decree, depended upon the compliance of both the producers and overseers of print in order to function effectively.[9] It was akin to asking a burglar to inform the police of his intention to rob a house before he did so.

For their part, the magistrates of some Dutch cities paid at least superficial heed to the pleas of the English government: the State Papers foreign contain numerous city proclamations denouncing illicit printing and laying out appropriate punishments for doing so.[10] In May 1639, the magistrates of Rotterdam informed Ambassador Boswell in Latin that, after an extensive operation, they had managed to arrest the key financier Thomas Crafforth, whilst he was engaged in the publication of several Covenanters tracts.[11] Legislative action and the occasional arrest failed to suppress the overall operation, however. Le Maire wrote to Laud stating that in Amsterdam 'no body...dares sell or print any English books' against the ecclesiastical government in Britain but, he conceded, 'they goe to other places, and powder out their horrible poyson against their sacred majesty, and the English hierarchie'; 'yea they dare at Rotterdam', where Crafforth had been arrested, 'they dare, I say, hang before their dores the libell of: the beast is wounded, as I heare and sell it publicklie, as alsoe the 4 venemous and schismaticall libells of Bastwick.'[12] By December 1639, over a year after Le Maire had begun his reports to Laud, he felt confident in stating that the various proclamations and the efforts of Laud's agents had been so successful that 'none dares medle with any seditious kinde of libells more', a message echoed by another of Laud's informers Samson Johnson.[13] This proved only a brief respite: within a matter of months

[8] SP 84/155/79 - my italics.
[9] Ibid.
[10] See, for example, SP 84/155/102, for the 1639 proclamation of the city of Amsterdam against libels. The States of Holland had earlier decided that control of seditious printing was not the responsibility of the national government, passing a resolution instead that 'that every citty in his owne jurisdiction should bee carefull to hinder and suppresse the same.' See SP 84/155/136.
[11] SP 84/155/137.
[12] SP 84/155/93.
[13] SP 84/155/260. For Johnson's opinion, see SP 84/155/254: he believed that the proclamations had slowed illicit printing in the Netherlands, but not stopped it entirely.

another secret (and perhaps even more daring) press had sprung up, this time back in the English capital itself.

The Cloppenburg press, as it has been known, produced around eighteen titles, many of which were reprints of Covenanter pamphlets, original works designed to support the Scottish cause, or pamphlets by Prynne and Burton.[14] Whilst it was long believed to have been based in Amsterdam, innovative typographical and archival analysis conducted by David Como has demonstrated that the press was in fact based in London and was operated, as Como suggests, by the future Leveller, Richard Overton, possibly with the assistance of a young stationer, Peter Cole, who had served his apprenticeship under John Bellamy.[15] The press had strong connections to Michael Sparke and the broader illicit networks which had supported Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick. It had, Como contends, acquired at least some of its materials from J.F Stam, Sparke's bible-printing business associate in Amsterdam, probably with the intention to adopt the guise of a Dutch press, and collaborated with Sparke and the bookseller, Benjamin Allen (who had previously served in Christiaens' Leiden press), on an edition of Prynne's *The Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie*.[16] And it was clearly established 'with the Scots' cause in mind'. *The Intention of the Armie of the Kingdome of Scotland*, which laid out the aims of, and provided justification for, the Scottish army's invasion to the English public, was reprinted by the Cloppenburg press within a week of its original publication in Edinburgh, and was quickly found circulating in Cambridge, Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire, and Sussex.[17] Given its rapid and widespread dissemination, it seems highly likely that the Cloppenburg press made use of the ready-made illicit distribution networks which Sparke in particular had established in the preceding decades. Placed in context, the Cloppenburg press was an extension of, rather than external to, the formalized infrastructure of the "North Sea" print underground, another node within an expanding network of production and distribution centres across England, Scotland, and the Low Countries. Its emergence and success were testament to the flexibility and resilience of the 'North Sea' print underground, and a clear demonstration of the futility of the state's whack-a-mole policy of suppression. Though the authorities could at length shut down one printing house, another would soon spring up in its place.

[14] D.Como, 'Secret Printing, the Crisis of 1640, and the Origins of Civil War Radicalism', *Past and Present,* No.196, August, (2007), pp.40-41. Como's account provides the most extensive study of the Cloppenburg press to date.
[15] Ibid., pp.47-48, p.59.
[16] Ibid., p.46 fn 14, p.44 fn 10.
[17] Ibid., p.56.

Based on the evidence of the internal flow of Covenanter propaganda, it appears that the government were incapable of suppressing the distribution of illicit texts within England too. Covenanter pamphlets were found circulating both across a wide geographical range and throughout the social spectrum. In London, Robert Reade, the beleaguered assistant to the Secretary of State, was tasked with enforcing the government's ad hoc approach to textual censorship and found himself criss-crossing London to search houses, offices, and post-houses.[18] Reade's investigations yielded little, except to highlight the vast, informal personal networks of hand-to-hand distribution which grew around the formalized infrastructure networks of illicit print. Outside of the capital, the situation was much the same: reports from Lewes, Exeter, Newcastle, and Carlisle indicated that texts were circulating freely across the country.[19] At a meeting of Northamptonshire ministers at Kettering, 'a new book out of Scotland' was read and discussed which had been provided to them by the local Justice of the Peace himself.[20] In at least one instance from Braintree, the dissemination of pamphlets was directly tied to the main arteries of the illicit print infrastructure; there, a clothier Edward Cole, the brother of the Cloppenburg printer, Peter Cole, had been 'employed to spread the book and persuade the soldiers not to fight against the Scots.'[21] These scattered examples are indicative of the scope and scale of the low-level distribution of texts by 1640 and the difficulties the government faced in addressing wide-scale circulation *after* their production and importation.

And, whilst the surviving evidence might create an impression that the illicit distribution of Covenanter texts was a largely informal, disorganized process, what these examples suggest - and what Laud must have known from the information he received from the Low Countries and from prior experience - was that 'micro-communities' of distribution, as Como has termed them, were inextricably linked to an often-invisible but ever present infrastructure of illicit print production and distribution.[22] Whilst the centres of production might change in response to local legislative and investigative pressure, the nodes within the network, the methods and channels of distribution, and the personnel (for the most part) remained constant.

[18] For a sense of Read travails, see: SP 16/413/101, SP 16/413/138, SP 16/413/140, SP 16/413/239, SP 16/413/241.
[19] SP 16/145/119, SP 16/538/38, SP 16/413/10, SP 16/413/215.
[20] SP 16/465/16, SP 16/465/25.
[21] SP 16/465/6. For evidence that Peter Cole and Edward Cole were related, see first SP 16/465/8, then TNA, PROB 11/221/869 and PROB 11/318/716, the wills of the father Edward and brother Peter.
[22] See SP 16/418/99 and Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2/182 for further connections.

II The Genealogy of Illicit Print

This brief overview of Covenanter propaganda is important both because it highlights many of the central issues which we have explored in previous chapters and because it allows us to engage more specifically with the historiographical debates which have, in some respects, obscured a fuller understanding of illicit printing in early modern England.

The Covenanter print campaigns have been used as justificatory evidence in support of a number of views which have been prevalent in the historiography of the print and radicalism in the British Civil Wars. Chief amongst them is the idea, evoked most clearly by Joad Raymond, that the 'explosion' in print (and, in particular, illicit print) in 1640 'developed in part from a breakdown in the mechanisms that had hitherto been used to control the press.'[23] It has been one of the primary aims of this thesis to question whether such a statement can still stand. The episodes of illicit printing explored throughout this thesis show that 'censorship', if it should be conceived as such at all, was far more problematic than this statement allows and that, at the very least, Raymond's assertion merits significant revision.

Before we turn to a broader assessment of the 'censorship' question, let us first review two key pieces of statistical evidence which buttress Raymond's argument. The first is the rapid acceleration in the volume of pamphlets published from 1640 onwards, though particularly between 1640 and 1642. As we have seen in the first five chapters, illicit print campaigns were episodic but they were not spontaneous; the debates they raised coalesced around issues and events, the most important of which were parliaments, and the networks which underpinned the production of the texts themselves usually mobilized with these events firmly in focus. It is perhaps an obvious but nonetheless important point to make that, regardless of 'censorship', the most important factor in the 'explosion' of print in 1640 and the growth of print thereafter was the calling of the Long Parliament, the first in eleven years. This would also account for the relative stagnation in the volume of printed texts between 1628 and 1639 and the periodic spikes in production which preceded it, particularly evident in 1624, 1626, and 1628: each correlating with the advent of particularly divisive parliamentary sessions.[24] The second set of statistics which Raymond draws upon are the registration rates of pamphlets: his assertion is that the increase in registered, licensed texts 'contradict arguments that the book trade largely unregulated' and

[23] J.Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p.162.
[24] Ibid., pp.163-167.

that, in fact, it was experiencing greater regulation than ever before.[25] Whilst the latter statement may be valid, its conclusion presupposes that registering a text was a compliant act. As we discussed in the previous chapter, one of the most bitterly opposed aspects of Laud's reforms to the print trade was the stipulation that all books, even those formerly licensed, would have to be re-approved and registered. That alone may account for the increase in registration rates and in itself was not indicative of compliance to an increasingly over-bearing system, but an act of reluctance designed to protect stationers' rights to the profits of particular books - none of which has much relevance to the issue of 'censorship' in question.

The central assumptions here require clear evaluation: was there a "censorship" system? If so, what were the mechanisms by which it was enforced? And did those mechanisms really "breakdown"? One of the unifying threads which links the episodes of illicit printing analysed in this thesis is the absence of an organized, pervasive censorship system. After almost ten years of investigation and research, the Laudian response to the problem illicit print, and perhaps the only act which might resemble something approaching a 'system', was legislative: the Star Chamber Decree (concerning Printing) which was itself only introduced in late 1637 and which was fundamentally flawed by its reliance on the compliance of the stationers themselves and limited by its jurisdictional boundaries. As the Covenanter print campaigns attest, the 1637 Act achieved little in practical terms. Before that, as we have seen, 'censorship' was a problematic, subjective, and irregular process; it too relied on the compliance of printers, stationers, and, in particular, licensers. As we have seen, the licensing system could be navigated by men like Sparke who had gained years of experience in doing so. Even after 1628, when Laud's wholesale replacement of licensers created an entirely hostile environment for illicit texts, the system could still be manipulated - as was the case with Prynne's *Histriomastrix* - or sidestepped altogether. Pre-publication censorship, that is, altering or suppressing texts before they became public was almost entirely dependent on the compliance of printers, publishers, or authors themselves in seeking official approval for their texts; in rare instances, intelligence provided by leading stationers or informants might give the state forewarning of illicit works in motion but, as the correspondence between Laud and Le Maire demonstrates, such information usually came too late.

The effectiveness of post-publication censorship, that is, the suppression of texts after becoming public, was also severely constrained. In practical terms, once a text had passed from the formal channels of illicit distribution networks into the informal networks of hand-to-hand distribution, its

[25] Ibid., p.170.

circulation became extremely difficult to stop: scattered copies might be found here and there, but suppression of an entire print run was far beyond the capacity of any early modern state. And, in fact, much evidence suggests that attempts to do so were wholly counterproductive. 'Banning' a text gave it status and notoriety. In the case of George Gillespie's *A Dispute against English-Popish Ceremonies* mentioned earlier in this chapter, its illicit nature only made it more vendible and 'the mercatt the better for the stationer.'[26] The same effect can be seen in our analysis of the Marprelate tracts in the late sixteenth-century and in the attempt to stem the circulation of *Vox Populi* in 1620: to appropriate a modern idiom, *sedition sells*.[27] In reality, then, the only effective mechanism available to authorities was the targeted use of post-publication censorship heavily utilised by Laud during the late 1620s and 1630s: the use of legal trials to identify and punish printers and stationers which we discussed in Chapter 5. This mechanism did not stop the publication and distribution of illicit texts, but it dealt financial and personal damage to the individuals (and their businesses) whom collectively constituted the infrastructure underpinning illicit printing.

That there was no pervasive censorship system in early modern England (and, indeed, beyond England) was evident to contemporaries. In 1638, the Ambassador to the United Provinces, William Boswell, wrote to Laud informing him that he had received Coke's instructions 'in wynters last to deal w[it]h the States about suppressing of scandalouse books (carried over in great numbers into England)' and the 'punishm[en]t of the Autho[u]rs or Printers thereof.' The answer of the Dutch ambassador was simple: he deemed it 'to be an impossible worke.'[28] The reason for this was not the 'breakdown' of the censorship system or, indeed, the lack of one. One of the main aims of our analysis in the preceding chapters has been to trace and, where possible, reconstruct the networks through which illicit texts were produced and distributed. The result of this analysis has been to show, that over the course of just over half a century between 1588 and 1640, a small but growing cadre of printers, stationers, financiers, and political backers (together with a host of unseen collaborators - stitchers, hawkers, merchants, sailors etc.) developed a complex and efficient infrastructure through which illicit texts could reach wider publics. The failure of ad hoc efforts to suppress these texts was not so much a failure of government as it was a reflection of the sophistication, resilience, and flexibility of these underground networks by the late 1630s. These networks were transnational in scope, unlike the jurisdictional reach of the state, and linked communities of producers, distributors, and readers in Scotland, England, and the Low

[26] Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution,* p.24 fn 7.
[27] For a similar argument relating to ceremonial book-burning, see D.Cressy, 'Book Burning', pp.359-374.
[28] SP 84/154/113.

Countries. Whilst the overarching infrastructure may not have been actively managed, that is coordinated from above, it could be activated and organized: the cooperation between printing houses and distributors in the United Provinces and England in the dissemination of Covenanter propaganda being only one prolific episode amongst many examples. If we are to account for the 'explosion' of illicit print in 1640 and beyond, we need only adopt a different perspective to the problem: instead of viewing the issue through the lens of authorities, we should instead seek the solution in the development of the networks of individuals who produced the texts themselves. The 'impossible task' the state faced was the challenge of combatting the 'North Sea' underground.

This leads us on to a second major edifice in the historiography of illicit print in antebellum England. Historians of Covenanter propaganda have tended to view the overarching print campaign as 'instrumental in forcing changes in the London book trade that would become manifest in 1640-41, when London's press began to produce unprecedented numbers of pamphlets, many of them licensed.'[29] David Como identifies the 'project' and the role of Richard Overton's Cloppenburg press, in particular, as 'a milestone in the history of print and publishing.'[30] In 'terms of ideology, tactics, and personnel,' Como argues, the Cloppenburg press foreshadowed 'later, combative, forms of revolutionary puritanism' and the centrality of print to civil war radicalism.[31] Jeremy Black too contends that 'it was the Scottish use of the press, along with the creation of distribution networks by English sympathizers' which facilitated 'public discussion' of the issues of state which would come to dominate the socio-political discourse of the 1640s.[32] The arguments of Como, Raymond, and Black are not necessarily misguided; in many ways, the Covenanter print campaign was a 'milestone' in terms of its scale, but placed in the wider context of the history of illicit print, it is clear that their conclusions need modifying.

In light of the analysis of previous chapters, it is evident that the Covenanter campaign was not a novel phenomenon, but an escalation of the foundations which had been laid in the preceding decades. In terms of tactics and personnel, the Covenanter project was not wholly new but drew directly upon the pre-existing infrastructure we have outlined in previous Chapters. In examining the personnel specifically, we can derive a direct genealogy between the illicit printers of Jacobean and Caroline England and those who would go on to direct illicit (and semi-illicit) printing during the British Civil

[29] Como, 'Secret Printing', p.58.
[30] Ibid., p.57.
[31] Ibid., p.40.
[32] J.Black, ''Pikes and Protestations': Scottish Texts in England, 1639-1640', *Publishing History*, Vol.42, Jan., (1997), p.7.

Wars and the Republic which followed.[33] One of the key figures in the Cloppenburg press, Peter Cole, had served his apprenticeship under the publisher John Bellamy. Bellamy had began his career under the tutelage of Nicholas Bourne, the publisher and newsbook producer who had been central in producing pro-Bohemia pamphlets in the late 1610s and early 1620s, and for much of that period has been a member of Henry Jacob's gathered congregational church; in the early stage of Cole's career, he further relied upon John Dawson, another stationer involved in the anti-Spanish campaigns of the 1620s, as his printer.[34] Another publisher linked to the Cloppenburg press, Benjamin Allen, who had also served in Christiaens' Leiden press, served his apprenticeship under Bellamy too, and, working closely with one of the youngest members of Sparke's illicit network, Henry Overton, became a key distributor of scandalous material in the first years of the Civil Wars before his early death. His wife, Hannah Allen, continued and, in fact, deepened their engagement in illicit materials. She married their apprentice, Livewell Chapmen, who would become one of the most notorious publishers of the 1650s alongside Giles Calvert.[35] Overton's shop, adjacent to Allen's in Pope's Head Alley, also became a hub for radical print.

Thomas Paine and Matthew Simmons, who we also found working in Christiaens' Leiden printing house, both served their apprenticeships under John Dawson beginning in 1621 and 1624 respectively, at precisely the moment Dawson's printing house was (*probably*) engaged in producing some of Thomas Scott's illicit pamphlets. Together, Paine and Simmons' printing house 'became a nexus for the emerging radical puritan networks' which David Como expertly delineates in *Radical Parliamentarians.* As well as producing 'semi-official war-party print campaigns' in 1643, they produced much more explosive material, including Walker's *To Your Tents, O Israel,* the pamphlet famously tossed into Charles I's carriage as he passed through the streets of London in 1642.[36] And it was from William Jones himself that Paine acquired his first press and materials in 1637: it is, therefore, possible that some of the same materials that had produced anti-ceremonial works in 1605, Thomas Scott's pamphlets in 1624, and the works of William Prynne and Henry Burton, were still being used in highly seditious works during the early years of the Civil Wars. Alsop's printing house in nearby Grub Street continued to be a centre of scandalous material too, and he too played a role in developing

[33] The following information on apprenticeships is drawn from their respective entries in D.McKenzie, Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1605-1640 (Charlottesville, 1961).
[34] For more on Bellamy, see Como, *Radical Parliamentarians,* p.37.
[35] For more on the Allens, see M.Bell, 'Hannah Allen and the development of a puritan publishing business, 1646-1651', *Publishing History,* Vol.26, (1989), pp.5-66.
[36] Como, *Radical Parliamentarians,* p.38, 113, 183-188. For Simmons' connection to John Milton, see W.Parker, 'Milton, Rothwell, and Simmons', *The Library,* Vol.18, Issue 1, (1937), pp.89-103.

future scandalous printers. Robert Wood, another trainee at the Christiaens' printing house, served his apprenticeship under Alsop and John Harris, the pen behind perhaps the most seditious newsbook of the civil war period, *Mercurius Militaris*, began his foray into printing as an assistant, writer, and intelligencer at Alsop's press.[37]

Richard Oulton and Gregory Dexter, whom we have already discovered secretly printing Prynne's pamphlets in 1636, both served their apprenticeships at Elizabeth Allde's printing house (Oulton was, in fact, her son) beginning in 1626 and 1632, during the period in which Allde became more deeply involved in the networks of Sparke and Jones. Both Oulton and Dexter must have worked on several illicit projects, including Allde's part of *Histriomastrix* in 1634. Oulton and Dexter became key illicit printers between 1637 and 1642, working closely with the future printer-in-chief to John Lilburne and John Wildman, William Larner. Dexter, in particular, was 'London's boldest publisher of extreme puritan and parliamentarian material' and was instrumental in bringing John Milton's earliest tracts to light.[38] There may even have been a generational element in the hawkers who distributed such pamphlets throughout London. In 1645, one Rebecca Brown was questioned for selling John Lilburne's tracts: she, Como speculates, *may* have been the daughter of the Dorchester bookbinder, William Browne, brought before the High Commission alongside William Jones in 1635.[39]

Whether Browne's connection withstands further scrutiny or not, it is clear that by uncovering the layers of individuals who constituted the 'North Sea' underground of the first half of the 17th century, we can identify a clearly-defined genealogy of printers and publishers stretching well into the 1650s. It is unsurprising, therefore, that we should find the illicit printers of the civil wars utilising the same furtive tactics, the same methods of distribution, the same business networks, and the same penchant for publicity. The radical print networks of the 1640s were not new phenomena but webs of connectivity resulting from long-standing relationships, using learnt practises derived and cultivated from the training and experience gained during their early careers.

One of the central thrusts of this thesis has been to demonstrate and explain that the supposed 'explosion' of printing in the civil war period has been misconstrued. Far from being wholly new, the

[37] See my forthcoming article 'John Harris, the Oxford Army Press, and the Radicalizing Process during the British Civil Wars.'
[38] Como, *Radical Parliamentarians*, p.197.
[39] Como, *Radical Parliamentarians*, p.346. Jones, Browne, and another Dorchester bookseller, John Long, were all brought before the High Commission on May 5 1636, alongside Michael Sparke and another stationer, Bernard Langford: see SP 16/324/2.

development of illicit printing, and the tactics, methods, and personnel networks which contributed to it, was a long process which relied upon a growing cadre of stationers, financiers, and political backers, foremost amongst them the printer William Jones and the publisher Michael Sparke, and the apprentices who would replace them; a process of learning by experience, adaptation, and escalation in response to moments of crises throughout the Jacobean and Caroline periods. Seen through a long lens, the illicit print 'explosion' of the civil wars seems less unique, the tactics and methods less innovative, but ultimately no less remarkable. If, to borrow Joad Raymond's colourful analogy, the Covenanter campaign which began in 1637, was a powder keg, it has been one aim of this thesis to show that it had a very long fuse.

III Illicit Print and the Performance of Politics

The Covenanter publicity campaign was based on a series of shared premises and ideas which we have seen expressed in the discourse of illicit print from the Marprelate tracts and throughout the seventeenth-century.

The first, Sarah Waurechen suggests, was the belief that there was 'some sort of public sphere or network of publics in operation' in England, and that appealing to, and managing, public opinion was vitally important to political success: a premise which, Waurechen argues, 'enticed them [Covenanters] to rely so heavily on print.'[40] Secondly, 'Covenanter arguments allowed that anyone who possessed the requisite learning and godliness could enter any religious debate - either in Scotland or England': a reflection of the concept of the 'public man' first voiced in illicit print by Marprelate and then by Thomas Scott, who argued that it was the duty of godly commonwealthmen to engage in issues of church and state.[41] The third was an argument, also delineated at length by Scott, that ensuring the English publics were 'sufficiently inform[ed]' was the surest safeguard against the lies and misinformation of malignant presences within and without the body politic. As a leading propagandist for the Covenanter cause Robert Baillie wrote, his works were driven by the compulsion to 'give a testimonie to the undermyndit and oppressed trueth.'[42]

[40] S.Waurechen, 'Covenanter Propaganda and Conceptualizations of the Public during the Bishops' Wars, 1638-1640', *Historical Journal,* Vol.52, Issue 1, (2009), p.65.
[41] Ibid., p.70.
[42] D.Lang (ed.), *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie,* Vol.I (Edinburgh, 1841), p.242.

Within this framework, control of print was essential. One of the most striking aspects of the Covenanter campaign was the immediate emphasis which Covenanters placed on controlling access to print and the dissemination of it. As Stevenson has demonstrated, one of the Covenanters' first acts was to secure the loyalty of George Anderson, printer at the College of Edinburgh, and, at the same time, to force the king's printer to Scotland, Robert Young, who had printed the new Scottish liturgy, into exile in England.[43] As Robert Baillie acknowledged, it was '*our first care*...to send in a true Information to England of all our purposes', so that 'posteritie, seeing the true ground of our sufferings, may judge the more charitablie of all our proceedings bygane and to come in this great and deep action.'[44]

What followed was 'a highly creative and complex appeal to the public' utilizing multiple, inter-locking communication strategies: a multimedia approach including sermons, broadside ballads, choreographed crowd action, and scribal polemic.[45] The particularly vulgar reference in one scandalous verse to the Bishop of Edinburgh's 'backsyde necessitie', which shared much with the cruel visual mockery of Gondomar's irritable bowel condition on the frontispiece of *Vox Populi*, served as a reminder that public-spirited debate and the exposition of truth still worked hand-in-hand with scurrility and scatological humour.[46] The multimedia campaign was further supported by a petitioning movement driven by 'active collaboration' rather than 'direct instruction'; a semi-organic process which closely resembled the tactics and strategies of the anti-ceremonial campaign explored in Chapter Two and the anti-Spanish campaign described in Chapter Five.[47] It thus drew directly from the methods exploited in earlier episodes of large-scale public politics and, in claiming 'that their actions and words were aimed at restoring the integrity of a body politic that had been corrupted by unnatural influences', rooted its legitimacy in the justificatory arguments of illicit printers, publishers, and writers past.[48] This intellectual tradition began with Marprelate and, whilst it had shed much of its Martinist scurrility, it retained his central claim to the exposition of truth in the face of darkness; over time, and in particular in the works of Thomas Scott, illicit printers, writers, and publishers fashioned rhetorical and intellectual justifications for public incursions into the *arcana imperii*, and crafted a role for both the writers and readers of illicit texts as active and necessary participants in the maintenance and protection of the body politic. As Scott, Prynne, and Burton strove to show, writing and publishing an illicit text

[43] For more detail, see D.Stevenson, 'A Revolutionary Regime and the Press: The Scottish Covenanters and their Printers, 1638-1651', *The Library*, Vol.II, Issue 4, (1985), pp.319-322.
[44] Lang (ed.), *Letters and Journals*, pp.188-189, p.242.
[45] Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution*, pp.2-3.
[46] Ibid., p.18.
[47] Ibid., p.31.
[48] Ibid., p.5.

was not a seditious act but one of faith, designed to preserve the orthodoxy of the Church of England and safeguard the state against the pernicious designs of its enemies. By assuming the mantle of moderation, illicit writers distanced themselves from the Martinist taint and the pejorative associations of popularity, whilst maintaining their rhetorical stance as political outsiders, free from the corrosive miasma of central power. That illicit texts were so essential to the performance of Covenanter politics, and that the language so closely reflected the rhetoric of its predecessors, attests to the growing acceptance of these ideas within the mental landscape of early modern Britain. Examining the development of these ideas – the logical outcomes of the use of illicit print – from Elizabethan to Caroline England helps to explain the increasingly intimate relationship between print and politics in the civil wars *and* the increasing publicness of politics more broadly.[49]

As Laura Stewart observed, perhaps the most significant dynamic of public politics during the Covenanter campaign was that 'government control over the legitimate channels of communication and decision-making should, theoretically, have allowed leading councillors, clerics, and the king to regain the rhetorical initiative' but, despite being aware of the need to manage public opinion, they 'did not succeed.'[50] Robert Baillie expressed similar surprise that the government had not done more to counter Covenanter messaging despite its evidently inflammatory effect upon local publics: 'the whole body of the town murmurs and grudges all the week exceedingly. And who can marvel? Discourse, declamation, pamphlets, [are] every where' and yet, Baillie noted, there was 'no word of information in public or private by any to account of, used for the clearing of it [Covenanter propaganda].'[51]

Baillie's analysis has been shared by Cyndia Clegg too; in her broader assessment of the Jacobean and Caroline state's responses to illicit public communications, she contended that the authorities devised and adopted 'strategies of silence and silencing.'[52] The reality, however, is more complex and perhaps more illuminating. When Laud responded to the House of Commons' Remonstrance in 1628, declaring (on behalf of the king) that 'we are not bound to give an account of our actions to any but God only', he was not espousing a communications strategy so much as revealing a difference in perspective about the dynamics of public discourse and the ways in which politics should be conducted.[53] This is important to recognize because it shows that the development of public politics

[49] For an excellent analysis of the relationships between print, publics, and politics, see J.Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 2013).
[50] Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution,* p.41.
[51] R.Aiken (ed.), *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie,* Vol.I (Edinburgh, 1775), p.5.
[52] Clegg, *Press Censorship,* p.222.
[53] Laud, *Works,* Vol.6, pp.8-10.

across the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries was not a linear process but a highly contested one. Whilst, as we have demonstrated, a broad range of political networks and interest groups came to view public politics (through print especially) as essential, we have also seen that there were those at the centre of government who sought to re-establish the state's hegemony over public communication, its grasp over which had been loosening ever since the mass adoption of printing as a political tool during the Reformation. And the understanding that there were competing visions about the performance of politics, I would argue, is crucial in reconciling divergent branches of historiography which have stressed, on the one hand, a political tendency towards public politics and popular political engagement and, on the other, the centralizing tendencies of Laudian and royal policy within church and state, together with their ideological trappings.

It supports, in the first instance, a body of scholarship which has stressed James I's growing hostility towards *popularity*, a capacious category which in James's conception particularly concerned the impulse towards public politics.[54] One of the key aspects to emerge from our analysis in Chapters Two, Three, and Four, was the hardening of James's attitudes towards these modes of politics, even as they became increasingly pervasive within his realm. Crucially, these attitudes can also be traced in the royal approach to publicity throughout Charles's reign and particularly during the Personal Rule. In response to the flood of news detailing Gustavus Adolphus's successes on behalf of the Protestant cause in Europe, which began flowing through public communication channels in 1632, for example, Charles issued a fresh ban on corrantoes. And, just as John Pory had made strident appeals to James to make use of the nascent newsbook genre in the early 1620s, so too did George More and Walter Waldner petition Charles to reconsider his approach and instead grant them a license to print newsbooks. News was an increasingly powerful and ubiquitous medium, they argued, 'whereby untruths and rumours prejudicial to the government were dispersed throughout the Kingdom.' They advocated for a 'reform' of the news system, so that 'a means be provided *ad faciendam populum* to divulge such reports as upon occasion may tend to the good of His Majesty's service': the same strategy which Cardinal Richelieu was deploying in France through the sponsorship of pro-government news outlets like the *Mercure français* and the *Gazette*.[55] This suggestion was ignored and efforts were increased to smother public

[54] See, for example, J.Morgan, 'Popularity and Monarchy', pp.197-232.

[55] SP 16/280/186. For Richelieu's use of the press, see W.Church, *Richelieu and Reason of State* (Princeton, 1972), especially pp.110-172. The centrality of print in French political conflict is also shown in J.Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Factional Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (California, 1990) and H.Carrier, *Les Mazarinades: La Presse et la Fronde, 1648-1653,* Vol.I (Geneva,

news. As John Pory himself sagely observed, this policy of suppression would ultimately prove counter-productive: 'this smothering of the Currantoes is but a palliation, not a cure, of their ills. They will burst out again one of these days.'[56]

The same was equally true of the state's approach to illicit pamphleteering: the attempt to suppress illicit texts, rather than counter them in the public space, was, as we have already argued, a mistaken and ultimately futile policy. What echoes most loudly in our analysis of illicit pamphleteering from the later years of James's reign onwards is the silence of the state's response (in print, at least). In his assessment of Laudian polemic, Milton asserts that defences of Laudianism in print were characterized by disjuncture. Justifications, such as they were, were composed of 'a whole series of minor works...written by a series of minor and often rather obscure authors, not always very comprehensive...and not produced in a very systematic way.'[57] Even 'the chief ideologue of the Laudian movement', Peter Heylyn, a man who Milton labels as 'a master of the art of invective', produced just five printed works, only one of which addressed illicit pamphlets explicitly.[58] On the whole, Milton concludes, 'the body of "Laudian" texts *are* incoherent and inconsistent...when we tie them down to specific issues, we often find the different writers remarkably at variance, often directly contradicting each other on points of detail and interpretation.'[59] As we have seen in the latter years of James's reign, co-ordinated responses to Scott's anti-Spanish campaign were absent entirely. The relative silence of the state in regards to illicit print is all the more striking because, as at least some royal advisors recognized, the reticence to engage in public communication through popular modes of expression and the refusal to counter public dissent on its own terms was, in itself, a novel reappraisal of state communication policy. In 1629 Lionel Sharpe appealed to the king to reconsider, reminding him that it had always been a crucial facet of kingship to 'make known ye excellent mynde of ye kynge unto his people.' In support of this argument, he turned to the example of Elizabethan policy. Under Elizabeth's direction Whitgift and Bancroft had both utilised official and semi-official counter pamphleteering to curb and control the shape of public discourse during the confessional turmoil of the latter sixteenth-century: 'itt pleased her majesty', Sharpe counselled, 'to use this pollicy at such a tyme as this, when martin marrprelate so violentlyy played his parte.' She was also cautious in her use of suppression and

1989). For more recent research, see S.Kettering, 'Political Pamphlets in Early Seventeenth-Century France', *Sixteenth-Century Journal,* Vol.42, No.4, (2011), pp.963-980.
[56] T.Birch (ed.), *The Court and Times of Charles the First,* Vol.II (London, 1849), p.186.
[57] A.Milton, 'The creation of Laudianism: a new approach' in *Politics, Religion and Popularity,* p.163.
[58] Ibid., p.171, p.165. For a wider assessment of Heylyn's career, see A.Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic in seventeenth-century England: the career and writings of Peter Heylyn* (Manchester, 2007).
[59] Ibid., p.180.

public punishment: 'only such as Penry and Udall...had ye extremity of ye law.'[60] The point Sharpe was raising here was that appeals to, and management of, public opinion - public politics - had been central tools in state communication policy before; a mode of politics which both Whitgift and Bancroft had adroitly exploited to undermine and delegitimise the effervescent effects of seditious texts, and which had since been refined so effectively by illicit pamphleteers. Caroline policy, in that sense, was a departure from the norm.

That this departure derived from a conceptual understanding of the performance of politics, rather than a political 'strategy', is most clearly demonstrated in the rare instance in which the state did attempt to utilise public politics. As a recent paper by Millstone and Lake has shown, in late 1637 and early 1638 Laud launched 'a coordinated print campaign, comprised by a number of semi-official and official publications', targeting Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, together with their supposed co-conspirator John Williams.[61] The first part of this campaign was the production and distribution of Laud's own speech at the censure of the three pamphleteers, which he made some efforts to have translated and distributed in the United Provinces through the ambassador, William Boswell.[62] The second was royal chaplain Peter Heylyn's *Brief and Moderate Answer,* neither brief nor particularly moderate, and the third was the minister Christopher Dow's *Innovations Unjustly Charged*.[63] The focus of these texts, as Millstone and Lake contend, was overwhelmingly upon the *popular* impulses inherent in Burton and Prynne's messaging. According to Dow, Burton appealed only to the most popular and depraved audiences, whose 'itching ears were well taken with hearing of those that are in authority boldly taxed, and their faults (as they conceive them) ripped up.' His only aim was to 'please the people, and his works only calculated for the meridian of their liking', his only *license*.[64] For Heylyn, the authors operated through an illegal and seditious network so that their pamphlets 'might fly abroad with the swifter wing, and poison' the 'affections' of readers 'whom he never saw.'[65] In one sense this was a reappropriation, or rather a poor imitation, of Elizabethan communication strategy: an attempt to cast Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, and Williams 'as classic puritan revolutionaries, sinister throw-backs to the

[60] SP 16/142/74.
[61] P.Lake, N.Millstone, '1637, year of destiny; or, if they're guilty, can it still be a show trial?' (paper delivered at the Institute of Historical Research, London, 2019), p.2. A debt of gratitude is owed to Noah Millstone for sharing the manuscript of the paper with me and for his discussions of the topic.
[62] W.Laud, *A speech delivered in the Starr-Chamber* (London, 1637) [STC 15307]. For Laud's attempts to disperse the pamphlet internationally, see SP 84/154/17.
[63] P.Heylyn, *A Brief and Moderate Answer* (London, 1637) [STC 13269], C.Dow, *Innovations Unjustly Charged* (London, 1637) [STC 7090].
[64] Dow, *Innovations,* pp.18-19.
[65] Heylyn, *Brief and Moderate Answer,* sig.B2r.

bad old days of the Elizabethan puritan movement.' As Heylyn argued, 'they derived ultimately from a tradition of "scurrilous and pestilent" puritan pamphleteering stretching back to "Martin's time."'[66] What they failed to recognize in doing so was that the dynamics of illicit pamphleteering had been reorientated. As a succession of authors, from William Bradshaw to Thomas Scott and later Prynne and Burton, had argued with increasing legitimacy: *they* were the moderates in the debate, 'public men' seeking to protect the status quo and not innovators seeking to overturn it. The attack on *popular* or rather public politics was much more telling in exposing, once again, fundamentally different conceptions of *how* politics should be conducted and how publics should be addressed and engaged with.

For, as Lake and Millstone conclude, although the campaigns against Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, and Williams constituted 'a coordinated and extended exercise in public politics on the part of the Caroline regime, using the full gamut of available media', it was 'an excercise in public politics intended to end the practise of public politics in England for good.'[67] Taken in conjunction with the concurrent attempts to dismantle illicit print networks in England and to eliminate its printers and publishers, the evidence certainly supports this conclusion; at the very least, in the later 1630s Laud sought (albeit without success) to reassert state control over public spaces and public communication, aims consistent with the strategic and ideological impulses of Caroline policy more broadly. Heylyn and Dow's intercession aside, state communication was largely dictated through sermon, proclamation, and public trials. The very public trials and corporal punishment of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, the publisher Michael Sparke, and later John Lilburne were indicative both of the attempt to reassert control and the conceptions of politics which underpinned it. So too was the royal proclamation of February 1639, of which 10,000 copies were reportedly printed, condemning the 'multitude of...printed pamphletts' and 'infamous libels, stuffed full of calumnies against Our Regall Authority.'[68] The real objection the proclamation raised was that illicit texts, and Covenanter propaganda specifically, had 'struck at the very Root of Kingly government; for they have now assumed to themselves Regall power; for *whereas the Print is the Kings in all Kingdoms,* these seditious men have taken upon them to Print what they please, though We forbid it, and to prohibit what they dislike, though We command it.'[69]

[66] Lake, Millstone, '1637', pp.6-7.
[67] Ibid., pp.29-30.
[68] J.Larkin (ed.), *Stuart Royal Proclamations,* Vol.II (Oxford, 1983), p.663.
[69] Ibid., p.664 - my italics.

This, I would argue, is telling. The state's reticence to engage in public communication, from the later years of James's reign through to Laud and Charles, was not solely a *strategic* decision. It was rooted in a fundamental association between popularity and print. These associations were deep-rooted. The anti-Martinist polemic had (somewhat ironically) asserted the connection between public politics and popular conspiracy, of which Martinism and 'Puritanism' were clear manifestations. These ideas grew into a 'well-developed theory' in Caroline court circles in much the way that the conspiracies of illicit pamphleteers gradually ingrained themselves in the public imagination.[70] As Cust and Thrush have both argued, the fear of popularity, derived at least in part from his own early experiences in Scotland, had a major impact upon James's political outlook, the influence of which found expression in his public printed advice to his son, *Basilicon Doron*; and this, in turn, shaped Charles's own views of kingship.[71]

Cust asserts furthermore that the deep distrust of popularity evinced by the two Stuart monarchs was founded upon or grew into a distinct 'ideological perspective' which 'provided a discourse - or framework of assumptions and ideas - through which the king processed political experience.'[72] It can be seen most clearly in Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha,* most of which was written in the 1620s and 1630s. In Filmer's conception, a strong monarchy was the exact opposite of democracy or 'a popular estate.' The opinions of the people were 'variable and sudden tempests', perpetually 'desirous of new stirs and changes and...enemies to quiet and rest.' Fundamentally, these popular stirrings cultivated 'sedition': 'the damnable conclusion which is made by too many that the multitude may correct or depose their prince if need be', a conclusion which could at least be partially justified by the intrusions upon the *arcana imperii* advanced by printers, publishers, and writers from the 1620s onwards (if not earlier).[73]

Filmer argued 'that it was necessary to reject any mixture of "popular and regal power", even though this might be the type of government favoured by a majority of his contemporaries.' In Cust's insightful assessment, Filmer 'systematically portrayed popularity as the very antithesis of everything he valued...It promoted the pursuit of private greed instead of public good; it pulled down and destroyed men of wisdom and virtue when these were essential for the state to flourish; it encouraged faction and sedition in place of loyalty and obedience, innovation and disorder in place of peace and harmony.'[74]

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[70] R.Cust, 'Charles I and popularity' in Cogswell, Cust, Lake (eds.), *Politics, Religion and Popularity*, p.236.
[71] See Cust, 'Charles I', and A.Thrush, 'The Personal Rule of James I, 1611-1620', pp.84-102.
[72] Cust, 'Charles I', p.236.
[73] Quotations from Filmer are taken from Cust, 'Charles I', pp.241-243.
[74] Ibid., p.243.

In light of our previous analysis, we can see that Filmer was making exactly the same arguments as Thomas Scott, but in the inverse; in Scott's conception, engaging with the populace, *public politics*, was essential to the public good, encouraging 'public men' to flourish, opposing faction, sedition, and disorder by exposing conspiracy and malignancy, and thereby preserving peace and harmony.

Here, we can see the emergence of two contrasting and competing visions of the performance of politics. In Marprelate, Scott, Burton, and Prynne especially, we find a positive assertion of the relationships between publics and politics; in Charles (and Laud), we find a hardening of the belief that this mode of politics was simply an extension of the dangerous impulse towards popularity: an 'elemental force...which stirred up violent and unstable passions and fomented disorder.' 'As a divinely ordained monarch', Smuts argues, Charles considered it 'his duty and his destiny to confront and subdue it', a role he performed in the court masques of the 1630s.[75] In this sense, Laud's concerted efforts to reassert control over the press and his single-minded pursuit of illicit printers, publishers, and writers was both a strategic imperative and an expression of this alternative vision of politics. In this conceptualization, public politics as enacted through print represented an assault (one of many perceived assaults, in fact) upon royal prerogative and a challenge to the hegemony which by right, it was assumed, the state should exercise over communication in the public space and the channels and mechanisms which facilitated it.

Whilst David Como has argued that the secret Cloppenburg press in particularly 'offers...a window onto a transitional moment, in which the boundaries of political communication were being rapidly redrawn, with what would prove to be lasting consequences', this thesis has demonstrated the value of exploring illicit pamphleteering through a wider temporal lens.[76] It has been one aim to give greater context to Como's assertion here, to show how and why those boundaries were changing and to give a clearer indication of the shape and forms they took. The resulting picture is, I would argue, richer, more complex, and more contested than has previously been allowed. Public politics through print - the illicit appeals to, and invocation of, publics - was not a *new* phenomenon, either in England or globally: a fact ably demonstrated in early modern England at least by Peter Lake, Ethan Shagan, and many others. What changed here was that illicit print as a medium became an increasingly normative function of political performance, not a measure of last recourse. Whereas Martin Marprelate was, and remained, the epitome of the subversive outsider, the meaning of *Martinism* more broadly had changed. Illicit

[75] Smuts, *Court Culture*, p.257. For more on this aspect of court masques, see pp.253-262.
[76] Como, 'Secret Printing', p.59.

pamphleteers remained outsiders, but only as a means of retaining their purity as messengers of *truth* and moderation, detached from the corrosive effects which accompanied proximity to power. In effect, they reversed the negative associations of Martinism, carving out a function for illicit print as a legitimate and necessary part of the political process: an important outlet for grievances and an essential provider of public information. In doing so, they claimed the *arcana imperii* for the public: they helped, in effect, to turn *private* politics *public.* At the same time, the state itself increasingly began to adopt a novel reconceptualization of political performance, one which viewed public politics as an assault on prerogative, and which for the most part eschewed direct appeals to the public through popular modes of communication.

IV Print and Conspiracy

Illicit print, therefore, had a major impact upon the performance of politics, but our study also shows how illicit pamphleteers sought to convey politics to publics; how they strove to shape public perceptions of politics by creating the narrative framework through which it should be understood. Whilst we have shown that, in essence, illicit printing was not an inherently oppositional process - it involved those both within and without government and incorporated a range of overlapping interests - the lens illicit writers created *was.* Drawing on deep-rooted facets of English culture, shared memories and symbols like ’88 or the Gunpowder plot, illicit writers presented politics in binary terms.

The insecurities of post-reformation society, *anti-Catholicism* and *Hispanophobia,* were used as building blocks in the narratives of illicit texts to explain contemporary events in conspiratorial and oppositional terms. The real potency of this narrative framework was its flexibility: whilst the conspiratorial dynamics remained the same, the cast could change. Marprelate’s antagonists were specific bishops and the same was largely true of the early Jacobean reformers. Thomas Scott’s works were significant in developing and deepening the conspiratorial framework, this time replacing bishops with ‘hispaniolised’ Englishman and Machiavellian Spanish agents. He also escalated the stakes: the enemies now were seeking to undermine the English state and replace true religion, perhaps even to establish ‘universal monarchy.’ Once the Spanish threat receded, anti-Arminian writers like Prynne and Burton adapted Scott’s narrative framework to suit their own aims: new threats took centre stage, not only specific bishops but a wider conspiracy within the clergy at large, threatening once again to overturn the Protestant faith. This was apparent from as early as 1628. The chief accusations against Burton then were of ‘insinuatinge’ the existence ‘of some plott or practice...for the suppressing of the

true religion here established for the bringing [in] of Popery.'[77] Alexander Leighton claimed that his own public mutilation was a result of his exposure of 'the Gondomarian and Prelaticall Faction.'[78] The power and elasticity of the framework allowed for the transferral between one set of dangers to the next, deepening public understanding of politics as essentially conspiratorial and oppositional: between truth and lies, light and darkness, England and Spain, Christ and Antichrist, the innate polarities of the Calvinist paradigm written into politics.

Laud was well aware of the power and implications of illicit printing, 'this art of theirs'; 'for the main scope of these libels is to kindle a jealousy in the men's minds that there are some great plots in hand, dangerous plots, (so says Mr Burton expressly) to change the orthodox religion established in England...for there is not a more cunning trick in the world, to withdraw the people's hearts from their sovereign, than to persuade them that he is changing true religion.'[79] Laud recognized how events and actions could be absorbed into the narrative, including contests over the print trade itself. In his response to the House of Commons' Remonstrance in 1628, he argued that the conspiracy was 'a mere dream...our people are made believe there is a restraint of books orthodoxal; but we are sure, since the last Parliament began, some, whom the Remonstrance calls orthodox, have assumed themselves an unsufferable liberty in printing': had the Proclamation 'been obeyed, as it ought, we had not now been tossed in this tempest.'[80] Whether this conspiratorial narrative was a 'dream' or not, it existed on some level in public spaces: a spectre which, like publics, could be invoked at important moments and which sucked in contemporary political events into its own version of the truth. The constructed realities of illicit writers may have been more impactful upon public conceptions of politics than the factual realities privileged by later historians.

For throughout the Personal Rule, we find widespread evidence of the Anti-Arminian conspiracy bleeding into other forms of public discourse, just as Scott's narrative had fuelled the Hispanophobic media of the early 1620s. On May 17 1629, shortly after the dissolution of parliament, a hand-written libel was posted upon St Paul's Cross which explained the apparent disjuncture between prince and people because of the conspiratorial machinating of his closest advisors. 'O king or rather no king', it began, 'for thou hast lost the hearts of thy subiects and therefore noe king...thou hast lost the hearts of thy subiects, ye of the whole church of God...let thy fals flattering, wicked and pernitious

[77] SP 16/355/147.
[78] A.Leighton, *An Epitome* (London, 1646) [E.354[2]], p.68.
[79] Laud, *Works*, Vol.6, pp.44-45.
[80] Ibid., pp.8-10.

counsellours also looke to, the bane of king[s].' Drawing a direct reference to Nathaniel Carpenter's *Achitophell,* a pamphlet which had been suppressed as part of the anti-Arminian campaign, the writer warned that 'God in the end will discover and confound all their wicked counsells, as he did the counsell of Architophell...purge thy house & kingdomes of idolatrie...' 'If thou persist... in this thy stubbornes & obstinancie against God and thy countrie, which is the church of God, breaking one parliament after another', then the king, the libeller warned, should fear rebellion.[81]

Other scattered pieces of evidence reflect the capacity of the conspiratorial narrative to shape public perceptions of politics and stimulate political engagement. Hence, we find the extraordinary example of Robert Triplet, a beer brewer from Islington, who wrote a 'letter of advice' to Charles I in which he 'beseeches the King not to discord with his Parliament, and to beware of giving countenance to the religion of Rome': Triplet's advice, which perhaps should have been followed, was to urge 'the appointment of sound Protestants at the Council table.'[82] There was also the somewhat sarcastic letter from the Earl of Norwich to his son, in which he stated that 'all the news he can write is, that Arminius is grown as famous as ever Arius was, and as greatly a favourite to the world, insomuch that the whole Christian world is almost become Arminian'; or, in 1632, when another libel 'against the *Arminians'* was 'scattered abroad in *Oxford',* entitled 'The Academicall Army of Epidemicall Arminians: To the tune of the Souldieur.'[83] Or, indeed, the prophesying of Lady Davis who, in 1633, made another direct connection between the Scottian and anti-Arminian narrative when she prophesied that Laud 'should very few days outlive the fifth of November', thereby drawing a connecting line between the bishop and the symbolic Gunpowder plot.[84] One of John Winthrop's correspondents, Robert Ryece, even went to the effort of copying Prynne's *News from Ipswich* out, word for word, so that Winthrop could get a clearer sense of the political turmoil unfolding in England.[85]

The conspiracy took on sharper and more dangerous forms as it transitioned to other mediums. In 1640, for example, the players of the Fortune Theatre performed *The Cardinal's Conspiracy,* which depicted 'Altars, Crosses [and] crucifixes' on stage in a scandalous attack upon Laudian innovation.[86] Following the punishment of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick. Laud was further savaged by a succession of public libels. 'A short libel pasted on the cross in Cheapside' charged 'That the Arch-Wolf of Cant

[81] SP 16/142/135.
[82] SP 16/132/74.
[83] SP 16/116/16. Prynne, *Canterburies Doome,* 176.
[84] W.Laud, *The Works of William Laud,* Vol.III (Oxford, 1853)., pp.219-220.
[85] *The Winthrop Papers,* Vol.VI (Boston, 1863), pp.422-434
[86] M.Butler, *Theatre and Crisis, 1632-1642* (Cambridge, 1984), pp.234-236.

had his hand in persecuting the saints and shedding the blood of the martyrs.'[87] Another found outside the south gate of St Paul's proclaimed 'that the devil had let that house to me [Laud]'; two days later, Laud stated that 'another libel [was] brought to me...fastened to the north gate of S.Paul's: That the Government of the Church of England is a candle in the snuff, going out in a stench.' On the same day that Laud's printed Star Chamber speech was published, a copy was discovered 'hanged upon the standard in Cheapside...set in a kind of pillory.'[88]

These examples are by no means comprehensive, but collectively they represent public affirmations of the conspiratorial narrative defined in illicit print, demonstrating the extent to which the seeds of the anti-Arminian conspiracy had come to spread itself and mutate in public discourse across the social spectrum. It supports, at least, Laud's assessment that illicit pamphleteering was responsible for the 'continual change' in the 'humours of the people', and his recognition that the potency of illicit print rested in its capacity to construct narratives to shape popular subjectivity of the political and religious landscape.[89] By 1639, as many of the king's subjects rose up in rebellion, its influence had become clear, to Robert Baillie at least: 'the whole people think Popery at the doors. The scandalous pamphlets which come daily new from England added oil to this flame.'[90]

This conspiratorial narrative was central to Anthony Fletcher's own explanations of *The Outbreak of the English Civil War,* serving as the driving force behind the most powerful (and radical) elements of the Long Parliament in 1640. For 'Pym and a few close friends', Fletcher argues, 'the parliamentary cause was the extirpation of a conspiracy that struck at the core of the nation's life. Their fundamental conception of the political situation, relentlessly propagated and pursued over the next months, must surely be the starting point for an explanation of how war came about.'[91] From 1640 onwards, events like the Irish Rebellion fed into this conspiratorial narrative, 'bringing home to MPs the apparent substance of Pym's story and turning it into a self-fulfilling prophecy.'[92] 'What happened in 1641 and 1642', Fletcher concludes, 'was that two groups of men became the prisoners of competing myths that fed on one another, so that events seemed to confirm two opposing interpretations of the political crisis that were both originally misconceived and erroneous.'[93] Whilst Fletcher concedes that

[87] Laud, *Works,* Vol.3, p.228.
[88] Ibid., p.229.
[89] Laud, *Works,* Vol.6, p.40.
[90] R.Aiken (ed.), *Letters...of Robert Baillie*, p.10.
[91] A.Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London, 1981), p.408.
[92] Ibid., p.409.
[93] Ibid., p.415. For the development of the 'Puritan' conspiracy, see Peacey, 'The Paranoid Prelate'.

this appears ‘a frail foundation for civil war’, the strength of the conspiracy becomes more understandable in the context of the longer-term assessment of illicit pamphleteering described in this thesis. For this was not ‘Pym’s story’: it had much deeper roots in the printed controversies of late Elizabethan and early Stuart England. It is somewhat ironic that the conspiratorial framework for understanding politics, a framework which played a major role in facilitating the civil wars, was a monster of the state’s own making. Whitgift and Bancroft’s polemicists in the 1580s, 1590s, and 1600s had helped to develop this framework by creating the ‘Puritan’ to play the enemy of their own conspiracies, which in turn fed the fears of popularity and public politics that took root in the political outlook of James, Charles, and Laud. It also provided the blueprint for later illicit printers, publishers, and pamphleteers to craft their own competing conspiracies, which exerted such a powerful influence upon English publics: Pym and his friends evidently chief amongst them.

By analysing the development of conspiratorial narratives in illicit print, therefore, we can gain a much clearer understanding of the relationships between cultural tropes, social ideas, polemic, and politics; and we can help to explain how Fletcher’s apparently ‘frail foundation’ for civil war seemed to impact so profoundly upon English politics. The outpourings of anti-Catholicism (and earlier Hispanophobia) visible in print and in public spaces were not organic biproducts of longstanding cultural prejudices, but consciously cultivated symbols weaponized to suit immediate political circumstances. The format of illicit print, freed from the constrains of permissibility which limited other forms of communication, provided a platform for the creation of a conspiratorial framework which translated the events of early Stuart England into a narrative intelligible to English publics and through which ingrained aspects of the post-Reformation English psyche could take on active and dangerous new meanings in the present. In this sense, illicit printers, publishers, and writers like Sparke, Jones, Scott and Prynne contributed much more to political change in early modern England than their immediate status and influence might suggest.

Writers like Marprelate, Scott, and Prynne continued to be called upon and invoked in contemporary debates decades, even centuries, after their original publication: an indication that they had become, or rather continued to be, powerful cultural signifiers in their own right. They formed part of a shared cultural memory, part history, part myth, lasting symbols of ideas they themselves had helped to shape: ideas of the writer as a ‘public man’, a prophet, and whistle-blower; the role of illicit texts as necessary components of the political process; and the enduring valency of the conspiratorial framework they had constructed. How these texts continued to be resurrected, reappropriated, and

repurposed throughout the seventeenth-century is one avenue for future research suggested by this thesis.

In his 1641 pamphlet, *Vox Borealis,* Richard Overton made the link between 1588 and the present explicit:

MARTIN MAR-PRELATE was a bonny Lad,

His brave adventures made the Prelats mad:

Though he be dead, yet he hath left behind

A Generation of the MARTIN kind.[94]

The importance of this thesis has been to show how illicit pamphlets, and the networks which produced them, impacted upon early modern politics between these two generations. In the interim, illicit pamphlets became increasingly powerful and normative tools of political performance, used by a variety of interest groups to participate in, contest, and influence the policy-making of church and state. In the process, illicit writers created new spaces for politics and political discussion which challenged boundaries of permissibility, crafted narratives which shaped how political events were perceived and interpreted, and reimagined the relationships between publics and politics by invoking publics to act as participants in the political process. Underpinning these changes was the development of an infrastructure which could efficiently produce texts at scale, distribute them effectively, and successfully circumvent the strategies devised to suppress them: the 'North Sea' underground. Without a William Jones or Michael Sparke, without the infrastructure they had worked to develop, there would be no new *Martins*.

[94] Anon., *Vox Borealis* ([London], 1641) [E.177[5]], sig.A2v.

Appendix 1

An Annotated Chronology of Illicit Pamphlets, 1604-1610

The purpose of this appendix is to suggest a possible chronology for the publication of illicit texts produced by William Jones and Richard Schilders between 1604-1610.

Illicit pamphlets are highlighted in bold. Potential publication dates (or a range of dates) are placed in brackets preceding the text. Reasoning, evidence, supplementary information, and comment are provided beneath the text. The registration dates of licit pamphlets are drawn from E.Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640: Volume III* (London, 1876) and the records of the Stationers' Company accessed via stationersregister.online. References are given to the page number in Arber after the text, or to the identification in the Stationers' Register Online: e.g March 5 1605 [p.316], or March 5 1605 [SRO4838].

1604

(March) Anon., *By the King* (London, Printed by Robert Barker, 1604) [STC 8344].

The text is dated March 5 1604 (*By the King,* p.2). This royal proclamation required conformity to the Book of Common Prayer as outlined in the Hampton Court Conference.

(May) W.Barlow, *The Summe and Substance* (London, Printed by John Windet, for Matthew Law, 1604) [STC 1456].

Registered on May 22 [SRO4838]. This was the official account of the Hampton Court Conference, held in January 1604.

(May - June) **W.Stoughton, *An Assertion for True and Christian Church-Policie* ([Middelburg, Printed by Richard Schilders], 1604) [STC 23318].**

Usher suggests that *An Assertion* was published between May and June, 1604, perhaps in response to the publication of Barlow's account of the Hampton Court Conference.[1]

(July) Anon., *By the King* (London, Printed by Robert Barker, 1604) [STC 8355].

The text is dated July 16 1604 (*By the King,* p.2). This was another royal proclamation requiring subscription to the ceremonies of the Church of England.

(July - August) **H.Jacob, *Reasons taken out of God's Word* ([Middelburg, Printed by Richard Schilders], 1604) [STC 14338].**

[1] Usher, *Reconstruction,* I, 347.

This pamphlet prompted Jacob's arrest in August, 1604 (see Chapter 2, page 52). It was likely, therefore, to have been printed shortly before.

(August - December) **W.Bradshaw, *A Treatise of Divine Worship* ([Middelburg? Printed by William Jones], 1604) [STC 3528].**

The only dating evidence for the following two pamphlets is contextual. Like Jacob's *Reasons*, they seem to have been triggered by the July proclamation requiring subscription to the prescribed ceremonies of the Church of England. They were probably produced successively in the period following the proclamation.

(August - December) **W.Bradshaw, *A Short Treatise of the Crosse in Baptism* (Amsterdam, Printed by I.H [i.e Middelburg, Printed by William Jones], 1604) [STC 3526].**

1605

(early 1605) L.Hutton, *An Answere to a certain Treatise* (London, Printed by Thomas Barnes for Waterson, 1605) [STC 14023].

Unregistered. Hutton's pamphlet is a direct response to Bradshaw's *A Short Treatise.*

(early 1605) **W.Bradshaw, *A Treatise of Divine Worship* ([Middelburg, Printed by Richard Schilders], 1605) [STC 3528].**

The following pamphlets were successors to Bradshaw's pamphlets of late 1604. They also form part of the wider body of literature which the flurry of official pamphlets in early 1605 are responding to. It seems likely, therefore, that they were produced in early 1605.

(early 1605) **W.Bradshaw, *A Consideration of Certain Positions Archiepiscopall* ([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones], 1605) [STC 3509].**

(early 1605) **W.Bradshaw, *A Treatise of the Nature and Uses of Things Indifferent* ([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones], 1605) [STC 3530].**

(early 1605) **W.Bradshaw, *A Proposition Concerning Kneeling* ([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones], 1605) [STC 3524].**

(January - March) **Anon [Lincolnshire Ministers].,** ***An Abridgement*** **([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones], 1605) [STC 15646].**

This pamphlet was a printed edition of the petition of the Lincolnshire ministers delivered to James I on December 1 1604.[2] Given that the petitions form an important reference for the official responses, it suggests that they were printed in the early part of 1605.

(January - March) **Anon.,** ***To the Kinges Most Excellent Majesty*** **([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones, 1605) [16779.12].**

This is a printed edition of the petition of London ministers delivered to James I in late 1604.

(February - March) W.Covell, *False Complaints* (London, Printed by Humphrey Lownes, 1605) [STC 19446].

Registered on February 8 [p.282].

(March) W.Wilkes, *Obedience or Ecclesiasticall Union* (London, Printed by George Eld for Roger Jackson, 1605) [STC 25633].

Registered on February 22 [p.283].

(March - April) S.Gardiner, *A Dialogue or Conference between Ireneus and Antimachus* (London, Printed by Richard Braddock for Thomas Bushell, 1605) [STC 11575].

Registered March 11 1605 [p.284]. Gardiner's pamphlet seems to be written in response to the arguments made by William Bradshaw in his recent pamphlets, suggesting that a number of Bradshaw's pamphlets preceded Gardiner's *Dialogue.*

(April) E.Askew, *Brotherly Reconcilement* (London, [Printed by R.Field] for George Bishop, 1605) [STC 855].

Registered on March 27 [p.286].

(May - June) G.Powell, *A Refutation of an Epistle Apologeticall written by a puritan-papist* (London, Printed by Arnold Hatfield for Thomas Man jnr., 1605) [STC 20149].

[2] Quintrell, 'The Royal Hunt', pp.47-48.

Registered on April 30 [p.287]. Powell dates his preface May 18 (*A Refutation*, sig.A4v). He references a number of unspecified printed texts and pamphlets produced by 'puritan-papists', again suggesting that a number of these were produced before Powell's in May to June (*A Refutation*, sigs.A1-A4v).

(Mid 1605) **W.Bradshaw, *Twelve Generall Arguments* ([Middelburg, Printed by Richard Schilders], 1605) [STC 3531].**

This pamphlet is consistent with the arguments made in Bradshaw's earlier pamphlets, but the reference made to 'the flashing lightninges' of their adversaries might imply it was published *after* the wave of official responses in early 1605 (*Arguments,* sig.A2r).

(Mid 1605) **Anon., *Certaine Considerations drawne from the Canons* ([Middelburg, Printed by Richard Schilders], 1605) [STC 4585].**

This pamphlet is difficult to place. In the 'Corrector to the Reader', the corrector frames parliament as the salve to sooth the current fractures within the Church (*Certaine Considerations,* sig.B4v). Combined with its legalistic arguments regarding ceremonies, it would make sense to view this as a preparatory text for an upcoming parliament although it is not clear in the text whether the corrector was aware of when the next session would be. Parliament sat again in November, so it was certainly published before this date.

(Mid 1605) **Anon., *Certaine Demandes with their grounds* ([Middelburg, Printed by Richard Schilders], 1605) [STC 6572.2].**

There is little evidence to suggest a possible timeframe for this pamphlet, although its themes broadly concur with *Certaine Considerations*.

(August - October) **W.Bradshaw, *English Puritanisme* ([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones], 1605) [STC 3516].**

Milward argues that Ormerod's *Picture of a Puritane* is produced as a rapid response to Bradshaw's pamphlet. Ormerod's text was registered in October, suggesting that Bradshaw's pamphlet emerged in late summer of early autumn.[3]

[3] P.Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age* (London, 1978), p.12.

(October - December) O.Ormerod, *The Picture of a Puritane* (London, Printed by Edward Allde for Nathaniel Fosbrooke, 1605) [STC 18851].

Registered on October 1 1605 [p.302].

(Late 1605) **W.Bradshaw, *A Protestacion of the Kings Supremacie* ([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones], 1605) [STC 3525].**

This is perhaps the most radical of Bradshaw's texts, which may reflect a degree of escalation as a result of continued pamphlet debate.

(Late 1605) **S.Hieron, *A Short Dialogue* ([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones], 1605) [STC 6814].**

Hieron claims that around 270 ministers had been deprived in late 1605, 'their names...being taken the first of November 1605' (*A Short Dialogue,* p.59). The pamphlet must have been published after this date.

(Late 1605) T.Hutton, *Reasons for the Refusal of Subscription* (Oxford, Printed by Joseph Barnes for Simon Waterson, 1605) [STC 14035].

This pamphlet was not registered with the Stationers' Company (probably receiving license from the University) and it is difficult to suggest a particular date for its publication.

1606

(Early 1606) **Anon., *The Remoovall of Certaine Imputations* ([Middleburg, Printed by Richard Schilders 1606) [STC 14037].**

This was a direct response to Hutton's *Reasons for the Refusal* (see *Remoovall,* sigs.A1r-A3v). It makes no mention of Hutton's second pamphlet and so likely preceded it. Given that Hutton's first pamphlet was printed in 1605, we might expect this to have been published early in 1606.

(Early 1606) T.Hutton, *The Second and Last Part* (London, Printed by John Windet for the Company of Stationers, 1606) [STC 14036].

Also unregistered, Hutton's pamphlet was a follow-up to his *Reasons for the Refusal.* It was possibly prompted by *The Remoovall.*

(Early 1606) **H.Jacob, *A Christian and Modest Offer* ([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones], 1606) [STC 14329].**

In order to secure his release from prison, Jacob had signed a statement agreed upon by the Bishop of London and promised not to speak out publicly against the Church of England for six months.[4] It seems unlikely he would have waited long after the expiration of his agreement to re-enter the fray. The pamphlet participates in the wider debate about the deprivation of ministers unfolding in the press.

(February) W.Covell, *A Brief Answer unto Certaine Reasons* (London Printd by G.S[nowden] for Clement Knight, 1606) [STC 5880].

Registered on January 18 [p.311]. Covell signs the dedication January 22.

(Early 1606) **Anon., *A Survey of the Booke of Common Prayer* ([Middelburg, Printed by Richard Schilders], 1606) [STC 16450].**

This pamphlet includes a reprint of *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty.* It participates in the debate surrounding the justifications for subscribing, or refusing to subscribe, to the forms and ceremonies of the Church which was unfolding in late 1605 to early 1606.

(February - March) G.Powell, *De Adiaphoris* (London, Printed by Robert Barker, 1606) [STC 20145].

Powell dated the dedicatory epistle February 7 (*De Adiaphoris*, sig.A3v).

(January - May) **Anon., *Certaine Arguments to Perswade and Provoke...Parliament now assembled* ([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones], 1606) [STC 7736].**

This is explicitly framed as an appeal to parliament concerning the deprived ministers and, therefore, must have been published before the parliamentary session finished on May 27.

(April - May) G.Powell, *A Consideration of the Deprived and Silenced Ministers Arguments* (London, Printed by George Eld for Thomas Adams, 1606) [STC 20142].

Registered on April 4 [p.318].

[4] C.Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters,* Vol.II (New York, 1912), pp.148-153.

(March - May) **T.Whetenhall, *A Discourse of the Abuses Now in Question* ([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones, 1606) [STC 25332].**

This pamphlet provides wide-ranging arguments which address the issues surrounding subscription or non-subscription. Whilst it is difficult to provide a precise publication range, what is critical to note is that all the early 1606 pamphlets should be read within the context of unfolding debates within parliament. In March, Nicholas Fuller presented the grievances of the deprived ministers to the House of Commons, which would spark parliamentary debate that continued throughout March and April.[5] The printed debates, which mirrored those in parliament, were probably published across a similar time frame.

(May - November) **W.Bradshaw, *A Myld and Just Defence of certeyne arguments, at the last session of Parliament* ([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones], 1606) [STC 3522].**

Bradshaw's latest pamphlet was a reply to Powell's *A Consideration.* Bradshaw's reference to the 'last session of Parliament', suggests that it was published after the cessation of the parliamentary session in late May and before the next session in November.

(October - November) W.Barlow, *One of the Foure Sermons Preached* (London, Printed by J[ohn] W[indet] for Matthew Law, 1606) [STC 1451].

Registered on October 6 [p.330].

(November - December) J.Dove, *A Defence of the Churche Government* (Printed by T[homas] C[reede] for Henry Rockett, 1606) [STC 7081].

Registered on November 11 [p.332].

1607

(Feb - March) T.Sparke, *A Brotherly Persuasion* (London, Printed by Nicholas Okes for Roger Jackson, 1607) [STC 23019.5].

Registered on January 29 [p.338].

[5] Notestein, *House of Commons,* p.45, 162-163.

(March) G.Powell, *De Adiaphoris* (London, Printed by Felix Kyngston for Edward White, 1607) [STC 20146].

Registered on March 3 [p.343]. This was a translation of Powell's 1606 work into the vernacular. Thomas Jackson's translator's note is dated November 28 1606 (*De Adiaphoris,* sig.A2v).

(March - April) T.Rogers, *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion* (Cambridge, Printed by John Legatt, 1607) [STC 21228].

This was not registered with the Stationers' Company, but the preface was dated by Rogers March 11 1607 (*The Faith,* sig.*****r).

(Early - mid 1607) **R.Parker, *A Scholasticall Discourse Against Symbolizing with Antichrist in Ceremonies* ([Middleburg, Printed by Richard Schilders], 1607) [STC 19294].**

The note 'To the Reader' states that Parker's tract was written as 'a full answere to whatsoeuer hath bene materially obiected by the Prelates, or any of their Champions in defence of the Ceremonies.' (*A Scholasticall Discourse,* sig.*r). It was probably published before the end of the parliamentary session in early July 1607.

(March - July) **S.Hieron, *A Defence of the Ministers Reasons* ([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones, 1607) [STC 13395].**

Hieron's pamphlet was aimed explicitly again Hutton, Covell, and Sparke's recent work, *Brotherly Perswasion* (see *A Defence,* title-page). It must, therefore, have been published after Sparke's and, again, probably not before the end of the parliamentary session.

(1607) **Anon., *A Godly and fruifull sermon preached at Lieth* ([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones, 1607) [STC 22236].**

(December) **N.Fuller, *The Argument of Master Nicholas Fuller* ([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones, 1607) [STC 11460].**

Fuller's pamphlet was published in December, following the resolution of the legal case against him. Copies were circulating in January 1608.[6]

[6] See *ODNB,* 'Nicholas Fuller', and Chapter Two, page 55.

1608

(May - June) T.Rogers, *Two Dialogues* (London, Printed by Henry Ballard, 1608) [STC 21241].

Unregistered. The preface is dated May 4 1608 (*Two Dialogues,* sig.B4v).

(May - July) G.Downame, *Two Sermons* (London, Printed by Felix Kingston [and Humphrey Lownes] for Matthew Lownes, 1608) [STC 7125].

Registered on May 24 [p.379].

(July - late 1608) **Anon., *Informations, or a Protestacion* ([Middelburg, Printed by William Jones], 1608) [STC 14084].**

This was published in response to Downame's sermon given at Lambeth, printed in May. It must, therefore, have been published after this date.

(1608)) W.Wilkes, *A Second Memento for Magistrates* (London, Printed for Roger Jackson, 1608) [STC 25634].

This was a reissue of Wilkes's 1605 pamphlet, *Obedience, or Ecclesiastical Union,* and did not need to be registered again.

1609

(1609) **H.Jacob, *To the High & Mightie Prince James* ([Middelburg, Printed by Richard Schilders, 1609) [STC 14339].**

(1609) J.Tichbourne, *A Triple Antidote* (London, Printed by Nicholas Okes for Clement Knight, 1609) [STC 24064].

Unregistered.

1610

(1610) F.Hollyoake, *A Sermon of Obedience* (Oxford, Printed by Joseph Barnes, 1610) [STC 13622].

Appendix 2

An Annotated Chronology of Thomas Scott's Print Campaign, 1620-1626

This appendix suggests a potential chronology for the publication of Thomas Scott's pamphlets between 1620-1626. Potential dates are listed in brackets before the title of each pamphlet. Any supporting evidence or additional information is provided beneath the pamphlet entry. Dates of parliamentary sessions are drawn from A.Thrush, J.Ferris (eds.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1604-1629* (Cambridge, 2010).

1620

(Late November - December) T.Scott, *Vox Populi* ([Edinburgh? Holland?], 1620) [STC 22098].

Simonds D'Ewes 'perused' *Vox Populi* on December 4 and noted that the book quickly became 'the subject of many men's discourses.'[1] As argued in Chapter 4, *Vox Populi's* publication was timed to coincide with the upcoming parliament: elections were called on November 13 (although it did not formally meet until January 1621).

1621

(April - May) T.Scott, *A Speech made in the Lower House* ([London?], 1621) [STC 22087].

This was probably published during the parliamentary session of April to May. Joseph Mead mentions Cecil's 'brave' and 'warlike' speech to Sir Martin Stuteville on April 28 and later sent Stuteville a copy.[2] The second and third editions of *Vox Populi* (STC 22099 and STC 22100), which were printed on the same press (see Chapter Four, pages 102-103), were probably published at around the same time.

1622

(Mid February - mid March) T.Scott, *The Belgick Pismire* (London [i.e Holland?], 1622) [STC 22069].

Simonds D'Ewes read a copy at his tutor's house on March 14.[3] Since the pamphlet responds to another pamphlet dated February 18, it must have been published at some point between those two dates (see Chapter Four, pages 111-112).

(Late 1622) [T.Scott? A.Leighton?], *The Interpreter* ([Edinburgh?] 1622) [STC 14115].

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[1] Halliwell (ed.), *Autobiography*, pp.158-159, 161-162.
[2] Wedgbury (ed.), *Letters*, p.87.
[3] Bourcier, *Diary*, pp.125-126.

D'Ewes recorded on October 2 that 'now alsoe came out the Interpreter which I tooke the paines with mine owne penn to write out.' Bourcier believes D'Ewes is referring to Cowell's *Interpreter,* first printed in 1611, but given that Cowell's work is 288 pages long, it may be more plausible that D'Ewes was copying out *The Interpreter* of 1622.[4]

(1622) T.Scott, *News from Pernassus* (Helicon [i.e Holland?], 1622) [STC 22080].

1623

(1623) T.Scott, *The Projector* (London [i.e Holland?], 1623) [STC 22081].

(January - October) T.Scott, *An Experimentall Discoverie of Spanish Practises* ([London], 1623) [STC 22077].

The pamphlet is framed as a direct address to James I himself, urging him to reconsider the Spanish Match. It emerged at a time when the match seemed in danger of going ahead and, since it makes no mention of Charles's return from Spain, was likely published before October.

(November - December) T.Scott, *Digitus Dei* ([Holland?], [1623?]) [STC 22075].

The title-page contained no date of publication, but internal evidence allows us to place it within a relatively specific time frame. The pamphlet references the 'Fatal Vespers' disaster, in which the residence of the French ambassador suffered a structural collapse whilst hundreds of guests were attending mass (*Digitus Dei*, pp.21-22). This took place on October 26. The pamphlet makes no mention of parliament, elections of which were called at the end of December, suggesting that it was published between late October and late December.

(December - early February 1624) T.Scott, *The High-Waies of God and the King* (London [i.e Holland?], 1623) [STC 22079].

This is a printed edition of a sermon given by Scott at Thetford in 1620. Crucially, the postscript contains an appeal to voters in the upcoming parliament, urging them to be 'wary... whom you choose Knights of the Shire, and Burgesses of Corporations' (*High-Waies,* pp.86-88); this allows us to place

[4] Bourcier, *Diary*, pp.100-102.

the pamphlet between the calling of elections on December 30 1623 and the first session of parliament on February 12.

1624

(January - March) T.Scott, *The Belgick Soldier* (Dort [i.e London], 1624) [STC 22071 and 22072].

Advocating war with Spain, the first edition of this pamphlet served as a preparatory document with a view to the upcoming parliament. A second edition (STC 22072) was specifically 'dedicated to the Parliament', suggesting that it was reprinted once the first parliamentary session had begun in mid-February (*Belgick Soldier,* title-page).

(January - March) T.Scott, *Vox Dei* ([London, Printed by I.L?, 1623 [1624]) [22097a].

Internal evidence suggests this pamphlet was probably published between January and March. It praises both Charles and Buckingham for their rejection of Spanish advances, placing the tract after their return from Spain in October 1623 (*Vox Dei,* pp.74-79). It also references Montagu's *A New Gagg* (*Vox Dei,* p.69), published in early 1624 (see Chapter Six), and discusses the upcoming parliament (*Vox Dei,* pp.70-71) which was called on December 30. Cogswell argues that *Vox Dei* was probably published in late 1624, but the pamphlet itself seems to discuss parliament in the future tense: 'let vs see the Heroick Persons [MPs], acting their owne parts, severally, and joyntly' (*Vox Dei,* p.71).[5]

(January - March) Anon [Thomas Scott?]., *A Second Part of Spanish Practises* ([London, printed by Nicholas Okes?], 1624) [STC 22078.5].

The title-page states that the pamphlet will provide 'more Excellent reasons of greater consequence, deliuered to the Kings Maiesty to dissolue the two treaties both of the Match and the Pallatinate, and enter into Warre with the Spaniards' (*Spanish Practises,* title-page). This seems to place it *before* treaties with Spain were officially dissolved and probably before James had formally agreed to dissolve them on March 23.[6]

(February - March) [T.Scott?], *A Brief Information of the Affairs of the Palatinate* ([London], 1624) [STC 19126].

[5] Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution,* pp.293-294.
[6] Ruigh, *Parliament,* pp.226-233.

This is a difficult to document to place. It provides a historical summary of the events of the Bohemia and Palatinate crisis thus far, perhaps acting as a refresher to MPs and readers in the wake of an upcoming, or newly-instituted, parliament.

(February - May) T.Scott, *A Speech made in the Lower House* ([London?], 1624) [STC 22088].

A reprint of Scott's 1621 pamphlet, this was evidently published during the 1624 Parliament, between February and the end of May.

(March) T.Scott, *Robert Earl of Essex his Ghost* (London [printed by John Beale?], 1624) [STC 22084].

This pamphlet provides examples of Spanish perfidy in breaking treaties. It is clearly aimed at persuading James (and parliament) to dissolve the existing treaties with Spain and was, therefore, likely published before March 23 when James agreed to do so.[7]

(March) T.Scott, *Aphorisms of State* ([London?], 1624) [STC 22066].

Another pamphlet offering insights into the 'secret' plans of the Spanish, this document should be read in the context of James's speech to parliament on March 5, in which he suggested the possibility of the peaceful restitution of the Palatinate.[8] This pamphlet instead shows (or rather claims to show) that 'it is no longer in the Emperour, nor in the King of Spaines power... to place him [Frederick] againe in the Electorship' (*Aphorisms,* sig.B2v). It seems likely, therefore, that this pamphlet was printed around the time of James's speech but before James agreed to dissolve all treaties with Spain on March 23.[9]

(April) T.Scott, *Boanerges* (Edinburgh [i.e London], 1624) [STC 3171].

Framed as a 'humble supplication of the ministers of Scotland to the high court of Parliament' (*Boanerges,* title-page), this pamphlet can be clearly situated after the dissolution of treaties with Spain and during the initial discussions regarding a possible military intervention in Europe: it concludes by asking parliament to 'preserve the heart of his Maiestie, in finishing the worke he now begins' (*Boanerges,* sig.E2v).

(late April - early May) T.Scott, *Englands Joy for the suppressing of papists* ([London, printed by Nicholas Okes?], 1624) [STC 22076].

[7] Ruigh, *Parliament,* pp.226-233.
[8] Ibid., p.201.
[9] Ibid., pp.226-233.

The pamphlet was clearly written in response to ongoing developments unfolding in parliament regarding stricter measures for suppressing popery and recusancy: 'But now Papistry shall be suppressed, and the Priests and Iesuites banished. Oh blessed alteration: oh blessed King: oh blessed Parliament' (*Englands Joy,* p.4). The Commons began discussion a petition to the king regarding these measures on April 1 and the king, at least provisionally, appeared to grant their demands on April 23, suggesting the pamphlet was published shortly after.[10]

(April - May) T.Scott, *The Spaniards Perpetuall Designs* ([London], 1624) [STC 22086].

This pamphlet is a translation of a French tract, *Dessein Perpetuel Des Espagnols a La Monarchie Universelle* (France, 1624), which argues for French intervention against Spain and Austria in response to Habsburg aggression in Europe. Its publication in England would make most sense in the context of increased efforts to arrange an alliance between England and France to counter the Spanish threat. Unofficial overtures to France began in April, whilst the Earl of Carlisle was officially dispatched to arrange a marriage alliance with France in May.[11]

(July) T.Scott, *Symmachia* ([Holland?], 1624) [STC 22089].

The pamphlet contains a document dated June 20 and so must have been published after this date (*Symmachia,* p.8). It also reference Spanish attempts to besmirch Elizabeth's reputation (*Symmachia,* p.24). On June 7, Elizabeth felt compelled to write to her father James to refute rumours she had sent her secretaries to disrupt the match between Charles and the infanta, claiming further that she 'saw such a thing in a book of news printed at Paris' and heard from Lord Edward Herbert 'that the Spanish ambassador had related such a thing.'[12] The pamphlet, therefore, was likely printed in the wake of these allegations, possibly in July.

(June - August) T.Scott, *Second Part of Vox Populi* (Goricom [Gorinchem, i.e London], 1624) [STC 22104].

Thomas Middleton's play, *A Game at Chesse,* first performed in August 1624, borrows heavily from the themes and character of *Vox Populi* and the *Second Part of Vox Populi*. The printed edition, which was published shortly after, may have even borrowed engravings used in *The Second Part of Vox*

[10] Ibid., pp.238-250.
[11] Ruigh, *Parliament,* p.234, 300.
[12] Akkerman (ed.), *Correspondence,* Letter 326, p.470.

Populi.[13] It is highly likely, therefore, that the *Second Part of Vox Populi* was published *before* Middleton's play was performed. It was also clearly published after subsidies for had been voted on in May.

(June - December) T.Scott, *Vox Regis* (Utrecht [Holland?], 1624) [STC 22105.5].

This pamphlet is clearly written in the context of a forthcoming war. This places it after parliamentary subsidies for financing a war were agreed upon in parliament on May 29, but it is difficult to suggest a more specific time frame.[14]

1626

T.Scott, *Walter Raleigh his Ghost* (Utrecht [i.e London], Printed by John Schellem [i.e William Jones], 1626) [STC 22085].

[13] Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, p.302. For more on this, see Chapter Five, page 145.
[14] Ibid., p.254.

Appendix 3

Typographical Analysis of Thomas Scott's Pamphlets

Press One

Works Printed:

T.Scott, *Vox Populi* ([Edinburgh? Holland?], 1620) [STC 22098].

Press Two

Works Printed:

T.Scott, *Vox Populi* ([London?], 1620) [STC 22099 and STC 22100].

T.Scott, *A Speech made in the Lower House* ([London?], 1621 [and 1624]) [STC 22087 and 22088].

T.Scott, *Aphorisms of State* ([London?], 1624) [STC 22066].

Damaged letters from *Vox Populi* (second edition, 1620)	Damaged letters from *Speech in the Lower House* (second edition, 1620)	Damaged letters from *Aphorisms of State* (1624)
		
		
		
		
		
		

All letters are 82mm pica roman, approximate size (mm): X=2.8, x=1.8

VP = Thomas Scott, *Vox Populi* ([London?], 1620) [STC 22099]. British Library, General Reference Collection 590.b.5.(2).

VP2 = Thomas Scott, *Vox Populi* ([London?], 1620) [STC 22100.6] Huntington Library, Call No. 3385.

VP3 = Thomas Scott, *Vox Populi* ([London?], 1620) [STC 22100] British Library, General Reference Collection G.15499.(7.).

SL = Thomas Scott, *A Speech made in the Lower House* ([London?], 1621) [STC 22087]. British Library, General Reference Collection 1093.b.81.

SL2 = Thomas Scott, *A Speech Made in the Lower House* ([London?], 1624) [STC 22088]. Huntington Library, Call No. 80522.

SL3 = Thomas Scott, *A Speech made in the Lower House* ([London?], 1621) [STC 22087]. Huntington Library, Call No. 90283.

APH = Anon. [i.e Thomas Scott], *Aphorismes of State* (Utrecht [i.e London], 1624) [STC 22066]. Huntington Library, Call No. 302120.

Column 1:

Row: 1 'N', VP, sig.A4r. Row 2: 'g', VP2, sig.A3r. Row 3: 'd', VP, sig.A3v. Row 4: 'e', VP3, sig.A2v. Row 5: 'M', VP, sig.C2r.

Column 2:

Row 1: 'N', SL2, sig.A2v. Row 2: 'g', SL3, sig.A4r. Row 3: 'd', SL3, sig.A2r. Row 4: SL, 'e', p.5. Row 5: 'M', SL, p.3. Row 6: 'h', SL3, A2r.

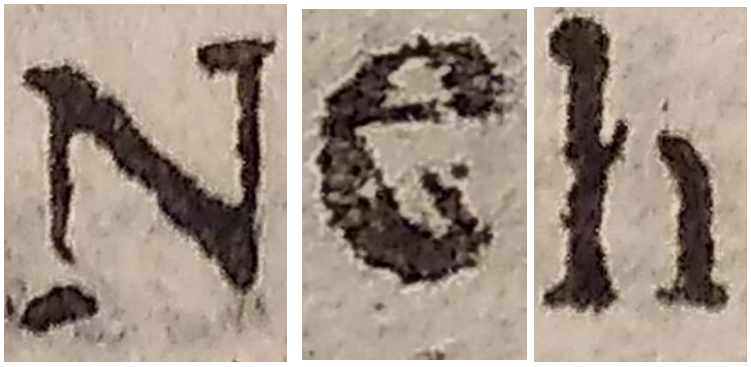
Column 3:

Row 2: 'g', APH, sig.A2r. Row 4: 'e', APH, sig.C2r. Row 5: 'M', APH, sig.C4v. Row 6: 'e', APH, sig.C3r.

The Printer:

The printer behind the second press remains unidentified but, as discussed in Chapter Four, John Dawson is one potential candidate. The STC attributes a 1623 edition of Scott's *The Belgick Pismire,*

together with *The Projector*, to Dawson. He used the same pica font and several letters display similar, if somewhat more progressive, damage to the press identified above. Further typographical analysis may be able to confirm this link. Three examples are shown below:



Copy: T.Scott, *The Belgick Pismire* ([London? John Dawson?], 1623) [STC 22070]. Huntington Library, Call No. 245433, p.103, p.100, p.102.

Press Three

Works Printed:

T.Scott, *News from Pernassus* (Helicon [i.e Holland?], 1622) [STC 22080].

T.Scott, *The Belgick Pismire* (London [i.e Holland?], 1622) [STC 22069].

T.Scott, *The Projector* (London [i.e Holland?], 1623) [STC 22081].

T.Scott, *The High-Waies of God and the King* (London [i.e Holland?], 1623) [STC 22079].

Damaged letters from *News from Pernassus* (1622)	Damaged letters from *The Belgick Pismire* (1623)	Damaged letters from *High Ways of God* (1623)	Damaged letters from *The Projector* (1623)
			
			
			
			

All letters are 94mm English roman, approximate size (mm): X = 3, x = 2.

NFP = Thomas Scott, *Newes from Pernassus* (Helicon [i.e Holland?], 1622) [STC 22080]. Huntington Library, Call No. 69250.

BP = Thomas Scott, *The Belgicke Pismire* (London [i.e Holland?], 1622) [STC 22069]. Huntington Library, Call No. 214929.

PRO = Thomas Scott, *The Projector* (London [i.e Holland?], 1623) [STC 22081]. Huntington Library, Call No. 313405.

HW = Thomas Scott, *The high-waies of God and the King* (London [i.e Holland?], 1623) [STC 22079]. Huntington Library, Call No. 313406.

Column 1:

Row 1: ‘h’, NFP, sig.B1v. Row 2: ‘C’, NFP, sig.A4v. Row 4: ‘c’, NFP, B2r.

Column 2:

Row 1: ‘h’, BP, sig.A4r. Row 3: ‘A’, BP, sig.A2r.

Column 3:

Row 1: ‘h’, HW, sig.A4v. Row 2: ‘C’, HW, sig.B1v. Row 3: ‘A’, HW, sig.A2v. Row 4: ‘c’, HW, sig.A2v.

Column 4:

Row 2: ‘C’, PRO, sig.C1v. Row 3: ‘A’, PRO, sig.B2r.

Press Four

Works Printed:

T.Scott, *Digitus Dei* ([Holland?], [1623?]) [STC 22075].

T.Scott, *Vox Regis* (Utrecht [Holland?], 1624) [STC 22105.5].

T.Scott, *Symmachia* ([Holland?], 1624) [STC 22089].

Damaged letters from *Digitus Dei* (1623)	Damaged letters from *Vox Regis* (1624)	Damaged letters from *Symmachia* (1624)
		
		
		
		

All letters are 94mm English roman, approximate size (mm): X = 3, x = 2.

DD = Thomas Scott, *Digitus Dei* ([Holland?], 1623) [STC 22075]. British Library, General Reference Collection 1103.e.8.

VR = Thomas Scott, *Vox Regis* (Utrecht [Holland?], 1624) [STC 22105.5]. British Library, General Reference Collection 1103.e.10.

SYM = Thomas Scott, *Symmachia* ([Holland?], 1624) [STC 22089]. British Library, General Reference Collection 1103.e.11.

SYM2 = Thomas Scott, *Symmachia* ([Holland?], 1624) [STC 22089]. Huntington Library, Call No. 17722.

Column 1:

Row 1: ‘m’, DD, p.2. Row 2: ‘s’, DD, p.30. Row 3: ‘g’, DD, p.33.

Column 2:

Row 1: ‘m’, VR, p.2. Row 2: ‘s’, VR, p.4. Row 3: ‘g’, VR, p.45. Row 4: ‘g’, VR, p.40.

Column 3:

Row 1: ‘m’, SYM2, sig.A3r. Row 3: ‘g’, SYM, p.8. Row 4: ‘g’, SYM, p.9.

Ornamentation used in Press Three and Four, together with the “Pilgrim Press”:

Ornamentation used in Press Three	Ornamentation used in Press Four	Ornamentation used in the “Pilgrim Press”
		
		
		
		

All ornaments measure approximately (mm): 23 x 22.

PRO = T.Scott, *The Projector* (London [i.e Holland?], 1623) [STC 22081]. Huntington Library, Call No. 313405.

VR = Thomas Scott, *Vox Regis* (Utrecht [Holland?], 1624) [STC 22105.5]. Huntington Library, Call No. 302185.

BP = Thomas Scott, *The Belgicke Pismire* (London [i.e Holland?], 1622) [STC 22069]. Huntington Library, Call No. 214929.

NFP = Thomas Scott, *Newes from Pernassus* (Helicon [i.e Holland?], 1622) [STC 22080]. Huntington Library, Call No. 69250.

SYM = Thomas Scott, *Symmachia* ([Holland?], 1624) [STC 22089]. Huntington Library, Call No. 17722.

DD = Thomas Scott, *Digitus Dei* ([Holland?], 1623) [STC 22075]. Huntington Library, Call No. 22256.

ADM = Anon [John Field, Thomas Wilcox?]., *An Admonition to the Parliament* ([Leiden, by William Brewster], 1617) [STC 10849]. Huntington Library, Call No. 38400.

ECC = W.Travers, *A full and plaine declaration of ecclesiastical discipline* ([Leiden, by William Brewster], 1617) [STC 24186]. Huntington Library, Call No. 38401.

Column 1:

Row 1: 'T', PRO, sig.B1r. Row 2: 'M', BP, sig.B1r. Row 3: 'A', NFP, sig.A4r.

Column 2:

Row 1: 'T', VR, sig.*1r. Row 2: 'M', DD, sig.A1r. Row 4: 'I', SYM, 'To the Reader'.

Column 3:

Row 1: 'T', ADM, sig.A1r. Row 3: 'A', ADM, sig.D4v. Row 4: 'I', ECC, sig.B1r.

The Printer:

As explored in Chapter Four, it seems likely that Press Three and Press Four were linked: they used the same ornamentation and similar type. They also both used ornamentation common to the "Pilgrim Press." As shown above, in at least two instances the ornamentation displayed identical damage. This would suggest that Presses Three and Four used materials supplied by either a former employee of the "Pilgrim Press" (like Edward Raban, for example), or the former financier of the press, Thomas Brewer, who had recently returned to Amsterdam. Richard Plater's "Amsterdam" press, closely connected to Brewer, is therefore another strong candidate behind one or both of the presses.

Press 5: The Press of William Jones

Works Printed:

T.Scott, *An Experimentall Discoverie of Spanish Practises* ([London], 1623) [STC 22077].

T.Scott, *The Belgick Soldier* (Dort [i.e London], 1624) [STC 22071 and 22072].

T.Scott, *The Spaniards Perpetuall Designs* ([London], 1624) [STC 22086].

T.Scott, *Boanerges* (Edinburgh [i.e London], 1624) [STC 3171].

T.Scott, *Second Part of Vox Populi* (Goricom [Gorinchem, i.e London], 1624) [STC 22104].

T.Scott, *Walter Raleigh his Ghost* (Utrecht [i.e London], Printed by John Schellem [i.e William Jones], 1626) [STC 22085].

Anon [T.Scott?], *A Brief Information of the Affairs of the Palatinate* ([London], 1624) [STC 19126].

J.Reynolds, *Vox Coeli* (Elisium [i.e London], 1624) [STC 20946.5].

Damaged letters from acknowledged pamphlets of William Jones	Damaged letters from the works of Thomas Scott (I)	Damaged letters from the works of Thomas Scott and John Reynolds (II)
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		

All letters are English roman, approximate size (mm): X = 3 x = 2

NET = John Smith, *New Englands Trials* (London, Printed by William Jones, 1622) [STC 22793]. Huntington Library, Call No. 3372.

SDC = Sir Dudley Carleton, *A Speech of Sir Dudley Carleton* (London, Printed by William Jones, 1618) [STC 4629]. Huntington Library, Call No. 60860.

ARCH = Thomas Barnes, *Archidamus* (London, Printed by William Jones, 1624) [STC 14280]. Huntington Library, Call No. 60405.

EP1 = Thomas Scott, *An Experimentall Discoverie of Spanish Practises* ([London], 1623) [STC 22077.5]. Huntington Library, Call No. 59516.

BI = [Thomas Scott?], *A Brief Information of the Affaires of the Palatinate* ([London], 1624) [STC 19126]. Huntington Library, Call No. 89003.

BS = Thomas Scott, *The Belgick Souldier* (Dort [i.e London], 1624) [STC 22072]. Huntington Library, Call No. 85580.

SPD = Thomas Scott, *The Spaniards Perpetuall Designes* ([London], 1624) [STC 22086]. Huntington Library, Call No. 69393.

WRG = Thomas Scott, *Sir Walter Rawleighs Ghost* (Utrecht [i.e London], Printed by John Schellem [i.e William Jones], 1626) [STC 22085]. Huntington Library, Call No. 60390.

BOA = Thomas Scott, *Boanerges* (Edinburgh [i.e London], 1624) [STC 3171]. Huntington Library, Call No. 81987.

2VP = Thomas Scott, *The Second Part of Vox Populi* (Goricom [Gorinchem, i.e London], 1624) [STC 22104]. Huntington Library, Call No. 59078.

VC = John Reynolds, *Vox Coeli, or news from Heaven* (Elisium [i.e London], 1624) [STC 20946.5]. Huntington Library, Call No. 22257.

EP2 = Thomas Scott, *An Experimentall Discoverie of Spanish Practises* ([London], 1623) [STC 22077.5]. Huntington Library, Call No. 60400-8.

Column 1:

Row 1: ‘S’, NET, sig.C4v. Row 2: ‘ct’, SDC, title-page. Row 3: ‘y’, SDC, sig.B1r. Row 4: ‘h’, ARCH, sig.E1r. Row 5: ‘o’, ARCH, sig.D1v. Row 6: ‘b’, ARCH, sig.B2r. Row 7: ‘g’, ARCH, sig.B3r.

Column 2:

Row 1: ‘S’, EP1, sig.E4r. Row 2: ‘ct’, BI, sig.C3r. Row 4: ‘h’, BS, sig.D3r. Row 5: ‘o’, BS, sig.D4r. Row 6: ‘b’, SPD, sig.A4v. Row 7: ‘g’, EP1, sig.F2v. Row 8: ‘W’, WRG, sig.B2r.

Column 3:

Row 1: ‘S’, BOA, sig.A2r. Row 2: ‘ct’, 2VP, p.36. Row 3: ‘y’, 2VP, p.5. Row 4: ‘h’, VC, sig.F3r. Row 5: ‘o’, BOA, sig.C1r. Row 6: ‘b’, EP2, sig.A3v. Row 7: ‘g’, 2VP, p.11. Row 8: ‘W’, 2VP, p.31.

Other Printers:

Nicholas Okes

T.Scott, *Englands Joy for the suppressing of papists* ([London, printed by Nicholas Okes?], 1624) [STC 22076].

T.Scott, *The Second Part of Vox Populi* ([London, printed by Nicholas Okes?], 1624) [STC 22103].

Anon [Thomas Scott?]., *A Second Part of Spanish Practises* ([London, printed by Nicholas Okes?], 1624) [STC 22078.5].

John Beale

T.Scott, *Robert Earl of Essex his Ghost* (London [printed by John Beale?], 1624) [STC 22084].

Unidentified

T.Scott, *Vox Dei* ([London, Printed by I.L?, 1623 [1624]) [22097a].

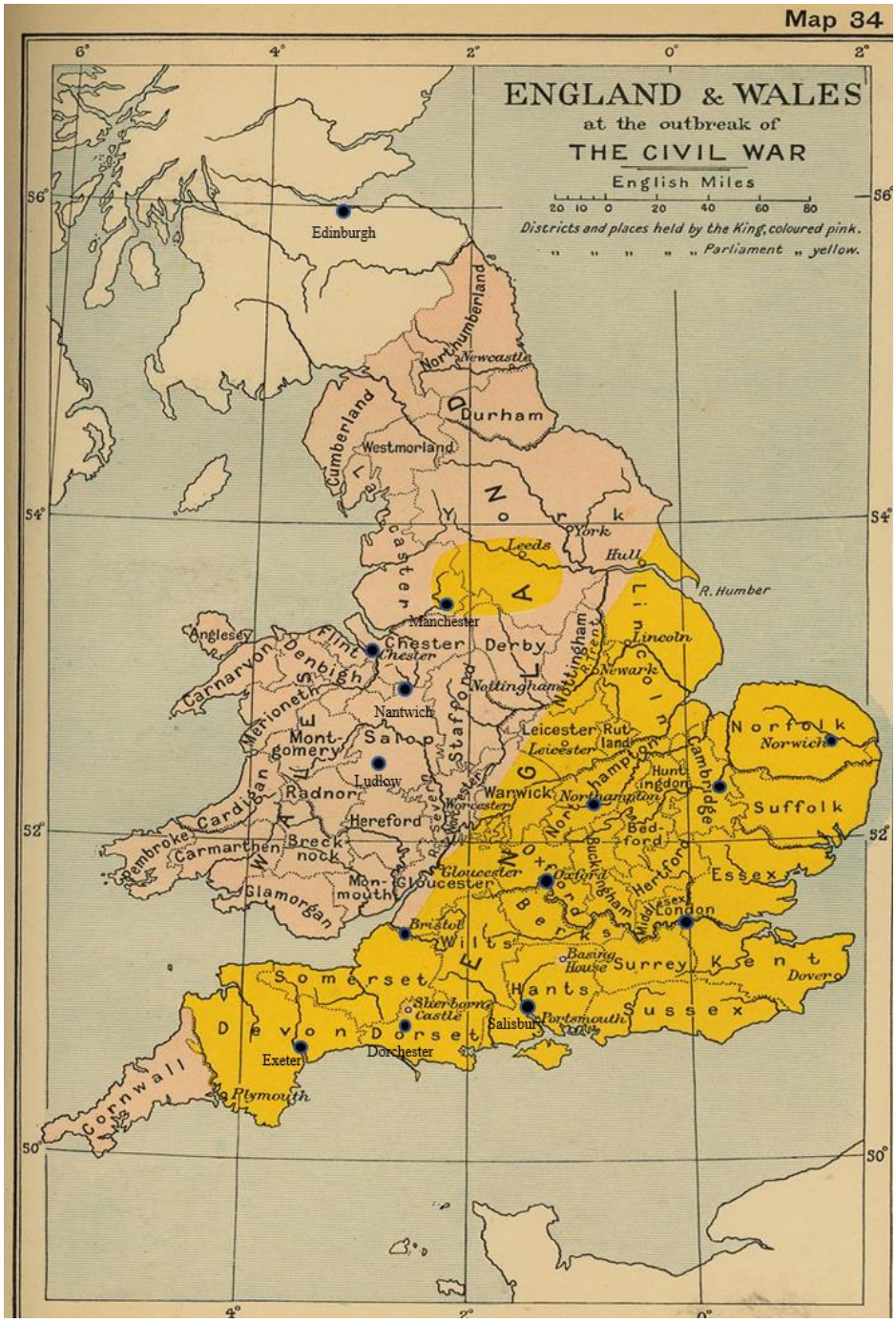
J.Reynolds, *Votivae Angliae* (Utrecht [i.e London], 1624) [STC 20946].

Appendix 4

Networks of Illicit Printing: the 'North Sea' underground, c.1604-1637

This appendix provides a visual representation of the infrastructure of the 'North Sea' underground. It is not comprehensive, but it seeks to highlight some of the key printers, publishers, and financiers who have emerged in our analysis of illicit printing between 1604 and 1637. Dates following the names of individuals indicate their presence in our narrative, not the full length of their involvement in illicit printing or the print trade more broadly.

The British Dimension



Map Source: University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castaneda Library, Map Collection: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/ (accessed 31/01/2022). Ward, Prothero, Leathes, Benians (eds.), *The Cambridge Modern History Atlas* (Cambridge, 1912).

Bristol

Michael Sparke, warehouse (c.1630-1631)

[Thomas?] Thomas, bookseller (1634)

Cambridge

James Ireland, bookseller (1634)

Richard Jennings, bookseller (1634)

Richard Saunders, bookseller (1634)

Michael Sparke, warehouse (1634)

Chester

Peter Ince, bookseller (c.1634-1637)

Dorchester

Mr.Burrell (1634)

William Browne, bookbinder (c.1634-1636)

John Long, bookseller (c.1634-1636)

Edinburgh

Edward Raban [?], printer (c.1619-1624)

George Anderson, printer (c.1637-1640)

Exeter

[Edward?] Dight, bookseller (1634)

London[1]

Elizabeth Allde, printer and bookseller (c.1628-1640), *The Gilded Cup*, Fore Street, Cripplegate

Edward Allde, printer (c.1618-1628), [*The Gilded Cup*?], Cripplegate

Benjamin Allen, bookseller and printer (c.1634-1640), *The Crown*, Pope's Head Alley

Bernard Alsop, printer (c.1618-1637), Grub Street

Thomas Archer, bookseller (c.1618-1624), Pope's Head Alley

John Bartlett, bookseller (c.1634-1640), *The Gilt Cup*, Goldsmiths' Row, Cheapside

John Beale, printer (c.1624-1637), Fetter Lane

John Bellamy, bookseller (1634), Ivy Lane, by the Royal Exchange, Cornhill

James Boler, bookseller (c.1628-1634), *The Marigold*, St.Paul's Churchyard

Nicholas Bourne, bookseller (c.1618-1634), The Royal Exchange, Cornhill

Richard Boyle, bookseller (c.1588-1615), *The Rose*, St.Paul's Churchyard

Nathaniel Butter, bookseller (c.1618-1634), *The Pyde Bull*, St.Austin's Gate

Thomas Cotes, printer (c.1628-1637), Aldersgate Street

John Dawson Snr., printer (c.1621-1634), *The Three Cranes*, The Vintry

Gregory Dexter, printer (c.1637-1640), near Christchurch [Newgate Street]

William Jones, printer (c.1604-1637), Ship Alley, Redcross Street, Cripplegate

[1] Locations of bookshops and printing houses are drawn from the printers' and booksellers' respective entries in R.McKerrow (ed.), *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of foreign printers of English Books, 1557-1640* (London, 1910), and H.Plomer (ed.), *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907).

Augustine Matthews, printer (c.1629-1637), Cow Lane, Holborn Circus

Robert Milbourne, bookseller (c.1624-1634), *The Greyhound,* St.Paul's Churchyard

Nicholas Okes, printer (c.1624-1637) Foster Lane

Henry Overton, bookseller (c.1630-1640), Pope's Head Alley

Richard Oulton, printer (c.1637-1640), near Christchurch [Newgate Street]

Thomas Paine, printer (c.1637-1640), Goldsmiths Alley, Redcross Street, Cripplegate

Matthew Simmons, printer (c.1637-1640), Goldsmiths Alley, Redcross Street, Cripplegate

Michael Sparke, bookseller (c.1624-1640), *The Blue Bible,* Old Bailey

William Stansby, printer (c.1618-1629), *The Cross Keys,* St.Paul's Wharf

Ludlow

Mr.Clarke, bookseller (1634)

Mr.Jennings, bookseller (1634)

Manchester

Mr.Woller, bookseller (1634)

Thomas Smith, bookseller (c.1637-1638)

Northampton

Peter Whalley, bookseller (1634)

Norwich

Edmund Camson, bookseller (1634)

Oxford

Henry Cripps, bookseller (1631-1634)

Michael Sparke, warehouse (1631)

Solomon Turner, bookseller (c.1631-1634)

William Turner, printer (c.1629-1634)

Salisbury

Henry Hammond, bookseller (1634)

The Dutch Dimension

Map source: https://www.frick.org/exhibitions/mauritshuis/golden (accessed 31/01/2022).

<u>Amsterdam</u>

Thomas Brewer, financier and publisher (c.1618-1624)

John Canne, printer (c.1637-1640)

Richard Plater, printer (c.1622-1624)

J.F Stam, printer (c.1633-1639)

<u>Delft</u>

James Moxon, printer (c.1637-1639)

Dordrecht

George Waters, printer (c.1619-1620)

Leiden

William Christiaens, printer (c.1637-1639)

Benjamin Allen, printer and publisher (c.1637)

Matthew Simmons, printer (c.1637)

Middelburg

Richard Schilders, printer (c.1604-1610)

William Jones, printer (c.1604-1609)

Rotterdam

Thomas Crafforth, publisher and financier (c.1618-1640)

Thomas Stafford, publisher and financier (c.1618-1640)

Utrecht

Thomas Scott, writer (c.1619-1626)

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British Library, London

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Add. 28571	Papers Relating to the English Reformation, 1547-1609
Add. 28640	Political Papers, Pamphlets, and Poems relating to the Spanish Match
Add. 61993	Anon., *Vox Spiritus*
Add. 69911	Coke Papers, Vol.XIV, A-B
Harl. 252	Collection of English History, Political, and Legal Papers, 1555-1645
Harl. 387	Correspondence of Simonds D’Ewes, 1624-1646
Sloane 1435	Miscellaneous Papers

Leicester University Library, Leicester

Caleb Robjohns Collection

Huntington Library, California

Hastings MSS

Ellesmere MSS

Northamptonshire Record Office, Northampton

All Saints parish register

Chacombe parish register

The National Archives, Kew

PC 2	Privy Council Registers

PROB 11	Prerogative Court of Canterbury Will Registers
SP 12	State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I
SP 14	State Papers Domestic, James I
SP 15	State Papers Domestic, Edward VI - James I, Addenda
SP 16	State Papers Domestic, Charles I
SP 84	State Papers Foreign, Holland, c.1560-1780
STAC 8	Court of Star Chamber: Proceedings, James I

Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford

D1287	Bridgeman Papers

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Andrewes, L., *A Patterne of Catechistical Doctrine* (London, 1630) [STC 603].

Anon., *A Briefe and True Relation of the Murther of Mr.Thomas Scott* (London, 1628) [STC 22106].

Anon., *A Briefe Description* (The Hayf[gue] [i.e London?], 1621) [STC 11353].

Anon [T.Scott?]., *A Brief Information of the Affairs of the Palatinate* ([London], 1624) [STC 19126].

Anon., *A Brief Relation* ([Amsterdam], 1637) [STC 1569].

Anon., *A Cleare Demonstration* (Dort, 1619) [STC 10811].

Anon., *A Decree of Starre-Chamber, concerning Printing* (London, 1637) [STC 7757].

Anon., *A Declaration of the Causes* (Middelburg [i.e London?], 1620) [STC 11351].

Anon., *A Declaration...made by the King of France* ([London], 1620) [STC 16838].

Anon., *A Godly and fruifull sermon preached at Lieth* ([Middelburg], 1607) [STC 22236].

Anon, *A Humble Remonstrance to the Kings most excellent Majesty* (London, 1643) [E.85[2].

Anon., *A Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalty* (London, 1585) [STC 7739].

Anon., *A Most True Relation* ([London], 1620) [STC 3210].

Anon., *An Abridgement* ([Middelburg], 1605) [STC 15646].

Anon [John Field, Thomas Wilcox?]., *An Admonition to the Parliament* ([Leiden, 1617) [STC 10849].

Anon., *AN ANSWERE TO THE QVESTION: Whether the Emperour that now is, can bee Iudge in the BOHEMIAN Controuersie or no?* ([London?], 1620) [STC 10810].

Anon., *Anti-Montacutum* (London, 1629) [STC 18040].

Anon., *A Parte of a Register* (Middelburg, 1593) [STC 10400].

Anon., *A Proclamation made by the high and mighty Frederick* ([London?], 1620) [STC 11352].

Anon., *A Relation of some speciall points concerning the State of Holland* (London, 1621) [STC 22083].

Anon., *A Relation of the late Journey of the Jesuits banished out of...Bohemia* ([London?], 1620) [STC 13537].

Anon., *A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom* (London, 1641) [E.181[2].

Anon., *A Short Relation* (Dort, 1619) [STC 12859].

Anon., *A Survey of the Booke of Common Prayer* ([Middelburg], 1606) [STC 16450].

Anon., *A True, Modest, and Just Defence of the Petition for Reformation* ([Leiden], 1618) [STC 6469].

Anon., *A Whip for an Ape* (London, 1589) [STC 17464].

Anon., *Bohemia Iura Defensa* ([London], 1620) [STC 3205].

Anon., *By the King* (London, 1604) [STC 8344].

Anon., *By the King* (London, 1604) [STC 8355].

Anon., *Cabala, Mysteries of State, in letters of the great ministers of K.James and K.Charles,* Part One (London, 1653) [WING C183].

Anon., *Catalogus Librorum ex Bibliotecha nobilis cuiusdam* (London, 1678) [WING B4910].

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Anon., *Catalogus variorum librorum* (London, 1680) [WING S6031].

Anon., *Catalogus Variorum...Thomas Manton* (London, 1678) [WING M519].

Anon., *Certaine Arguments to Perswade and Provoke...Parliament now assembled* ([Middelburg], 1606) [STC 7736].

Anon., *Certaine Considerations drawne from the Canons* ([Middelburg], 1605) [STC 4585].

Anon., *Certaine Demandes with their grounds* ([Middelburg], 1605) [STC 6572.2].

Anon., *Consideration and Judgement of the Divines...of Wittenberg* ([London], 1620) [STC 25933].

Anon., *Informations, or a Protestacion* ([Middelburg], 1608) [STC 14084].

Anon., *Prosopopoeia. Or, A conference held at Angelo Castle* ([London, 1619?]) [STC 20443].

Anon., *The Declaration and Information of the High and Puissant King of Bohemia* ([London?], 1620) [STC 11350].

Anon., *The First and Large Petition of the Citie of London* (London, 1641) [E.156[20].

Anon., *The Late Good Success and Victory* ([London], 1620), [STC 11356].

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Anon., *The Remoovall of Certaine Imputations* ([Middleburg], 1606) [STC 14037].

Anon., *The Travels of Time* (London, 1624) [STC 24179].

Anon., *Tom Nash his Ghost* (London, 1642) [E.110[5].

Anon., *To the Kinges Most Excellent Majesty* ([Middelburg], 1605) [16779.12].

Anon., *True Copies* ([London], 1620) [STC 3214].

Anon., *Two Letters* (Amsterdam [i.e London?], 1620) [STC 3215].

Anon., *Two very lamentable Relations* ([London?], 1620) [STC 20866].

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