NETWORKS OF PRINT, PATRONAGE AND RELIGION IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND 1580-1604: THE CAREER OF ROBERT WALDEGRAVE

By

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This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with its author and that no quotation from the thesis and no information derived from it may be published without the author's prior consent.
This thesis seeks to examine the nature of the intertwined networks of print, patronage and religion that existed within and across England and Scotland between 1580 and 1604, through the career of the English printer Robert Waldegrave. Multifaceted and complex, Waldegrave’s career spanned two countries, four decades and numerous controversies. To date scholars have engaged in a teleological narrative of his career, culminating in his involvement with the Marprelate press between April 1588/9. This focus on Waldegrave as a religious radical has coloured accounts of his English business and resulted in his Scottish career being disregarded by many. This thesis adds to the growing body of scholarship concerning printers and the print trade, illustrating the varied role Waldegrave played, both in relation to the texts he produced and within a broader trans-national context of print. There are three major thematic areas of enquiry: whether Waldegrave’s characterization by contemporary commentators and subsequent scholars as a Puritan printer is accurate; what his career in Scotland between 1590 and 1603 reveals about the Scottish print trade, and finally the role and significance of the various networks of print, patronage and religion within which he operated in regards to his own career as well as in the broader context of early modern religious and commercial printing.

Challenging the reductive interpretation of Waldegrave’s life and career, this thesis places the Marprelate episode within the wider framework of his English and Scottish careers, enabling traditional assumptions about his motivation and autonomy to be questioned and reevaluated. It will be shown that the accepted image of Waldegrave as a committed Puritan printer, developed and disseminated by his representation within the Marprelate tracts was actually a misrepresentation of his position and that the reality was far more nuanced. His choices were informed by commercial concerns and the various needs of the networks of print, patronage and religion within which he worked, which often limited his ability to promote the religious beliefs he held. The study of Waldegrave and his English contemporaries within the Scottish print trade expands our knowledge of the relationship between the print trades of England and Scotland and highlights how intertwined they were during this period. Waldegrave’s Scottish career, and the significance of his complicated relationship with his royal patron, James VI will be established and the wider impact and significance of Waldegrave’s appointment as Royal printer demonstrated. As he worked as a minor jobbing printer, a fugitive on a clandestine press and as the Royal Printer in Scotland Waldegrave is one of a small number of stationers whose career was extremely varied. Through the study of Waldegrave’s unique and multifaceted career it is therefore possible to trace and analyse the complex networks within which he, and his fellow stationers operated during the late-sixteenth century.
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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award without prior agreement of the Graduate Committee. Work submitted for this research degree at the University of Plymouth has not formed part of any other degree either at the University of Plymouth or at another establishment.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: NETWORKS OF PRINT, PATRONAGE AND RELIGION IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND 1580-1604: THE CAREER OF ROBERT WALDEGRAVE

PART ONE: ARGUMENT, CONTENT, SCOPE AND METHODS

This thesis seeks to examine the nature of the intertwined networks of print, patronage and religion within and across England and Scotland between 1580 and 1604, through the career of the English printer Robert Waldegrave. Waldegrave is one of a small number of stationers whose career was extremely varied, as he worked as a minor jobbing printer, a fugitive on a clandestine press and as the Royal Printer in Scotland. Consequently his career provides a unique focus for a study of the networks that governed the late sixteenth-century print trade. Through the study of Waldegrave’s multifaceted career the complex networks within which he, and his fellow stationers operated can be traced and analysed. Based on the premise that in the early modern period, ‘no author, printer, publisher, bookseller or reader operated in isolation, he or she was part of a network of practitioners of the book trade whose economic, political, social or personal interests were sometimes conflicting but always diverse,’ Waldegrave’s bibliography will be examined and analysed in the context of his position within wider networks of stationers, patrons and readers, with a view to offering some important new insights into his career and the industry within which he worked.¹

Robert Waldegrave was an English printer who lived, trained and worked in London between 1568 and 1588, before fleeing from the authorities after printing John Udall’s radical pamphlet, *The State of the Church in England*. During the following year he operated a clandestine press to produce the first four Martin Marprelate tracts, before disappearing from records for six months. In the final months of 1589 he reappeared in

Edinburgh, and by October 1590 he had been appointed the Royal Printer to James VI. Until his death in 1604 Waldegrave operated out of premises in Edinburgh, but continued to play an active role in the London print trade, printing and exporting material specifically for the English market.

Waldegrave’s role as a printer within both the English, Scottish and Anglo-Scottish book trade has received little attention, but the study of his career advances our understanding of the autonomy as well as the constraints enjoyed by certain Elizabethan printers, highlighting the development of a nascent public sphere in England and showing the new ways in which political and literary material was written and disseminated. This thesis will add to the substantial body of scholarship concerning printers and the print trade that has been growing since the 1980s, illustrating the varied role Waldegrave played, both in relation to the texts he produced and within a broader trans-national context. It will also provide the opportunity for the autonomy and informal constraints of early modern printers to be considered to improve our ability to interpret their bibliographical choices, using Waldegrave as a case study.

Scholars have formerly presented Waldegrave, reductively, as a ‘Puritan’ printer, ideologically committed to religious reform, and this interpretation of his motivation has been used to explain his flight from the authorities in 1588 and involvement with the Marprelate press in 1588/9. The term ‘Puritan’ was in use from the mid-1570s as a

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derogatory reference to radical reformed Protestants in England, who supported the purer style of Protestantism developed in Geneva. However under the Elizabethan Settlement, the Church of England was shaped by the reformed Protestant theology of those in Zurich and the Genevan Bible and tenets of Calvin’s religious reforms were rejected. Many Marian exiles returning to positions within the Church of England in 1559 had been influenced by the Genevan reformers, and consequently a body of radical reformers dissatisfied with the Elizabethan Settlement developed both within and outside the Church. They made extensive use of print to further their religious agenda, and conducted debates on the nature of the Church in public view, particularly those who favoured the Presbyterian form of Protestantism. Waldegrave is presented by many scholars as the leading English Puritan printer, contributing extensively to Puritan print culture during the 1580s.

This characterisation of Waldegrave as a Puritan printer, implies that he was committed to disseminating radical reformed Protestant literature regardless of consequences, and to the exclusion of all other considerations. In his seminal 1967 work, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, Patrick Collinson refers to Waldegrave as, ‘a committed partisan, and one of the more reckless figures in Elizabethan Puritan history…devoted to furthering the cause of the discipline’, whilst Diarmaid MacCulloch presents him as a

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'deeply committed' Puritan. As recently as 2010 Joseph Black characterises him as 'one of the great Puritan printers of the period.' In her article discussing Waldegrave’s Scottish career Katherine S. Van Eerde discusses how, during the years he worked in London, Waldegrave ‘made a notable name for himself as a printer of Puritan works’, accounting for his apparent professional success by acknowledging his ties to radical reformers. Even Suzannah Breitz Monta, who acknowledges the significance of Waldegrave’s commercial interests, suggests that he was ‘unusual in his level of ideological commitment’. This thesis challenges this interpretation of Waldegrave’s position and through an examination of his commercial, typographical and ideological choices will show that he was not simply an ideologically committed Puritan printer producing material which spoke to overwhelming personal beliefs. Rather, he operated a more pragmatic business, which was in many circumstances driven by the commercial realities of the early modern print trade, but which was informed, and only at times dominated by, his personal affiliation with the radical Protestant reform movement. Given the paucity of source material concerning Waldegrave’s personal life, motivations and business practice, to date scholars have relied upon the limited presentation of him within the Marprelate tracts. This has allowed the image of a Puritan martyr printer, developed within the tracts for rhetorical effect, to persist and has encouraged historians to read an ideological motivation within his early career as part of a teleological narrative culminating in his involvement with the Marprelate tracts. Although Waldegrave’s radical narrative is compelling to many, it will be shown that such an analysis of his career is reductive and ignores the broader context of his career both before and after the Marprelate controversy. By considering the full span of his career this thesis offers an analysis which places the Marprelate controversy within


the context of Waldegrave’s business, rather than considering his occupation in light of his involvement with ‘Martin’.

This thesis argues that the accepted image of Waldegrave as a committed Puritan developed and disseminated by the presentation of his career within the Marprelate tracts was actually a misrepresentation of his position and that the reality was far more nuanced. Although not a martyr to the Puritan cause, he enjoyed professional relationships with a number of key Puritan authors before his involvement with the Marprelate press, and many of the texts he produced in London carried dedications to important individuals sympathetic to further Protestant reforms. However, throughout his career, his choices were informed and at times his religious commitment restricted, by his commercial interests and the need to maintain a viable business. There was a further shift in 1590, after his appointment as Royal printer in Scotland, when the demands of his patron James VI took precedence over any commercial or religious concerns.

Waldegrave’s professional connections with the Puritan network within England, through authors such as John Field and John Udall, provide a starting point for the examination of Waldegrave’s position within a broader network of Puritan print and patronage, which encompassed numerous stationers alongside religious radicals from all levels of Elizabethan society. Through the examination of Waldegrave’s place within this religious network, the links between the English Puritan movement and the Scottish Presbyterians will be considered and his agency as a printer re-evaluated in light of his role as an unlikely conduit between two national religious movements.
These intertwined networks of print, patronage and religion that Waldegrave inhabited not only defined his career, but also offer evidence of the relationship between religious reformers in England and Scotland during the late Elizabethan period, and the existence of a trans-national print trade which encompassed both England and Scotland. Through the analysis of his professional networks, both in London and after 1589, in Scotland, the framework these networks provided for the early modern print trade and their influence over commercial and bibliographical decisions will be demonstrated.

Whilst there has been some research into urban trade networks in recent years, there is currently only a limited amount of work which considers the many networks which made up and interlinked the English and Scottish printing industries. Although it has long been accepted that books were handled by a number of different tradesmen as they were printed, sold and bound, there has been little acknowledgement of the collaborative nature of much of the work done by stationers in London, and to a lesser extent in Edinburgh, especially in financial terms.

Significantly, the print trades of England and Scotland have consistently been examined independently of each other, with scholars focused on English printing considering Scotland as an example of regional print, while those examining the Scottish trade fail to place it within the broader, trans-national context. John Feather has suggested that


\[10\] English histories of print relegate the Scottish printing trade to the status of regional print, when the realities were far more complex. For evidence of this see: John Barnard & D. F. Mckenzie, (eds.), The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. IV 1557-1695, (Cambridge, 2009), where discussion of the early modern Scottish trade is considered briefly, with little reference to the English trade, and Alistair
despite some small interactions between the two trades in the preceding centuries, ‘it
was not until after the Act of Union in 1707 that the two even began to come
together’. ¹¹ It will be shown that the relationship between the print trades in the two
nations was in fact far more significant, with Edinburgh benefiting from the
involvement of English stationers working within the Scottish book trade, which in turn
contributed to a level of trans-national trade that should not be ignored. Waldegrave’s
trans-national career will serve as an example of how the two industries were
intertwined, and will be examined alongside the careers of other English stationers with
strong links to Scotland, including John Norton and Thomas Vautrollier.

Since the 1980s networks have been identified and studied as part of the examination of
the developing role of imperialism and the growth of international trade. Aaron
Graham’s recent review article summarises the major published research into early
modern networks, considering how trade and economic networks operated more
successfully when built upon or alongside social networks, which provided an
underlying trust between members. This is a valuable conclusion; however, the studies
he examines generally focus on a single geographical area, or social grouping, rather
than a specific trade within a single nation. This thesis will address the trade network
which encompassed the English and Scottish print trades, whilst acknowledging any
social or religious networks which further strengthened the economic ties. ¹² There has
been some research into the print trade networks in the sixteenth and seventeenth
centuries, much of which considers the networks of printers and publishers involved in
the production and dissemination of texts. However, whilst this research provides

Mann, The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720: Print Commerce and Print control in Early Modern
Scotland, (East Lothian, 2000), which hardly mentions the English printing trade.
Armstrong (eds.), Book Trade Connections from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries, (London,
2008), pp.7-8.
invaluable insights into the print trades in France, the Low Countries, and specific print houses owned by Pierre Vidoue and the Verdussen family, there has been limited comparable study of the English and Scottish trades, possibly due to the late development of print within the British Isles, and the limited survival of the records of individual publishers and print houses.\textsuperscript{13} This thesis will build on the existing research into the English and Scottish print trades, and work on early modern trade networks to present the context within which stationers such as Waldegrave operated in England and Scotland in the sixteenth century.

I. Structure and Key Questions

The structure of the thesis is roughly chronological, following Waldegrave’s four printing careers: as a minor London printer within a network of stationers between 1580-1588; as a fugitive working on the Marprelate press 1588/9; as an English exile and Royal Printer in Scotland from 1590-1603; and overarching these three, as a printer within a trans-national print trade and religious network.

Overall this thesis examines the networks of print, patronage and religion within which Waldegrave operated to understand better both his own career and the commercial and ideological position of early modern stationers operating in England and Scotland. Consequently the research centres around two major research interests; the question of whether Waldegrave’s designation as a Puritan printer is an accurate one, and the consideration of the significance of the various networks of print, patronage and religion within which he operated. The reconstruction of these networks establishes an invaluable framework in which to situate Waldegrave and his contemporaries, who

\textsuperscript{13} Van Rossem, ‘Books and the City’, pp.39-51.
were constrained by the often competing and occasionally complimentary needs of the networks within which they worked.

The key area of enquiry will be into the development of Waldegrave’s career through a consideration of his varied bibliographical choices, both commercial and ideological, accounting for the changing nature of his printed output in England and Scotland in light of the networks within which he operated. This will involve discussion of the role of the printer within the book industry, and an examination of the various ways printers could exercise autonomous agency within book production, given that the business model of a collaborative network of stationers influenced and also constrained the practice of Waldegrave and many of his contemporaries. A reassessment of the role of the printer within the Marprelate controversy will also be offered, along with a new analysis of the development of Scottish printing in the final decades of the sixteenth century.

More broadly, this study will use the example of Waldegrave to establish the existence of a significant network of Scottish Presbyterians and English Puritans during the period, and to consider the role and influence such a network enjoyed within the broader context of Anglo-Scottish relations. By situating Waldegrave as a printer within such a network his entire career can be examined within a trans-national context, as well as merely an English or Scottish one, and allow the two printing industries to be compared and reassessed through their relationship with each other. Building on this trans-national focus, questions about the relationship between printing and religion will be combined and Waldegrave’s career in Scotland used to scrutinise James VI’s relationship with Elizabeth I and the English authorities. Waldegrave’s controversial role as both English exile and Scottish Royal Printer will be examined, in order to offer a fresh interpretation
of the two monarchs’ attitude towards the power of print within late-sixteenth century society.

Waldegrave was significant not only for his role within the English or Scottish print trades, but for his involvement with the two simultaneously, demonstrating the existence of a trans-national print trade. In assessing his role and relationships with each nation throughout his career it is necessary to consider his two diametrically opposed incarnations. Firstly, the minor printer in London within a network of stationers, at odds with the secular and religious authorities, whose religious affinities supposedly informed much, though not all, of his business, and secondly, the Englishman at the heart of the Scottish printing industry during a period of development and expansion, patronised by the Scottish Kirk and established as the Royal Printer to James VI.

To establish the context of the thesis, within the introduction, existing scholarship will be explored through four central debates and concepts which can be mapped onto the four, broadly chronological phases of his career. The first is the nature of ‘book history’, that is, the study of printers and printing, and the nature of print and trade networks during the sixteenth century. The second is the relationship between print and the emerging ‘public sphere’ in the sixteenth century, ‘popular’ printing, and cheap print. The third key issue is the development of religious print in England during the sixteenth century, including the debate over the relationship between print and Protestantism. The development of Puritan print in the years preceding Waldegrave’s English career will be examined, as will the role and practical nature of clandestine religious printing during the late-sixteenth century. The final key focus will be on the nature and development of the Scottish print trade, addressing the difficulties involved with such research. In comparison to studies of the English trade, and considering the role of English
Stationers within trade north of the border, as well as the issues of Anglicisation and the significance of patronage from the Crown and the Kirk.

Having established the foundation of scholarship upon which this thesis is based, chapter two examines Waldegrave’s London-based career within the wider context of English printing during the second half of the sixteenth century, offering the pre-Marprelate context of his career often overlooked by scholars. Given his limited importance during his early career, there are minimal records of Waldegrave’s years in England; however it is possible to reach an informed supposition of his experiences before 1580 by examining the surviving records concerning the training and early careers of his contemporaries. This contextualisation of Waldegrave’s career in London provides the basis for a more detailed analysis of his working practice, which questions whether it was financially viable for printers to operate autonomously, and if not, how businesses were able to survive. It is here where the concept of networks becomes key. The discussion of the networks of printers, publishers and booksellers uncovered by this research questions whether this practice restricted the agency of minor printers like Waldegrave, who relied on collaborative production and financial input from other stationers. Having established these restrictions on the agency of printers, the scope for individual agency by a printer is considered, with a specific focus on Waldegrave’s own bibliography, examining his use of format and typography up until April 1588.

After the establishment of Waldegrave’s place within a broader network of stationers linked by professional, personal and geographical ties, the validity of considering him merely as an ideologically committed Puritan printer is considered, in the light of the involvement of numerous other stationers directing his bibliographical choices. It will be shown that his English bibliography does not support his designation as a solely
‘Puritan’ printer due to his collaborations with other stationers within the network identified. There is a degree of religious commitment to be found within Waldegrave’s bibliography, but this must be considered alongside the financial restraints and commercial needs he was faced with. By taking into account Waldegrave’s commercial circumstances his traditional image as an ideologically driven, religiously motivated printer to be nuanced. Over the subsequent chapters the balance between commercial and ideological interests are examined to contextualise further Waldegrave’s career and bibliographical choices.

Chapter three examines the abrupt shift in Waldegrave’s career in 1588, and re-evaluates the role he and subsequent printers played in the Martin Marprelate controversy (1588-1589). The circumstances of Waldegrave’s involvement with the press are considered, as it was through his portrayal within and association with the tracts that his Puritan reputation was developed and cemented. Traditional interpretations of Waldegrave and his career tend to rely on his presentation within the tracts for bibliographical and professional details, concluding that he was a committed Puritan, sometimes a martyr to his cause.14 As Susannah Breitz Monta has discussed, those behind the Marprelate tracts utilised, ‘the rhetoric of martyrdom to shape [Waldegrave’s] public identity’.15 It will be shown that the Waldegrave within the tracts was a rhetorical construct, drawn from reality, but with his religious zeal emphasised and elaborated upon. Circumstance and need as much as religious belief drew him to the Marprelate press.

A thorough examination of the financial and ideological role played by ‘Martin’s’ different printers accompanies this discussion, and the significance of this previously

underestimated position is demonstrated. It will be shown how Waldegrave’s superior typographical knowledge and understanding of how to utilise his agency as a printer, led him to produce tracts of greater impact and nuance than the team of printers who followed him after his desertion of the press in April 1589. The impact of his desertion and the likelihood of his whereabouts during the subsequent months will also be considered and traditional assumptions challenged.

Chapter four considers Waldegrave’s involvement with the Marprelate press, alongside his English career, establishing his position within a broad network of authors, gentry and nobility with Puritan sympathies, using the dedications within his English bibliography as a starting point. It will be questioned whether Puritan print in England was supported by a broad network of interested parties, or whether instead it relied on the support of individual noble patrons, and if this impacted on Waldegrave’s professional relationships and output in London. Once the English network of those with Puritan sympathies has been identified, the links between this network and the Scottish Presbyterians are considered alongside the impact, of this religious network. This involves not only examining the connections made by Scottish Presbyterians during their exile in England, but also tracing the links between the English Puritans for whom Waldegrave printed, and the Scottish Presbyterians who potentially enabled his re-establishment in Scotland and continued to patronise his Edinburgh based press after his appointment as Royal Printer. Through examination of the links between individuals within both movements it is possible to perceive a trans-national religious community, which shared many doctrinal beliefs whilst holding highly contrasting positions within the religious hierarchies of the nations to which they belonged. Waldegrave’s career provides an angle from which this important trans-national network can be considered.

This network, building on the work of Gordon Donaldson, provides a new position from
which to consider Anglo-Scottish relations during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century, as it ties the English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians together, offering an indication of the many problems that would be encountered once a joint church was suggested after 1603, along the more conservative, English style.\textsuperscript{16}

Building on the examination of this religious network within which Waldegrave operated the way in which the English and Scottish printing trades overlapped is analysed, and it is demonstrated how the careers of printers such as John Norton and Thomas Vautrollier provided a longstanding model for English stationers in Edinburgh that Waldegrave was able to build on after his arrival in Scotland in 1590. As well as the importance of these trans-national links for Waldegrave’s career, the significance of such a trans-national market is considered for both the English and Scottish print trades.

The final chapter considers whether Waldegrave operated within a network of printers in Edinburgh as he had done in London, and examines the significance of the trans-national print trade for the Scottish trade. The circumstances which led Waldegrave from English exile to the role of printer to the King of Scotland are examined, with particular reference to his image as a Puritan printer, and the role played by the trans-national religious network in enabling him to establish a press in Edinburgh. Although some attempt has been made by Katherine S. Van Eerde to examine Waldegrave’s Scottish bibliography, there has only been a limited attempt made to contextualise his Scottish business within his trans-national printing career, or to consider the various influences over his Scottish bibliography.\textsuperscript{17} Consequently this chapter examines Waldegrave’s Scottish career both in its own terms and in light of the broader context of Anglo-Scottish printing, politics and religion. The relationship between James VI, print

\textsuperscript{17} Van Eerde, ‘Robert Waldegrave: The Printer as Agent’, pp.40-78.
and Waldegrave is investigated, to demonstrate both how James VI used print, and Waldegrave, to further his own interests at home and abroad, and question whether Waldegrave enjoyed any greater level of autonomy in Scotland than he had in England, due to the interests of his royal patron. More broadly, Waldegrave’s impact on the Scottish print trade is considered, and his contribution to the Anglicisation of printed Scots examined.

II. Primary Sources & Research Methodology

The surviving printed output produced by Waldegrave is the central resource for this project. It enables extensive bibliographical analysis of both Waldegrave’s English and Scottish careers. Whilst the more significant texts have been digitized and are available on EEBO, there are many more examples of his work in the British Library, Lambeth Palace Library, the Bodleian, Trinity College Dublin Library, the National Library of Scotland, and the numerous university libraries in Scotland. Where possible original texts have been consulted alongside the digitized collections, to allow for more accurate analysis of typography and format, and to counter the occasional discrepancies in cataloguing, particularly over publication date, which can be avoided by examining paper copies. The Stationers’ Company Registers have been a vital information source, although they offer only limited accounts of Waldegrave’s early career. The Register of copies offers information about the texts Waldegrave produced that have not survived, and records of fines and loans offer an insight into the relationship he had with the Company. They also record the owners of some of the texts Waldegrave printed in London, which provides the foundation for an examination of his position within the London printing network. The wills and personal records of those printers with whom Waldegrave associated reveal some of the realities faced by sixteenth-century printers in England and Scotland.
Official state papers from both England and Scotland provide much information concerning Waldegrave’s significance within Anglo-Scottish relations, as well as contextualising events to which he is connected, particularly the trans-national religious and printing networks. Legal records, depositions and court proceedings, as well as local county records offer a route into examining the nature and significance of the trans-national network that existed between the English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians, and its connections to both Waldegrave and the Marprelate press. Contemporary literature, such as the Marprelate tracts, and other material Waldegrave printed offers information about the location and function of his press, his associates and patrons, his religious affiliation and his public image. This is highly valuable due to the lack of surviving personal papers and records.

The primary sources are used to study the numerous networks involved in and connected to the early modern print trade in England and Scotland through the study of Robert Waldegrave’s career. As there are only limited resources available concerning Waldegrave’s personal experiences within the early modern print trade, the experiences of his contemporaries will be used to create a framework within which the details of his career can be understood and contextualised, a technique used to great effect by other early modern historians where directly relevant source material is limited.18 Methodologically this project is interdisciplinary in many respects. It engages with the methodologies of the history of the book and analytical bibliography, the history of printing and printers, the study of print and trade networks in the sixteenth century, along with a broader study of English and Scottish political, religious and constitutional

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18 An excellent example of such an approach can be found in, Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre*, (Massachusetts, 1983).
history. The intellectual framework of these sub-disciplines and their contribution to this thesis are as follows.

i: The History of the Book

Although focusing on the role and agency of a single man, this project is not merely a biography or a bibliography. It is informed by the discipline of the history of the book, which has its foundations in Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin’s *L’apparition du livre*, originally published in 1958, examining the social context of the book in the early modern world. Since then the field has expanded and now forms a polymorphous interdisciplinary subject, encompassing many different approaches but all looking to consider the production of books, their transmission through society and the people involved in this. There exists a multiplicity of theoretical approaches towards the study of the history of the book, unsurprising given the interdisciplinary nature of the subject: however Robert Darnton offers a useful framework within which to situate the many different routes into the subject. He outlines a so-called ‘communication circuit’ which encompasses a range of different areas of interest for those concerned with the study of book history, where authors, printers, publishers, booksellers and readers interact within society to produce a constant transmission of ideas, whilst focusing on the people involved as opposed to the texts themselves. Where appropriate, the ‘communication circuit’ within which Waldegrave worked will be considered, and his relationship, as a printer, with the material he produced, those who sold it, and those who read it will be examined. This is of particular interest in relation to the Marprelate tracts, which Waldegrave printed between April 1588 and April 1589. Traditionally those studying these tracts consider only the authorial and readership aspects of them, and those who do consider their production and distribution have not fully appreciated the significance.

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19 Febvre & Martin, *The Coming of the Book*.
20 Darnton, ‘What is The History of Books?’, p.11.
of these aspects of the ‘circuit’. Reassessment of Waldegrave and the subsequent Marprelate printers will resituate the printer at the heart of the tracts production and significance. Although examining printing, I have, as Darnton suggests, conducted my research through analytical bibliography amongst other methods.\textsuperscript{21} Whilst I examine the way in which Waldegrave produced texts, and have built a bibliography of his printed output, this study focuses more on how his bibliographical choices were influenced by his commercial needs, and the networks of print, patronage and religion within which he operated. In this way, the methodology reflects the model for book history research put forward by Nicholas Barker and Thomas Adams, in which the five areas of a book’s ‘life’, publishing, manufacturing, distribution, reception and survival are considered within the context of the various influences texts are subjected to. Unlike Darnton’s ‘communication circuit’ this model focuses on the text itself, within the context of the individuals connected to it and the circumstances in which they operated. This research is concerned primarily with the first three areas, publishing, manufacturing and distribution, within the context of the political, legal, religious, commercial and social influences at work in the late-sixteenth century print trade.\textsuperscript{22}

\textbf{ii: The History of Printers and Printing}

There are numerous scholars concerned with the production of texts in the sixteenth century, and information about the press, paper, ink and functioning of the early modern press is widely available. Scholars such as Philip Gaskell have produced detailed accounts of printing during this period, without reference to individuals engaging in the trade, but offering information about the minutiae of type founding, composition, press furniture and ink recipes.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{21} Darnton, ‘What is The History of Books?’, p.11.
\textsuperscript{23} Philip Gaskell, \textit{A New Introduction to Bibliography}, (Oxford, 1979).
Focused studies on the careers of individual printers are also a long-standing field of study, and often combine biographical research with considerations of typography, commercial and ideological interests and bibliography, but usually the printer under scrutiny enjoyed a professional relationship with a notable individual. For example a 1968 study of the printer Valentine Simmes, who was part of the printing team who succeeded Waldegrave on the Marprelate press, focuses on Simmes’ relationship with the work of his most well-known client, William Shakespeare, examining in detail the production of various Shakespearean texts, without contextualising them within the printer’s broader bibliography. The majority of the remaining text considers questions of typography and bibliography, with only a few pages dedicated to contextualising Simmes and his work within the late-sixteenth century printing milieu.²⁴

The idea of the agency and constraints of the printer goes hand in hand with discussions of typography as well as commercial and ideological interests. More recently the work of Elizabeth Evenden on John Day has offered a more even balance between biography and questions of bibliography and typography, whilst at the same time addressing in detail the issue of the agency of the printer. Evenden contextualises both Day’s career and the significant texts he produced to offer an analysis of the changing nature of printing in the Tudor period and also an insight into the circumstances of production for famous material such as Foxe’s *Act and Monuments*, and lucrative material such as the *ABC* and *Catechism*. The balance Day made between his commercial and ideological interests reflects the limitations on the ability of a printer to exercise his agency, and the discussion of Michael Wood’s press during the reign of Mary I offers an example of how this agency was often more easily exercised through clandestine printing as

opposed to material that was subject to regulation and censorship. This thesis will follow a method similar to that used by Evenden in regards to analysing Waldegrave’s bibliographical output, however this will only be one part of a far broader analysis which situates him within both a national and trans-national context, as well as within the various networks of print, patronage and religion.

iii: Networks

The use of networks as a framework through which to approach the history of the book is not a new concept. Indeed as previously mentioned Darnton’s ‘communication circuit’ is based upon the notion that numerous individuals were involved in the production and dissemination of individual books. However Darnton’s primary concern is with the transmission of the books through ‘communication circuit’, from author to reader, and the centre of the circuit acts as a catch-all for a range of important aspects, including the consideration to the network of production and dissemination. Since the 1980s networks have been used by economic historians as tool to aid the study international trade and the role of imperialism, and numerous other disciplines including economics, social history, anthropology, political science, geography and archeology have engaged with the concept of networks within different contexts. Consequently there is a wealth of literature available to inform this examination of the role of networks within the early modern print trade, firstly in regards to the nature and role of networks within society, and secondly in respect to the early modern print trade specifically.

Despite the wealth of literature on the subject, the notion of ‘network’ is problematic, as definitions are often vague. In an essay on ‘Networks and Economic Life’, Walter W

Powell and Laurel Smith-Doerr examine the fundamental theoretical nature of networks, stating that they are social, economic or political ‘glue’, made up of the interplay between formal and informal structures, which simultaneously constrain those involved in them whilst opening up new opportunities. Whilst this is in itself a vague definition, it provides a valuable starting point for the consideration of networks and their significance within economic life in general, and within the early modern print trade specifically. The notion that networks both benefit and restrict those operating within them raises questions about what could be considered an acceptable balance between benefits and limitations, which are particularly pertinent to the career of Robert Waldegrave, and will be explored in subsequent chapters.

Powell and Smith-Doerr emphasise that production networks are reliant on a strong sense of trust, and that they function best within small geographical areas, accounting for the development of regional industries. This is because artisans specialize in a specific area of the production process, and are therefore mutually dependent on each other for the creation of the final product. This analysis is borne out by the nature of the early modern print trade in London, where printers, binders, booksellers and publishers operated within the relatively small area of St Paul’s Churchyard, with individual books being produced within a network of stationers.

This theoretical basis for the concept of networks is valuable, but they should also be considered within a wider framework of social interactions. In his 2000 essay, Bruce Mazlish traces the development of societal ties from traditional forms of patronage to the emergence of networks, stating that, ‘patronage, connections and networks…are

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forms of ‘invisible ties’ ordering the social system and distributing power and identity’. Mazlish acknowledges the power of ‘invisible ties’ to shaping society, highlighting the significance and power of patronage and networks within the early modern period. He examines how it was that the patron/client relationship dominated the discourse during early modern period, defining it as an informal, private connection which operated on the basis of non-monetary exchanges and gift giving, focused within the royal court. He identifies a shift in the discourse from these hierarchical, private ties, to more public ‘connections’ referred to by contemporaries during the seventeenth century. He argues that the concept of a ‘network’ is a twentieth-century term, which refers to web like, informal connections between individuals, with a non-hierarchical structure. This definition of a network as an informal, web-like structure provides a solid foundation for the study of the networks of print, patronage and religion within which Waldegrave operated, as it allows for a broad social involvement, with members sharing some, but not all connections.

Although the nature of networks has come under scrutiny they have been widely used by economic historians to examine the structures and significance of international trade since the early modern period. In his 2005 article, David Hancock considered the networks involved in Scottish early modern trade with Madeira, concluding that networks were key for early modern international trade, and were, as Mazlish argues, non-hierarchical and often informal bodies, often strengthened by ties of kinship or marriage, established for mutual benefit of those involved. He discusses how the concept of networks developed after 1940, and was originally considered in terms of communication rather than trade, and that a modern understanding of trade networks

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encompasses multiple relationships with multiple contacts, which were not necessarily fully inclusive, whereas contemporaries focused on the key players within the broader network.\textsuperscript{33} This may account for why important trade networks, such as those involved in the early modern print trade, have often been overlooked, as historians attempt to focus on key players, whose significance was acknowledged by their contemporaries. This thesis will consider early modern print networks using a modern understanding of the nature of networks, examining the multiplicity of individuals involved in the intertwining networks of print, patronage and religion. Hancock’s conclusions are supported by Graham, who acknowledges the role and significance of networks, highlighting how recent research has emphasised the importance of personal ties which underpin successful national and international trade networks. The significance of personal relationships in the professional world must therefore not be overlooked, as it can be expected, he suggests, that successful trade networks will develop from closely connected social groups.\textsuperscript{34} The printing network surrounding Waldegrave in St Paul’s Churchyard is no exception to this rule, as many of those involved were connected by marriage or familial relationship as well as professional association and geographical location. It is likely that the same would be true for other printing networks within London, which are beyond the scope of this research.

Printing networks have been considered broadly by historians of printing, publishing and those involved in book history, although they are often examined as an afterthought, or to contextualise the individuals who operated within them. Networks of print have been the subject of a large number of essay collections, specifically the Print Networks series, edited by Peter Issac and Barry McKay, later Catherine Armstrong and John Hinks, originally stemming from the British Book Trade Seminar series during the

\textsuperscript{33} Hancock, ‘The Trouble with Networks’, pp.470-3.
\textsuperscript{34} Graham, ‘Review Article: Mercantile Networks’, pp.279-291.
late 1990s. These volumes, and the annual Print Networks Conference explore all aspects of British book production from the early modern to the present day, exploring national and regional production, as well as the London based industry. This research significantly extended our knowledge of the nature of printing networks during the late Elizabethan period, but does not specifically address the role of print networks such as the one surrounding Waldegrave within the London trade, nor does it engage with the trans-national print network which involved stationers in England and Scotland. This thesis therefore offers valuable new research, building upon the myriad of studies on other aspects of networks of print.

It is not possible to summarise here all of the research which has appeared on print networks since the 1990s; however research which is directly applicable to this study must be acknowledged and considered. Attempts have been made to place the London printing trade within a broader context of English printing, acknowledging the role played by regional booksellers and the university presses at Oxford and Cambridge. As the London trade is very well documented it is easy to assume that it operated in total isolation, however there existed a network of distributors around the country who were able to sell books printed in London to regional customers, and this is a key example of the role networks played in the early modern book trade. The study of this was well established before the development of network theories. The establishment of the English Stock in 1604 formalised a production network, with the Stationers’ Company acting as the publisher for printers producing works which made up the Stock, however, it will be demonstrated that such networks existed widely before 1604.

Studies of the continental print trade have also widely engaged with the concept of book trade networks in some form or another. Hans-Jörg Künast’s 2011 article on the book trade in Augsberg confirms the notion that regionalised trades flourished, as they are more cost effective than isolated trades. Künast suggests that Augsberg and other printing cities in Germany during the early-sixteenth century were able to innovate quickly due to their autonomy and the concentration of tradesmen in a specific area. He does not however consider how trade networks operated professionally within, or between the cities in which they existed, focusing on the personal connections which enabled and reinforced them. In the same volume David J Shaw’s article on Pierre Vidoue examines the practical network of print Vidoue operated within, discussing how local students and academics worked for him as copy editors and proof readers, and that he regularly produced texts to be sold by other booksellers. Shaw’s discussion of Vidoue’s network of production and collaborative financing of texts engages with similar questions as this study of Robert Waldegrave, although it does not consider the broader implications for such collaborative practice within a network of print.

In contrast Stijn Van Rossem’s 2010 article on the urban networks surrounding the Verdussen family, examines the importance of kinship and professional networks alongside collaborative printing practice. He discusses how the Verdussen family were able to maintain their printing house in Antwerp for 250 years after its establishment in 1589. He considers how, in contrast to the Plantin printing house which was inherited in totality by the heir, the Verdussen business maintained a central core, but people other than the heir were trained in printing, resulting in the development of subsidiary branches which produced specific genres of texts. This resulted in a professional

network of printers, built on familial relationships. Van Rossem describes collaborative production as standard procedure, acknowledging that colophons and imprints often mislead historians and bibliographers into believing a text was produced by a single printer. He lists a number of different collaborative practices, including structural collaboration, where equipment or premises were shared by two printers for a period and limited collaboration which could involve either two printers producing half a text they were both able to sell, allowing them to halve the financial risk, or one printer funding the production of a text by another printer. This was necessary for many printers, who worked in other roles to maintain their income and status. Van Rossem’s work on the Verdussen printing house provides a basis upon which to consider collaborative printing and highlights how this practice was commonplace outside England, supporting the use of this approach to Waldegrave’s bibliographical output.

The existing scholarly discourse provides numerous insights into the study of networks in general and trade and printing networks specifically, providing a framework for this study of the networks of print, patronage and religion within which Waldegrave operated. The informal, web-like nature of trade networks, encompassing significant individuals along with minor characters in a less, though not completely un-hierarchical manner, will be used as a model for understanding the print network which existed within St Paul’s Churchyard, and the significance and role of both this network and those of networks patronage and religion. The study of printing networks in England, and more significantly in continental Europe, demonstrates the broader significance of the networks within which Waldegrave operated and provides an important scholarly context for this thesis.

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41 Van Rossem, ‘Books and the City’, p.45.
Through the study of networks within the context of the study of the history of the book and the role of printers, this thesis is able to engage with Waldegrave’s career and his world in a new and innovative manner, offering new approach informed by existing scholarship. However, in order to appropriately contextualise Waldegrave within the sixteenth century print trade it is necessary to establish him within the broader historiographical context.

PART TWO: HISTORIOGRAPHY

I: HISTORY OF PRINT IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

Through consideration of the comparative histories of print in England and Scotland, alongside an examination of the key historical debates that inform these histories it is possible to establish the historiographical context for this study of Waldegrave and his career. In a period when the concept of ‘Britain’ was still in its relative infancy, it is crucial to acknowledge the separate political, religious and commercial worlds of England and Scotland, and to show appropriate caution when attempting to intertwine the two. There is no doubt that there were links between the two countries, and the study of Waldegrave’s career involves considering these more closely, from both sides of the border, in a period when the relationship between the two was fraught with difficulties. But there are two very separate histories for England and Scotland concerning religious, political and constitutional issues, along with two different histories of printing and book production. This thesis, through necessity, utilises existing research into the very separate English and Scottish histories but develops a historical study that is Anglo-Scottish, acknowledging the manner in which the two countries’ politics, religion and printing industries were intertwined. This is not a study of ‘British’ printing history, as it will not consider aspects of the industry which were not directly connected to the career of Waldegrave, but in presenting him as an example
of an Anglo-Scottish printer it is vital that the usual divides between the printing histories of England and Scotland are transcended.

This is not without difficulty, as there is a disproportionate amount of material available relating to the history of printing in England, due in part to the levels of regulation there and the resultant records held by the Stationers’ Company. This has prompted numerous studies of printers, regional presses, censorship, and the regulating body itself, which utilise this wealth of source material. In sharp contrast, the relatively unregulated print trade in Scotland offers a small body of sources, and scholarship on the subject is limited. This is beginning to change, through the establishment of new centres for the study of the history of the book in Scotland, and the publication of the Edinburgh history of the book in Scotland series. However, other than the work of Alistair Mann, limited progress has been made into the study of sixteenth-century Scottish printing since the publication of the *Annals of Scottish Printing* in 1890.\(^{43}\) By highlighting the links between the two industries, this thesis will show that more work should be done focusing on the cross border nature of book production at the end of the sixteenth century.

Before examining Waldegrave’s career, it is important to situate it within the broader historical context, considering the development of popular print trades in sixteenth-century England and Scotland and the way in which this popular print both contributed to a developing ‘public sphere’ during the period, as well as examining the manner in which literature was read and perceived by the public. Through the study of such material and responses to it, the establishment and development of the print trade in England can be traced and contrasted with a similar study of the sixteenth-century

Scottish print trade. Having established the varied nature of the print trades on either side of the border, in part three, the way in which religious material was produced will be considered and the idea of Protestant printing examined alongside the comparatively ignored sphere of Elizabethan Catholic printing. This will lead on to an examination into the ways different religious groups harnessed print both openly and covertly throughout the period.

i. The ‘Public Sphere’ Debate

In order to undertake this kind of analysis of the role of the printer in the sixteenth century, it is necessary to consider the problematic concept of an early modern public sphere. Jürgen Habermas stated that the ‘bourgeois public sphere could be understood as the sphere of private individuals assembled into a public body’, with this public body existing in opposition to the state apparatus. As he believed that until the eighteenth century the feudal hierarchy had not been sufficiently eroded to allow for the existence of genuine ‘private individuals’ who, collectively could be considered to be a ‘reasoning public’, no public sphere could exist before this period. Consequently, the public sphere is generally considered to be a post-industrialisation phenomenon. However, numerous issues have been raised both with the definition of what a public sphere embodies, and when it came about in different nations. Darnton, describing the communication of news and ideas, offers numerous examples of how the ‘bourgeois public sphere’ developed across Europe, in the salons and coffee houses of France and England, where gossip and news was shared and analysed informally by private individuals. He highlights that information was disseminated in multiple forms, oral, manuscript and printed, and if we accept that the dissemination of printed material

concerning the issues of the day as part of a public sphere then it is necessary consider whether the circulation of printed pamphlets and polemic in the sixteenth century can also be considered to be a facet of some sort of public sphere.

Harold Mah cautions against what he describes as the ‘spatial’ approach to the public sphere, adopted by most historians, who see the public sphere as a concept which embraces different social groups within a broader ‘public’ which can be considered as a single, unified agent wielding social agency. He suggests that to accept this relatively uncomplicated understanding of the public sphere fails to allow for the different levels of influence and interest from the various facets of society, thus over simplifying the complicated nature of society.46

The restriction of the phenomenon to the post-industrialised era has routinely been challenged by early modern scholars, who highlight how public engagement with the state developed in the sixteenth century. Some, particularly Peter Lake, Micheal Questier, and Steven Pincus, chose to redefine what they consider constitutes a public sphere, whilst others, including Joseph Black, and Douglas Bruster choose instead to characterise the public engagement in the sixteenth century as a ‘nascent public sphere’ which would eventually develop along the paths laid out by Habermas.47 These two positions are not mutually exclusive. Lake and Questier define the Elizabethan ‘public sphere’ as,

‘the spaces (both conceptual and practical) created by the particular politico-religious circumstances of Elizabeth’s reign for “public” debate and discourse on a number of topics central to the future and purposes of the regime…upon which public comment was supposed to be strictly regulated and controlled.’

This presents us with a public sphere without any guarantee of free speech, and with no formal system or role, which could be considered to be a ‘nascent’ form of the public sphere as defined by Habermas. It also reflects the particular socio-political circumstances of the Elizabethan period. The issues around which the majority of the public engagement with the regime was focused were highly unusual and caused genuine consternation and fear throughout the country. Questions over religion in the wake of the Catholic regime of Mary Tudor, and the encircling Catholic powers were the driving force behind much anti-Catholic material, and were answered by Catholics both within England and without. Different Protestant views of the religious settlement of 1559 provoked further discussion both within the regime, and on the more public stage in print and other media. During the first decades of Elizabeth’s reign the question of her marriage, with its potential to impact significantly on religious and foreign policy in England was a controversial topic that caused much trepidation. By the 1580s concerns about the treatment and later execution of Mary Queen of Scots, and the interwoven question of the Succession became the main cause of consternation, with issues concerning the long term survival of the Protestant regime in England, and the potential for civil war, caused sufficient fear that those who considered it their duty to offer advice to the monarchy were spurred to pick up their pens. Indeed there is a notable increase in the output of political tracts and pamphlets around the periods when Parliament was in session. The texts produced at this time were both official, as a way in which to communicate parliamentary decisions more widely, and popular political works designed to contribute to the debates occurring in Parliament, to influence MPs and to foster support for a particular position amongst the nobility, gentry and reading

Lake & Questier, ‘Puritans, Papists and the “Public Sphere”’, p.590.
public. Clearly there were individuals and groups outside of the political elite who believed that they had a duty to participate in the governance of the country in this manner.

The key difference between the public sphere of the sixteenth century and that of the later eighteenth century is the attitude of the public towards it. Whereas by the eighteenth century public engagement in political and social debates was considered desirable, if not necessary for harmonious society, in the Tudor period it was undesired but unavoidable, as individuals contributed either out of a classical sense of duty to offer counsel to the monarch, or due to their religious ideology which required them to promote the true Church above all other considerations. The aim of much of the material circulating during the period was to influence attitudes amongst the reading population, which would be in a position to persuade the Queen to pursue a particular course of action in specific situations. Couched in the language of counsel this material, often condemned the councillors of the Queen for failing her and her people by offering bad advice. It was increasingly dangerous to criticise the regime, and to challenge the attitude of the Queen directly was tantamount to suicide. As there was no right to free speech during this period, and levels of censorship were high, it was increasingly difficult to engage in a legal public sphere in print as works could have controversial passages censored or entire works could be banned if they were deemed to challenge the attitude the State and the Church wished to perpetuate. As discussed by Milton, in some situations, it seems likely that radical or controversial works would be moderated before being shown to the Stationers’ Company warden or ecclesiastical official.

50 Lake & Pincus, ‘Rethinking the Public Sphere’, pp.275-6 & p.290.
responsible for authorising the text. Once authorised the text could be further edited to express the author’s intended, radical meaning, or printed in its sanitised, legal form.\textsuperscript{52}

The lack of protected free speech extended throughout early modern society. Even within Parliament, challenging the Queen’s decisions or presuming to know better than her was increasingly dangerous, and led to the imprisonment of the Puritan MP Peter Wentworth and a number of his contemporaries in 1587, on invented charges.\textsuperscript{53} Many of the most prominent examples of public engagement on political, social or religious issues resulted in those involved suffering some level of punishment for their actions. John Stubbs’ \textit{Discoverie of a Gaping Gulfe} (1578) which opposed the proposed marriage between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke d’Anjou cost its author his hand, Robert Waldegrave was supposedly imprisoned for printing controversial Puritan pamphlets in 1585 and those involved in the Marprelate press were hunted down, imprisoned, exiled or put to death.

It is the development of a culture of printed opinion that allows historians to speculate on the nature or existence of a public sphere in England during the sixteenth century. Indeed it is the volume of printed material which can be considered to have had a popular appeal, which engaged with the political, social or religious debates of the day, that makes it clear that there was a type of public sphere within England during the period, although this was an undefined, and therefore fluid situation, with the secular and ecclesiastical authorities willing to curtail public engagement with the state through the means of censorship or punitive measures against individuals.\textsuperscript{54} Although this sort of public sphere is very different to the original definition provided by Habermas, Lake

\textsuperscript{53} Wentworth and his friends were imprisoned supposedly for meeting before Parliament was in session and planning what they would say in the House of Commons, as opposed for what they actually said in from of the Commons.
\textsuperscript{54} Lake & Pincus, ‘Rethinking the Public Sphere’, p.289.
and Pincus have argued that public engagement with the state on issues of particular urgency or significance, through the mediums of ‘print, the pulpit, performance, and circulating manuscripts’ became a key, though unofficial, and unacknowledged part of the political process in England.\(^{55}\) This argument is supported by the violent reactions the state displayed against those circulating ideas which ran contrary to state policy, throughout Elizabeth’s reign. The punishment of Stubbs has already been mentioned, but the numerous pieces of legislation put in place to curtail and eventually outlaw discussion of the Succession question in the 1570s and 1580s; the concern expressed by both the Queen and members of the privy council when works touching the English succession were published abroad; and of course the hunting down and punishment of those involved in the Marprelate press, indicate that the regime was well aware of the power of the printed word to threaten state policy.\(^{56}\) If we refer to the public sphere in the Elizabethan period we are therefore making reference to a constantly changing environment where individuals from across society engaged with the important concerns of the day in discussion, print and manuscript, unsure of whether this engagement would have any impact or evoke retribution or punishment from the state.

## ii. ‘Popular’ Printing in Sixteenth Century England

The emergence of this type of public sphere in early modern England can be directly linked to the increasing availability of cheap print in the sixteenth century, which allowed printed media to reach a mass audience of mixed demographic. As the printing industry developed across Europe there was increasing diversity in the size and cost of printed books, and by the end of the fifteenth century there was a strong trade in ‘cheap print’ in continental Europe.\(^{57}\) Some historians may talk of an ‘English exception’ in

\(^{55}\) Lake & Pincus, ‘Rethinking the Public Sphere’, pp.276-279.
the world of printing, given the limited nature of the industry, but in respect to the advent of cheap print, England followed the trend set by the rest of Europe, with the first English printer William Caxton focusing much of his efforts on producing small, cheap books for a wide audience to generate income, when not commissioned to print a particular text. Throughout the sixteenth century the printing of texts was not governed primarily by commercial forces, as very few printers had sufficient capital independently to produce large texts, and consequently the majority of books and texts were only possible with the financial patronage of a suitable party, either the Crown, the Church, a significant courtier or other wealthy individual. Where a text did not enjoy such patronage, it might be dedicated to an individual in an attempt to elicit financial support for its printer or publisher. However, as the majority of printers did not have sufficient capital to undertake a speculative venture without patronage, small, cheaper works were an important source of income. Even printers who were producing a book for a patron continued to print the occasional cheap text to keep money flowing. By the time Elizabeth took the throne in 1558 there was a strong market for printed material in England, which had been greatly assisted by the support given to official Protestant printing projects under Edward VI. Under both his, and his sister Mary’s reign there was a growing trade in cheap texts, be they religious, political or literary in nature.

Given that the English printing industry largely relied on continental Europe for printing equipment, including the costly type, matrices and most importantly, suitable white paper, the very notion of cheap print appears counterintuitive. Consequently there were several characteristics of cheap material, due to the financial obstacles to the English printing industry. Firstly, and most obviously, the format of the texts were such so as to

59 John Day and Foxe’s Book of Martyrs, Day continued to take on small pamphlet and broadside work to keep money coming in.
use as little paper as possible, as that alone accounted for 75% of the cost of a text.\textsuperscript{60} The smaller texts could also be transported at a minimal cost, and in bulk if necessary. Secondly, the typeface used for the majority of popular print was black letter, a gothic type, which by the sixteenth century was considered highly outdated in continental Europe. Originally developed to reflect the handwriting of the manuscript period, English black letter remained the dominant type for ‘popular’ works until well into the seventeenth century, and the majority of educational books and primers used the same type. Consequently it was arguably the type which would have been most likely to be accessible to the broadest of audiences.\textsuperscript{61} On top of this consideration that the type would broaden the potential consumer base, black letter type, due to its relative unpopularity on the continent, was not as expensive as other, more fashionable fonts, and many printers already own the matrices and could therefore produce their own type if necessary.

There was a wide demand for pamphlets and affordable texts covering moralistic, religious, romantic and chivalric material, almost exclusively printed in black letter at the start of Elizabeth’s reign, although by the 1580s there was a move towards using roman type, which was more simplistic, and more popular on the continent. Cheaper formats opened the way for both the elites and the commonality to read the same material, although the attitudes of each group to the different texts must have been significantly different. Print continued to be considered a vulgar medium, with cheaper chapbooks, pamphlets and other printed ephemera being considered the least respectable sort of printed works. Although the wealthy continued to purchase the cheaper literature, small works were often bound together into larger books, collating

pamphlets and chapbooks into a format which survives to the present day. Literacy was becoming more widespread throughout this period, and the literate population may well have exceeded Cressy’s figures of a 20% literacy rate amongst women, and 40% amongst men living outside of London by 1640, as they were based upon the ability of individuals to sign their name, and reading was taught before writing. It was not only the literate who could have access to cheap print, as woodcut illustrations often used on broadsides, could be understood by those unable to read the text. Broadsides, pamphlets and other texts were often read in groups, allowing far greater dissemination, and the oral nature of ballads meant that their message was shared through song. Ultimately it is impossible to quantify the dissemination of cheap texts in the early modern period, because they were not restricted by social class, literacy, gender or geography. Unlike larger books which had to be sold either in the shops of London booksellers, or carried piecemeal by journeymen to regional shops and book fairs, the small, cheap texts could be sold in bulk by journeymen, and travelling peddlers, and therefore they were accessible even to a rural audience.

### iii. The ‘Popular Culture’ Debate

Given the broad audience of cheap print, due to expanded literacy and the relatively low cost of the medium, cheap print is considered to be a key component of the ‘popular culture’ of early modern England. Whilst most scholars would not question the existence of a ‘popular culture’, there are different ways in which to define the role and appeal of it. Traditionally it has been believed that ‘popular culture’, as defined by Peter Burke, was the culture of the common people and an alternative to the ‘high culture’

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63 Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, pp.6-8.
which was enjoyed by the intellectual and social elites within society. More recently scholars have disputed this definition of popular culture highlighting the fact that the cheap print considered popular was not merely purchased by the poor, but by all sections of society. It is argued that popular print in fact had the ability of ‘levelling’ social distinctions and drawing different aspects of the social milieu together, if not physically then intellectually. Popular print was also highly diverse in content, reflecting more accurately a society which contained a multitude of different views and beliefs, which transcended the boundaries of class, gender and geography. Historians have presented different understandings of how culture was divided amongst societies. Questions over the divide between the urban and rural cultures have been raised by Roger Chartier, who suggests that in France at least, the urban populace were more involved in print and related popular culture, whilst Fletcher and Stevenson focus on a society divided between the elites and the general populace. It is impossible to deny that within any society there are a multiplicity of different experiences and circumstances, all which must impact the way in which individuals experience the popular culture of any nation. Therefore, although not universal, any sort of popular culture may be considered in light of the wide range of responses that it would have elicited by those exposed to it. Through cheap print, and other popular media such as theatre and drama, it is possible to appreciate some of the complexities of early modern English society and its culture. If the popular culture of sixteenth-century England was a ‘mosaic made up of changing and often contradictory fragments’, then the cheap print

64 Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, (London, 2009), xiii.
and other aspects of it which survive to the present offer some insight into the common, unified social experience of the English people.\textsuperscript{68}

The notion of popular culture is not unproblematic, and there are numerous studies which question what exactly can be considered to be evidence of popular culture. Some suggest that sheer volume can be an indication that a printed text was popular, but scholars have disputed this, highlighting situations where texts were produced officially or for a propagandist purpose. However, even if this approach is flawed, an analysis of texts produced in bulk provide an indication of the main concerns of the producers, and material which enjoyed one or more reprinting provides an insight into what was being readily consumed.\textsuperscript{69}

Further debate over the nature of popular culture concerns the consumers themselves. Traditionally the discussion has focused on the consumption of men, and more recently scholars have attempted to redress this balance, considering how women engaged with printed material and other aspects of popular culture. Limited evidence may account for the relatively small amount of research into this aspect of popular culture, although it has been considered within the broader field of the history of reading.\textsuperscript{70} Overall, the history of readers and readership has been expanding since the 1980s, as a range of scholars from the fields of book history, cultural history and English literature engage with the social conventions and practices of reading, considering how, where, and with whom early modern readers read.\textsuperscript{71} Recent research has considered the reading practices of a wide range of social groups, including both academic and leisure readers, as well as

\textsuperscript{68} Watt, \textit{Cheap Print and Popular Piety}, p.3.
\textsuperscript{69} Harris, ‘Problematising Popular Culture’, p.17.
\textsuperscript{70} Harris, ‘Problematising Popular Culture’, p.113.
\textsuperscript{71} Martyn Lyons, \textit{A History of Reading and Writing: In the Western World}, (Basingstoke, 2010), p.2.
the relationship between oral and literary culture. Questions of interpretation and the relationship between individual readers as a text have been raised, with Pierre Bourdieu highlighting how individual readers bring their own accumulated ‘cultural capital’ to the texts they read, and consequently readers can be grouped by shared cultural and social experiences, enabling individual responses to texts can be extrapolated to reveal some insight into the nature of the reaction of the broader social group they inhabited.

Wolfgang Iser, in his examination of the interaction between texts and the reader, identifies two ‘poles’ of texts which define the reading process, the artistic, formed by the author, and the aesthetic, formed by the reader through the interpretation of the text. He argues that the true reading of the text can be found in between these two poles, requiring scholars to consider both the authorial motivation and reader’s reception of a text to fully appreciate how a book could be read.

Whilst both Darton’s ‘communication circuit’ and Adams and Barker’s model for the study of book history recognise the significance of the reader as a consumer, and the significance of reception, it will not form a significant part of the analysis presented here. The focus of this research is not concerned with the content of texts and the resultant controversies caused by them but the economic context of their production. The early modern reader shall not be entirely absent however, as the reception of texts will be considered within the broader context of typography, censorship and Anglicisation. Also, as consumers were generally readers, readership will feed into

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73 Lyons, A History of Reading and Writing, p.4.
the commercial aspect of Waldegrave’s business, which plays a pivotal role in the analysis of his characterisation as a Puritan printer.

iv. Polemics and Pamphlets

Whilst there was a broad demand for moralistic, religious, romantic and basic literary texts, there was also a high consumption of polemic material and cheap pamphlet literature which has been studied by scholars who consider how the development of these two genres contributed to the public sphere in England during the sixteenth century.

Polemic, Jesse Lander suggests, was the product of the developing printing press and the Reformation, and consequent religious turmoil, which characterised the sixteenth century. He terms polemical literature as ‘books of encounter’, designed to influence or impact those who read them, as the text challenged the religious position that it opposed. Confrontational and aggressive, the texts were public by necessity as they required a wide audience, and a direct response.\(^76\) Consequently, they were most commonly produced in the cheap, popular, pamphlet format, often costing one or two pence.\(^77\) This made them easy to produce, transport, sell, and if necessary, conceal. The aggressive animadversion literature typically challenged other printed polemics directly, challenging their arguments and rebutting all their salient points, whilst at the same time, reprinting verbatim large amounts of their opponents material and views. To avoid confusion, the quotations and marginal notes were generally printed in a different type, to make differentiation easier. Such printed debate was greatly influenced by the typical rhetorical education offered to young men, and sometimes women, during the sixteenth century. Syllogisms were widely utilised, being a key rhetorical tool employed by


\(^{77}\) Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p.5.
scholars, where logic is used in a particular manner to challenge particular points of view. This key aspect of early modern rhetorical training required two statements of fact, from which a third truth could be extrapolated. An example of this can be seen in Marprelate’s Epistle (1588) where he argues:

A: ‘petty popes and petty antichrists ought not to be maintained in any Christian commonwealth’

B: ‘Every lord bishop in England, as for ilsample, John of Cant, John of London, John Exeter, John Rochester, Thomas of Winchester, the bishops of Lincoln, of Worcester, of Peterborough, and to be brief, all the bishops in England, Wales, and Ireland, are petty popes and petty antichrists.’

C: ‘Therefore no lord bishop is to be tolerated in any Christian Commonwealth: and therefore neither John of Cant., John of London, etc are to be tolerated in any Christian Commonwealth.’

The use of rhetorical tropes gave polemical material a sense of rationality and scholarly legitimacy that their, often extreme, ideological positions were lacking. It also provided a clear, easy to follow rationale in support of its position, which would have been familiar to scholars and accessible to the common reader.

Polemical material was primarily, though not exclusively concerned with religious issues, although political, constitutional and other matters were also the subject of pamphlet literature. It is a genre that has enjoyed increasing scholarly interest since the rise of social and cultural history, and there are varying views and approaches to this form of printed literature, and its significance. The general consensus is that pamphlet works were small, cheap and readily accessible. Establishing readership is a problematic task, as the texts were cheap, and often their sales were not well documented, meaning that their dissemination has to be approximated. Whilst it seems that they are likely to have been concentrated in and around London, due to the bases of production, and the references within the texts to well-known London figures, this is not

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to suggest that they were not disseminated more widely.\textsuperscript{80} There are some situations where pamphlets have been discovered bound in volumes in the houses of the gentry, but otherwise, there is no true way to establish how wide their readership truly was.\textsuperscript{81}

Whilst pamphlets were the preferred format for religious and polemical material, they also provided a conduit for political and literary works. They demonstrate the way in which some form of public sphere was developing in England during the early modern period. Cyndia Clegg has examined the numbers of pamphlets printed during the reign of Elizabeth I and highlights that in the years of and proceeding sessions of Parliament, there was a sharp increase in printed pamphlets being published. The debates conducted in print, including the so called Admonition Controversy from 1572, the petition in support of the Genevan liturgy between 1584-85, and the controversy surrounding the imprisonment of Mary Queen of Scots were all highly contentious, and tended to be most energetic around the time of Parliamentary sessions.\textsuperscript{82}

Andrew Pettegree uses the study of pamphlets to look at both the broad trends of the subject matter of printed texts across Europe, extrapolating from this the preoccupations of the people during the sixteenth century. In the Europe wide approach, Pettegree identifies two ‘pamphlet moments’ during the sixteenth century, when the volume of pamphlet literature produced, much of it polemical, sharply increased for a period. During the 1520s there was a deluge of material published in response to the work of Martin Luther, with over 6000 different texts being printed discussing the subject in Germany between 1518 and 1526.\textsuperscript{83} A similar phenomenon occurred in the 1560s, when there was an outpouring of political and religious material challenging monarchical

\textsuperscript{80} Clark, \textit{The Elizabethan Pamphleteers}, p.83.
\textsuperscript{81} Pettegree, \textit{Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion}, p.160.
\textsuperscript{83} Pettegree, \textit{Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion}, pp.163-5.
authority throughout Europe.\textsuperscript{84} These supposed ‘pamphlet moments’ place in context the polemic, propaganda and other material published towards the end of the sixteenth century, as this third period of lively debate in print was preceded by two, controversial and potentially destabilising periods of printed debate, explaining, in some ways, why the political authorities were so disturbed by publications such as those by John Stubbs, and later Martin Marprelate. The debate over popular culture is also deepened by analysis of the consumers who purchased pamphlets, as it is established that they were not solely read by the common people, as the libraries of many noble and merchant families included within them bound compilations of pamphlet material.\textsuperscript{85} Having established that pamphlet material, like other examples of cheap print, was purchased both by the lowly and the social elite, it is possible to accept that there was a less exclusive ‘popular culture’ in England during the sixteenth century, although this popular culture embraced many ideological, religious and political positions.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the expanded interest in cheap print and pamphlets was supplemented by a new fascination with printed satire and libel. Arguably, the works of Martin Marprelate, given their widespread popularity, opened the way for the burgeoning trade in humorous attacks on individuals of social significance and social scandal.\textsuperscript{86} ‘Libel’, an umbrella term used by contemporaries to include political commentary, derisory material, social scandal and personal attacks had developed from the oral culture of gossip, but the mass market for print provided a new outlet. The basis of the Marprelate tracts is purportedly gossip and scandalous material collated by John Field over a period of many years, which provided the basis for the ad hominem attacks

\textsuperscript{84} Pettegree, \textit{Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion}, pp.177-180.
\textsuperscript{85} Pettegree, \textit{Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion}, pp.157-162.
on members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy printed within ‘Martin’s’ tracts.\textsuperscript{87} Printed libels were often disseminated in secret, nailed up in public places such as churches or market crosses, or left in places where they would be easily discovered.\textsuperscript{88} The practise can be seen as a further contribution to the public sphere in Elizabethan England, often allowing people to communicate material which was clearly outside the accepted, though informal, boundaries of public debate, in established public spaces, before the rise of coffee houses and news sheets. The so-called ‘Bishops Bann’ of 1599 attempted to put an end to the satire and libel which was circulating, but was of limited impact, and the practise of libelling continued on into the reign of James I & VI.\textsuperscript{89}

Popular print, pamphlets and printed polemic constitute the majority of Waldegrave’s English bibliography and therefore an understanding of the debates surrounding their production, existence and study is vital if his bibliographical choices are to be fully contextualised. The demand for such material, the relative ease of its production and the limited means to which the authorities were able to regulate such texts helped to establish it as the mainstay of many minor printers in London during the late-sixteenth century. The existence and role of an early modern public sphere is regularly considered alongside the discussion of religious print, especially controversial material such as the Marprelate tracts. Establishing that that the public sphere that existed during the period was not the widely accessible and accepted model of engagement described by Habermas, but an unstable concept which shifted due to circumstance contributes to our understanding of the complex circumstances within which Waldegrave and his contemporaries were producing texts which engaged with religious, political and social questions. As during the sixteenth-century the public sphere was often dominated by

\textsuperscript{87} Raymond, \textit{Pamphlets and Pamphleteering}, p.42.
religious concerns, it is therefore necessary to examine the relationship between the public sphere, print and religion if the role and significance of a ‘religious’ printer is to be fully appreciated.

II: PRINT AND RELIGION

The relationship between religion and print during the sixteenth century has been extensively examined, and it is impossible to appreciate the development of both print and press regulation in England without considering this key relationship. Similarly, in order to contextualise accurately Waldegrave’s career within both the English and Scottish print trades, as well as within the various networks of religion and patronage within which he operated, it is vital to establish the significance of religion to the print trade in the sixteenth century. The majority of texts produced during the period were concerned with religious issues, in the wake of the Reformation which left different religious groups competing for the support of the common people, as well as disputing points of doctrine amongst and between themselves. The use of print was both open, with some printers and authors courting danger by expressing controversial views which could be easily traced back to them, and covert, with clandestine presses producing material which prompted a widespread government and ecclesiastical response.

i. English Protestant Printing

Elizabeth Eisenstein argues that the printing industry itself was a precipitant of the European Reformation. She suggests that print itself allowed for the development of new religious beliefs as it allowed new ideas to be expressed and the inherent confusion over religion to be explored. Indeed it seems inevitably that individuals within nominally Catholic countries, who had access to Protestant literature, procured either

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from abroad, or from clandestine domestic presses, interpreted religious material independently from any particular church, and from their inferences contributed to the wave of new, developing evangelical churches. In contrast to this dynamic consequence of religious printing, Eisenstein attributes the relatively static position of scientific thought during the period to the advent of the printing press also, as the autonomous and independent thought that the technology inspired in theological spheres was in fact stifled in scientific circles, where rules and laws were accepted, often unquestioningly and therefore no new advances could be made. It appears that there is weight to the idea that the advent of the printing press was significant in helping the Protestant reformation maintain momentum, and also contributed to the many divergent ways in which the new religion developed.

Jesse Lander refers to the ‘textbook truism’ that print aided in the development of Protestantism, whilst acknowledging that the relationship was far more complex than is often believed, and the success of religious reform was not solely due to the new technology. 92 Indeed, as a logo-centric religion which was predicated upon the understanding of the ‘Word’ in the form of the Bible, it seems unsurprising that extensive use was made of printed texts. 93 Protestant leaders throughout Europe, Luther and Calvin particularly, deliberately harnessed the print and book trade to further disseminate their beliefs. 94 Domestic print in England flourished during the Protestant regime of the Edward VI, thanks, in part to Somerset’s removal of all previous restrictions on printing in England. In comparison to an average output of 69 texts a year in the final seven years of Henry VIII’s reign, an average of 131 texts were printed in the first three years of Edward’s reign, with the number dropping to an average of 113 texts a year after the removal of Somerset in the autumn of 1549. During

92 Lander, Inventing Polemic, p.6.
94 Pettegree, Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion, p.131-149.
Somerset’s protectorate there was an unprecedented level of religious freedom allowed within printed media, and of the 394 texts produced during the period, 274 were concerned with religion. This includes the 1547 Book of Common Prayer, Book of Homilies and the 1552 Second Book of Common Prayer, along with numerous example of Protestant propaganda, encouraged by Somerset from printers such as Richard Grafton, Walter Lynne and Edward Whitchurch.

After the overthrow of Somerset in 1549 some control of the press was reasserted, and new structures for censorship were established, however they were highly limited, and lacked powers of enforcement. Texts expressing Protestant ideology continued to be produced with relatively little involvement from the authorities. Print continued to flourish due to the demand for service books, Bibles and religious texts and many printers were patronised by the crown, as well as Richard Grafton who enjoyed the privileged position of the Royal Printer. Although this expansion in the production of printed Protestant material can be attributed to Somerset’s attitude towards the press, and the regime’s own reformed outlook, along with the resultant religious freedom for Protestants in England after the death of Henry VII, the significance of political circumstances cannot be overlooked. The regime responded to the 1549 rebellions in Devon and Cornwall with printed propaganda, and much of the motivation for producing printed material in the early years of the regime would have been born from the political situation between England and Scotland, as the Lord Protector continued Henry VIII’s ‘Rough Wooing’ of the northern kingdom, and attempted to promote the God given opportunity to form a united Protestant Isle, in opposition to Catholic

Europe. Some of the key tracts printed by the regime itself during this period were connected with one particular member of Protector Somerset’s retinue, namely William Cecil, later Lord Burghley. The introduction of propaganda to the on-going assault on Scotland is generally understood to be the major difference between the late King and Somerset’s policies towards Scotland. Whilst Henry’s 1542 Declaration, Conteynyng the Iust Causes and Consyderations of this Presnet Warre with the Scottis, wherin alsoo appereth the Trew & Right Title that the Kinges Most Royall Maiesty hath to the Souerayntie of Scotlande, reasserted English lordship over Scotland based on the Brutus myth of ‘Britain’, the propaganda produced during the early part of Edward’s reign emphasised the God-given opportunity to unite England and Scotland through the marriage of the two infant monarchs, and in doing so to produce a strong, Protestant isle, to counter the Catholic continent.

Tracts designed both to persuade the Scots of the benefits of the union, and to convince the English that the ongoing conflict was rooted in moral and divine justifications were written by Somerset’s retinue in his name, and by Scottish supporters such as John Henderson, whose tract An Exhortacion to the Scottes was printed in 1547. Somerset’s 1548 Epistle or Exhortation to Unitie and Peace furthered Henderson’s arguments over the providential nature of the unity of the nations through the marriage of the monarchs, as well as highlighting the benefits to Scotland which would be brought about by the union and end of hostilities. Unsurprisingly, the propaganda campaign was fairly unsuccessful, serving more to unite the Scots against the English regime, and prompting the publication of numerous nationalist works north of the

border.

However, the propaganda element of Somerset’s Scottish policy clearly invigorated English presses at the start of the reign, along with the production of new religious and educational texts as discussed. The apparent decline of domestic printing during the reign of the Catholic Mary Tudor cannot therefore be perceived as resulting purely from a religious shift, but a political one as there was no longer the need to promote an alliance between the two nations.

Traditionally the Marian regime is condemned for its failure to harness the medium of print, which has enabled the majority of historians to focus on printing as merely a Protestant phenomenon. However recent consideration of the role of print within a wider policy of re-Catholicisation has begun to challenge this view. The production of printed Catholic polemic in the form of sermons, news pamphlets, accounts of heresy trials and anti-Protestant propaganda must be recognised as a concerted effort on the part of the Marian regime to foster the power of print. More significantly, Mary’s reign saw a wholesale expansion of regulation and censorship, indicating that the regime was well aware of the danger posed by printed material. The incorporation of the Stationers’ Company in 1557 was possibly the most significant event in the development of the printing industry during the sixteenth century. However it did not occur without long term planning, and can be seen as the culmination of efforts since 1542 to have the Stationers formally recognised. It also reflects the Marian regime’s

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awareness of the danger posed by unregulated printing, and the manifold benefits incorporation offered the crown in terms of regulation and restriction of the trade.\textsuperscript{106}

Within wider study of Tudor censorship, the incorporation of the Stationers’ Company is seen as both proactive restriction of the printing trade and an ad hoc response to the situation facing the monarchy in 1557.\textsuperscript{107} The controls and regulations laid down in 1557 vastly extended structures for censorship, utilised by Elizabeth and her regime in the second half of the century. By formalising the trade, a framework for regulation was established, and the responsibility for enforcing it passed from the Crown to the Company, which relied on the Crown for its continued existence. Consequently texts considered dangerous by the regime could be searched for and disposed of without any cost to the government. Historians have highlighted that the nationwide search and seize authority given to the Stationers’ Company at its incorporation is a reflection of the Crown’s true motivation in granting the honour, as it established a body to enforce censorship and printing regulation.\textsuperscript{108} The nationwide search and seize authority was an unusual power for a London Livery Company to be granted, however, as the printing trade was centralised in London, and the domestic and foreign book trade was closely intertwined with it, the regulation of the industry within London inevitably impacted on what material was available for purchase in provincial towns. Regional presses were difficult to establish, as all printers were required to be members of the Stationers’ Company, and the press established at Cambridge University had seen its license lapse in 1522.\textsuperscript{109} 

\textsuperscript{108} Gadd, ‘Being like a field’, p.44.  
\textsuperscript{109} Feather, \textit{A History of British Publishing}, p.31.
No printer of bookes, nor any other person, or persons whatsoever, shall sett up, keepe, or mayntein, any presse or presses, or any other instruments, or instruments, for imprinting of bookes, ballades, chartesm pourtaictures, or any other thing, or things whatsoever, but onelye in the cittie of London, or the suburbs thereof (except one presse in the universitie of Cambridge, and one other presse in the universitie of Oxforde, and no more) and that no person shall hereafter erect, sett up, or maynteyne in any secret, or obscure corner, or place, any suche press.\textsuperscript{110}

Therefore it was unlikely that any texts were being printed outside London, and consequently all material sold in the provinces had to be have been printed within London or imported. As only members of the Company were allowed to print material, any texts for sale would have been printed by a member and consequently it is not as surprising as might be thought that the London based Company had national search and seize rights.

In 1559 Elizabeth issued the \textit{Injunctions}, the 51\textsuperscript{st} clause requiring all new books to be licensed before printing by either the Queen, six of the Privy Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London or the Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge.\textsuperscript{111} Significantly this broadened the licensing of texts to include ecclesiastical institutions as well as secular authorities. In 1566 the Star Chamber accepted new Ordinances concerning the Stationers’ Company, formulated by seven Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, which outlined a series of harsh punishments for the printing and dissemination of texts which questioned laws of the state, or which were deemed seditious or heretical. They also gave the Company the responsibility to destroy any such material that was seized in their policing actions as laid out in the original Charter.\textsuperscript{112} The 1586 Star Chamber Decrees reasserted the rights of the Company to nationwide search and seizure of forbidden texts, and also reaffirmed the

\textsuperscript{111} Clair, \textit{A History of Printing in Britain}, p.109.
role of the Church in the licensing of texts, highlighting the growing concern over seditious and controversial material. Far greater regulation of the size of the printing trade in London was introduced, formalising restrictions on the number of printers and apprentices who could operate.\textsuperscript{113} The concentration of the trade in London was also reaffirmed, with presses outside the city forbidden apart from the presses at Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

The everyday role of the Company was to regulate those printing and selling material in London and to record the ownership of copies in the Company Registers. This system created a formal record of the ownership of particular texts, and was a precursor to the systems of copyright that developed in the eighteenth century. After 1557 only texts which were recorded in the Register or which were covered by Royal privilege could be printed legally in England, although in practice the majority of printers neglected to register smaller texts they printed, and suffered no ramifications. The Register also contained details of fines levied by the Company for the infringement of other printers’ copies, and the binding and freedom of apprentices into the Company. Further regulations were introduced by the Company to address issues facing the trade, most obviously the introduction of print run limits in 1587/8. Whilst print runs rarely numbered less than 250, the Company introduced a limit of 1250-1500 for all texts other than grammars, prayer books and catechisms in order to create more work for the compositors and printers, who would be obliged to reset their forms to produce further editions of popular texts.\textsuperscript{114}

The print trade in London was therefore generally self-regulated during the Elizabethan period, although some legislation was introduced by the State to prevent the publication

\textsuperscript{114} Plant, \textit{The English Booktrade}, p.93; Raymond, \textit{Pamphlets and Pamphleteering}, p.80.
and circulation of material on controversial subjects such as the succession. Regulation and censorship restricted the print trade throughout the century, but as enforcement was uneven, though more extensive after the incorporation of the Stationers’ Company.

Under Edward VI the censorship of printing was limited, and in a manner similar to that later established by the 1559 Injunctions, from 1549 all material had to be approved by William Petre, Thomas Smith or William Cecil. The regime had close control over legitimate printed output, which possibly furthered the cause of the Protestant printing press, however there was no formal structure available to formalise or enforce censorship. More significant than the Protestant control of censorship, was the patronage given by William Cecil to two printers, John Day and William Seres. Other scholars have examined the careers of these two printers, and their partnership at great length, but they provide a perfect illustration of the way in which those within the Edwardian regime promoted the use of printing for Protestant ends. From 1548 Cecil granted Day and Seres (Cecil’s former servant) independently several highly lucrative patents, with none of the usual time limitations, Ponet’s Catechism and the ABC with Brief Catechism to Day, and primers to Seres.

The two printers formed a partnership to minimise the financial risks inherent in undertaking new printing work, regardless of any patents held. Their wares were sold in one of the five shops they, and a third printer, Anthony Scholoker operated. Under Henry VIII Day had printed small, vernacular Protestant texts, sometimes under pseudonyms where necessary, which were affordable and consequently accessible to a

115 Evenden, Patents, Pictures and Patronage.
large audience. He was also involved with printing English works by John Hooper and Hugh Latimer, undertaking his own translations of continental Protestant texts.

Day appears to have been the senior partner in the relationship with Seres, as when the partnership was dissolved he retained the expensive woodcuts and continued to have strong relationships with their patrons. He independently enjoyed the patronage of the Dowager Duchess of Suffolk throughout Edward’s reign, and later that of Robert Dudley, eventually the Earl of Leicester, however it was his receipt of three valuable patents in 1553, including the Brief Catechism and ABC primer, which secured his position within the English printing trade.

Unlike many of his contemporaries Day did not go into exile during the reign of Mary Tudor, instead remaining in London and printing several books under the name, Michael Wood of Rouen. These works provide the most obvious example of clandestine Protestant printing in the mid-century period. In order to conceal his involvement in these texts he affixed fake colophons, which identified the texts’ place of print as France. He was briefly imprisoned in 1554 for his involvement in ‘naughtie’ books, and acted as a jobbing printer for the rest of the reign, rising to prominence again once Elizabeth was on the throne and Cecil once more in a place of authority.

It is Day’s work with John Foxe during the reign of Elizabeth I that is most studied, the Actes and Monuments being the most significant Protestant printing project, other than the vernacular Bible, undertaken during the sixteenth century. During the period in which he was undertaking the massive project he continued to print the small,

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118 King, ‘John Day: Master Printer of the English Reformation’, p.204
119 Evenden, Patents, Pictures and Patronage, pp.29-46.
affordable texts which had first defined his output. This served a dual purpose, as not only did it guarantee him a revenue stream upon which to live, but it also enabled him to continue to spread his ideological views to the people. However, the work on Foxe’s Actes and Monuments, the epitome of Day’s achievement occupied so much press time between 1562 and its publication that only two other texts were issued from his press. The mammoth text, far larger even than a lectern Bible, was printed in columns, with elaborate, costly woodcuts, different fonts and numerous marginalia, and was first published in March 1563, after months of work and huge financial outlays for paper, ink and the specially commissioned woodcuts. Hugely popular, and the subject of many historical and literary studies, Actes and Monuments was reprinted in 1570, with tacit support from the regime, which ordered that a copy should be set up alongside the Bible in every cathedral.\textsuperscript{121}

Day continued to broaden his printing output from this period until his death, his financial position secure due to the success of the Actes and Monuments, and the many lucrative patents he held. Upon his death his son was unable to match his father’s prodigious output, instead building up a syndicate of printers and booksellers who undertook the printing of different parts of the ‘Day patent’.\textsuperscript{122}

As the official religion of Elizabethan England, there was only limited call for clandestine Protestant printing, as the majority of material was immediately accepted by the Stationers’ Company and suffered no censorship from either that institution or the Church. Unlike the situation in the early-seventeenth century, most of the religious material registered with the Stationers’ Company was authorised by the wardens, and

\textsuperscript{122} Feather, A History of British Publishing, p.37.
therefore was not subject to the level of censorship that became common during the
Laudian period. In cases where texts were authorised by a member of the ecclesiastical
authorities, it is possible that a level of ‘benign censorship’ was undertaken, to allow
works of a more radical or controversial nature to be printed, with some omissions or
alterations. As Milton discusses, it is very difficult to discuss the nature of early
modern censorship with any degree of certainty due to the lack of surviving evidence,
and as censorship was exercised with varying degrees of severity due to circumstance, it
is unwise to generalise over any given period.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, much of the printed material produced was
religious in nature, and a large proportion was printed without censorship from the
ecclesiastical authorities. As there was a high level of demand for such works, printers
were likely to print texts, not through religious conviction, but for commercial gain, and
few had such a close relationship with the theological positions expounded as Day had
with Foxe’s ‘Book of Martyrs’. Those operating any form of clandestine Protestant
printing press therefore can be assumed to be from outside the Church of England, that
is to say, to be part of the so called ‘Puritan’ movement, which, as will be examined,
continued to undertake secret printing projects, and to arrange for extremely
controversial material to be produced abroad.

ii. Catholic and Clandestine Printing in England

Print was not the exclusive tool of the Protestant faith, and there was a strong Catholic
press in Europe throughout the period. Traditionally it is believed that the English state
made far less use of printing to promote a Catholic agenda, during the reign of the

Catholic Queen Mary, with the majority of Catholic printing in England being undertaken by individuals and not the state.\textsuperscript{126} The Marian regime, with its focus on restoring the country to pre-reformation religious and political circumstances, arguably failed to appreciate the changing nature of the relationship between the English people and the Church, and the role the printed word, in the form of the Bible amongst other texts, played in this relationship.\textsuperscript{127}

It is not as surprising as may be suggested that the volume of material printed in England during Mary’s reign was smaller than that produced during her brother’s reign. As the majority of pro-Catholic texts were composed in languages other than English, there was limited facility for non-vernacular texts to be produced domestically and therefore the vast majority of Latin books and printed texts circulating in England were imported from the continent, where there was a larger market for such texts.\textsuperscript{128} There was also some debate over whether the English language was a suitable medium through which to express ‘high’ ideas about religious truth, and therefore much material supporting the Catholic Church during the period, continued to be written in Latin.

Eamon Duffy challenges the traditional belief that the regime failed to harness England’s presses, emphasising the huge print runs of key Catholic texts which were produced in bulk, but as were only one title are not given the significance they deserve within any account of regime’s printed output, based merely on statistics.\textsuperscript{129} Duffy suggests that Catholic printing in England during the period needs to be understood within a wider context of re-Catholicisation from above, as the regime sought to impose


\textsuperscript{129} Duffy, \textit{Fires of Faith}, p.59.
Catholic beliefs upon the people. Therefore all material printed by the regime must be considered as one aspect of this overall policy. Unlike the Protestant Church, the Catholic Church had numerous options to spread its message, not only through printed word, but also through music, icons, imagery, ceremonies and feast days. 

During the Marian regime the focus of Catholic printing was to spread the doctrine of the true faith and also to challenge the inconstant and contradictory belief system they perceived the Protestant Church to cling to. The lack of significance accorded to these books and the relatively obscurity of their authors must be understood to be a result of the triumph of the Protestant Church of England. 

Duffy also challenges the accepted belief that the majority of English printers fled abroad in 1553, arguing instead that it was the publishers and those who provided the capital for speculative printing who fled, thereby reducing the production of new books, and accounting for the decline in printed output during the Marian period.

The Marian regime’s most obvious involvement with the print trade was through the extension and enforcement of censorship of the press through the incorporation of the Stationers’ Company in 1557 and the extension of heresy laws in 1556 and 1557 which contained specific measures against the printing of heretical material. On the accession of Elizabeth in 1558 the situation for Catholic printers changed, as the system of censorship established by Mary was now focused on their businesses and not that of those printing Protestant material. The structure of Elizabethan censorship particularly is of interest to historians, who have argued about its nature and extent at length. Although many consider the Elizabethan period to be repressive in terms of free speech, achieving its zenith in the 1586 Star Chamber Decrees, several historians, particularly

131 Duffy, Fires of Faith, pp.60-61.
132 Duffy, Fires of Faith, p.58.
133 Duffy, Fires of Faith, p.58.
Clegg, have rejected the traditional position that Elizabethan censorship and print regulation was a monolithic, highly organised enterprise, instead suggesting that it was in reality a fairly ad hoc affair reacting to the particular political situation and the material in production at any specific time.\textsuperscript{134} Recent scholarship suggests that the Stationers’ Company had a far greater level of control over the print industry, and the majority of state measures were carried out by the Company, or facilitated by them.\textsuperscript{135}

It is possible to trace the major political, religious and constitutional crises of Elizabeth’s reign through the many extensions and reassertions of printing restrictions that followed in their wake. Treason and sedition legislation repeatedly contained references to further printing restrictions, for example on the printing of material discussing the English succession, however no new legislation was passed to specifically extend censorship of print. It is the fact that royal proclamations were used to this end which has allowed historians to challenge the monolithic, organised nature of Elizabethan censorship, and to suggest that it was primarily a response to particular circumstances. Elizabeth issued eleven royal proclamations which involved censorship throughout her reign, the first in 1569, and subsequent proclamations following the 1570 Papal Bull, the publication of John Stubbs’ \textit{The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf}, the Admonition Controversy and the publication of the Marprelate Tracts in 1589.\textsuperscript{136} Six of the proclamations specifically targeted the production and circulation of Catholic literature.\textsuperscript{137}

Consequently, when discussing the Catholic printed output within England, it is understandable that the debate is over the nature of clandestine print within the Protestant state. After the incorporation of the Stationers’ Company in 1557 only

members of this group could legally operate a press. Therefore those wishing to produce material that would be disseminated secretly, and not be entered into the Registers or submitted to the censoring authorities, would most likely not be members of the Company. Exceptions to this rule tend to be those printing Protestant material under Mary’s rule, or Puritans working during the reign of Elizabeth.

Clandestinely printed material usually omitted colophons, which contained details on where, and by whom material was printed, as well as either offering a pseudonym or remaining anonymous. These details were not compulsory, but were usually included on printed texts after the incorporation of the Stationers’ Company, unless texts were printed for a single private customer. Some material did include these details, but provided fake information, along with a pseudonym for the author. John Day’s use of the name Michael Wood of Rouen is one example of this practice, another obviously being ‘Martin Marprelate’, whose Epistle was printed, ‘overseas, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bouncing Priest’. For clandestine printers, these tools of identification and regulation could be subverted to express further their ideology as well as a form of misdirection. Catholic authors were limited in how much they could have printed anonymously, due to the papal decree, Pecretum de Editione et Usu Sacotum Librorum, which forbade anonymous printing. The decree was lifted, first for Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons in 1580, and later for Henry Garnet and Robert Southwell.

Given the space required to operate a printing press, not to mention the difficulty of concealing the purchase or building of such apparatus, and the supplies needed to produce material, conditions of production when working with a clandestine press

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would likely have been extremely bad, with many presses being operated within cellars.\textsuperscript{141} Concealing a press within London, the centre of the printing trade in England, would have been particularly difficult, although clearly was possible, as in 1583 the Queen’s printer Christopher Barker sent a list of all printers in London and the presses they operated to Burghley, noting, ‘John Wolf hath iij presses and ij more since found in a secret Vault’.\textsuperscript{142} There were several illegal Jesuit presses operating within the city, including Stephen Brinkley’s at Greenstreet House.\textsuperscript{143} However, it was the regional presses that were more significant. The 1580 mission of the Jesuits Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons, whilst aimed at strengthening the existing Catholic community in England, also involved Parsons setting up a clandestine press, which was peripatetic for the first few months of their mission, before being settled in Stonor Park, in Oxfordshire in spring 1581. It was on this press that Campion’s\textit{Decem Rationes} was printed, before it was seized in July, along with the printer Stephen Brinkley. After the seizure of Parsons’ press he went into exile on the continent, but continued to write and print for the English and European Catholic markets, although none of his further works were printed within England. Very little Catholic material was printed within England after 1581, although it continued to be smuggled in, usually from Antwerp, being delivered to Cornwall, Dorset and various North Sea coastal points.\textsuperscript{144}

Dissemination of clandestine texts could be done through booksellers who were willing to take a risk, in both printed and manuscript form, however they were often distributed by servants, priests and individuals who had a vested interest in the material.\textsuperscript{145} In some

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{143} Walsham, ‘“Domme Preachers”’?, p.82.
\textsuperscript{144} Walsham, ‘“Domme Preachers”’?, p.85.
\end{footnotesize}
cases Catholic material was brought into England from the continent by Protestants who wished to write refutations, although most was smuggled in by the Catholic network. For all clandestine printing, whether Catholic or Protestant, there is a clear tension between printing in secret domestically or importing material from presses on the continent. The risk of costly shipments of books being seized by the authorities was high, but even greater perhaps were the risks posed to those caught printing material which expressed controversial religious views, such as those expressed by Campion, Parsons, and later, Martin Marprelate.

The second major shift for Catholic printing during the reign of Elizabeth was the change in the type and purpose of literature being produced. As Duffy has shown, during the previous reign, Catholic printing was dominated by devotional and liturgical texts, designed to re-establish Catholic belief systems, along with a sizable amount of anti-Protestant polemic, attacking the inconstancy of Protestant beliefs, and challenging the Royal Supremacy. Under Elizabeth, printed Catholic material played a very different role. For those continuing to follow the Church of Rome, liturgical works were produced, or smuggled into the country, along with primers, Psalters and other texts key to individual worship. Other material was produced to condemn what were termed as ‘Church Papists’ who attended sufficient official services to avoid persecution by the state, but who wished to remain in the Catholic faith. Catholic authors wrote scathingly of these pragmatic individuals, as their acts of supposed conformity jeopardised any attempt at a successful counter-reformation. These texts were designed to strengthen the resolve of Catholics remaining in England and to persuade them into open resistance of the Protestant authorities, through acknowledgement of their Catholic faith. Material smuggled into England were usually targeted at a smaller, academic audience, and

generally engaged in the more controversial aspects of the religious struggle, such as advocating resistance to Elizabeth, promoting the claim of Mary Queen of Scots to the English throne and decrying her imprisonment after 1567, supporting the 1588 Spanish Armada and supporting the claims of Catholic successors to the throne of England.\(^{148}\)

Material printed in England, even by the missionaries, Parsons and Campion, was primarily concerned with supporting the spiritual well-being of the Catholic fold in England, and therefore, although dangerous, posed less threat than the material being smuggled in from the continent.

iii. The Puritans and Print in England up to 1588

Having established that religious printing, both open and covert, was widely utilised in Elizabethan England, by a broad spectrum of interest groups, it is necessary to focus more closely on the development of a specifically Puritan printing culture, within which Waldegrave operated. As has been mentioned, in terms of clandestine Protestant printing after 1558, the Puritan movement provides the vast majority of examples.

The religious situation in England remained tenuous throughout the Tudor period. Under Elizabeth’s 1559 Settlement of the Church of England, the Church was returned to a style similar to that which had been established under her brother Edward VI in the 1540s and 1550s, with three key differences, namely; Elizabeth was named Supreme Governor, and not Head of the Church; vestments were to be allowed; and an amended version of the 1552, not the 1553 wording for the communion service was to be used, which remained vague on the specifics of the Eucharist.\(^{149}\) By maintaining the Catholic structure of the Church of England, and her persistence in maintaining much of the ceremonial aspects in this way, as MacCulloch has highlighted, Elizabeth established a

\(^{148}\) Walsham, ‘“Domme Preachers”?’. p.88.  
\(^{149}\) MacCulloch, The Later Reformation in England, p.27.
Protestant regime that was highly divided and prone to challenge from within.  

Although several men with strong reforming tendencies were at the heart of the regime, namely Robert Dudley, Francis Walsingham and William Cecil, the cautious approach to religion adopted by Elizabeth seems to tie into the pragmatic and equivocating manner she maintained throughout much of her reign.

The Elizabethan Settlement was broadly based upon the reformed Protestant theology, which was developed, in the beginning by individuals like Zwingli in Zurich. However, during the reign of Mary I many English Protestants had fled to Geneva, an area dominated by the preaching of Calvin and the refuge of John Knox. The ‘reformed Protestants’ from Geneva had far starker views on the nature of Protestant religion, believing that State and Church should be separate entities, and the monarch should be a member, not the head of the Church. The Elizabethan regime rejected the ideas generated in Geneva, refusing to use the Geneva Bible as the official Bible, despite its excellent translation, and consequently developed along very different lines to that of Scotland, France, Germany and the Netherlands, where the Geneva systems dominated amongst reformed communities. Whilst there have been various ideas for why Elizabeth chose to continue to adhere to the less influential, ‘reformed Protestantism’ dominated by theologians from Zurich, it seems likely that it was the Genevan concept of dividing Church and State, thus vastly limiting the power of the monarch, rather than Elizabeth’s dislike for John Knox which swayed the argument. No doubt the Scotsman was loathed by the English Queen for his publication in 1558 of The First Blast of the

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151 It should be noted that Robert Dudley was a staunch reformer who likely had direct connections to Job Throckmorton, and therefore might have been directly involved in the protection of the Marprelate press, despite his death in 1588.
Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women, it seems unlikely that she would take a position of something of as much significance as the true church on this basis.\textsuperscript{153}

The development of the group of radical ‘reformed Protestants’ referred to in a derogatory manner as ‘Puritans’ was due directly to this dominance of ‘Zurich Protestantism’. Many Marian exiles had been highly influenced by the systems of worship and Church governance which had developed in Geneva, and those who were unaware of it had the opportunity to learn from one of the many of Calvin’s works which poured out of the English printing presses throughout Elizabeth’s reign. Close proximity with other nations which adhered to the Genevan system, such as Scotland and the Netherlands, also contributed to the English nation’s education on the alternative to the Elizabethan settlement. From the start of Elizabeth’s reign a party of Puritans began to develop within the Church of England, as large numbers of the returning exiles took up positions within an edifice they hoped to reform further. Although many of these exiles were offered high positions within the Church, including several bishoprics, many refused to take up roles, which they considered to be inappropriate within a reformed Church of England. It seems strange that they did not perceive the potential for reform from within, as Elizabeth relied upon the Bishops to uphold religious uniformity in England. Had sufficiently large numbers of the Puritan circle taken up key positions they may have had the chance to enact further changes, despite the Queen’s reluctance.

The development of the Puritan movement, both within the Church hierarchy and as a political grouping within Parliament has been examined at considerable depth by many

\textsuperscript{153} Although a respected member of the Edwardian Church (despite his refusal to accept a Bishopric) Knox was refused permission to return to England on the accession of Elizabeth I. Instead he returned to Scotland, where he had a rocky relationship with Mary Stewart until his eventual fall from favour. None of his works were printed in England during Elizabeth’s reign.
scholars. However, more relevant to Waldegrave’s career is the manner in which the movement engaged with political and religious debates in the period preceding the Marprelate controversy. The Puritans, perhaps more than other religious minorities within England utilised the tools of public debate extensively. The movement greatly valued the power of ‘godly books’ and recognised that printers were invaluable in, ‘moulding public tastes and opinions’. What will be shown in the subsequent chapters is that it was not merely printers who were involved in disseminating the Puritan message, but that the texts were produced within a broader network of stationers, authors and significant individuals with Puritan sympathies, and that Waldegrave, as a printer within this broader network, was not necessarily driven only by religious concerns but commercial ones as well.

There were three different groups that constituted the Puritan movement, and each had a radically different relationship with printed material, and indeed public debate. First there were those involved in the vestments controversy; that is the priests who opposed the formal reintroduction of ornate vestments. These ‘non-conformists’ were not vocal, indeed the majority of the vestments controversy seems to have been conducted relatively privately, as those involved valued their position more than their principles for the most part. The second group were those who passively resisted the Church of England, attempting to bring about grassroots reform of the Church through pastoral and preaching works. The majority of Elizabethan Puritans fell within this group. It is the third group, the Presbyterians, who were more vocal, and who utilised print both openly and covertly to promote their religious ideology.

There were several key authors involved in the Presbyterian group, particularly John Field and Thomas Cartwright, who were succeeded by Dudley Fenner, Walter Travers and William Fulke. These authors consistently produced large amounts of Puritan printed material, which was printed both in England and overseas, throughout the 1570s and 1580s, with some of the most controversial material of the period issuing from their pens. Cartwright began to preach on the Acts of the Apostles, and advocated a Presbyterian system of Church governance in Cambridge in 1570. In collaboration with Thomas Wilcox, John Field produced *An Admonition to the Parliament* in May 1572, which was followed towards the end of the year with Cartwright’s *A Seconde Admonition to the Parliament*, as well as Wilcox and Field’s imprisonment. The two tracts provided the Puritan movement with a Presbyterian ‘manifesto’, which shaped the way in which the movement developed, as well as launching a new set of religious ideas into the public debate over the nature of religion. Probably printed by John Stroud on a secret press, they were published anonymously, were massively popular, and read widely, despite being banned by the authorities.\(^{158}\) They were reprinted in 1589, the same year that the majority of Marprelate’s tracts were published. Significantly the Admonition prompted rebuttal from Bishop Whitgift who wrote *An Answere to a certen libell intituled An Admonition to the Parliament*, which was published in February 1572/3. The ongoing sparring between Whitgift and Cartwright established the latter as the leader of the movement, and represents the first serious foray of the Puritan movement in the sphere of public religious debate. The texts produced reflect the accepted conventions of the period. Whilst refuting their opposition’s position the tracts are courteous and the tone is of equals. By the time the Marprelate tracts were published

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this tone of genial debate had been lost, as the Martinists aggressively attacked the established Church, and were met with similarly disparaging responses.

Whilst Cartwright was in exile, first in Heidelberg then Middleburg and later in Antwerp, John Field, reappeared on the public stage in 1577, continuing to enjoy the patronage of Ambrose Dudley, and to write Puritan material, engaging at one point in an exchange with Robert Parsons. Significantly he also enjoyed the patronage of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who secured him a preaching license in Oxford, and to whom several of his works are dedicated.159 After 1583 Field was part of a group of ministers who resisted the conformity regulations introduced by Whitgift, and throughout the period it is believed that he collected the incriminating and controversial material, with the aid of the minister John Udall, that would form the basis of the Marprelate tracts.160

The establishment of Grindal as Archbishop of Canterbury was followed by a continued outpouring of Puritan printed material, printed primarily on the continent, but also domestically. Within England texts were printed primarily by Waldegrave and will be discussed in subsequent chapters, but more and more material was being printed by Richard Schilders in Middleburg, particularly after 1583, as conditions were becoming more and more precarious at home for nonconformists. Despite repeated imprisonment of key Puritans, including Cartwright and Field, the profile of the Puritan movement continued to grow and flourish, with the help of the printed word and the support of powerful patrons, including Burghley, the Dudley’s, Francis Walsingham and his protégée William Davison. There were many authors contributing the prodigious


Puritan output, but the most notable, especially in light of how the Marprelate controversy came about were Dudley Fenner, Walter Travers and William Fulke.

Dudley Fenner, an un-ordained Puritan preacher, had shared the ministry of the Merchant Adventurers in Antwerp with Walter Travers until 1583, before he returned to England to the parish of Cranbrook, where the printer John Stroud was based. After conflict with Bishop Fletcher of London he fled to Middleburg, where he enjoyed the protection of the Earl of Leicester. His major work was of Calvinist theology, *Sacra Theologica sive Verotas quae est secundum pietatem*, originally printed in 1585, with the subsequent editions being dedicated to Robert and Ambrose Dudley respectively. The majority of his controversial material was printed outside England, although it was disseminated amongst English Puritans. In contrast William Fulke’s work was printed in England, although his key work, *Briefe and Plaine Declaration*, which was deemed too radical by Puritan leaders in the 1570s, was printed without his consent in 1584, as part of the sequence of events which led to the creation of Martin Marprelate. Fulke, a trained lawyer and academic had been Leicester’s chaplain before enjoying several positions procured by him, culminating in the role as Master of Pembroke College Cambridge. Interestingly he was involved in 1583 in producing anti-Catholic material, and conducted a public dispute in print with the imprisoned Campion in an attempt to win the favour of the ecclesiastical and governmental hierarchy, despite his more radical religious views. In this sense the radical Puritan authors had a much stronger position than the Catholic authors involved in controversial printing, as they could work with the system, as well as against it. Walter Travers engaged in a similar venture in 1583, before playing a key role in developing the *Book of Discipline*, which advocated Presbyterian church governance. Throughout the 1570s Travers was in Geneva, where
he associated with Cartwright and Beza, whilst coming under a strong Calvinist influence.

Joseph Black argues that the immediate circumstances that led to the composition and publication of the Marprelate tracts date from Whitgift’s elevation to Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583, and indeed this seems to be a credible argument.  

Archbishop Grindal controversially had supported the practice of ‘prophesysings’, a process developed in Zurich which allowed preachers to practice their preaching based upon the Bible in front of their peers and often a lay audience. This led to his arrest in 1577 and for the final six years of his life he was an inactive archbishop for the most part.  

One example of such ‘prophesysings’ are those conducted at the market town of Southam in Warwickshire, from 1574. These gatherings have been examined by numerous historians and are famous both for their disorderly nature, and their connection to the Earl of Leicester, whose support was withdrawn when the Queen resolved to put an end to them in 1576. More recently research conducted by Catheryn Enis has linked many of those involved with the Marprelate Press to the prophesysings at Southam, including Sir Richard Knightley, and Clement Throckmorton, the father of Job Throckmorton, as well as Robert Dudley.  

Indeed Leicester and Grindal are a perfect example of the problems which faced those within the Church of England who wished to enact further reform, for, as so few were willing to risk the Queen’s displeasure, it was easy for the small numbers, of sometimes prominent courtiers and churchmen, to be silenced. Had more reformers been willing to enter into the Episcopal system then this may not have been the case. From 1583 Grindal’s successor, Whitgift took several steps in an effort to

ensure uniformity within the Church and reduce dissent, blocking Puritan debates within Parliament, vastly increased the powers of the court of high commission and its officers, and extending censorship of the press.\footnote{Black, ‘The Martin Marprelate Tracts’, pp.1093-1094.}

In the face of this aggressive position of Whitgift, Puritan printers both in England and abroad were used to mount a challenge to the establishment. The first texts were printed in London, both by Waldegrave, and were William Fulke’s \textit{Briefe and Plaine Declaration} (1584) originally written in the 1570s, and a translation of Theodore Beza, entitled, \textit{The Judgement of a Most Reverend and Leaned Man…Concerning a Threefold Order of Bishops} (1585).\footnote{Black, ‘The Martin Marprelate Tracts’, p.1094.} The establishment responded with John Bridges’ \textit{A Defence of the Government Established in the Church of Englande} (1587), which addressed the arguments of Fulke and Beza specifically, although it took nearly two years to publish due to its excessive length of over 1400 pages. By this point the 1586 Star Chamber Decrees had reinforced the regulation and censorship of the English printing and book trade, reiterating the role and power of the bishops in the licensing of books, as well as stressing the Stationers’ Company’s right to search for and seize any illegal books in England. However they had a limited impact on the flow of Puritan printing that had, conveniently, relocated it to the continent, although Waldegrave continued to print controversial Puritan material until the raid on his premises in April 1588. In Middleburg, Richard Schilders printed Fenner’s \textit{Defence of the Godlie Ministers, against the Slaunders of D. Bridges} (1587), and Travers’ \textit{A Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline} (1588). Clearly, like the English Catholics, the Puritans were willing to relocate their printing to the continent should domestic conditions make clandestine publishing prohibitively dangerous.
It was not only through mass printing that the Puritans engaged with open religious debate. Unlike the Catholics, as a Protestant group they were able also to openly take part in Parliament, and attempt to promote their agenda in this most public of forums, whilst printed Puritan material was being circulated with a view to disseminating Presbyterian ideas widely, and gaining grassroots support for the cause. Although neither the 1584/5 or the 1586 sessions could be considered to be ‘Puritan Parliaments’ during both of them significant pieces of legislation were put forward to reform the nature of the Church of England. In 1584/5 there was relatively strong support for a survey of the clergy in an attempt to assess absenteeism and general scriptural ignorance, and on the back of this the Puritan element within the House, led by Peter Turner sought to establish the Geneva Liturgy in place of the Book of Common Prayer, and to restructure the Church along Presbyterian lines. However, any attempt to reform the Church was roundly quashed by Elizabeth’s proclamation, which reasserted her position as Governor of the Church of England, and denied Parliament the right to question or reform the Church.166

During the 1586 session, called to deal with the issue of the captive Scottish Queen, a second, far more extreme bill to reform the English Church was put forward, along with a further revised edition of the Book of Discipline, containing the Genevan Liturgy. The Parliamentary debate connected to this issue led to the imprisonment of Peter Wentworth, a noted Puritan MP, and four of his colleagues - although it was ostensibly due to their conspiring together to put forward such a bill, before the parliamentary session, not their speeches within the House of Commons. Puritan politics, like its printing, remained controversial throughout the rest of the reign, coming to a head in

1588/89 with the Marprelate Controversy, which divided the movement and led Waldegrave, the original Marprelate printer, to flee to Scotland.

iv. The Reformation and the Scottish Print Trade

The print trade in Scotland developed at a later point than the English trade, partially due to the fact that the Reformation and therefore the demand for large amounts of religious material, came later, after 1560.\textsuperscript{167} Due to the lack of source material it is not possible to discuss the relationship between religion and print in Scotland to the same level of depth as is possible within the English context. The study of Scottish printing has generally been overlooked, and what limited research that has been conducted has been subsumed into the broader history of ‘British’ printing. The lack of centralised records, akin to the Registers of the London Stationers’ Company, or indeed substantial records of any kind relating to early modern printing, makes study of the print trade in Scotland during the sixteenth century difficult. The various historical societies including the Maitland and Bannatyne Clubs, provide invaluable access to some surviving printers’ wills, and to miscellaneous records connected to the print and book trade, whilst Calderwood and Spottiswode’s histories of the Scottish Church offer further insights into an industry which was closely connected to and often patronised by, the Kirk. G Aldis’ \textit{A list of books printed in Scotland before 1700}, offers an excellent guide to the surviving texts from the period, but otherwise the search for primary source material is somewhat of a treasure hunt for the scholar, and one that is rarely successful.

It is because of the paucity of available source material that research into the Scottish print trade is so limited for the sixteenth century. Although there are a variety of articles that engage with the Scottish print and book trade, there is limited detailed work done

on the subject as a whole.\textsuperscript{168} The starting point remains Robert Dickson and John Edmond’s \textit{Annals of Scottish Printing}, (1890) which offers brief biographies of Scotland’s printers throughout the sixteenth century, along with details of their dated and undated output. Whilst it is no doubt an invaluable resource, it suffers from bibliographical and biographical errors, which have come to light through further examination of the available primary material. Alistair Mann’s 2000 work, \textit{The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland}, offers the most complete analysis of the sixteenth-century Scottish print trade to date, but as the field of study continues for a further century there is scope to extend and explore further the insights it offers into the earlier period.\textsuperscript{169}

The recent work by Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, \textit{Publishing Politics and Culture: The King’s Printers in the Reign of James I and VI} (2009) is a highly detailed and valuable volume which examines the relationship James VI of Scotland had with print after his accession to the English throne, but sadly neglects to consider his association with the press in Scotland, which had spanned two decades prior to 1603. It offers important new research into the careers of John and Bonham Norton, Richard Barker and John Bill, the former of whom had played an important role in the trans-national network of printers and booksellers of which Waldegrave was a part. My study of James’ relationship with print before his accession to the English throne will complement this work, and offer some insight into how the King’s attitude towards printing developed during the early years of his reign.


\textsuperscript{169} The Edinburgh University series History of the Book in Scotland has presented historians with a wealth of new research and information into the Scottish book trade from the Union in 1707 to the millennium, and the volume covering the medieval and early modern period is eagerly awaited and will no doubt shed new light on the subjects discussed in this introduction and chapter five.
In comparison to the highly centralised industry south of the border, sixteenth-century Scotland saw printing develop within Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen concurrently, although, due to the lack of remaining archives historians have tended to focus on the Edinburgh based printing industry.\textsuperscript{170} While the presses in both Glasgow and Aberdeen were established and operated by the Church, printing was brought to Edinburgh, and Scotland, by the granting of a patent to Andro Millar and Walter Chapman in 1507, by James IV, although the press closed by 1510 after the publication of the Aberdeen Breviary, with no further significant printing in the city until Thomas Davidson established his press, at some point around 1536.\textsuperscript{171} The industry developed slowly, with a succession of printers operating in the city, although throughout the century the country was reliant on importing printed media, in a variety of languages, from abroad.\textsuperscript{172} Due to the traditional ‘Auld Alliance’ with France, Scotland had far closer ties with continental printers and booksellers, although its weak economy prevented the industry developing in the same manner as the English industry.\textsuperscript{173} Scots travelling to Europe brought foreign texts and books back into the country, and a very small number of books written in Scots were printed on the continent. No significantly costly texts were produced in Scotland during the mid-sixteenth century, until Arbuthnot and Bassandyne’s Scottish Bible appeared in 1579.\textsuperscript{174}

As there was no equivalent to the English Stationers’ Company, the decentralised industry was not subject to the same level of regulation, with the Kirk and the Burgh providing what minimal regulation existed.\textsuperscript{175} The lack of any formal guild also left printers vulnerable and without support from their peers and their numbers remained

\textsuperscript{170} Mann, \textit{The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720}, p.7-33; Barnard & Mckenzie, \textit{The Cambridge History of the Book}, p.688.
\textsuperscript{171} Dickson & Edmond, \textit{Annals of Scottish Printing}, pp.7-107.
\textsuperscript{172} Ferguson, ‘Relations Between London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers’, pp.145-146.
\textsuperscript{173} Mann, \textit{The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720}, p.71.
\textsuperscript{174} Mann, \textit{The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720}, p.9.
\textsuperscript{175} Barnard & Mckenzie, \textit{The Cambridge History of the Book}, p.687.
very low. Although James IV made use of printed media for dynastic and patriotic purposes, the delayed Reformation in Scotland contributed to the sluggish development of Scottish printing in comparison with their English neighbours. Whilst the English printing industry flourished throughout the 1540s, fuelled in part by the religious turmoil of the period, the regency of Mary of Guise between 1542-1560 and her daughter’s brief rule saw an extended period of Catholic rule in Scotland, during which the manuscript trade continued, although many religious institutions purchased books from the continent. The relatively small domestic printing industry was unaffected by the pamphlet moments of the 1520s and 1560s as the majority of religious material continued to be imported. Although Protestant works were clandestinely circulated around Scotland, especially during the 1540s and 1550s, they were primarily printed in England or the Low Countries and smuggled into the country. It was not until the Reformation Parliament of 1560 that Protestant works could be openly printed and disseminated in Scotland. Despite the return of the Catholic Queen, Mary in 1561, by 1565 Edinburgh based printer Robert Lekprevik produced an edition of the Book of Common Order in English, following the Genevan tradition, entitled, *The Form of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments &c. vsed in the English Church at Geneua, approued and receiued by the Churche of Scotland, for the use of the newly reformed Church.* This was followed by a Gaelic translation also printed by Lekprevik in 1567, and a Scots version in 1578.\footnote{Jane E. A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed 1488-1587*, (Edinburgh, 2007), pp.228-9.}

The deposition of Mary Queen of Scots in favour of her infant son James VI in 1567 created two distinct printing circles, with Thomas Bassandyne acting as the Queen’s Printer, and Robert Lekprevik as the King’s. The uncertain political situation however hampered the output of the presses and it was not until James VI was firmly established
on the throne that the printing industry within Scotland began to develop, as the chaos of the civil war was overcome and the nation was re-stablised. The so-called ‘Philosopher King’ championed the production of texts in the vernacular, and supported a large number of significant texts during the 1590s and early-seventeenth century, most notably perhaps being his own poetry, and writings on monarchy and religion, many of which were printed by Waldegrave. At the centre of the ‘Castalian Band’, including authors such as Alexander Hume and Alexander Montgomerie, James had working relationships with a number of printers throughout his reign in Scotland, and later in England. Waldegrave’s relationship with the Scottish king must therefore be considered within the wider context of James’ attitude towards and relationship with, printing.

Perhaps due to his awareness of the power of print, James VI reclaimed regulation of the press as a royal prerogative, and focused on restricting material printed by Catholics. In England and Scotland a priori censorship, or censorship before publication consisted primarily of a system of licensing, whereby only a text which had been approved by the state could be printed and disseminated. In Scotland, the first form of state censorship was the introduction of such a system in 1551/2, where permission had to be given before a text could be printed. Laws requiring information on the author and printer to be included within a text made it more difficult to flout this system of regulation. Post publication or a posteriori censorship was the more common approach in the sixteenth century, which saw English and Scottish authorities issue lists of banned titles which could not be printed or sold and controversial material seized in both print shops and at the point of sale. Punishment for contravening these measures included confiscation.

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177 The ‘Castalian Band’ was a group of Scottish poets and authors at court, gathered around, and including, the King who authored a wide range of literary and religious material. They included authors such as Alexander Montgomerie, William Fowler, Walter Quinn and William Alexander.

imprisonment or banishment in Scotland, as in England.\footnote{Mann, The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720, p.180-183.} In 1599 James reinforced a priori censorship in a law that stated,

No one to write or print any book, libel, invective, or history without the Kings licence; and no new book concerning the history of the realme to be published or imported without being attested by the kings secretary.\footnote{David Masson (ed.), Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, Vol VI, (Edinburgh, 1881), p.18.}

The most significant difference between the English and Scottish regulatory systems throughout the sixteenth was the Scottish copyright system, which limited the length of time a license was granted to a printer. Often a license was for life, but they could be restricted to a number of years, in contrast to the English system where printers or publishers owned absolutely the copies they entered into the Stationers’ Company Registers, and could sell, donate or bequeath the right to print texts as they wished.

As in the rest of Europe, until the sixteenth century the majority of literate Scots came from within the clergy, however from the start of the century literacy in Scotland spread amongst the laity, until it became a social and political necessity.\footnote{Jenny Wormald, Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625, (Edinburgh, 1981), p.70.} Although there was a strong sense of vernacular tradition, with domestic authors such as David Lindsay contributing to a renaissance of Scottish literature in the mid-century, it was not until the reign of James VI that printing in Scots became a viable commercial decision. The country remained reliant on the importation of Latin, Greek and other foreign titles from the continent, but given the limited demand for Scots books abroad, were reliant on domestic presses to produce vernacular material. Some Scottish authors continued to commission editions of the texts in England or the Low Countries, where typographical standards where higher, but by the end of the century there was a substantial Scottish book trade, centred around the capital city, Edinburgh.
Whilst the Scottish trade remained decentralised throughout the early modern period and only limited records survive, as in England it was dominated by cheap, vernacular material in the latter part of the century, while foreign language and Latin texts continued to be imported from the continent. Although markedly fewer texts were produced in Scotland due to the size of the industry and literate consumer base, polemical literature, religious pamphlets, ballads and broadsides remained widely available and accounted for the majority of the printed output during the period. Large texts were beyond the individual capability of the early Scottish printers, who openly collaborated to produce significant books, such as Millar and Chapman’s Aberdeen Breviary or Bassadyne and Arbuthnot’s 1579 Bible, both of which required external financial support to remain viable. What will become clear in subsequent chapters is that while there was a market for domestically produced, vernacular texts in Scotland, both the Scottish and the English market enjoyed a mutual trans-national trade in texts, with English printers and booksellers exporting their wares to Scotland, or commissioning texts for sale in England from Edinburgh based printers.182 It is therefore beneficial to consider the broader trans-national context of both national trades when considering Waldegrave’s career.

CONCLUSION

In summary, although the circumstances of the production of printed material during the late-sixteenth century has been widely debated, the increasingly less sectionalised popular culture in England established by the end of the sixteenth century, fostered by the widespread popularity and purchase of polemical, religious, political and literary pamphlets provides an indicator of some sort of public sphere in early modern England, and by extension, Scotland. Unlike the model put forward by Habermas, the early

modern public sphere was restricted as there were no guarantees of freedom of speech or of the press, and the authorities often took punitive measures against individuals engaging publically with controversial subjects. Consequently, as Lake and Questier highlight, engagement with the early modern public sphere in England was sporadic and usually a result of specific political or religious concerns.\footnote{Lake & Questier, ‘Puritans, Papists and the “Public Sphere”’, p.590.} Although attempts were made by the authorities to quash extensive public engagement with key issues, the existence of printed polemics and pamphlets engaging with specific religious and political concerns indicates that there was some level of wider public engagement with an early modern public sphere.

This was in part enabled by the development of popular and cheap print within England and Scotland during the period, which allowed a wide audience to purchase and read texts. Texts in inexpensive formats including broadsides, chapbooks and pamphlets were widely available from booksellers, chapmen and journeymen printers and could be purchased by individuals from all levels of society. The market expanded throughout the period with a rise in literacy rates, and the large numbers of texts produced concerning religion, alongside moralistic stories, ballads and romances offers an indication of the type of material for which there was a significant public demand. As part of the broad popular culture of the period, cheap print is significant, as it was accessible to all levels of society and therefore challenges Burke’s notion that popular culture was an alternative to the high culture enjoyed by the nobility.\footnote{Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe, xiii.}

Printed polemic and pamphlet literature were both cheap and provide evidence of a burgeoning public sphere during the late-sixteenth century.\footnote{Darnton, ‘An Early Information Society’, pp.1-8.} Lander has highlighted that these confrontational texts were designed to provoke a reaction and influence
public opinion over pertinent issues. This interpretation is supported by Clegg’s research which highlights the increase in the number of polemical pamphlets are the start of Elizabethan parliamentary sessions, and Pettigree’s broader identification of two continental ‘pamphlet moments’ during the 1520s and 1560s. Such literature was the precursor of the libels of the seventeenth century, and the Marprelate tracts can be seen to mark a key stage in this development.

Religion and print have long been associated during the sixteenth century, with scholars including Eisenstein and Lander discussing the significance of this relationship during a period when religious works dominated the print trade. In England, the logocentric nature of Protestantism helped the print trade to grow, with the demand for vernacular Bibles, and the publication of the new Book of Common Prayer and associated literature, along with Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, underpinned the careers of stationers such as John Day and William Seres. Censorship was minimal until the incorporation of the Stationers’ Company by Mary I in 1557, after which point the trade was both regulated and centralised.

Duffy challenges the traditionally accepted notion that the Marian regime failed to make use of the printing press, highlighting the large volumes of key Catholic texts which were produced in England alongside other methods of re-Catholicisation. At the same time large numbers of Catholic texts in Latin texts continued to be imported from the continent. Studies of clandestine Catholic printing during the reign of Elizabeth I

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provides a framework within which to understand secret presses, such as the Marprelate press, and highlights the networks of people involved in disseminating such material.

Before the establishment of the Marprelate press in 1588 the English Puritan movement made extensive use of the printing press to engage in public debate over religion. Although formal attempts were made to affect change through Parliament, these were unsuccessful, and the appointment of Whitgift as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583 resulted in a backlash of reformist print. The most vocal Puritans were those considered to be Presbyterians, including authors such as John Field, Walter Travers, Dudley Fenner and Thomas Cartwright, whose works Waldegrave printed during his English career.

As in England, the Scottish print trade expanded after the Reformation Parliament in 1560, however, the limited nature of the trade, and the heavy reliance on texts imported from the continent restricted Protestant printing at the start of James VI’s reign. Once he reached his majority however, James’ personal relationship with the printing press shaped the development and expansion of the Scottish print trade. As James’ Royal Printer Waldegrave’s Scottish career is highly significant, both within the context of the Scottish print trade between 1590-1604, and within the context of the development of the English trade after James’ accession in 1603.

Within this in mind, this thesis will address the multi-faceted career of Robert Waldegrave, within the context of the intertwined networks of print, patronage and religion which shaped his career and those of his contemporaries. Chapter 2 considers Waldegrave’s English career in light of the wider context of early modern printing.

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outlined above, and the structure of the English print trade. His bibliographical output, working practice and professional associations are examined to demonstrate the significance of networks to the work of a printer during the second half of the sixteenth century. Through the development of this case study a new framework through which the other stationers can be examined will be established and a new way offered by which to consider the bibliographical output of a single printer, informed by studies of the wider print industry and early modern trade networks, acknowledging the significance of collaborative production, which was necessary due to financial and political constraints.\textsuperscript{193}

By situating Waldegrave within these networks of stationers it will be possible to examine his bibliographical choices within a wider framework, and consider if he genuinely deserves to be referred to as a Puritan printer. The subsequent chapter will demonstrate how Waldegrave’s involvement in the production of Puritan material was influenced by his own religious beliefs, but was at the same time a logical commercial and financial decision. Much of the material in question was motivated not by Waldegrave directly, but by the publishing interests of the stationers with whom he collaborated within his printing network, thus proving the significance of such networks in influencing the development of a stationer’s reputation and career.

CHAPTER TWO

THE WORLD OF ROBERT WALDEGRAVE AND HIS LONDON BASED PRINTING NETWORK

John Harrison Junior: Receaued of him of printinge the Coat armoure of a Christian PROVIDED that Robert waldegrave shall have the printinge of euerie ympression hereafter to be printed.


This chapter will establish the role and world of the printer in sixteenth-century London, with particular reference to the experiences and career of Robert Waldegrave. In order to understand his professional and personal relationship with the material he produced it is necessary to understand the environment and circumstances in which he worked, so that his actions may be better understood. To achieve this it is vital to understand the career progression for a printer working in Elizabethan London, under the purview of the London Stationers Company, in order to appreciate the process through which a printer was ‘made’, from apprenticeship to master printer. This will be followed by a detailed examination of the way in which a text was brought from pen to print during the final decades of the sixteenth-century. This allows the points at which the role and agency of the printer could be exercised to be identified, so as to create realistic expectations of the extent to which Waldegrave could have exercised his own agency as an autonomous printer. Once the economic context of the Elizabethan printer has been created, Waldegrave’s own career and printed output will be examined, and the traditional assumption that he was driven solely by his religious and ideological beliefs during his English career will be challenged. It will be shown that instead he continually sought to balance his religious position with his commercial interests, sometimes compromising the one for the other. A thorough examination of his printed output will allow his bibliographical choices to be scrutinised and considered in light of the market for printed texts within Elizabethan London, enabling his classification as a Puritan to be evaluated. It will be demonstrated that Waldegrave’s reputation as a radical religious printer cannot be substantiated by an examination of his printed output during his
London career, and that his collaborations with other publishers and booksellers highlight a number of other individuals who could equally be considered to have had strong reformed Protestant sympathies. What Waldegrave’s output does indicate is that he had a level of religious affinity with the Puritan movement, but that at times his commercial and financial interests eclipsed his religious ones.

A key aspect of this analysis will be achieved through the reconstruction of the network of printers within which Waldegrave worked, highlighting that the traditional image of ‘great’ English printers working independently, such as John Day, was not representative of the industry as a whole during the period, and that collaborative trade was more commonplace. Through consideration not only of Waldegrave but the professional circles in which he worked, it will be shown that Waldegrave was not an isolated maverick, but a single player within a broader network of stationers who had an interest in disseminating radical Protestant and Puritan material alongside their primary commercial interests. The structure of Waldegrave’s business will be considered, and used as the basis for an exploration of the significance of the network structure within the London based book trade, which evidently offered the most secure financial model for stationers in the city.

The limited research into Waldegrave’s career has presented the image of an ideologically driven Puritan printer, however, in the majority of cases any discussion of his career is merely a side note to an examination of the Marprelate Controversy, and invariably this colours any discussion of his career. A notable exception to this is Katherine Van Eerde’s 1981 article, although it focuses on Waldegrave’s Scottish career and many of the details of his English career are misrepresented, as they rely on the narrative from the Marprelate tracts, which lack supporting evidence. Rather than
simply characterising Waldegrave’s career as an ideologically driven one, destined to aggravate the authorities of the day, it will be questioned why Waldegrave, and not the many printers with whom he was associated, fell foul of the authorities and was forced into hiding in April 1588. It will be shown that his numerous collaborations limit the extent to which he can be considered a radical Puritan printer and reveal the extent to which book production in the sixteenth century was a collaborative enterprise and must be reconsidered as such.

PART ONE: THE WORLD OF ROBERT WALDEGRAVE

Whilst Waldegrave and his personal experience is the primary focus of the chapter, the paucity of source material relating to his life and career requires the historian to look beyond his singular experiences and use the surviving records of his peers and contemporaries to reconstruct the world in which Waldegrave lived and worked. Whilst the Stationers’ Company archives offer limited insights into his own career and its progression, it is possible to construct a plausible framework for it on the basis of the records that survive for his contemporaries. Although it is not possible to say with certainty exactly how he operated his business, or the different forces motivating his work, this hypothesis is based upon the information available about English printers during the period and therefore represents the most plausible interpretation of the limited material available. Therefore, to create a credible account of the life and English career of Robert Waldegrave, it is necessary first to build up an image of the world in which he worked, and allow this context to inform the interpretation of his personal narrative. In order to establish how Waldegrave came to be a printer in the late 1570s it is therefore necessary to reconstruct how an individual printer was ‘made’; how his training and career was shaped by the authorities and conventions of the late-Elizabethan period; and how he physically produced his wares.
These aspects of Waldegrave’s personal narrative were shaped and framed by the London Stationers’ Company, who provided a governing structure to the printing trade. Much research has approached the study of printing and the book trade in England through the Stationers’ Company and its regulatory and social functions. Historians have also focused on individual printers and stationers, most notably John Day but including others such as Thomas Vautrollier, William Seres, John Wolfe and Christopher Barker, and used the study of their careers not only to consider their personal impact, but as a way to reach a better understanding of printing practice in Elizabethan England. Such studies have contributed to a history of ‘great’ stationers, whose records may survive, or who have particular significance due to the material they printed, similar to the top down political history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although there has been a great deal of work undertaken considering networks of print distribution in both early modern England and Europe, until now there has been little or no appreciation of the prevalence of printing networks in Elizabethan London, and very little time spent considering the commercial and professional realities of the vast majority of Elizabethan stationers.

I. The London Stationers’ Company and the ‘Making’ of a Printer

The career of Robert Waldegrave and his contemporaries followed the regulations established by the incorporation of the London Stationers’ Company in 1557. No different from the many other trade guilds that existed in London during the sixteenth century, the Company acted as a self-regulatory body for the printing trade, ensuring exacting standards were met, providing an apparatus for censorship and limiting the size of the profession within London. Members of the Company, referred to as stationers represented the various different skills involved in the production and sale of books,
including printers, publishers, booksellers and binders, with many individual stationers performing multiple roles. Waldegrave himself acted as a printer, publisher and bookseller during his London career. Through the levying of fees for membership, recording texts, binding apprentices and levying fines for breaches of regulations the Company was able to take care of its members and their families, paying pensions to widows and the elderly, offering loans to struggling or young members, mounting and defending legal cases, and participating in the ceremonial life of the city of London, at annual parades, and occasions such as the coronation in 1559.

The Company’s authority to regulate all areas of the printing and book sales industry included nationwide search and seize rights, which enabled officers of the Company to search for and confiscate texts that were deemed to be contentious or dangerous. This was an unusual power for a London-based guild, but reflects the comparatively centralised nature of the printing industry in sixteenth-century England, and the Tudor authorities’ awareness of the value of national censorship. Only members of the London Company could legally operate a press, which restricted the trade to the city and the specifically licensed presses in Oxford and Cambridge and this level of centralisation allowed the industry to be regulated efficiently. The initial incorporation of the Company has been understood to be an example of the Tudor state, under Mary I, attempting to extend its ability to censor dangerous material, and this concern for censorship can be seen in the continued involvement of the state authorities in the regulations implemented by the Company. Although there existed no coherent strategy for censorship, the final Tudor regimes were able to utilise the Company structure effectively to censor the printing industry during times of crisis or controversy.

194 Gadd, ‘Being like a field’, p.44.
The incorporation of the Stationers’ Company laid the foundation for the regulation of the print trade throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century. The initial Charter established that only members of the Company could engage in printing material, regulated the manner in which apprentices were bound and introduced the search and seize rights, however as has been mentioned, further regulations were introduced by the Company and State authorities throughout Elizabeth’s reign, notably the 1559 *Injunctions* which formalised licensing rules and the 1586 Star Chamber Decrees, which, amongst other things, aimed to controlled the size of the trade by limiting both the number of printers operating in London and the number of apprentices who could be bound to any one printer.  

i: Apprenticeship

Robert Waldegrave entered the printing trade within the framework of the regulations for apprenticeship laid out by the Company. Although Waldegrave’s apprenticeship indenture has not survived, it is possible to reconstruct his experience based upon contemporary records of others entering into Elizabethan Companies. Apprenticeships in the Stationer’s Company generally lasted for eight years, a year longer than the legal minimum, and commanded a relatively low fee in comparison to the other London livery companies. Each apprentice bound had to be entered into the Register of the Company to allow their training to be monitored and, more significantly, the size of the profession to be regulated. This was a constant preoccupation of the Company and the authorities, as throughout the period there was insufficient printing work for the number of printers operating in London, and other than at the university presses at Oxford and Cambridge, there were limited opportunities for printers outside the metropolis. Given the acknowledged power of the printed word, it was important to account for all those

who had the skill to put type to paper, ensuring that they were kept under the eye of the Company and did not have the opportunity to print potentially seditious or controversial material clandestinely. Consequently printers who failed to register their apprentice with the Company and pay the requisite fee were fined, although they appear to have been able then to continue with the training of their apprentice, the record of the fine acting as both a noting of the offence, and the acknowledgement of the new apprentice.

Those put forward for apprenticeship were generally aged around 15 and had to be literate, unsurprising given the occupation they were committing to. The completion of a standardised form of indenture bound the apprentice to his master, and detailed their responsibilities to protect their master’s secrets, follow instructions, do no harm to their master whilst at the same time providing a warning should another intend to. It also laid out the variety of activities an apprentice must refrain from, including,

not commit fornication, nor contract matrimony within the sayd terme. He shall not play at Cardes, Dice, Tables or any other unlawful games…hee shall not haunt taverns, nor absent himself from his said Masters service day or night unlawfully.197

Most significantly, apprentices were barred from buying or selling goods in their own name, preventing those who had not fully qualified in a profession from peddling second rate or controversial material. The indenture also laid out the responsibilities of a master to his apprentices, that as well as providing instruction in a trade, he must provide food, drink, accommodation, clothing and ‘other necessaries’. The wording of the apprenticeship indenture itself, including the various restrictions on the apprentice and the responsibility of a master remained virtually unchanged into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.198 The records of the Court of the Stationers’ Company add further details to the provision for apprentices, that a master must furnish each of his

197 Merchant Taylor Apprenticeship Indenture, 1611. See transcript in Appendix One.
198 COVENANTS OF AN INDENTURE OF APPRENTICESHIP, Familiarly explained and enforced by SCRITURE for the Use of the APPRENTICES of the CITY of LONDON (London, 1794). See transcript in Appendix Two.
apprentices both with their ‘ordinarie wookedaie apparell’ and a suit and cloak, ‘fytt and mete for him in the judgement of the Master and wardens’, indicating that the Company was concerned not merely in regulating the binding of apprentices, but their appearance both at work and in public, as representatives of the printing profession.\textsuperscript{199}

We know very little about Waldegrave’s own experiences as an apprentice, however, according to the record of his apprenticeship entered into the Register on 24 June 1568, he was the son of Richard Waldegrave, a yeoman in Blacklay, Worcestershire and was apprenticed to the Stationer William Griffith for eight years.\textsuperscript{200} Therefore he would have been due to complete his apprenticeship in June 1576.\textsuperscript{201} He does not appear subsequently in the Register for 2 years until 17 June 1578, when he registered his first book.\textsuperscript{202} During this two-year period he was presumably working as a journeyman printer, the next step on the career ladder of an Elizabethan printer.

\textbf{ii: Journeyman}

Journeymen printers were individuals who had successfully completed their apprenticeship but had yet to reach the financial and professional levels required to become a master printer. It is likely that Waldegrave earned his living as a journeyman between June 1576 and the end of 1578/9. Only 50\% of those bound as apprentices in the Stationers Company ever completed their training, but those who successfully completed the terms of an apprenticeship, and attained the age of 24, could pay a fee to became a freeman of the Company, and a citizen of London, a transfer usually funded

\textsuperscript{200} Blockley, Gloucestershire.
\textsuperscript{201} Arber, \textit{Transcript of the Registers}, Vol.1, p.372.
\textsuperscript{202} Arber, \textit{Transcript of the Registers}, Vol. 2, p.328; Robert Waldegrave, \textit{A castle for the soule contening many godly prayers, and diuine meditations, tending to the comfort and consolation of all faythful Christians, against the wicked assaults of Satan. Dedicated to the right honorable, Lord Ambrose, Earle of Warwicke, with an alphabet vpon his name}, (London, 1578).
by their master, at which point they were free to set up business independently. As with the other London livery companies there were alternative means through which to become a freeman of the company namely patrimony, where the individual’s father was a member of the company at the time of his birth; redemption, or freedom by purchase, which was the only option available to foreigners; and translation, if an individual was already a freemen of another Company, and both Companies agreed to the change.²⁰³

However, the capital required to purchase a press, supplies of paper and ink, bind, train and house apprentices, was generally beyond a freeman who had only recently completed his apprenticeship, unless he enjoyed unusual family wealth, or a generous patron. Consequently the vast majority of freemen worked as journeymen printers after completing their apprenticeship, to earn the required sum to establish their own business. Whilst some relocated to the regions to act as booksellers, many remained in London, and were employed for a fixed term by a master printer. When employed in this manner a journeyman enjoyed similar provisions as an apprentice, a master was to provide, ‘meate, Drinck, wasshinge, lodginge’ and a separate weekly wage, however if a journeyman married, their master was no longer responsible for providing him with accommodation. Christopher Hackford, a journeyman, employed by the London printer Richard Garrett in 1581 was employed on these terms, and received 19d per week for six months, although such contracts varied in length.²⁰⁴ Journeymen were given greater autonomy in their work than apprentices, and were expected to produce material of the exacting standards of the company. To ensure this, any material a printer deemed to be of poor quality was sent to the wardens of the company to be judged, and if it was agreed to be substandard it can be assumed that a journeyman would be required to

²⁰³ Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain*, p.109. As all freemen had the right to practice a trade other than that of the Company to which they belonged, there were situations where it became more appropriate for men to be members of the Stationers’ company as opposed to that to which they originally belonged.

recompense his master for the wasted resources, as an apprentice would be. In this way the Company regulated all areas of a printer’s career and ensured that high standards were consistently met.

The greatest obstacle to the journeymen based in London was the lack of jobbing printing available. The patent system caused a concentration of lucrative work on a small number of printers, particularly John Day and William Seres who had personal relationships with William Cecil, and Christopher Barker, the Royal Printer, stifling the smaller print shops. In 1578 a petition was sent to the Privy Council concerning the excessive use of monopolies and patents, and was followed by a number of years of tension as journeymen and jobbing printers infringed the patents of the larger print houses, with John Wolfe focusing his attack on Christopher Barker’s material, who, as the Queen’s printer, held several large and lucrative patents.205

The Company actively attempted to alleviate the difficulties facing journeymen printers in London during the period. From 1578 printers were encouraged to print unclaimed copies if they found themselves out of work, and this stock of texts was massively augmented in early 1584, when Day and Seres gave many of the copies they owned by patent, to the Company with a view to them being used by those printers who found themselves without work. These texts would become the basis of the English Stock, formally recognised by James I in 1603, which included Day’s patent for the Book of Psalms, and the ABC and the Little Catechism, Seres’ patent for Primers, and the English Catechism, and the patent for Almanacks and Prognostications which had been held by Wadrins and Roberts.206 This group of texts was owned by the Stationers

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Company from 1603, and consequently could be made available for poorer printers who could not afford to commission new material. Additionally, in December 1587 the Company ordered that printers were not to keep formes standing after a print run, to allow journeymen the opportunity to print new editions of popular texts. This worked in the same way as limiting the size of print runs, as if a printer was unable to keep the formes ready for a possible reprint he would be more likely to print a full run of a different text than re-set a text he had already produced, for a limited print run.

Waldegrave is absent from the records of the Stationers from the projected end of his apprenticeship in June 1576 until 17 June 1578, when he paid 4d to register a book entitled, *A Castell for the soule*, which, according to the imprint, was printed for him by Thomas Dawson soon afterwards. Whilst other scholars have suggested that Dawson’s involvement was due to Waldegrave being inundated with work, given the early stage of his career, it is more likely that he simply had no press of his own on which to print the text and was working as a journeyman. Between June 1576 and the period around the end of 1578/9, when further titles were entered into the Registers in his name, Waldegrave must have been working as a journeyman and amassing the capital required for the purchase of his own press, which required a significant financial outlay. Given that he had no family wealth or generous patron, working as a journeyman was the only means through which he could have raised the sufficient funds. No records of him during this period survive, but it seems logical to assume that he either remained with Griffith after completing his training, or began to work for Thomas Dawson, who had gained his freedom in 1568 and had a thriving business, and who printed *A Castell for the soule* in 1578 on Waldegrave’s behalf.

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209 Van Eerde, ‘Robert Waldegrave: The Printer as Agent’, p.44.
iii: Master and Beyond

If a printer was able to save sufficient funds as a journeyman to purchase his own press then he was able to establish his own print shop, and print material in his own name, or on behalf of other printers or booksellers. Christopher Barker reported in May 1583 that there were 23 master printers in London, using 53 presses, however, the list omits numerous stationers such as Francis Coldock, George Bishop and Thomas Woodcock, who appear to have printed works for sale, allowing us to call Barker’s figures into question.210 A master printer was able to register copies, print both independently and with a partner or syndicate, and bind his own apprentices. He could also take on positions within the Company, which would allow his career to advance. Numerous stationers were recorded as searchers, who had the responsibility of carrying out the Company’s search and seize responsibilities in London and further afield.

Approximately a sixth of the yeomanry rose to the livery, around ten years after securing their freedom, and this elevation required the individual to pay a significant sum (between 15s in 1570 and £10 in 1607) to the Company.211 They were then entitled to wear a different livery, and to take on a larger number of apprentices, allowing them to operate a greater number of presses. They were also entitled to stand for election as Renter Wardens, and later to the Court of Assistants, thereby holding an official post within the Company. There were also a number of subsidiary posts, specifically the Clerk, who was responsible for administration and record keeping, a post to which an individual was appointed indefinitely such as Richard Collins who held the post continuously between 1575 and 1613, and the Beadle. The Beadle was usually a

211 Gadd, ‘Being like a field’, p.75.
Stationer, and responsible for the maintenance of the Stationers’ Company Hall and for making provision for fuel and supplies for official dinners.

The highest offices within the Company were the Under Warden, Upper Warden and Master, which required a Stationer to serve for several years in all the other positions on the Court in order to be eligible for election. Those who held these offices had the authority to enter copies into the Register without further scrutiny from outside authorities as laid out in the 1559 *Injunctions*, although in some situations they allowed a copy to be entered on the proviso that it received approval from a higher authority. The appointment of large groups of searchers, and the role of the Wardens in authorising texts highlights the self-regulating nature of the Company in regards to the production and dissemination of texts in Elizabethan England.

Given the delay between the entry of his first copy in June 1578, and the subsequent copies entered in his name at the end of that year, and into 1579, it is likely that Waldegrave was employed as a journeyman during the period between June 1576 and the turn of 1579. However, by the turn of 1579 it seems Waldegrave had generated sufficient capital to allow him to establish his own printing press, although there is no indication of the location until the publication of *The wonderfull worke of GOD shewed uppon a Childe in Als[ing]ham in the Countie of Suffolke lyenge in a Traunce*, entered into the Register 9 January 1581. The imprint of this text describes Waldegrave’s press as located, ‘without Temple Barre neere unto Sommerset House’, some distance from the printing hub of St Paul’s Cross Churchyard, but close to the Inns of Court, with an abundance of legal professionals for customers.

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214 John Phillips, *The wonderfull worke of God shewed vpon a chylde whose name is William Withers, being in the towne of Walsam, within the countie of Suffolke: who being eleven yeeres of age, laye in a*
This was his primary premises for the period 1581-5 and he possibly retained it as late as February 1587, when the address appears on a further imprint.²¹⁵ According to the report of Christopher Barker, the Queen’s Printer, sent to Lord Burghley in May 1583, at that time Waldegrave owned and operated two presses.²¹⁶ Therefore he may have retained the premises near Somerset House throughout the period, whilst at the same time selling out of shops in St Paul’s Churchyard, firstly on Canon Lane at the Sign of the White Horse in 1585, and then at the Sign of the Crane, on the site of the old Charnel Chapel 1587-8, which would explain the variations in the imprints.

II. The Journey from Pen to Press

As Waldegrave’s primary role as a printer and bookseller was to produce books, it is important to reconstruct his daily work from start to finish. This allows for an examination of the points at which his own, personal agency could have been exercised as well as highlighting the various difficulties in terms of materials and equipment English printers faced during the final decades of Elizabeth’s reign.

Despite ongoing development of the printing industry in England during the sixteenth century, the material process of producing a text remained consistent throughout the Tudor period, and changed very little until the demise of the hand press in the nineteenth century. Like the original press used by Gutenberg, sixteenth-century printing presses were made primarily of wood, although by the end of the century a metal screw replaced the traditional wooden screw which moved the platen. Other

²¹⁵ John Phillip, The Life and Death of Sir P Sidney His funerals, etc [In verse], (London, 1587).
developments to Gutenberg’s original press included the addition of a sliding bed, tympan and frisket to hold and protect the paper. All of these developments allowed for an increase in the output of the press, from roughly 300 impressions a day to 250 an hour. A printer would be expected to own his own press, although the pressmen he employed were expected to know how to it was made so that they could instruct a joiner if repairs needed to be made, or a new press constructed. In comparison to the type and the paper used for printing it was a relatively inexpensive piece of equipment. It did however require a relatively large space, with a strong, level floor, as it was of considerable weight and the process of printing placed an increased strain upon the foundations. The operation of a press was relatively strenuous and required the work of two pressmen, assisted by the printer’s apprentices. In London many presses were operated in relatively cramped conditions, with a single room providing the space for the entire process but ideally a substantial space was utilised to allow room for the press, the composition of the formes, the preparation of paper and ink, the drying of half printed sheets, and the organising of the entire book. It is hard to see therefore how it was possible to undertake clandestine printing within or outside of London, given the spatial requirements of the work.

The sixteenth-century printing industry in London was highly centralised, focused in and around St Paul’s Cross Churchyard, in central London. Since the Middle Ages people had congregated at St Paul’s Cross to hear sermons or exchange gossip and this made it the natural hub of the increasingly popular print trade, with first manuscripts, then from around 1500, printed works being sold there. Although the first printing house in the area opened in 1543, there were no permanent premises for bookselling.

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until 1580, although there were temporary structures in place from 1570. There were a variety of establishments within the confines of the Churchyard, some offering specialist material such as legal or religious texts, and others offering a more varied mixture of frivolous and serious literature. Whether searching for the latest broadside ballad or most recent edition of Foxe’s Acts and Monuments, all consumers could find something to tempt them within the relatively small area of St Paul’s Cross. Shops were distinguished by the pictorial signs hung outside, which regularly moved if the owner relocated to a different premises. Not all the printers produced material to stock only their own shop, producing texts for the booksellers who operated no press of their own. Often booksellers operated as publishers, commissioning texts from a variety of printers to be sold in a central shop, and not operating a press of their own. Those who did produce their own material would not necessarily have had a print shop on the premises, as many were folding shops or sheds, which were dismantled at the close of business, although the larger bookshops often had multiple rooms, one of which may have housed the owner’s press. However not all printers had sufficient capital to be both printer and bookseller, as this required them to shoulder the total financial burden of the texts they produced, or seek patronage from wealthy individuals. Some relatively successful printers worked in partnership with each other, allowing them to choose the texts they wished to produce, whilst splitting both the liability and the right to sell the finished work. However, the majority of printers working in London during this period were jobbing printers or journeymen, printing texts chosen by a bookseller, guaranteeing them payment for the books they produced regardless of the texts’ commercial success. Non-printing booksellers tended to seek out new material on a particular subject to print, and, given a preference for a fast turnover of texts, short tracts,

pamphlets and broadsides were the core of their business.²²¹ Regional booksellers and journeymen printers ensured that the works available in the capital were disseminated amongst the wider population, although they still relied on the London traders to produce the texts they sold.

The journey of a printed book from the pen to the consumer in St Paul’s Churchyard or beyond was a long, complicated one. In the first instance, the printer or publisher identified a manuscript they believed would be a commercial success. Commissioning new material or translations of existing texts was highly costly, and consequently few printers/booksellers had sufficient capital to undertake such projects independently, or without a guarantee of the work selling well, unless they themselves were capable of undertaking the translation.²²² Alternatively, individual printers or booksellers could cultivate a relationship with a wealthy patron, who would provide the financial capital, and in some cases the manuscript itself. If patronage was not forthcoming, the financial risk could be reduced through collaboration with another printer or printers to register and produce the text. Where a text was directly commissioned by a printer/bookseller, the author was often provided with accommodation during the period of composition, and in some cases, supplied with reference material, paper and ink.²²³ The author was rarely paid in coin, but received a number of books on the completion of his work, usually not limited to the printed version of his manuscript, allowing him either to build up his own collection of books and printed material, or, more probably, allowing him to sell the texts either in London or a regional town.

Once a manuscript was available, the printer/bookseller would, if financially capable, pay to have the title entered into the Company Register, usually paying the sum of six

²²¹ Blayney, ‘The Bookshops in Paul’s Cross Churchyard’.
²²³ Bennett, English Books and Readers, p.284.
pence for the sole right to print the text. However, under the 1559 *Injunctions*, before a copy could be entered it had to be licensed for printing by a higher authority. In some instances copies were entered into the Register with a caveat that the text would only be protected once it had been licensed correctly, as by the 1580s, there were many more copies being entered into the Register, ‘under the hands of’ either the warden or other officials of the Company, who appear to have acted in the role of censor for non-contentious material. They would however include this caveat if they believed the copy entered was potentially controversial or seditious. Once the material had been written it was the owner of the copy as recorded in the Register who owned the text, not the author. It was not until the eighteenth century that a sense of author ownership was properly established and the responsibility for the content of printed material was secured in the individual who wrote it. In the Elizabethan period it was the booksellers and printers who often bore the brunt of the penalties imposed by the authorities for producing and disseminating material which was deemed seditious, or that was deemed dangerous, ‘naughtie’ or illegal.

Once a manuscript had been sourced it was handed over to the compositor, who transformed the written word into metal type. The printer usually owned one or more trays of type, organised by letter and size, to be used in this process. Metal type was very expensive, and consequently was a major outlay for any printer, whose products depended on the standard of the type he used. The significance of type is highlighted in the style of punishment used against printers who contravened regulations, whose type was defaced or spoiled to prevent any further transgressions. English printers generally imported matrices in order to forge their own type at the beginning of the century. In

England the most common typeface for vernacular texts was the gothic script known as black letter, which was a late fifteenth-century French style of Textura type. Modeled on the formal handwriting used in manuscript books, the type was upright and angular with limited curves. By the end of the sixteenth century new typefaces had become popular, primarily roman and italic fonts, based upon formal Italian handwriting, which were first used in England in the 1550s. During the period Waldegrave was working in England black letter was beginning to be relegated to the production of cheap, short texts, along with simple grammars and religious books, while academic and legal work used the more modern roman type.

Paper was the single most expensive commodity involved in the printing process, having to be imported from continental Europe, as there were no domestic areas of production in England. As linen and cotton rags were used to produce the stronger, better quality paper used for printing, the lack of these materials in England made the country dependent on overseas paper mills, as the only paper produced domestically was too coarse and rough to be used in a press. The vast majority of the paper used by the English presses was imported from France, with the best product found in La Rochelle, or Genoa, if the printer could afford the high prices. Even the coarser grades available from Normandy and Brittany were far superior to the paper produced in England during the period. There had been a paper mill near Hertford in 1494, run by one John Tate, but it failed quickly as the costs of production made the domestically manufactured paper prohibitively expensive. There was a paper mill established in

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Middlesex around 1575, but this fell into decline in the 1590s due to lack of investment.\textsuperscript{232}

Paper was purchased in reams of 480 sheets of which about 432 would be perfect and of the rest some would be useable. The remainder was used to protect the ream during transit and storage.\textsuperscript{233} In 1570 1,728 reams were imported into England, and were valued at £403 4s, with custom duty of £10 6s 2d levied on top of that total sum. However few printers imported their own paper directly, instead choosing to buy from merchants, often paying in finished texts as opposed to coin. The price of paper fluctuated greatly throughout the sixteenth century, with a ream costing 2s 4d in 1511-20, and rising to 6s 5d in 1571-82. There was a fall in price in 1583-92 as a ream decreased from 20 to around 12 quires, and consequently cost around 4s 9 1/4d.\textsuperscript{234} However, as the quality of the final product depended on the quality of the paper as much as the type, demand remained relatively consistent, although printers went to great length to avoid wasting paper, utilising spare pages in texts for verses and using scraps to wrap their wares.

\textsuperscript{232} Plant, \textit{The English Book Trade}, p.192.
\textsuperscript{233} Gaskell, \textit{A New Introduction to Bibliography}, p.59.
\textsuperscript{234} Plant, \textit{The English Book Trade}, pp.198-203.
Once the paper was secured in the tympan, protected by the frisket and the inked type were ready, an impression could be made. One pressman was responsible for pulling the windlass to bring down the platen, removing the finished pages and placing a new piece of paper on the tympan. The other pressman took responsibility for maintaining the level of ink on the type. It took approximately 14 seconds to print a sheet, and consequently two pressmen could make 250 impressions an hour, between 2500-3000 in a twelve hour day.\textsuperscript{235} Once a sheet had been printed it was laid to dry and then the reverse side was printed.

Once all the pages of a particular text had been printed, they were gathered up in piles and cut and folded together. They were often sold in this state, unless the printer or bookseller was also a binder.\textsuperscript{236} In the case of a first impression the pages were sent back to the corrector or the author in some cases to be checked for errors, which could be amended before the full print run was undertaken. In cases where it was not possible to change the pages themselves a list of errata was inserted into the book.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{235} Raymond, \textit{Pamphlets and Pamphleteering}, p.80.
\item \textsuperscript{236} Bennett, \textit{English Books and Readers}, p.300.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
acknowledging errors where words had been misused or omitted. After the main body of the text had been printed the preliminaries were printed, which included any author’s preface to the reader, and usually a title page, which was also used as the main means of advertising new texts. Copies of the title page were affixed to the stalls and the front of bookshops to encourage purchase. Consequently a great deal of information about the content and form of the work was included in these front covers.\(^{237}\) One other method of advertising was to include lists of books on similar subjects or by the same author in the back of texts, often printed upon the left over leaves, thereby avoiding wasting paper.

Once the book was printed it would either be sold by the printer or printers in their own shops, or by the stationer who commissioned it. A number would be bought by journeymen who would carry them to provincial towns and sell them to consumers who were unable to browse the stalls in and around St Paul’s Churchyard. These networks of dissemination have been the source of the majority of studies that have considered printing networks, and the extensive work of scholars on networks of dissemination has not only placed the network model at the heart of the English book trade, but augmented our knowledge of the role of journeymen, chapmen and provincial booksellers in the sixteenth century.\(^{238}\)

Different texts obviously had radically different audiences, depending on their cost and subject matter. Pamphlets and small books came to be known as stitched books and were simply sewn together by the printer or bookseller, at little cost, so as to keep the

overall cost of the book at a minimum. More expensive and substantial texts, as well as schoolbooks, grammars, Bibles and law books were sold bound. Binding in the sixteenth century followed a relatively consistent process, with the paper leaves being encased in covers of parchment, vellum and leather. Booksellers generally only had bound books they knew would be purchased, as binding naturally increased production costs.

The production of a book was a complicated and lengthy process, made more impressive given that printers often worked on multiple texts simultaneously. It is regularly acknowledged that the English presses in the sixteenth century were not working to full capacity and many printers complained of having too little work to keep themselves busy. Successful printers had to print a mixture of large scale and ephemeral works in order to maintain their income, but there was insufficient casual or jobbing printing to occupy all the presses in London. Prices of books remained consistent throughout Elizabeth’s reign and consequently, because of price inflation, by 1603 were much more affordable. The circumstances of different printers also changed the way they approached their business, shaping and guiding their choice of works to print, the format in which they produced them, and how they financed the undertaking. Some were able to finance works independently, whilst others worked in partnership with another printer. However, the most common form of book production seems to have been from within a network of printers who worked together to finance, print and sell a text. Waldegrave’s own career offers a fascinating example of the way in which such a printing network functioned.

III. Waldegrave the Master Printer of London

Whilst Waldegrave would have followed the process outlined above to produce material, he made active use of typographical nuances and a variety of typefaces, which made his printing business distinctive. Like the majority of his contemporaries, he owned a number of different types, in a variety of sizes, generally using black letter type for the main body of his texts, utilising roman and italic types for emphasis and the various marginalia and running titles. This is unsurprising as black letter was the standard typeface for religious works, which account for the majority of his printed output. It is where he deviated from this type that is more significant, as it indicates that Waldegrave was aware of the significance of typeface to potential readers as an indicator of both genre and content. His 1584 edition of Dudley Fenner’s *A counter-poyson modestly written for the time, to make aunswere to the obiections and reproches, wherewith the aunswerer to the Abstract, would disgrace the holy discipline of Christ*, was presumably aimed at an academic audience, as, although the subject matter was religious, he printed it in roman type, which was generally an indicator for academic or humanist material. Waldegrave’s deviation from black letter is less complex in the case of his two largest secular works, namely Angel Day’s *The English Secretarie* (1586) and Jacques Guillemeau’s *A worthy treatise of the eyes contayning the knowledge and cure of one hundred and thirtene diseases*, which were printed in a mixture of roman and italic types with a total absence of black letter due to their educational and academic content.

The 1586 edition of *The English Secretarie* uses a number of different roman fonts for the body of the text and various marginalia, along with some Greek characters in the marginal notes. Larger italic font is used for the section titles within the text, and the running title is a further example of roman font. Jacques Guillemeau’s *A worthy treatise*
of the eyes contayning the knowledge and cure of one hundred and thirtene diseases, which Waldegrave printed for Thomas Man and William Brome in 1587 is another clear example of Waldegrave using a different typeface to demonstrate the secular nature of the text itself. Throughout the text both the main body and the marginalia are printed in roman type, with italics used in the running title. Medical, legal and academic texts were generally printed in roman type during the period, and Waldegrave’s use of the conventional typeface for this genre, as exemplified by Day and Guillemeau’s texts shows that he was aware of the significance of the subconscious associations readers made between typeface and content, and acted accordingly.

Consequently Waldegrave’s deviation from the use of black letter in the two 1588 editions of John Udall’s work is significant. The subject matter of both texts is openly religious, and therefore, given Waldegrave’s consistent adherence to typographical conventions, he must have made a conscious decision to avoid black letter in these cases. Both *The state of the Church of Englande* and *A demonstration of the trueth of that discipline which Christe hath prescribed in his worde for the gouernment of his Church*, use a mixture of roman and italic type, despite their openly religious subject matter. However given the Puritan nature of the books, and the subsequent raid on Waldegrave’s premises after the publication of the first, the typographical shift can be seen as a conscious decision on Waldegrave’s part to mask his involvement with the tracts.

Waldegrave’s extensive use of running titles and marginalia highlights that he had a high degree of typographical skill, as the setting of a running title required careful use of printing furniture in the setting of the formes. His use of borders and woodcuts suggests that he operated a relatively lucrative business, as the range he owned would
have been costly to procure. However, unlike some of his more high profile contemporaries he did not own a full set of decorative letters to be used at the start of texts or sections within them, and in many cases resorted to the use of an ornate square frame inside which could be placed a standard piece of type, to produce a similar affect at a fraction of the cost.

Waldegrave’s own self-presentation through the woodcuts he used and the format of some of his title pages suggests that he identified himself as a printer with an especial connection with the divine. He regularly inserted an additional phrase around the image of a swan he often used on his title pages, particularly when it was used on the front page of a select number of the religious texts he printed between 1580 and 1584, including Fulke’s *A Briefe and Plaine Declaration* (1584), and Theodore Beza’s *A Discourse, of the True and Visible Markes of the Catholique Churche* (1582). There are six surviving examples of Waldegrave adding either the phrase, ‘God is my Helper’, or ‘God is my defender’ around his swan emblem on the front cover of books.

His emblem, of a swan carrying or sitting upon twigs, framed by the words God is my Helper, which create a barrier between the bird and a frame of snakes, appeared for the first time on William Horne’s *A Christian exercise containing an easie entrance into the principles of religion*, which Waldegrave printed in 1580. The symbolism of the
swan is significant, as during this period it was associated with chivalry, purity and beauty. When used in respects to the arts it was considered to indicate divine inspiration, and therefore Waldegrave’s motivation for adopting it as his emblem could have been influenced by his intentions to work as a religious printer, producing material that had been divinely inspired. Although the decision to utilise such a potent image could have been merely coincidental, the legend surrounding the bird further emphasises Waldegrave’s self-identification as a printer with religious interests, as he appears to be claiming divine support and protection. It was not unusual for printers to include religious imagery or phrases in their emblems during the period, but the combination of imagery and motto, show that from an early stage in his career Waldegrave was publically positioning himself as a religious printer, publishing material which was both popular and supportive of the reformed Protestant cause, seeking to support further religious reforms through print.

All of the texts which carry both the swan emblem and the additional epigram were produced independently by Waldegrave, apart from Field’s *A godly exhortation, by occasion of the late judgement of God, shewed at Parris-garden*, which he printed for Henry Carre, and this implies that Waldegrave had a strong relationship with the texts themselves, and an awareness of their religious significance. In other cases where he utilised the swan emblem he deemed it sufficient on its own, but in the case of these six texts he evokes stronger religious connections. His motivation to do so is unclear, but it may be an acknowledgement that of the religious material he was printing it was these tracts, printed independently and authored by contentious figures, which could create difficulties he would require divine support to overcome. Despite this concern, the use of the emblem in this way serves to emphasise his connection to the texts themselves

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through the use, not only of his name, but his emblem and his motto or a variant of the same. It is unclear whether this was driven by commercial or ideological considerations, however, the fact that he so effectively stamped his mark on the work of six authors of known Puritan sympathies supports his historical reputation as a Puritan printer or at least a reformed Protestant supporter, as it suggest that he was keen to be openly associated with such material, from the early stages of his career.

As Waldegrave’s career as a master printer is traced through the Registers it becomes clear that from the start he showed a level of disregard for the laws that governed his profession. Like John Wolfe, in 1582 Waldegrave infringed upon the patents of a fellow printer, William Seres, however, unlike Wolfe, who was not a member of the Company at that point, Waldegrave was fined £40 by the Company, a huge sum so early in his career.\(^{243}\) The Registers show evidence of various infractions of the regulations by numerous Stationers during the period, for offences such as opening their shops on feast days or binding apprentices without following the correct procedures, but few incurred such a large financial penalty for infringing patents so early in their careers.\(^{244}\) None of Waldegrave’s editions of Seres’ texts have survived, nor are there any records that name


\(^{244}\) Arber, Transcript of the Registers, Vol. 2, pp.849 & 859.
or describe them, but given the size of the fine they were presumably relatively numerous. Van Eerde has offered a different reading of the fine, suggesting that it was a payment to the Company for the right to infringe Seres’ patent for psalters and prayer books, which was deemed to be excessively restrictive for printers who did not enjoy the close relationship with the authorities that Seres did. She accounts for the size of the payment by highlighting the lucrative nature of the texts owned by Seres that Waldegrave printed, which would easily have enabled him to cover the fine. There is however, no evidence to support this analysis.  

Waldegrave was certainly part of the faction within the Company which opposed the way in which lucrative patents were distributed to printers with links to key regulators such as Lord Burghley. The limited distribution of patents to a handful of high profile printers hampered the ability of smaller print shops to succeed in the crowded London printing market. In 1582, Waldegrave put his name to a petition addressed to Lord Burghley concerning the flawed system. This petition, signed by over 20 stationers including Thomas Dawson and Edward White was motivated by its most notorious signatory, John Wolfe. In the following years there seems to have been a general move towards guaranteeing these discontented stationers some level of work, in an attempt to restore stability and harmony amongst the trade. For example, on Day’s death in 1584, Wolfe, along with four other agitators was granted some of the texts Day had held through patent. Similarly, in April 1584, a patent was granted to Timothy Rider, for a book on home medicine, with the caveat that Waldegrave be employed to print it, and in September of the same year Waldegrave was named as the intended printer of John Harrison the Younger’s copy, ‘the Coat armoure of a Christian’, possibly another example of the authorities attempting to mollify the agitating stationers.  

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246 The title of this work appears in quotation marks rather than being italicized because the record is drawn from the entry in the Registers, which was not always the same as the title that appeared on a final printed work. In cases where no copy of a work is extant the title, as found in the Register, will be treated as if it were the original title.
Waldegrave’s name appears in the Registers in December 1579, for binding an apprentice without a license and failing to present him to the Company. Although the amount he was fined is omitted, fellow printer Edward Day was fined 2s 6d for the same offence in February of the same year, therefore we can assume that Waldegrave too paid that amount. The date of the infraction is significant, as it suggests that by December 1579 Waldegrave had the facilities, if not the permission to take on an apprentice, and therefore by this date he had equipped premises, possibly the shop near Somerset House, with the accoutrements of a print shop. The binding of Waldegrave’s first legitimate apprentice, Henry Kildale of Derby, which appears in the Register on 14 January 1580/1, supports this interpretation. Kildale was to commence his apprenticeship 25 March 1581, and was due to complete his training in March 1589. Among the depositions gathered after the discovery of the Marprelate press in 1589 was the evidence given by one H Kyndall, ‘walgraves man’ who is probably the same person. It would have been logical for Kildale to flee with Waldegrave in April 1588, as he would have been implicated in the production of Udall’s *State of the Church in England*, which caused the authorities to raid Waldegrave’s workshop. There is no record of Kildale ever becoming a freeman within the company, and his association with the Marprelate press may well account for this.

Waldegrave bound a number of apprentices during the 1580s, although none of them were to complete their training under his guidance. In 1581 he accepted the transfer of Edward Unge from Henry Middleton, and continued his training until Middleton paid for his elevation to a freeman in February 1587. In October 1586 he assigned his

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247 Ellesmere, 87v.

apprentice Thomas Hawe to William King, although there are no records of the original indenture nor a record of his freedom, so it is impossible to know how long Hawe had been apprenticed to him. It appears that Waldegrave bound Griffin Vaughan during 1587, as in January 1591 Vaughan was transferred to Thomas Scarlet, and completed his training in 1594. However, given that Vaughan could not have been working with his master between April 1588 and his subsequent reassignment, it is possible he was bound to Waldegrave as early as 1583. Therefore during the period 1583-6 Waldegrave was responsible for at least four apprentices, Kildale, Ungle, Hawe and Vaughan. This is plausible as, according to Barker’s account, he was operating two presses during this period and would have required a significant number of workers to make optimal use of the equipment.

Waldegrave’s willingness to subvert the rules of his profession to allow his own business to flourish is a facet of his personality that has never been acknowledged. Although numerous printers failed to follow correct procedures in the binding of apprentices or the entry of copies, few succeeded in contravening the number of regulations Waldegrave managed to. As is evident from his disregard of the patent system, and the rules governing apprenticeship, he was driven not only by his religious beliefs, but also a desire to maximise his business potential. This commercial, and sometimes ruthless attitude can be used to explain some of the anomalous texts in his bibliography, both in England and Scotland, and offers an alternative interpretation of why he deserted in the Marprelate press in 1589 despite his ties to the reformed Protestant cause.

Similarly, Waldegrave’s awareness of commercial realities can be traced through his known bibliography of works printed in London. In the course of his English career Waldegrave is known to have printed in excess of 85 texts. It is impossible to state that this was the extent of his bibliography, as much of the ephemera he likely printed has not survived, and was not recorded in the Registers. However, of his known bibliography, at least thirty works, or more than a third of his output was produced for other stationers, and therefore it is difficult to draw any accurate conclusions on his autonomy as a printer when these texts are included in the analysis of his bibliography.

If only the texts he produced independently are considered, 81% of Waldegrave’s output is of a religious nature, including works on the Church of Scotland and a number from the pens of Presbyterian Puritan authors including John Penry, Dudley Fenner and John Udall, with a variety of news pamphlets and literary texts accounting for the remaining texts. His collaborative works show a similar distribution. Of the thirty-three texts he collaborated on or produced for other stationers, twenty-nine or 87% were of a religious nature, and half of these could be considered radical or Puritan in content. Although his collaborative works were marginally more likely to have been of a religious nature, broadly speaking his independent and collaborative outputs show a similar tendency towards religious material, with a strong showing of radical and Puritan authors.

Although the majority of the material Waldegrave printed was related to questions of religion, he also printed a variety of news pamphlets, travel and medical texts during his English career, presumably to guarantee an uninterrupted income from the smaller, cheaper material. One of the most well-known non-religious texts he printed was Angel Day’s letter writing manual, The English secretorie, produced in two volumes between
1586-7, which offered guidance on the correct composition and addressing of letters. An English translation of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and two books on the treatment of diseases of the eye, account for the majority of Waldegrave’s secular material. It is fair to assume that given Waldegrave’s primary focus on religious material, his decision to print this range of secular texts must reflect the demands of the reading public during the period.

The few pamphlets he is known to have printed were produced independently; most appear in the Register and have survived to the present day. Of the seven pamphlets concerning important contemporary events attributed to Waldegrave half were printed in the early part of his career, before 1583 and engaged with important events of the period such as Goldwel’s 1581 tract, *A briefe declaration of the shews, deuices, speeches, and inuentions, done & performed before the Queenes Maiestie, & the French ambassadours, at the most valiaunt and worthe Triumph*, which detailed the Duke of Anjou’s final failed attempt to woo Elizabeth. Another was a tract written by Thomas Day which detailed strange astronomical sights over the city of London in September 1583. These events must have aroused interest both in London and further afield, if they were deemed worthy of dissemination through print.

The later pamphlets were also part of the mass production of material on the same sorts of topics, indicating that these subjects were of great interest to Elizabethan society. There are several tracts registered around the end of 1586 concerning, ‘the prognosticacon out of Calabria’, including one in Waldegrave’s name. These pamphlets detail a variety of predictions made concerning 1587, after a ‘fourth starre’ was seen in
the sky over Calabria. Such astrological pamphlets were highly popular during the period. More striking are the five entries for texts concerning the death, funeral and commemoration of Sir Philip Sidney, recorded between November 1586 and February 1587. Sidney, a prominent courtier with reformed Protestant sympathies, was the son-in-law of Francis Walsingham, and brother-in-law to Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, as well as being the author of Arcadia, and a key member of a network of Protestant nobles who shared Puritan sympathies including the Dudley brothers, Ambrose and Robert, the Earls of Pembroke, Huntingdon, Bedford and later Essex. It is unsurprising that Waldegrave should print a volume on the death of such a key nobleman, regardless of his associations with the radical Protestant reformers, although it is perhaps ironic that despite printing such a laudatory text he should print pirate copies of Sidney’s Arcadia in Scotland in 1599.

Despite printing this range of non-religious works, Waldegrave is most commonly referred to as a religious, or Puritan printer, but describing any printer as a ‘religious’ printer of any denomination is problematic, as during the sixteenth century the vast majority of texts printed and read were religious. Therefore in order to survive the majority of printers would have been forced to produce them, unless they were dedicated to a specific genre such as legal works, which had their own market. The limited body of work available to be produced also forced printers to focus on texts that had commercial value, and this therefore would lead them to small, cheap works, ballads and broadsides, the majority of which discussed religious issues. An examination of any printer’s output during the period inevitably includes both religious and current interest material, and there is often no way to account for any printed ephemera produced, such as ballads and broadsides. Therefore using a printer’s known

250 John Doleta, Straunge newes out of Calabria prognosticated in the yere 1586, vpon the yere 87. and what shall happen in the said yere: Praying the Lord to be mercifull vnto vs, (London, 1586).
output as the sole criteria for classifying them as a religious printer is not particularly accurate. There is however a great deal of value in understanding how particular printers were perceived by contemporaries, and whether their name was associated with a particular genre of works, despite the range they inevitably produced to survive financially. In the case of Waldegrave, a new understanding of his own career, the English printing industry, and the group of Protestant reformers supportive of Martin Marprelate is made possible by establishing how he became known as a Puritan printer. This does not involve only examining the titles he is known to have produced, but considering the circumstances for their production and the motivation for their dissemination. If this came from Waldegrave himself, it would imply that he had a level of ideological commitment to the radical Protestant cause.

During his English career Waldegrave printed over fifty different texts on the subject of religion, ranging from official religious texts such as *The order of Matrimonie* to controversial works by Puritans such as John Field, Dudley Fenner and John Udall. The vast majority of his religious texts are sermons or scripture exegeses, which are relatively innocuous in a period when the demand for such material was huge. Waldegrave produced only a limited number of texts by key sixteenth-century reformers, all of which were printed in the early years of his career. Only two works by Luther can be connected to Waldegrave through the Register, entered in 1581 and 1582, although neither survives. He is known to have printed only one work of Calvin, *A sermon of the famous and Godly learned man, master Iohn Caluine chiefe Minister and Pastour of Christs church at Geneua, conteining an exhortation to suffer persecution for followinge Iesus Christe and his Gospell, vpon this text following. Heb. 13. 13*, which he printed for Edward White in 1581, and only two volumes of Beza, printed in 1582 and 1585.
Between 1583 and 1588 however Waldegrave printed a large number of texts by Protestant reformers considered to be part of the Puritan movement, such as Dudley Fenner, John Field, Thomas Wilcox, William Fulke, John Penry and John Udall, although in the case of Udall, Waldegrave almost exclusively printed on behalf of a publisher, Thomas Man. Field and Wilcox were the authors of An Admonition to the Parliament in May 1572, for which they were both imprisoned. Field, who received support from both Ambrose and Robert Dudley, went on to collate much of the material included in the scandalous Marprelate tracts, which both Udall and Penry were involved in producing. Waldegrave printed two of Field’s works, the anti-Catholic tract, A caveat for Parsons Howlet necessarie for him and all the rest of that darke broode and uncleane cage of papistes, who with their untimely bookes, seeke the discre dit of the trueth, and the disquiet of this Churche of England (1581) and A godly exhortation, by occasion of the late judgement of God, shewed at Parris-garden, (1583), neither of which proved particularly contentious, although only the former had been entered into the Register. Only two of Wilcox’s works were produced by Waldegrave, in collaboration with the publisher Thomas Man, An Exposition vppon the Booke of the Canticles (1585) and A forme of preparation to the Lordes Supper (1587). Given the Puritan associations of these authors, Waldegrave might have printed other texts they wrote if he genuinely was a Puritan printer. However, given the involvement of a separate publisher in the case of the Wilcox texts, it is clear that Waldegrave himself was unwilling to invest his own funds in the material, suggesting that he was commissioned by Man to print the books, and that his involvement with this key Puritan writer was at least as commercially as ideologically motivated.
However, Waldegrave produced two works independently in 1584 by the Puritan Dudley Fenner, who also wrote under the pseudonym William Stoughton. These texts are significant, because the majority of Fenner’s work was printed abroad, generally by Richard Schilders in Middleburg, and therefore that fact that two of his few English produced books were printed by Waldegrave merits consideration. The only other of Fenner’s works printed in England up until 1589 were *Sacra theologia, sive, Veritas quae est secundum Pietatem ad unicae & versae methodi leges descripta & in decem libros*, which was printed by Thomas Dawson in 1585, and *An answere vnto the confutation of John Nichols his recantation, in all pointes of any weight conteyned in the same especially in the matters of doctrine, of purgatorie, images, the Popes honor, and the question of the church*, which was printed by John Wolfe for Thomas Man and John Harrison in 1583. The involvement of three individuals who were part of the broader network within which Waldegrave operated may account for how he came to print Fenner’s works in 1584. Waldegrave’s decision to fund, *A counter-poyson*, and, *An abstract, of certain acts of parliament: of certaine Her Maiesties iniunctions*, indicates that he perceived them to be a sound investment and expected them to sell well. His further decision not to enter them into the Register implies that he was concerned that, given the nature of their content, they would be censored by the authorities. It is impossible to know whether his primary motivation for producing them was commercial or ideological, but the decision not to enter them into the Register suggests that he was aware that their content was potentially inflammatory, and that printing them carried a level of risk.

Similarly significant, if not more controversial is the edition of William Fulke’s *A Briefe and Plaine Declaration concerning the desires of all those faithfull ministers that have and do seeke for the discipline and reformation of the Churche of England*, which
Waldegrave also printed in 1584. The book had been deemed too extreme by Puritan leaders during the 1570s and was printed without the author’s permission, in an act which has been described as the catalyst which led to the production of the Marprelate tracts in 1588/9 as it advocated a radical form of Presbyterianism, which afforded entire congregations a voice in church governance.\textsuperscript{252} Black has linked this 1584 text with Beza’s \textit{The iudgement of a most reuerend and learned man from beyond the seas concerning a threefold order of bishops}, which Waldegrave went on to print independently, in 1585, suggesting that it was the radical ecclesiastical policies outlined within them which prompted John Bridges to pen the 1,400 page, a \textit{Defence of the Government Established in the Church of Englande for Ecclesiasticall Matters} (1587).\textsuperscript{253} It was Bridges’ text that ‘Martin’ set out to refute in \textit{The Epistle} and \textit{The Epitome} referring to the book as, ‘a portable book, if your horse be not too weak’.\textsuperscript{254}

The significance of the debate encouraged by the printing of these works of Fulke and Beza, and its eventual consequences, calls Waldegrave’s motivation for printing them into question. As far as the records show, no other stationer was involved in the production of either text, although during both years Waldegrave continued to produce material in co-operation with a number of his contemporaries. Neither contains a dedication to suggest support from a powerful third party. This implies that Waldegrave’s decision to produce the material was autonomous, and that consequently he played a significant part in the sequence of events that would lead to his eventual exile from England, by helping to create the politico-religious debate that brought Marprelate into being. Monta and Van Eerde believe that it was this material produced in 1584 which led to Waldegrave’s imprisonment for a time in a Southwark prison, on

\textsuperscript{252} Black, \textit{The Martin Marprelate Tracts}, xxii-xxiii.
\textsuperscript{253} Black, \textit{The Martin Marprelate Tracts}, xxiv.
\textsuperscript{254} Marprelate, ‘The Epitome’ Black, \textit{The Martin Marprelate Tracts}, p.56.
the orders of Archbishop Whitgift, in both 1584 and again in 1585. The only evidence to support these claims comes from two of the Marprelate tracts, the *Epistle* and *Hay any work for Cooper*, and therefore must be considered in light of the fact that it was beneficial to the Marprelate cause to present Waldegrave as a religious martyr. By highlighting his incarceration, ‘Martin’ emphasised Waldegrave’s Puritan sympathies to further legitimise both Waldegrave’s involvement in the tracts and ‘Martin’s’ own message, although there is no evidence to support his claims of Waldegrave’s unprovoked persecution by the authorities. This is similar to a practice in the seventeenth century whereby authors censored their own material to blacken the reputation of the censors and give the texts a, ‘martyred air of injured innocence’, even if in reality the edits were made as a result of commercial restrictions. Given the lack of output and continuous output of his press during the period it is unlikely that Waldegrave was imprisoned in 1584 or 1585 and possible that the details given within the Marprelate tracts were fabricated purely to further their ideological cause.

Regardless of any imprisonment Waldegrave may have been subject to, it is clear that between 1584 and 1585 he was involved in independently producing a number of controversial Puritan texts, particular the volume penned by William Fulke, which prove a level of commitment to the Puritan cause. Therefore, there is some evidence to base a classification of Waldegrave as a Puritan printer upon. However, arguing that he was a Puritan martyr is clearly more problematic, and the consistent representation of him as such since the publication of the Marprelate tracts can be seen as an attempt by contemporaries and later historians to have him conform to the notion of a martyred radical reformer.

PART TWO: WALDEGRAVE’S LONDON BASED PRINTING NETWORK

When Waldegrave’s surviving output is considered in light of the information carried on the title pages of his works and that recorded in the Registers, the extent of his collaborative output becomes apparent. As previously mentioned, more than a third of his output was produced with or for other stationers, suggesting that this model of production was fairly common within the English book trade during the late-sixteenth century. It was financially beneficial to both the printer, who was guaranteed payment for his work, and the publisher/bookseller, who did not have to invest in printing equipment, but was still able to produce both general and specialist material to sell to the public. As Waldegrave’s collaborations are considered, it becomes clear that not only did these many stationers have direct professional relationships with him, but with each other, suggesting that the role of networks within the Elizabethan book trade was significant for both printers, publishers and booksellers, and should therefore be given greater consideration.

I. Waldegrave’s Collaborators

Waldegrave’s role within a broader network of stationers is significant not only because of the new level of understanding into the realities of the early modern book trade it offers, but also because it helps to clarify Waldegrave’s level of affinity with the Puritan cause. Of the thirty-three texts Waldegrave is known to have produced in collaboration, the majority of these works were of a religious nature including works by Wilcox, Calvin, Beza and Peter Martyr and the stationers who owned these texts, in the most part paid to print religious texts legally. This in itself is unsurprising, as the majority of texts bought and read in the early modern period dealt with aspects of religion, but the fact that these stationers all had links not only to Waldegrave but to each other
demonstrates that there existed a group of collaborating stationers in Elizabethan London, who displayed sympathy for the radical Protestant cause.

The key questions are whether Waldegrave was linked to other radical stationers, and if so, why he had such an antagonistic relationship with the authorities for the books he printed, while the other stationers within this network suffered no repercussions? A brief examination of the careers of the stationers involved offers a variety of explanations for this, tied to the position of the men within the Company itself and their personal and professional connections to key members. Unlike Waldegrave, the majority of his network held positions of authority within the Company, from searcher to Master, between 1585 and 1610, and suffered no consequences for their association with radical reformed Protestant literature.

i: Thomas Dawson

Waldegrave’s first collaboration was with the printer Thomas Dawson. His potential links to Thomas Dawson have already been addressed, and Dawson’s printing of Waldegrave’s first copy in 1578 supports the notion that Waldegrave may have worked with him as a journeyman printer after completing his apprenticeship with William Griffith. After Dawson’s appearance in the imprint of A Castell for the soule, his name is never found in the records connected to Waldegrave or his work. However Dawson printed a number of controversial Puritan William Fulke’s works for fellow stationer, Thomas Man between 1579 and 1581, as had Waldegrave’s Master, William Griffith in 1571, during Waldegrave’s apprenticeship. Dawson was also involved in printing a translation of Calvin by notorious Puritan John Field for Man in 1579, around the time Waldegrave may have been working for Dawson as a journeyman printer. Therefore it

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is clear that from early in his career Waldegrave was exposed to the work of eminent Puritan thinkers, which were published through collaborations amongst a network of sympathetic stationers.\footnote{William Fulke, A Goodly Gathering with a most pleasaunt Prospect into the Garden of all natural contemplation, (London, 1571).}

\textbf{ii: Thomas Man}

Thomas Man is one such stationer, whose professional relationship with Waldegrave began in 1581. As previously mentioned, 1580 saw Waldegrave independently enter several copies into the Register, although no examples of these titles are extant. However, in May 1581 Man entered William Hopkinson’s \textit{A Preparation in the waye of lyfe with a direction into the right vse of the Lords Supper} which was subsequently printed by Waldegrave on behalf of Man and John Harrison the Younger.\footnote{Arber, Transcript of the Registers, Vol. 2, p.393; William Hopkinson, A Preparation in the waye of lyfe with a direction into the right vse of the Lords Supper, (London, 1581).} This was the start of the longest, and most prolific professional relationships Waldegrave had during his English career, lasting until 1587. Over a quarter of the texts he produced in collaboration with other stationers between 1581 and 1587 were printed for Man, or Man and one of his associates, such as William Brome or John Harrison the Younger.

Man was apprenticed to John Harrison Senior in June 1567 for eight years, therefore presumably became a freeman of the Company in the summer of 1575, marrying the sister of his master sometime later.\footnote{Henry Plomer, Abstracts from the Wills of English Printers and Stationers from 1492-1630, (London, 1903), p.48.} Harrison was a close contemporary of Thomas Dawson, and the pair entered the livery of the Stationers Company in 1584. It is likely that Man and Waldegrave became acquainted through their respective relationships with Harrison and Dawson. Man first entered a copy into the Register in 1578, and regularly produced texts in partnership with his peers, including his former
master and brother-in-law’s half brother, John Harrison the Younger, as well as William Brome and Toby Smith, all of whom Waldegrave printed for, perhaps through their connections with Man. Man primarily acted as a publisher and bookseller, entering numerous copies into the Register during the period, and collaborating with numerous printers whose names are recorded on the books alongside the designation of him as the official vendor.

An examination of the copies Man entered into the Register in the period 1578-89 shows a significant bias towards religious volumes, nearly ¾ of the texts he entered, including the works of Calvin, Beza, and Knox. Man was also directly connected to a substantial number of texts by known Puritans including Field, Fulke and Wilcox. In the late 1570s and early 1580s Dawson was printing the works of notorious Puritan William Fulke for Man. Man also collaborated with Toby Smith on Fields’ *A caveat for Parsons Howlet necessarie for him and all the rest of that darke broode and uncleane cage of papistes, who with their untimely bookes, seeke the discrédite of the trueth, and the disquiet of this Churche of England*, printed by Waldegrave in 1581. Waldegrave is also believed to have printed Walter Travers’ *An ansvvere to a supplicatorie epistle, of G.T. for the pretended Catholiques written to the right Honorable Lords of her Maisties priuy Councell*, for Smith alone around 1583.

All of the texts Waldegrave printed for Man and his partners were religious texts, and the list is dominated by the works of Thomas Wilcox and John Udall. The copies belonged either to Man alone, or were held jointly with one of his associates, but never with Waldegrave. There is one noticeable exception to this, a translation from Jacques Guillemeau’s French work, *A worthy treatise of the eyes containyng the knowledge and cure of one hundred and thirtene diseases, incident vnto them*, which was registered by
Waldegrave in July 1586, and was to be sold by Man and Brome. This remains the only text printed by Waldegrave but sold by Man which can be confirmed as belonging to Waldegrave himself. It would have been logical for Waldegrave to pass on responsibility for the selling of the book, as in 1586 he had no shop in St Paul’s Churchyard from which to sell it, unlike Man and Brome. Being a medical text it would have been of limited interest to his customers near Somerset House, whose primary interests would be in legal and general material.

Previously, Waldegrave’s decision to register a copy written by John Knox has been examined, but it was not the only example of the famous Scottish preacher’s work to be produced during the period. In 1583 Man entered, ‘An exposition of Master KNOXE upon the iiijth of MATHUE concerninge the tentations of CHRIST’ into the Register, despite the author’s unpopularity with the English Queen. This was not the only text connected to Scotland and her Church Man published, as in 1581 he entered, ‘a Short Somme of the whole Catechisme gathered by master John Craig Minister of the worde of GOD in Scotland’, which was eventually printed for Man by Waldegrave in 1584. This entry is significant, as it shows that texts concerning the Scottish Church were not necessarily restricted by the English authorities, despite their support of the Presbyterian system of church governance, which challenged the position of bishops within the Church of England. This is further demonstrated by the fact that in the same year Waldegrave entered three copies independently into the Register that engaged with the Scottish Church, including both Knox’s A confession and Declaration of praiers and the proceedings of the 1561 Reformation Parliament in Scotland which laid out the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Both Waldegrave and Man, as stationers engaged in the production of radical reformed Protestant material would have been aware of the

significance of these texts and their controversial nature due to the Presbyterian ideas they contained. It is intriguing that it was Waldegrave whom Man had print Craig’s Catechism in 1584, which could have been because Waldegrave happened to be available to print the work, or, potentially because Man was aware of Waldegrave’s own interest in the country as shown by the texts he registered in 1581.

Justification for regarding Man as a radical reformed Protestant, if not Puritan, publisher is provided by his long-term relationship with the preacher John Udall. In collaboration with various printers Man published numerous works by Udall between the latter’s appointment as a lecturer at Kingston-upon-Thames in 1584 and April 1588. Notorious for his involvement in the Marprelate Controversy, Udall’s relationship with the original Marprelate printer may have been facilitated by Man, under whose imprint his first books, *Obedience to the Gospell: Two Sermons Containing Fruiteful matter* and, *Amendment of Life: Three Sermons upon Actes 2. Verses 37.38* were printed in 1584. Although Waldegrave is not named as the printer of the books, there are examples of woodcuts and ornamental letters within both books which are also found in Waldegrave’s acknowledged work on Udall’s texts for Man in 1587.

It appears that Udall’s *Peters fall Two sermons vpon the historie of Peters denying Christ, wherein we may see the causes of mans falling from God, and the maner how*, which it has previously been suggested was printed in 1587 was in fact printed just after his first two books in early 1585, as it is dedicated to Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, a notable Puritan noble who died in July 1585. It would have been unusual to dedicate a work to someone no longer living, especially as Bedford’s daughter, Margaret Clifford, was the dedicatee of one of the texts Waldegrave printed in early 1588 after her father’s death. As no known works printed by Waldegrave are dedicated to her before her father’s death, it is possible that it was only after his demise that she became a focus for the Protestant authors Waldegrave was printing. None of these works by Udall can be found in the Registers, suggesting that at this early stage they were not considered to be particularly controversial or significant.

This changed, as is well known, in April 1588 when *The State of the Church of England* was printed. In the last few months of 1587 Waldegrave and Man had once more collaborated to produce *The true remedie against famine and warres* and *The Combate betwixt CHRIST and the Devill: Foure Sermons upon the temptation of Christ in the wildernes by Satan* neither of which appear in the Register. The latter has been dated
1590? in the Short Title Catalogue, but as Waldegrave was no longer in London at this point it was likely produced around the end of 1587. Nor could it have been printed after Udall traveled to Newcastle and was offered protection by the Earl of Huntingdon in late 1588, as by this point Waldegrave was in hiding with the Marprelate press and would not have been producing texts for Man. In 1588 Waldegrave also produced a second edition of Amendment of Life: Three Sermons, using the same ornate border on its front page as can be seen on The true remedie against famine and warres printed the previous year. There is however no evidence to suggest that Man was involved in the production of The State of the Church of England, which perhaps was to be the first collaboration between Waldegrave and Udall without the older stationer’s involvement. The warrant issued by the Company to question Man ‘about VDALES book’ between July 1591 and July 1592 reflects his long-term connection with the production of Udall’s work in collaboration with Waldegrave, which made him the natural focus of any investigation into either. There is no further mention of the issue in the Company’s records however, so it must be assumed that after April 1588 Man ceased to associate with either of Udall or Waldegrave.

### iii: William Brome

Man worked in conjunction with numerous stationers to produce texts, most frequently John Harrison the Younger and William Brome, with whom Waldegrave also collaborated throughout his career. He printed six religious texts for Brome and Man that can be identified, three authored by Udall, and another by Thomas Wilcox, however this religious dominance is not strictly representative of the other projects Brome and Man collaborated on, which were relatively equally divided between Latin texts and grammars, and religious works. Brome himself entered a range of different

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copies into the Register, including news pamphlets, minor religious works and *The Common Places of Peter Martyr selected into foure partes out of Divers of his bookes and Commentaries* in collaboration with a number of other stationers including Waldegrave.\(^{266}\)

**iv: Edward White**

Although Waldegrave printed a range of Protestant material during his English career, independently and through collaborations, the only edition of Calvin he is known to have been printed is *A sermon of the famous and Godly learned man, master Iohn Caluine chiefe Minister and Pastour of Christs church at Geneua, conteining an exhortation to suffer persecution for followinge Iesus Christe and his Gospell*, for Edward White in 1581. Although there is no way to date their association exactly, White was assigned the copy of John Phililps’ *The wonderfull worke of God shewed vpon a chylde whose name is William Withers, being in the towne of Walsam, within the countie of Suffolke* on 13 January 1581, four days after Waldegrave entered the title under his own name. The only surviving text carries Waldegrave’s imprint, and there is no further indication that the two printers collaborated on subsequent texts, so the reason for this sale is unknown. It is possible that the two printers met through Man, who had sold the right to a book entitled, ‘an hospital for the diseased’ to White in 1579.

**v: William Ponsonby**

White entered the livery of the Stationers’ Company in 1587 along with another of Waldegrave’s collaborators, the bookseller and publisher, William Ponsonby.\(^{267}\)

Ponsonby, who along with Brome was fined for failing to recognise a holiday in

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October 1586, received two texts from Waldegrave’s press, John Tomkys’ *A brieve exposition of the Lordes Prayer, contained in questions and answeres*, (1585) and *A sermon preached the 26. day of May. 1584. in S. Maries Church in Shrewesbury before the right honorable the Earle of Leicester*, (1586) by the same author. Ponsonby’s collaborations with Waldegrave occurred in the early years of both of their careers, but Ponsonby was to enjoy a more prominent place in the English book trade. Part of his success may have been connected to his personal network, as he was married to the daughter of Francis Coldock, who served as warden of the Company for four years during the 1580s. He also established a broad network of professional and personal connections, and in 1603, and along with Waldegrave’s long-term collaborator, Man, was nominated by Robert Dexter to sell his remaining texts after the latter’s death. He enjoyed a successful career as a publisher and bookseller, with a particular focus on literary texts, including Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queen* (1590) and Sidney’s *Arcadia* (1590). It was in the publishing of the 1598 edition of this text that his path once again crossed with Waldegrave’s, as the latter produced a relatively inexpensive folio version of the *Arcadia* in Edinburgh, hugely undercutting Ponsonby’s costly edition.\(^{268}\) Ponsonby’s death in 1604 marked the end of his lucrative bookselling career, and although he left his estate to his wife, his extensive bibliography was purchased by her half brother Simon Waterson, who went on to have a similarly successful business.\(^{269}\)

**vi: Thomas Woodcock**

Ponsonby’s father-in-law, Francis Coldock was the master of the Waldegrave’s final key collaborator, Thomas Woodcock. Apprenticed to Coldock in 1561, Woodcock gained his freedom in 1570 and was admitted to the livery in 1581. In 1586 he was one

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of the stationers named as a searcher, with responsibility for searching out and seizing illegal texts with the authority of the Company. Woodcock was not however a model member of the Company. In 1578 Harrison Senior, George Bishop, William Seres, John Day and Richard Tottyll petitioned Lord Burghly to release Woodcock from imprisonment in Newgate, for the printing of ‘Admonysion to the Parliament’. This was likely the controversial Puritan text by John Field and Thomas Cartwright, *An Admonition to Parliament*, originally printed in 1572, which led to the imprisonment of the authors.

Before his brief imprisonment in December 1578, Woodcock purchased the copies of the late Luke Harrison. Between 1569-78 Harrison had collaborated closely with his neighbour George Bishop, Woodcock’s brother in law, with whom Woodcock went on to collaborate until 1587. Bishop was under-warden of the Company from 1578-9 and upper-warden in 1584 and 1586, before becoming Master in 1590 and therefore must be recognised as a powerful ally for Woodcock. Of the many copies Woodcock purchased from Harrison’s widow, the most well-known was ‘the Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland Compiled by master Hollinshed’. A huge volume, it had previously belonged to Reginald Wolfe, and was subsequently entered into the Register jointly by Woodcock, Harrison Senior, George Bishop, Henry Denham and Ralph Newbury in 1584. Plomer suggests that the work was so large it was decided initially to release only small parts in the first printing of 1577. The collaboration of these five stationers in 1584 was therefore probably driven by economic necessity, as the large undertaking required a significant financial outlay. Woodcock’s ability to contribute to the project suggests that his business was well-established and lucrative.

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Woodcock also purchased numerous religious tracks including texts by Calvin, Fulks and Beza from Harrison. Unlike Waldegrave, who is well known for printing material by these authors and yet entered only a couple of copies into the Register, Woodcock owned a large number of what may be considered to be Puritan tracts yet never suffered any ramifications. Waldegrave produced two known texts for Woodcock in 1585, Alexander Gee’s *The ground of Christianitee, composed in manner of a dialogue between Paule and Titus contayning all the principall poyntes of our Salvation in Christ* and James Bisse’s, *Two sermons preached the one at Paules Crosse the eight of Ianuarie, 1580 the other at Christes Churche in London, the same day in the after-noone*. Although both of these texts were religious in content, neither was as controversial as some of the texts Woodcock owned, composed by a country preacher and MP respectively. Given Waldegrave’s reputation as a Puritan printer it seems strange that at this stage in his career he was not connected with the production of any of the radical religious works owned by Woodcock. Clearly he did not have the monopoly on Puritan material in the way other historians have a tendency to suggest, and was instead part of a group of stationers willing and in some situations more able, to produce the texts.

**II. The Topography of Print**

The majority of this group of stationers not only worked in collaboration but also in close geographical proximity. As for much of his career Waldegrave had no premises in St Paul’s Churchyard, the primary focus of the London book trade, and this may have been a motivation behind some of his earliest collaborations. Given the location of the shops of the group of stationers identified as working with Waldegrave, it seems likely that they often worked in co-operation with each other. Thanks to the work of Peter

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273 See Figure 5.
Blayney it is now possible, for the majority of cases, to locate the different booksellers and printing workshops that operated within St Paul’s Churchyard during the sixteenth century. Unfortunately the same cannot be said for Paternoster Row, where Thomas Man operated at the sign of the Talbot, and John Harrison the Younger had a business at the Golden Anchor between 1580-1614. Only Harrison’s shop can be located through surviving records, four tenements east of Paul’s Gate [5].

Within the Churchyard itself a fascinating picture of the relationships between these stationers can be seen when attention is paid to the location of their businesses according to the imprints on the texts produced by Waldegrave. Woodcock, Bishop, Harrison Senior and another collaborator of Waldegrave’s, Toby Smith operated on the

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Printers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Black Bear</td>
<td>Thomas Woodcock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The Crane</td>
<td>Tobie Smith, Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>The White Greyhound</td>
<td>John Harrison I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>The Rose/Bell?</td>
<td>George Bishop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Green Dragon</td>
<td>Francis Coldock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Golden Anchor</td>
<td>John Harrison II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Bishops Head</td>
<td>William Ponsonby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The White Horse</td>
<td>Waldegrave (1585)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The King’s Head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>? (Formally part of the Brazen Serpent)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The Brazen Serpent</td>
<td>Robert Dexter (1590-1603)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>The Parrot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The Holy Ghost</td>
<td>Gabriel Cawood (1568-1601)</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>The Sun</td>
<td>William Ponsonby rented when working for Norton</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>The Queen’s Arms</td>
<td>William Norton (1573-1595); Bonham Norton (1595-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>The White Swan</td>
<td>Ralph Jackson</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Love and Death</td>
<td>Richard Watkins (named in William Norton’s Will)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Bonham Norton (1596-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>The White Horse/ Officina Nortoniana</td>
<td>John Norton (1594-1612)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>Henry Carre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Figure 5: The Topography of Waldegrave’s London Printing Network

site of the Old Charnel Chapel during the 1580s. Woodcock’s ‘Sign of the Black Bear’ [1] often shortened to ‘sign of the bear’ was situated on the western side of the old chapel, with the sign of the Crane to the east. The Crane [2] was operated by Toby Smith between 1582-3, during which time Waldegrave collaborated with him twice, and

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in 1587 Waldegrave took over the premises. Previously the Crane and the Bear had been a single shop, also called the Crane and occupied by Luke Harrison, previously the partner of George Bishop and owner of numerous Protestant texts purchased by Woodcock. Beyond the Crane stood a large shop divided into two separate businesses. To the west was Harrison Senior at the Sign of the White Greyhound [3a], and to the east George Bishop traded at the Sign of the Rose [3b]. Francis Coldock held the final shop within the old chapel, the Sign of the Green Dragon [4] on the eastern side. Given the concentration of stationers who held positions of authority within the Company in this area, it is astonishing that Waldegrave had the audacity to print illegal material at the Sign of the Crane in 1588, surrounded as he was by searchers and wardens.

Ponsonby occupied the Sign of the Bishops Head [6] to the west of the Churchyard, east of Canon Lane and opposite the large northern door of the Cathedral. On the western side of Canon Lane stood the White Horse [7], which appears in the imprint of a text Waldegrave printed in 1585.276 It is unclear whether Waldegrave was operating at premises himself or whether he printed the text to be sold by another stationer at the small shop. As he did not move into the Crane until 1587, and still appears to have had a print shop near Somerset House, it is possible that he was selling his wares out of the White Horse for a period before then, at the same time he was working with Ponsonby, located conveniently across the lane.

As this group of stationers, Woodcock, Smith, Harrison Senior, Harrison the Younger and Ponsonby worked in close proximity to each other it is unsurprising that they had numerous professional and personal connections to each other and their immediate neighbours, Coldock and Bishop. It is likely that Man, with his bookshop at the Sign of

276 A godly and comfortable treatise, very necessary for all such as are ouer-laden with the burden of their sinnes, & do seeke comfort in christ, by the vndoubted promises of saluation, made to them that with true fayth do come vnto him, (London, 1585).
the Talbot in Paternoster Row was also closely situated, possibly to the north of the
Charnel Chapel near his old master, which would create a tight geographical network as
well as a professional one. It is impossible to prove this, but it seems likely that Man
would be working close to his collaborators and father-in-law. Unfortunately it is
impossible to locate where White and Dawson operated, and the same is true for
Waldegrave’s master, William Griffith, as no records of their premises survive. It is
difficult to understand is how Waldegrave came to work with these stationers who had
such close geographic and personal connections. One possibility is that Dawson or
Griffith occupied premises close to the Charnel Chapel, which would have made
collaboration with the group more likely. What seems certain is that the relationship
between Waldegrave and Man was key, as this association not only proved to be the
most consistent and long lasting professional relationship Waldegrave ever enjoyed, but
would have also provided the opportunity for Waldegrave to form links to Brome,
White, Harrison Senior and Harrison the Younger as outlined above.

III. The Significance of Networks for Waldegrave and the Wider Book Trade

The sort of professional/personal network identified, in which Waldegrave played a
part, has not been widely discussed by scholars concerned with the history of the book,
and therefore offers new and exciting information about the mechanics of the English
book trade. Indeed, the stationers who have been the subject of historical study up until
now appear to have operated, if not independently, then with a single, consistent
partner, such as the Day-Seres partnership, and have not been identified as part of a
larger network within the Company.\textsuperscript{277} It is clear that this was not the case with
Waldegrave, who collaborated with at least ten different stationers during the decade he
worked in London.

\textsuperscript{277} Evenden, \textit{Patents, Pictures and Patronage}, p.9.
It is important to clarify that although Waldegrave was a part of this network he was never an equal collaborator, as he entered no joint copies, nor had anyone print a text for him, apart from *A Castell for the soule* printed by Dawson, at a time when he had no press of his own. Waldegrave printed texts for other stationers, within the network, and therefore can be seen to be the lesser partner in these transactions. Nearly half of the texts he printed were copies he owned destined to be sold by others, or copies owned by others. In the latter scenario his payment was guaranteed by the owner of the copy who paid him for printing the material, suggesting that commercial transaction was a key motivator in these relationships. The former situation implies that in the majority of cases where Waldegrave collaborated with another printer as opposed to bookseller, he removed himself from the selling process. This may well have been due to his primary location near Somerset House, which was some distance from St Paul’s Churchyard where the majority of transactions would have taken place. This would explain why the number of texts he produced in collaboration with other stationers declined between the end of 1586 and the raid on his print shop in April 1588, when he had relocated his business to the sign of the Crane at the heart of St Paul’s Churchyard.

Unlike Waldegrave, none of his collaborators suffered for their involvement with the production of radical Protestant literature. There are a variety factors that protected them from persecution by the authorities; their own standing within the Company and potentially, the more pragmatic manner in which they printed or sold religious material. Woodcock, a named searcher, could even have been involved with John Wolfe’s raid on Waldegrave’s shop, and the subsequent search around Kingston for the fugitive. The most significant difference between Waldegrave and the rest of the stationers within this network however was certainly their associations to various officers of the Company,
particularly in the cases of Man and Woodcock. Man was the brother-in-law and ex-apprentice of Harrison Senior who was Master of the Company in 1583 and 1588 and Man became a Warden himself in 1597. Woodcock, as has been mentioned enjoyed a working relationship with George Bishop, Ralph Newbury and Harrison Senior, who were Master or Wardens of the Company every year between 1583 and 1590 excluding 1585 and 1587. He was also the ex-apprentice to Coldock who was a Warden in 1580, 1582 and 1587-8. Ponsonby would also have enjoyed Coldock’s protection as his son-in-law. For much of decade therefore close associates of the stationers with whom Waldegrave collaborated within the network, were in the position to protect them, regardless of the material they were producing, whilst Waldegrave remained without protection. Therefore, although Waldegrave can be placed within the network that has been described, he remains a secondary figure, in that he was never a partner in the production of texts, had no powerful allies within the Company willing to defend or protect him from the authorities, and no patron though whom to secure lucrative patents. This may have encouraged him to become involved with more radical religious material, as fewer stationers were competing for the titles, and therefore he was able to secure texts to print, maintaining his income when jobbing printing was scarce.

Just as the existence of a network of likeminded stationers is significant when considering the career of Waldegrave, the prevalence of professional networks made up of members of the Stationers’ offers a new framework within which to understand the printing trade in England during the sixteenth century. Independent, wealthy stationers who commanded vast numbers of lucrative patents, and enjoyed significant patronage were few and far between, and individuals such as Day and to a lesser extent Barker, were the exception as opposed to the rule. In order to understand the realities for the rest of Company, it is vital to consider who they printed with, or for, and to consider their
professional, personal, and geographical relationships where possible. This allows a far more complex image of sixteenth-century printing to emerge, where stationers rarely operated independently, and where a rise in one stationer’s fortune, through the securing of a patent or the rights to a particular text, could greatly improve the situation of those with whom he worked.

One example of this is the production of Ralph Holinshed’s *Chronicle* after its purchase from Luke Harrison’s widow by Thomas Woodcock, previously mentioned. Originally owned by Reginald Wolfe, it took the combined work of Woodcock, his brother-in-law George Bishop, and associates Harrison Senior, Henry Denham and Ralph Newbury to make the production of the huge volume feasible. Each of these stationers had viable businesses in their own right, but regularly produced material with or for each other, and the many other stationers within their own personal print networks. More work needs to be done to identify the multitude of print networks that existed within the period, as potentially it was an intricate web of relationships which involved the full membership of the Company. If so this profoundly changes our understanding of the nature of the printing industry and book trade in early modern England, as it was driven by the work of groups and syndicates not individual stationers. Evenden suggests that there was a shift away from such monolithic production, and that syndicates replaced the ‘great’ single, influential printers after the death of John Day in 1584, as stationers worked together to defray publication costs. She cites examples of stationers acting as a group to finance texts in the 1590s before the rise of subscriptions in the seventeenth century. However, the evidence of commercial and professional networks involving Waldegrave and his contemporaries implies that this shift, if it was a shift and not the standard practice throughout the early print trade, came much earlier. For a long period

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predating Day’s death in 1584, the majority of those working within the Company were doing so in a manner far more akin to the syndicates described by Evenden, than the practice of a printer such as John Day.

The existence of networks within the printing community in London is unsurprising when the nature of the Stationers’ Company, as a London livery company and continental printing practice is considered. As has been stressed, the English printing industry was highly centralised as it was only legal to print within London, and therefore printers and those involved with the book trade lived, worked and socialised with each other as a matter of course. Unlike other trade guilds outside London, the livery companies encompassed a smaller geographical area, and many families worked and married within the companies themselves. As other historians have highlighted, in the late-sixteenth century the guilds and livery companies not only played a role in the economic lives of their members, but also offered support for poor or disadvantaged members and provided opportunities to associate with other members through dinners, services and meetings. It is unsurprising then, given the framework within which early modern stationers operated that they were likely to marry the daughters or sisters of their masters, pass work to their former apprentices, and enter into business arrangements with their contemporaries and former masters. The existence of networks within the printing trade in particular is not surprising. Since the manuscript period, different craftsmen would produce the text, bind the work and sell, and this did not change with the advent of printing. Indeed sub-contraction or fragmentation of the stages of production was the model for the majority of large-scale industries in the pre-industrial period. In the majority of cases printers who also sold their books sold them unbound, particularly in the case of larger volumes, although pamphlets and printed

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ephemera were often stitched together before sale. More substantial volumes would be bound to the customer’s preference by a specialist bookbinder, who would offer different coverings and endpapers. In the basic process of producing books therefore, networks were standard practice throughout the sixteenth century.

Similarly, networks of printers working together were the norm in continental printing practice. The decentralised nature of the European printing industry hampered any attempt to create a monolithic regulating body such as the Stationers’ Company, and consequently local journeymen printers formed their own ‘Brotherhoods’ or ‘Chapels’ to protect their rights and provide support for impoverished members and their families, whilst the masters joined the Guild.\footnote{Febvre & Martin, \textit{The Coming of the book}, pp.132 & 140.} This continued throughout the sixteenth century, and though moves were made to unite the groups, divisions over pay and conditions persisted. Master printers and booksellers were obliged to work together with publishers to see books into print, and journeymen were often reliant on the commissions or contracts they could secure from publishers and booksellers. Unlike the London trade, few booksellers and publishers printed their own material and therefore the production of material within a wider network of tradesmen was normal.

The commercial practice of Christopher Plantin, the great printer of Antwerp, highlights the realities on the Continent, as, even as the founder of a huge printing house, operating 24 presses at one point, he was reliant upon a network of printers, booksellers and publishers to produce texts for sale. Initially only running a minor press, in 1563 he formed a publishing syndicate with a number of wealthy citizens of Antwerp, including a banker, Jacob Scotti, a doctor, Goropius Buhno, along with two brothers, Cornelius and Charles Van Bomberghe. It was only through the vast amount of work financed and
distributed by this syndicate during the 1560s that Plantin was able to raise his profile and secure valuable patents and funding from patrons such as Philip II’s secretaries Gabriel de Cayas, and Cardinal Granvelle, and later, the King of Spain himself.\(^{282}\) Although tempting to consider Plantin as an example as a ‘great’ individual printer, it is vital to recognise that, like Waldegrave, his initial survival and later success was due to the networks around him, although the network in which he was embedded was purely financial, not a professional network such as the one Waldegrave worked within. Like Day, Plantin and his printing house has been a focus for scholars for many years, with the image of a single, great, independent printer being perpetuated by named studies and focused research. Yet the Plantin-Moretus printing house is a clear example of the familial networks that existed within the continental and English printing trade during the sixteenth century, as it stemmed from the business run by Plantin and his son-in-law, Jan Moretus. Unlike John Day, whose son Richard was unable to maintain his father’s high standards and turned only then to syndication, Moretus, like Plantin before him, was able to maintain and develop his business through financial and professional networks in Antwerp and beyond.\(^{283}\)

Evidently networks were at the heart of the printing trade throughout Europe during the sixteenth century, not only in England. The financial and material constraints of the trade necessitated them, and regardless of the framework of regulations which governed the printing trade in various cities and regions, they were an integral part of the stationer’s practice and commerce. Conditions in England, particularly the centralised nature of the industry and its relative small geographic footprint, along with the high costs of producing large or complex texts meant that working in collaboration with other stationers was commercially sound, viable on a practical level, and financial

preferable, to operating independently in many situations. Working with and for other members of the Company, whilst independently producing a small number of texts, Waldegrave followed the most lucrative and secure strategy for a relatively minor printer operating in London during the late-sixteenth century.

CONCLUSION: IDEOLOGY OR COMMERCIAL SUCCESS?

Scholars have characterized Waldegrave as an ideologically driven printer, who worked independently, without the support of a patron, to promote and disseminate Puritan texts. However this image can be challenged as, through the examination of the Registers and the imprints of the texts he produced, Waldegrave evidently worked within a network of stationers, some of whom deserve the title of Puritan publisher just as much as he. Waldegrave was also highly committed to succeeding commercially, printing news pamphlets on popular subjects and focusing his efforts on religious material, for which there was most demand. This financially prudent streak led him constantly to weigh any personal religious considerations against his potential profit margins.

Therefore it is vital to question why Waldegrave was, and continues to be considered to be a Puritan printer. The image of Waldegrave within the Marprelate tracts, as will be discussed in the next chapter, exaggerated his religious commitment and immortalised him as a radical Puritan to the extent that few scholars have seen fit to question his commitment to the radical Protestant cause. This reductive pigeon-holing reflects a tendency to focus on the radical element within historical research, demonstrated by the persisting draw of episodes such as the Marprelate controversy. Radical individuals acting outside the law, or in opposition to it, provide the opportunity for research which

considers both legitimate and illegitimate activity, providing scholars with invaluable case studies where the exception can be used to prove the norm. Waldegrave’s English career, when understood in light of his presentation within the Marprelate tracts and subsequent scholarship, offers a compelling example of a rogue printer, daringly producing radical Protestant literature regardless of the potential consequences, because of his overwhelming commitment to the Puritan cause.

When viewed without the label of radical Puritan Waldegrave’s motivation is far less romantic and seems mundane and pragmatic, driven by commercial interests, coupled with his personal affinity to the reformed Protestant cause. He produced no more controversial material than Thomas Man and other stationers within his London-based printing network, and indeed many of the Puritan texts he did produce, especially those written by Udall and Field were printed for and sold by others. Waldegrave’s identification as a Puritan printer is not supported by his overall output but becomes more plausible when his independent production of three texts is considered. Firstly, his publication of Fulke’s *A Briefe and Plaine Declaration* in 1584 and Beza’s *The judgement of a most reuerend and learned man from beyond the seas concerning a threefold order of bishops*, (1585) which exacerbated the disagreements between the Church of England and the Puritan faction, prompting Bridges to respond; and secondly his printing of Udall’s *The State of the Church of England* in 1588 which directly facilitated his involvement in the production of the Marprelate tracts.

The decision to print Fulke and Beza’s texts was Waldegrave’s alone, suggesting that Waldegrave had a level of personal religious commitment to the Puritan cause, and was willing and able to act without the involvement or support of other members of the network to achieve his ideological ends. Despite this particular event, before the
printing of *The State of the Church of England* in 1588 he was not a Puritan printer so much as an opportunistic one, who printed religious material due to entwined commercial considerations and personal religious affinities. There is no way that he could have known that the publishing of Beza and Fulke’s work at this particular juncture would illicit such a gargantuan response from John Bridges, or that this would in turn lead to ‘Martin’s’ counter attack. The publishing of *The State of the Church of England* was a markedly different undertaking to the previous Puritan printing Waldegrave engaged in, when he had included his name or emblem on the front cover, sometimes both. The 1584 edition of Fulke’s *A Briefe and Plaine Declaration*, whose controversial nature Waldegrave was well aware of, includes his name in the imprint, along with his swan emblem, framed with the words, ‘God is my Defender’, and a woodcut that incorporates feathers in a crown, which is included on numerous other works he printed. He made no attempt to disguise his involvement with the text, instead leaving no doubt to even the most casual of readers who was responsible for printing it. Evidently Waldegrave did not believe that producing this controversial Puritan tract would lead to overly serious ramifications or he would have taken more precautions in production so that he could deny involvement if necessary. This is demonstrated by the sharp contrast between the 1584 edition of Fulke and Waldegrave’s 1588 edition of Udall’s *The State of the Church of England* which is devoid of any of his usual identifying features, implying that he was not only well aware of its controversial nature, but that he was actively seeking to conceal his involvement in the production of the text. He even deviates from his general practice of conforming to typographical conventions and printing religious texts in black letter, which he only did occasionally. This may have been a further attempt to mask his involvement in producing the tract, possibly as he intended to produce the controversial text alongside his legitimate ventures, or an attempt to hide the tract’s radical religious content from a casual reader,
who would not have assumed the text to engage with issues of religion due to the fact it was printed in roman type.


These measures were unsuccessful in concealing either the tracts’ controversial content or his identity, and the authorities raided Waldegrave’s print shop on 16 April 1588, with the team of searchers, including Francis Coldock, John Wolfe, Oliver Wilkes, and Waldegrave’s associate, Thomas Woodcock.\textsuperscript{285} After the raid he was forced into hiding and, due to both his own and Udall’s connections with John Penry and Job Throckmorton, he was the natural choice to print the Marprelate tracts. Had his circumstances been different he may have been reluctant to engage in the production of texts on the fugitive press, given the disruption it would have caused to his London based business, and the potential financial and personal costs should the press be discovered. However, after the raid on his shop he was left with only limited options, if

\textsuperscript{285} Greg & Boswell, *Records of the Courts of the Stationers Company*, p.27.
he wished to remain in England, and operating a clandestine press in conjunction with authors with whom he already had an established relationship may have been the most secure option.

It was however, only through his involvement with the Marprelate tracts that Waldegrave’s image as a Puritan printer developed and persisted, as the authors utilised and enhanced his personal narrative to present him as one of a new canon of Puritan martyrs, as will be discussed in the subsequent chapter. Scholars have generally approached Waldegrave’s career through his involvement with the Marprelate controversy, presenting a teleological narrative which sees his career culminate with his printing of the Marprelate tracts. This has contributed to the tendency to overlook his subsequent career in Scotland and helped to cement the notion of Waldegrave as a Puritan printer, as displayed within the Marprelate tracts. Had he not elected to accept the role as the Marprelate printer his career may have petered out and have been given little or no thought by scholars, except as one small part of the wider network within which he operated in London. Up until 1588 therefore, Waldegrave was a commercial printer with a personal affinity to the Puritan movement, a minor printer working within a network of more successful stationers, balancing his commercial and ideological needs until circumstances forced him to accept the mantle of Puritan printer in 1588, due to the needs of ‘Martin’.
CHAPTER THREE

ROBERT WALDEGRAVE AND THE MARPRELATE PRESS 1588-1589

Waldegraue receiued iustly according to his deserts, hauing founde before that time, greater fauour then hee deserued, being a notorions disobedient & godlesse person, an vnthrifite spender, & consumer of the fruits of his owne labours, one that hath violated his faith to his best and dearest friends, and wittingly brought them into danger, to their vndoing. His wife & children haue cause to curse all wicked and vngodly Libellers


Robert Waldegrave might have remained an obscure minor Elizabethan printer if not for his well recorded involvement in the Marprelate controversy. The Marprelate press produced a series of highly controversial Puritan pamphlets between October 1588 and September 1589, and has been the subject of numerous studies and debates. The tracts are a key example of Presbyterian Puritan polemic, and mark the break-down of consensus within the Puritan movement, as well as marking the start of the use of satire for a mass audience. Although studied extensively, there has never been a full analysis of the role of the printer within the group, and this chapter will redress this, placing the role of the printer at the heart of the enterprise. Examination of the role of the Marprelate printer provides the opportunity both to analyse Waldegrave’s agency as a printer, and explore the links between English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians.

This chapter will consider the former, examining Waldegrave’s position within the group working on the Marprelate press, and presenting new information about the role of the printer in this fugitive enterprise. The subsequent chapter will use Waldegrave’s role within the Marprelate group as the starting point for an analysis of his position within a wider network of religion and print, which incorporated both England and Scotland.

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For Waldegrave, the printing of the Marprelate tracts marked both a significant shift in his career and cemented his identity as a Puritan printer amongst contemporaries and subsequent scholars. He continues to be known as the printer of the Marprelate tracts, although he went on to become the royal printer to James VI during a period when political, religious and constitutional matters were discussed in print, at the highest level. Indeed the later stages of his career could be considered as, if not more important than the brief period he spent engaged in clandestine printing. Given the significance of the Marprelate tracts in shaping Waldegrave’s reputation through the centuries, it is vital to consider how and why they have contributed to his enduring image and question whether it is an accurate one.

Historians have suggested that even before October 1588 Waldegrave had been well known as a Puritan printer within London circles, however as discussed in the previous chapter, it is unlikely Waldegrave was any more prominent than his associates who produced reformed Protestant literature, particularly Thomas Man. However, as the chosen printer for the Marprelate tracts, for scholars, his identity as the premier Puritan printer was established with little room for doubt. This chapter demonstrate that his significance as a Puritan printer was developed and solidified by the representation of him incorporated into the tracts themselves, as episodes from his early career were cleverly used to paint the image of a Puritan martyr, committed to the Puritan ideology, and persecuted by the authorities for this fidelity. It explain hows, had Waldegrave not become involved with the Marprelate press, it is unlikely he would be considered as anything more than a minor London printer, driven by commercial, not religious concerns.
To appreciate fully the role Waldegrave played in the production of the Marprelate tracts his circumstances in April 1588 must be considered, and his relationships with the other core members of the movement, John Udall, John Penry and Job Throckmorton established. It will be shown that he was an integral part of the group from the start, and that those who eventually replaced him in April 1589 were never as fully integrated with the other core individuals. This analysis will then move on to a discussion of Waldegrave’s use of typography in the tracts, which provides new evidence of how printers manipulated the relationship between typeface and the reader. Waldegrave’s sophisticated typographical choices will be examined to demonstrate his agency as a printer, as well as adding an extra level of significance to the four tracts he printed.

Once his agency has been established there will be some consideration of the image of Waldegrave as a Puritan printer and martyr within the tracts, and a discussion of how the inclusion of Waldegrave within the material not only contributed to developing a canon of Puritan martyrdom, but also was used to underline key Puritan arguments about the corruption of the Church of England, and the bishops in particular.

Having examined the tracts themselves for details about the role of the printer within the controversy the depositions of the key players will be examined, with a focus on the information they provide about the distribution and financial ties Waldegrave, and his replacements had with the Marprelate press. Through new analysis of the cost of production and the retail price of the tracts, Waldegrave’s significant financial interest in the tracts will be shown, in comparison to the negligible profit made by John Hodgkins and the other replacement printers. It will be established that the retail price of the tracts was far higher than would normally have been expected during this period, and consequently the wide readership of the tracts must be closely connected with the interest amongst the population in their content. This reveals a public desire for the
satirical and controversial material ‘Martin’ was producing, and must be considered in
the light of debates about the public sphere previously discussed.

Details of Waldegrave’s desertion and the debate about his location during the months
between leaving the Marprelate press and arriving in Scotland, will be examined, and
the subsequent search for his replacement will be illuminated through further
examination of the various depositions that have survived, including the Ellesmere
manuscripts from the Huntington Library. Transcripts of these, made by Joseph Black,
provide new information both about the search for replacement printers and the
financial arrangements throughout the press’s operation. They are an invaluable tool in
examining the role of the printer in the Marprelate controversy, and offer a number of
new insights into the way Waldegrave specifically contributed to the enterprise.

I. Context and Historiography of the Marprelate Controversy

Before examining Waldegrave’s role within the Marprelate controversy it is crucial to
establish a brief history of the production of the tracts themselves. The immediate
circumstances which provided a catalyst for the production of the tracts, as has been
mentioned, was the publication of John Bridges’ A Defence of the Government
Established in the Church of Englande for Ecclesiasticall Matters in June 1587, a tome
which numbered over 1400 pages, and attacked the Presbyterian system of government,
in response to the tracts printed by Waldegrave by Fulkes and Beza. Fenner and
Travers’ pseudo-academic contribution to the debate was superseded by the appearance
of the series of tracts penned by ‘Martin Marprelate’, in the final months of 1588.

The Marprelate tracts were a series of six printed pamphlets and a single broad side
published on a fugitive press between October 1588 and September 1589. The tracts
reiterated traditional arguments for a Presbyterian system of church government through satire and ad hominem attacks on key figures within the Church of England hierarchy. Based upon stories, rumours and gossip amassed by John Field, and left to John Udall on his death, the tracts shifted the nature of the religious debate in England during the final decades of the sixteenth century, making them more accessible to the ordinary reader, by appealing to a more popular, rather than academic audience, and creating a legion of ‘martinist’ readers. The tracts’ main arguments were that the Church should be governed in the manner laid out in the New Testament, with pastors, doctors, elders and deacons, as this was the only true Christian structure. Therefore all Bishops and other positions of authority should be abolished, and no one involved within the Church should hold official civic office on top of their religious duties. This division of Church and State was a significant political statement, as the Queen was Governor of the Church, and included bishops and other churchmen within her household and Privy Council, and the bishops were further included in the House of Lords. The tracts, their tone, and manner of publication arguably mark the decline of the Puritan movement within England from an acceptable facet of the institutionalised Church to a dangerous, radical group which threatened the stability of both the Church and the Elizabethan regime. In shifting the debate over church hierarchy and reform into the popular media, ‘Martin’ gave a new political aspect to a debate already charged with religious significance.

The pseudonym adopted by the authors reflected the tracts’ position within the debate, and spoke to the nature of the ‘martinist’ voice. The name Mar-prelate highlighted even to the most casual reader the basic position of the tracts was anti Episcopal. The name Martin, it has been suggested, could have been a reference to Martin Luther, or more

288 Raymond, Pamphlets and Pamphleteering, p.32.
likely played on contemporary meanings of the word, which referred to a fool, an ape or a migrating bird.\textsuperscript{289} Certainly the idea of ‘Martin’ as a fool is interesting, as it ties well into the irreverent, jesting tone of the tracts, whilst at the same time evoking the sense of honesty, as at court it was possible for the Fool to speak the truth to the monarch without fear of censure or repercussion.

The exact circumstances of the tracts’ production has been subjected to intense scrutiny, with numerous disagreements over the exact details on those involved in the writing, how the manuscripts were passed to the printers, and where exactly different individuals were at any given time. Our understanding of it is primarily based upon the collection of depositions and state papers gathered together by Edward Arber and published in 1880 as \textit{An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy}, although the Ellesmere Manuscript, held in the Huntingdon Library offers new details and further information, specifically concerning the printing of the tracts.\textsuperscript{290} The undisputed main players were John Udall, a radical preacher based in Kingston upon Thames who had worked with John Field, John Penry, a radical Puritan from Wales, and Job Throckmorton, an ex-MP, with connections to key reforming Protestant courtiers, specifically Robert and Ambrose Dudley. Waldegrave was the fourth key individual during the initial stages of the venture, and after the raid on his premises in April 1588, triggered by his involvement in the production of Udall’s \textit{The State of the Church of Englande}, he fled to Mistress Crane’s house in Molesey, Surrey, in the company of Penry and Udall. Once established outside of London Waldegrave set to work producing both texts written by Penry and the first of the Marprelate tracts, commonly known as the \textit{Epistle}, on a press sourced by Penry from the Netherlands, and using type Waldegrave managed to save from the raid on his premises. The press was then moved

\textsuperscript{289} Raymond, \textit{Pamphlets and Pamphleteering}, p.32.
\textsuperscript{290} Thank you to Joseph Black for allowing me to have access to his transcription of this manuscript, which has proved invaluable.
to Sir Richard Knightley’s home at Fawsley, where the *Epitome* was printed in November 1588, and then on to White Friars, near Coventry, where Marprelate’s *Mineralls* and *Hay any work for Cooper* were printed in January and March respectively. During the early months of 1589 the first anti-Martinist tracts appeared, the first being Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester’s *An Admonition to the People of England* to which *Hay any word for Cooper* was a direct response. In April Waldegrave deserted the press, supposedly travelling to La Rochelle, and printing further works of either Penry or Throckmorton, although, as will be shown, there is no evidence to support this. The remaining tracts were printed by John Hodgkins, with the aid of Arthur Thomlyn and Valentine Simmes, in Coventry in May and July, at the house of Robert Wigston in Wolton (the manuscript for the tract being found left on a path). In removing from Wolston to Warrington the type was upset into the street, which may have led to the capture of the printers in Manchester ten days later whilst printing *More Worke for Cooper*. Hodgkins and his associates were taken to the Tower and examined, while Penry fled to Scotland in October, closely followed by Waldegrave, who printed Penry’s *A Treatise (Reformation No Enemie)* in January 1590, and was established as the royal printer to James VI by the start of October. Udall was arrested and sentenced to death for his part in the controversy in February 1591, although he was to die in prison, and Job Throckmorton was indicted by a grand jury in October 1590, but suffered no serious punishment, dying of natural causes in 1601. On his return from Scotland in October 1592, Penry joined the Separatists, eventually being tried and executed for his part in the Marprelate controversy in May 1593.

Although for the most part the key individuals involved in the controversy were silenced after 1591, there were far more wide reaching impacts of the Marprelate tracts

291 Significantly, the dropping of letters in public spaces had become an acceptable means of circulating propaganda. Perhaps the claims of the printer (and the author) that the tract was found discarded in the hedge was an attempt to give it this acceptability afforded to other letters of the kind.
themselves than the short period during which they were being produced on the fugitive press. The numerous responses to the tracts, some commissioned by the Church and Elizabethan administration, kept the memory of ‘Martin’ at the forefront of the religious and political debates for the rest of the reign, and ensured that Puritanism was given a clear popular identity, despite the widespread condemnation of the tracts from many mainstream Puritans. Not only was the content of the tract reiterated within the responses to it due to the contemporary methods of refutation, the literary style of the tracts was mimicked by such writers as Thomas Nashe and the playwright John Lyly. In this way, the Martinist voice remained loud in the ears of the English public. The republishing of the tracts in the seventeenth century proves both their enduring power, and universal appeal, which has fascinated historians and literary scholars throughout the ages.

Given the large number of issues it raises, the Marprelate controversy lends itself perfectly to interdisciplinary study. There are a plethora of different approaches to the tracts, with literary scholars focusing on the tracts as literary texts, religious historians considering the controversy’s place within the religious turmoil of the late-sixteenth century, and the more recent studies which focus on a broader array of issues, extending beyond the tracts themselves and using them to illuminate new aspects of the broader religious and political debates of the period. The work of Edward Arber, Joad Raymond, and more recently Joseph Black provides a solid foundation of primary source material and the broad debates and questions associated with the controversy.

In the main, literary scholars examine the tracts’ use of satire, and their place within theatrical and literary developments, along with the major issue of the tracts’ authorship, and whether they were the product of collaborative or autonomous work,
with added discussions of the autonomy of ‘Martin’s’ voice.\textsuperscript{292} Black, using the Ellesmere Manuscript held at the Huntington Library, augments our understanding of the main questions such as that of authorship, where he supports the idea of a collaborative approach, with an emphasis on the sense of the martinist ‘voice’ within the tracts, and the influence they had in developing the use of satire in early modern English printed pamphlets.\textsuperscript{293} Lander argues that any attempt to attribute authorship of the tracts to a single individual renders readings of the tracts less plausible. He, as many other historians and literary scholars agree, concludes that the tracts were a collaborative effort, by numerous individuals, the most prominent of these being Job Throckmorton, John Penry and John Udall. However, this subject, which has been called a literary ‘who-dunit’, is the focus of several large, sometimes aggressive accounts of the controversy, which seek to prove, to the exclusion of all other theories, that the author of the tracts was either Penry or Throckmorton. Whilst over twenty potential authors have been identified since the tracts’ publication, it is Penry and Throckmorton for whom the strongest, and indeed longest, cases have been made, by Donald McGinn and Leland H Carlson respectively.\textsuperscript{294} Both scholars attempt to prove that their candidate is the undisputed author of the tracts, examining the style and tone of their acknowledged works and attempting to draw the parallels between them and the Marprelate tracts.

Their significance within development of satire, and the performative nature of the Marprelate tracts and the responses they elicited are the other areas of especial interest to literary scholars. Poole examines the connections between the Marprelate material

\textsuperscript{294} McGinn, \textit{John Penry and the Marprelate Controversy}; Carlson, \textit{Martin Marprelate, Gentleman}. 167
and the development of the stage Puritan as a stock character, taking as her basis Shakespeare’s Falstaff. She examines the way in which the authorities and those responding to the tracts adopted similar modes of expression in an attempt to reach a similar audience, succeeding merely in lowering the tone of their own work, which then reinforced the public demand for similar, irreverent material. Attempts to discredit ‘Martin’ on the stage however merely reinforced the performative nature of the original tracts. Raymond Anselment examines how ‘Martin’ follows the rhetorical instruction of Aristotle by using jest to undermine the arguments of an opponent, and chooses to do so in a manner akin to the traditional ‘rustic fool’. He points out how the tracts subverted the traditional mode of religious debate, and yet at the same time were stylistically schizophrenic, adopting different rhetorical and literary styles at different points to reinforce the religious or political point being made. Such stylistic and rhetorical analysis of the tracts is invaluable in charting the development of English literature, as well as offering an insight into the way in which different rhetorical tropes were understood by contemporary audiences.

The development of satire and the use of ad hominen attacks provide evidence of the developing libel culture in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which in turn offers further evidence for the existence of type of public sphere during in the early modern period. Historians such as Pauline Croft have charted a progression from the primarily oral culture of the mid-sixteenth century to the dominance of printed communication in the seventeenth, perceiving the Marprelate controversy as a significant point of development, after which libelous material was more readily disseminated in print. In comparison, other historians engaging primarily with the

295 Poole, Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton’, p.30.
296 Poole, Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton’, pp.26-29.
Marprelate controversy tend to focus on the role of the tracts within the religious culture of the sixteenth century, placing the development and dissemination of the tracts within a broader discussion of the development of Puritanism, the significance of this movement, and the role it would go on to play in contributing to the English Civil War. Within this broader, wide reaching context, the Marprelate tracts are considered within the narrative of the English Puritan movement, and are often considered to be an indication of that movement’s decline within the reign of Elizabeth I.  

The tracts are credited with revealing the continuing struggles within the English Church, and providing a way in which to examine the opposition to the established Church, and its authority, and the role of the Church in censorship. MacCulloch, in his brief consideration of the tracts, places them within his examination of the ‘Puritan debacle’ and the isolation of the movement in 1588/9, citing the ‘unfortunate’ defeat of the Spanish Armada, which implied that God supported the established Church in England, as a contributing factor to the movement’s decline, along with the death of its chief champions at court including the Earl of Leicester. The Marprelate controversy itself is given curiously little analysis in its own right, instead using it as an example of how the movement was divided, and the opportunity it gave the establishment to attack the more radical members, whilst at the same time tightening censorship of the printing press. Similarly, Collinson, in *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, dedicates relatively little time to the Marprelate controversy independently, instead focusing on its role in redefining the Puritan movement, and the opposition to it, examining how the production of the inflammatory material gave the authorities the motivation and justification for rooting out other, less aggressive forms of religious dissent and

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quashing them, regardless as to whether they supported the Marprelate movement or not.\textsuperscript{301} This offers a highly negative view of the enterprise, with those involved being presented as irresponsible individuals who damaged a wider movement, the majority of which did not support their actions. This view is perhaps most similar to the way in which contemporaries approached the controversy, as mainstream Puritans endeavoured to avoid association with the subversive and inflammatory material. It is of course impossible to know whether this was merely a pragmatic distancing from the Marprelates or whether there was genuine approbation within the Puritan movement for the tracts. Collinson’s later work on the Puritanism of the 1590s adds a new aspect to his analysis of the controversy, suggesting that it marks a moment where the decline of Puritanism can be clearly perceived, although the focus on the authorship of the tracts has obscured the significance of the tracts themselves. This is one of the few examples of an intertwining of religious and literary approaches to the controversy.\textsuperscript{302}

Along with their religious significance, the role of the Marprelate tracts within the development of an early modern public sphere has been considered by both historians and those concerned with the tracts’ literary role. The controversy is often viewed as a prime example of the significance of the early modern public sphere, with the tracts themselves reflecting the libeling tradition which developed in London and achieved its apogee during the 1640s, challenging the notion of effective State censorship during the Elizabethan period.\textsuperscript{303} Marprelate’s tracts and the official and unofficial responses to them heightened public awareness of the religious debates of the day, and the myriad of anti-Martinist works engaging with the debate helped to legitimize ‘Martin’s’ position. The entire episode serves to support Lake and Pincus’ understanding of a constantly changing public sphere in the Elizabethan period, which became more vocal in times of

\textsuperscript{301} Collinson, \textit{The Elizabethan Puritan Movement}, pp.404-408.
crisis, and where those engaging with it either in print or through another medium, had no guarantee of freedom of speech or immunity from persecution.\textsuperscript{304}

More recently some scholars, along with those engaging with questions concerning the history of material and literary culture, book history, and the development of the public sphere have used the tracts to cast new light onto these subjects. The potential knowledge to be gained from the contents of the tracts themselves, the history of their production, and the contemporary response to them, have become the focus of significant historical study in recent years. Joad Raymond suggests that the Marprelate controversy, ‘refined the cheap print of earlier pamphlets into paper-bullets’, having an impact on the nature of pamphlet debates which can be clearly seen up until the English Civil War.\textsuperscript{305} He considers how the resultant changes in rhetorical tone of early modern pamphlet debates and the utilisation of the cheap forms of print changed the way in which the tracts were received and who their audience was, encouraging us to consider the way in which the material nature of the text influences the manner in which the content is understood and appropriated.\textsuperscript{306} Jesse Lander similarly offers an examination of the controversy that considers both the literary and the material importance of the tracts, examining the way in which the physical construction of the tracts offers new insight into their meaning. As will be discussed, Lander highlights that those responsible for the Marprelate tracts were well aware of the power of format, typeface and layout to add a new layer of meaning to the text, using marginalia and list of errata in a subversive manner to communicate a further layer of meaning to the reader.\textsuperscript{307} This is in some ways a literary study, but at the same time offers an approach to material culture that is more akin to the study of Book History.

\textsuperscript{304} Lake & Pincus, ‘Rethinking the Public Sphere’, pp.276-279.
\textsuperscript{305} Raymond, \textit{Pamphlets and Pamphleteering}, p.27.
\textsuperscript{306} Raymond, \textit{Pamphlets and Pamphleteering}, pp.27-52.
\textsuperscript{307} Lander, \textit{Inventing Polemic}, pp.89-93.
The recent scholarship centered on the Marprelate controversy reflects its broad appeal and the many aspects of early modern society to which it is linked. Cathryn Enis’ examination of the networks in Warwickshire that developed around the Dudley brothers, Ambrose and Robert, has established the potential for a network of courtiers and key regional players who helped to support, conceal and protect those associated with the Marprelate Press. The identification of this strong Puritan network within Warwickshire which included those known to be involved with the Marprelates suggests the possibility of wider support for the project than previously supposed, including both of the Dudley brothers.308

Mary Morrissey’s work on Bancroft’s response to the Epistle, reflecting a renewed interest into those targeted by Marprelate’s ad hominem attacks, focuses on Bancroft’s sermon preached on 9 February 1588/9, allowing the contemporary concerns and fears which surfaced in response to the Marprelate tracts, to be examined. The sermon’s direct criticism of the Scottish King and his Church was highly offensive to James VI and prompted a humble apology from Bancroft, but the contemporary association of the Puritans involved with the Marprelate press and the Scottish Church indicates that there were stronger links between the two groups than previously considered, as will be examined later. The renewed interest in the roles of Bridges and Bancroft therefore has both literary and historical consequences as it not only challenges ‘Martin’s supposedly unprecedented rhetoric, but also raises questions about the where contemporaries considered the tracts to fit within a wider religious and political context, and whether they were genuinely radical or innovative in style.

308 Cathryn Enis paper presented at, Martin Marprelate Tracts Conference, Shakespeare Institute, April 16th 2011; Enis, The Warwickshire Gentry and the Dudley Ascendancy.
There has been almost no research undertaken into the printing of the tracts or the roles the various printers played within the movement and this will be the focus of the remainder of this chapter. Matthew Day’s work on the running titles used in the Epistle, discussing how the use of these both influenced how the main body of the text was read and understood, offering proof of a learned, and typographically skillful printer is perhaps the only obvious example. However, as will be established, the role of the printer within the Marprelate movement was highly significant, both for material and ideological reasons.

II. Printing ‘Martin’

Printers could play a significant role in the production of printed religious literature, whether legal or clandestine, regardless of which religious belief they subscribed to. Waldegrave’s involvement with the clandestine Marprelate press appears to have resulted from the particular circumstances he found himself in April 1588, rather than his deliberate selection by Udall, Penry and Throckmorton, although there is no evidence to prove that he was not targeted as a printer known to both Udall and Penry. Arber has suggested that had Waldegrave’s press and letters not been destroyed in April 1588 leaving him ‘ruined and aggrieved’, he would not have been willing to play such a pivotal role in the Marprelate controversy.\(^\text{309}\) There is no doubt that he was willingly producing Udall’s The State of the Church in England otherwise known as Diotrephes, the controversial text which led to the raid, but this does not necessarily indicate that he was the only printer who could have been involved in the production of ‘Martin’s’ works. However, his professional connections with both Udall and Penry and the violent raid on his premises certainly made his involvement with the movement more straightforward and may have been the most logical course of action for him to take at

that time. On the run from the authorities for producing *The State of the Church in England*, his initial disappearance would have seemed understandable, and his legitimate work could no longer have been disrupted, whereas had his usual business continued he would have struggled to simultaneously act as the Marprelate printer.

Waldegrave appears to have intended to produce Udall’s tract as surreptitiously as possible, to avoid falling foul of the authorities, therefore enabling him to continue his London business as usual. As was discussed in the previous chapter, the tract was typographically devoid of the usual indicators of religious literature, and carried no woodcuts to identify Waldegrave as its printer. Alongside these deliberate measures to conceal his involvement, on 13 May 1588, there is a record in the Stationers’ Company Register of Waldegrave paying vjd for, ‘A copie whereof he is to bring the title…’ which could have been *The State of the Church in England*. Although not an uncommon practice, this is the only example of where a copy had been registered to Waldegrave’s name where the title of the text has not been recorded, suggesting that he sought to protect his financial outlay on the work, whilst at the same time tried to circumvent the censorship imposed by the Stationers’ Company and the Church. Although there are other entries in the Registers where a title is omitted, the fact that he was allowed to pay for the rights for an untitled text is unusual, especially given his supposed reputation for printing controversial religious material, so this may have been a deliberate attempt to entrap him. Wolfe and the other members of the Stationers’ Company raiding party would have been aware that Waldegrave was printing a text he preferred not to put in front of the censors, suggesting that it could provide sufficient ammunition to end his printing business. The submission also extends our understanding of the way in which the Stationers’ Company Registers can be

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interpreted. Traditionally it is assumed that the dates attached to the copies entered into the Registers corresponded with the calendar date when the monies were taken for each copy. However, this entry, nearly a month after Waldegrave’s print shop was raided and his subsequent flight to East Molesey suggests that copies were not entered into the Register immediately, and therefore the publication dates previously ascribed to texts according to these records could be highly inaccurate. Given Waldegrave’s fugitive status on 13 May 1588 it is impossible to believe that he would have been able to have paid vjd to enter a copy into the Register, proving conclusively that the dates ascribed to texts in the Registers cannot be presumed to be accurate.

After the raid on his shop for the printing of *The State of the Church in England* and the destruction of his press and type, he hid with Penry, first at Elizabeth Crane’s London home, before moving to her house in East Molesey where the *Epistle* was printed, on a press purportedly purchased by Penry. 311 There is some debate over the whereabouts of the second press owned by Waldegrave, noted in Barker’s list of London presses in 1583. According to *Hay any work for Cooper* this press was sold to a fellow printer with the initials J.C, identified as John Charlewood, who styled himself as the servant of Philip Howard, the imprisoned Catholic Earl of Arundel. 312 This would suggest that someone other than Waldegrave, most likely Penry, sourced the press used by the Marprelates as suggested in several accounts. 313 There is also some debate over the provenance of the ‘dutch letters’ used to print the early tracts. Nicholas Tomkins, the servant of Elizabeth Crane reported first that Waldegrave delivered the type to his mistress’ house in May, though later he claimed that it had actually been Waldegrave’s

311 Ellesmere MS, 85r
313 Ellesmere MS 85r; Arber, *An Introductory Sketch*, p.95.
wife.\footnote{Arber, An Introductory Sketch, p.86.} There is unfortunately no evidence to suggest that the particular black letter type used to print the tracts had indeed been previously used by Waldegrave, who had previously used black letter extensively. As will be further examined in the analysis of the type Waldegrave used to print the first four tracts, there were in fact two different types used, the black letter, which we can presume was the ‘dutch letters’ mentioned in the depositions, and a second set of roman type. Given its limited usage by Waldegrave, it is possible that he did not hold a full set, however this is unlikely, as the deposition of Arthur Thomlyn and Valentyne Simmes states that as they moved the press towards Manchester to print More Work for Cooper, they carried with them, ‘three payre of cases with letters of three sorts: likewise all the inke [that] was left and twelve reams of paper.’\footnote{Ellesmere MS 87v.} This implies that the sets of type Waldegrvae had available to him were complete, and that on his departure from the project he did not take a set of type with him, meaning that the three sorts of letters were the black letter and roman type he had used for the first tracts, and the smaller type which was used for marginalia. Therefore the choice of which type to use for the main body of the Marprelate tracts was at the discretion of the printer in charge.

Before ‘Martin’s’ first work was printed, it was believed by contemporaries and subsequent scholars that Waldegrave and Penry, ‘were occupied abowt printinge…the first book that Walgave printed there was the Demonstration of Discipline…abowt michaelmas 1588 a book of Penryes against Dr Some [was] printed by Walgrave at Mowlsey’.\footnote{Ellesmere MS 85r.} Until the press was moved to Fawlsey, where he pretended to be there to read the deeds to the property, there is no mention of any assistant Waldegrave might have had other than Penry, although it is likely that throughout his involvement with the press he had at least one other printer working with him, presumably Henry Kildale who
had been apprenticed to him for eight years on 25 March 1581, and would therefore have been working with him when his premises were raided and probably fled London with him.\textsuperscript{317} In the Ellesmere manuscript there are details of the deposition of one ‘H Kyndall, walgraves man, examined 30 Octob 1591’, who was presumably the same apprentice.\textsuperscript{318} Although his knowledge of Waldegrave and Penry’s printing activities in Scotland does not prove he was involved in the Marprelate press, the detailed level of knowledge he shared with his interrogators suggests he was either in Scotland with Waldegrave in 1589/90 or remained in close contact with him. Therefore it is more likely that he, rather than any other of Waldegrave’s apprentices was the second man working the Marprelate press in the early months. The working of the press would have required two pressmen, and even a clandestine press could not have been worked by a single man.\textsuperscript{319} There is no record of a dedicated compositor being involved in the printing; presumably Waldegrave took on this role, which would have allowed him typographical autonomy over the tracts, both in terms of their appearance and layout, and the overall content of the text.

Whilst there is no suggestion that Waldegrave was directly involved in the authoring of the tracts he would have had the opportunity to change the text subtly, either with the substitution of words, or the amendment of grammar, and equally, any mistakes would have been his responsibility. Lander has highlighted how the Puritan’s condemned the printing errors in the \textit{Book of Common Prayer} that the Bishops allowed to remain in circulation, despite their inaccuracy, and argues that consequently the typographical quality of the Marprelate tracts themselves had literary and political significance.\textsuperscript{320} Indeed, within the \textit{Epistle} itself, ‘Martin’ condemns at length the Archbishop of

\textsuperscript{317} Ellesmere MS 85v; Arber, \textit{Transcript of the Registers}, Vol. 2, p.102.  
\textsuperscript{318} Ellesmere MS 87v.  
\textsuperscript{319} Gaskell, \textit{A New Introduction to Bibliography}, p.129.  
\textsuperscript{320} Lander, \textit{Inventing Polemic}, pp.84-86.
Canterbury’s attempts to raise a subscription to pay for further editions of the Book of Common Prayer to be printed, whilst failing, ‘in three or four years to correct most gross and ungodly faults in the print’.321 The powerful impact of careless printing was acknowledged openly by ‘Martin’, implying that his own printing, in comparison would be faultless. Therefore the Marprelate printer played both a practical and symbolic role, and those involved in the authoring of the tracts must have been highly confident in Waldegrave’s skills and abilities. As printer and compositor he had near total control over the final texts that went out under Marprelate’s name. His pre-1588 printed output is of a consistently high standard, and this may have contributed to his acceptance as the Marprelate printer after the raid on his premises.

i. Marprelate Typography

Having established that Waldegrave had the opportunity to amend and adapt the textual content of the four Marprelate tracts he printed due to his involvement in setting up the type for printing, it is necessary to consider the way in which he could enhance the material using different typefaces. Other historians have considered the ‘furniture’ of the printed page, particularly the running headers used in the Epitome, and have considered the way in which the accepted use of marginalia and errata have been subverted to add further to the power and meaning of the tracts.322 They have not considered the way in which Waldegrave utilised typeface to give added significance to the Marprelate tracts, as will be done here. The four tracts printed by Waldegrave, the Epistle, the Epitome, Certaine Mineral and Metaphysical Schoolpoints, and Hay any work for Cooper, were all printed with the same black letter type, with the quotations from other works printed in roman type. It will be argued that Waldegrave’s decision to

322 Lander, Inventing Polemic, pp.84-86; Matthew Day paper, ‘Running Titles’ presented at, Martin Marprelate Tracts Conference, Shakespeare Institute, April 16th 2011.
print the body of the tracts in a traditional black letter had both literary and socio-political significance, and reflects his superior typographical awareness.

Traditionally historians and literary scholars have used typeface to provide an indication into the intended readership of a text, perceiving it to be an indicator of the divisions within early modern popular culture. However, as has previously been discussed, cheap print which used black letter was not consumed only by the poor, but by the entirety of Elizabethan society, so using typeface the sole indicator to categorise material is not especially meaningful. Typeface, amongst other tools, could be used at the printer’s discretion to add a further layer of meaning to a text, and it will be shown that Waldegrave made excellent use of this particular tool. There were traditional areas where different typefaces were consistently used, at the exclusion of others, and therefore different type gradually grew to be associated with particular genre’s and document formats.

The two typefaces used by Waldegrave and the later Marprelate printers were black letter and roman. Black letter varied between different countries, as the gothic font reflected the handwriting of the period. Some historians have suggested that the popularity of gothic fonts was due to their similarity to the handwriting used for manuscript works, as this was what the common people were taught to read, however this theory has been widely discredited, as there is no proof that individuals who could read gothic type would be unable to read other fonts, and presumably handwriting had varied during the manuscript period. Caxton introduced a gothic type in the fifteenth century, which became known as English Black Letter, and it quickly came to dominate

324 Harris, ‘Problematising Popular Culture’, p.11; Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, p.3.
vernacular English printed material. As late as the eighteenth century black letter was still being used for law books, official proclamations and the majority of licenses.\textsuperscript{326} By the end of the sixteenth century it remained the dominant type in England, although the rest of Europe had come to favour the more simplistic Italian or Roman letter, sometimes referred to as ‘white letter’, which was first introduced to England by Pynson in 1518.\textsuperscript{327}

Why black letter persisted as the dominant typeface in England is unclear, although Zachary Lesser suggests that it reflects the generally conservative attitudes of the printers working in England during the period.\textsuperscript{328} Certainly there is some weight behind this idea, as English printers were working separately from the dynamic printing houses of Europe, without the services of a dedicated domestic type founder until Benjamin Simpson began working in 1597, and were therefore reliant on the matrices they owned, from which to strike type, most of which would have produced black letter.\textsuperscript{329} Also black letter and gothic type, due to the relatively limited demand for it on the continent would presumably have been more financially viable to purchase for English printers seeking to buy ready struck type, either new or second hand.

By the end of the sixteenth century there was a clear body of work that was expected to be printed in black letter. Religious materials, Bibles, Royal proclamations, educational books for the young, ballads, broadsides, pamphlets, poetry, romances and other ‘popular’ texts were all printed predominantly in black letter, although sometimes roman was used for emphasis, and by the end of the century almost all title pages were

\textsuperscript{327} Updike, \textit{Printing Types}, p.89.
\textsuperscript{328} Lesser, ‘Typographic Nostalgia’, p.102.
\textsuperscript{329} Updike, \textit{Printing Types}, p.94.
also printed in the roman type.\textsuperscript{330} Despite the rise in roman type, religious and educational books for the young remained in black letter until the eighteenth century. Consequently there was a clear visual connection for readers between black letter type and the content of the material they were reading. The typeface was associated with, ‘state authority, antiquity, the English language and the established English Church’ and therefore a printer seeking to imbue his work with any sort of authority could use black letter to enable the readers to associate, consciously or unconsciously, the content of the text with these qualities.\textsuperscript{331}

As well as this inherent association with authority, black letter was also an inclusive font, which identified texts as open to all areas of society. As it was used for cheap ‘popular’ material along with royal proclamations, and works of religious significance it was the only typeface that was consistently designed to be read by all areas of early modern society. Lesser makes the point that the all-inclusive, inherently English type allowed the elite to read material that would otherwise have been considered too lowly for their attention, and therefore individuals from different social spheres were in a position to respond to the same texts.\textsuperscript{332} In sharp contrast roman type was an inherently restrictive type, usually used for scholarly, humanist and other academic materials.\textsuperscript{333} The more sophisticated language of these texts, and their subject matter was very much aimed at the social, intellectual and political elites. McShane has highlighted that only in periods of significant socio-political controversy were pamphlets or broadsides printed in this typeface, and were aimed at a particular audience of social elites rather


\textsuperscript{332} Lesser, ‘Typographic Nostalgia’, pp.108-120.

\textsuperscript{333} Clark, \textit{The Elizabethan Pamphleteers}, p.24.
than the mass market consumption such texts usually enjoyed. The roman type displayed a clear visual message of exclusivity and elitism, which would have subconsciously suggested to general readers that the text was not for their consumption.

One example of the use of typographical nuance of this kind can be seen in the 1571 edition of George Buchanan’s *Ane Detection of the Doings of Mary Queen of Scots*. This text offered a highly prejudicial account of Mary Queen of Scots’ relationships with the Earl of Bothwell, and her second husband, Lord Henry Darnley, whilst implying her complicity in the murder of Lord Darnley. Originally written and published in Latin, printed in Roman type, the 1571 edition, supervised by Lord Burghley, was translated into pseudo-Scots and printed in black letter, for English consumption in the wake of the Northern Rising, and Ridolfi Plot. Designed to vilify the captive Scottish Queen, who had been a prisoner in England since 1567, *Ane Detection* was an attempt to discourage any further support of Mary Stuart as a Catholic contender for Elizabeth’s own crown and to indicate that there would be no attempt by the regime to challenge her usurpers and replace her on the throne her young son James VI currently occupied. The text itself has been remarked upon for the strange pseudo-Scots language employed by the translators in an attempt to give the text credibility as the product of a native Scot, and not of a biased Englishman, yet never has the use of black letter type for this text been considered. Sensationalist and deceptive in its content, the Latin edition had clearly aimed at an academic and elite audience, emphasised by the choice of roman type, but the translated version in black letter sought to blacken Mary Stuart’s reputation amongst the common people in England. The black letter type highlighted that this text, although relatively long and discussing monarchs and

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334 McShane, ‘Typography Matters’, p.44.
noblemen which was not the usual fare of the common reader, was designed to be purchased and read by those who would usually purchase ballads and broadsides.

Another, later example of the way in which type was a source of political and religious tension is the new prayer book Archbishop Laud attempted to introduce to England and Scotland in 1637. The book was designed to provide a level of uniformity to the Churches in both countries, and Laud ordered the book to be printed in black letter. Whilst this might seem innocuous, as the tradition in England was to print religious texts in black letter, the use of the type was highly controversial, as the Scots considered the gothic style type to be overly ornate and have papist overtones, and had therefore printed all their religious texts in roman letter since the reformation of Scottish Church in 1560. Black letter was also strongly associated with English authority, thereby seeming doubly insulting, as its use in the prayer book undermined both Scotland’s Church and her national autonomy.\(^{335}\) The decision to use the type can be seen as a deliberate attempt on the part of Laud to use typography to convey a political message that could not necessarily have been openly communicated.

Waldegrave was clearly well aware of the significance that could be conveyed to the reader through the judicious use of typeface. His 1585 edition of The Examinations of Anne Askew is an invaluable, and well-known, example of the way in which he used type to add further significance to a religiously important text. The edition is markedly different, typographically, from earlier editions of the same.\(^{336}\) As Monta has discussed, the Anne Askew text was printed in black letter, lending it an air of authority and linking it to the archaic traditions of the church, while the commentary provided by Bale is printed in roman. The use of roman in this case allows the ‘traditional’ anti-

\(^{336}\) Monta, ‘Martyrdom in Print in Early Modern England’, p.278.
Episcopalian views of Askew to be tied to the modern, Puritan movement through Bale’s commentary, whilst allowing her to maintain her position of authority, provided by this clear, visual link to age old religious tradition. Whilst Monta stresses the significance of the martyrdom of Askew, which gave her further religious authority, Waldegrave’s use of black letter for her portions of the text allow her position to be seen to be part of accepted religious debate, being visually consistent with the typeface used for material of that nature.\(^{337}\) The use of roman type alongside the black letter enables the edition to straddle the divide between religious and humanist debate, therefore pitching it to a far wider audience of readers. Clearly Waldegrave was well aware of the significance of both black letter and roman type and would have been likely to harness the powers of both when printing the first set of Marprelate tracts, if suitable type was available to him.

However, the question remains why did Waldegrave choose to use black letter for the four Marprelate tracts he printed? Clearly there were two sets of type available to him, as the four tracts he produced contain both roman and black letter type. The later tracts too use roman type, and there is no record of those operating the press sourcing further type after Waldegrave’s desertion in April 1589.

Waldegrave’s choice to use black letter can be understood to be evidence of his understanding of the powerful impact of typeface. His 1585 edition of *The Examinations of Anne Askew* shows that he was willing to use both roman and black letter type to further an ideological agenda. The way in which he utilised the type depended very much on the text he was printing. In *The Examinations of Anne Askew* the entire text could be used to promote the Puritan position, but in the Marprelate

tracts, the second voice within the text was that of the opposition, and therefore Waldegrave had to make a choice over which type would most effectively promote the Puritan position, and which would undermine the position of Bridges and the rest of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Church of England. His decision to use black letter for the Puritan arguments suggests that he believed his readers would value archaic and traditional authority over modern, humanist ideas. ‘Martin’s’ position appears informed by traditional religious and political authority, in contrast with which the voice of the established Church appears disconnected from all forms of traditional authority. Through the use of black letter there is a clear visual sign that the first Marprelate tracts are aimed at the widest possible audience, in the same way royal proclamations were. Printed in pamphlet and broadside format, the four tracts would have had the appearance of a multitude of other examples of popular literature, and would have enjoyed the same broad consumer base. The small formats would have been quick and cheap to print, using the minimal amount of paper, and allowing them to be quickly concealed or destroyed. Black letter also lent an air of respectability to material, which was ultimately scandalous and controversial. By following the typographical conventions of religious discussion, Waldegrave, and the Marprelate authors allowed the scandalous satire to engage with ideas usually governed by the rules of formal religious debate.

In the *Epistle*, and the other tracts, as was common in the period, Waldegrave used black letter for the main body of the text, whilst quotes from the bishops and ecclesiastical hierarchy were highlighted by their appearance in roman type. Not only did this reflect the typographical conventions of the period, but is created a clear visual divide between the two competing ideological positions. Through the use of black letter against roman, the views expressed by ‘Martin’ appear accessible to all, and lend his
position the authority of the ‘true’ Church of England, tied to traditional and archaic authority. In contrast the views of Bridges and others appear elitist, densely academic and inaccessible to the common reader. They also lose any sense of religious authority, as they are removed from the accepted visual appearance of religious debate, which was conducted in black letter. The marginalia is also in black letter, giving even this limited commentary greater weight than the ideas expressed by the established church in the roman type quotations. The use of running titles in the Epitome and in none of the other tracts perhaps reflects how long Waldegrave had to lay out the formes of the tracts. The addition of ‘furniture’ which changed from page to page, and which offered only a limited amount to the overall power of the text, would have complicated the process of putting together the formes for printing, which, if Waldegrave was also playing the role of compositor, working under increasing pressure, and fear of discovery, would likely have become an unnecessary undertaking.

ii. Portraying Waldegrave

As well as shaping the visual impact of the tracts through his control of the form of the texts, Waldegrave also became the subject of them, as ‘Martin’ used the printer as an example of someone persecuted for his commitment to the true religion. Arguably this use of Waldegrave as an example of Puritan martyrdom developed and cemented the image of him as a Puritan printer, which has persisted until now. The tracts condemned the authorities for pursuing Waldegrave and depriving him of the means to support his family. Monta has discussed how in the wake of John Foxe’s Act and Monuments, the rhetoric of martyrdom had become part of the Protestant mentality, whereas in earlier periods it had been conspicuously absent.338 The development of a specifically Puritan concept of martyrdom can be understood as an attempt by those behind ‘Martin’, to

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further legitimise the movement, by highlighting how those speaking the ‘truth’ about religion and supporting a Puritan ideology were persecuted by those adhering to the ‘popish’ traditions.

Waldegrave is personally discussed in several of the Marprelate tracts, both in the context of his role as ‘Martin’s printer and separately detailing his struggles with both the religious authorities and the Stationers’ Company. Whilst the former depictions are highly useful aids to reconstructing how the tracts were originally produced, it is perhaps the latter instances where his appearance has the greatest rhetorical impact. From his first appearance in the Epistle, Waldegrave is portrayed in conflict with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, who unfairly persecute him, using him as a scapegoat for all controversial Puritan printing, which is particularly unfair when considered in light of the previous chapter’s discussion of other stationers with whom Waldegrave collaborated, who had greater cause to be considered Puritan publishers or printers. Three particular aspects of Waldegrave’s portrayal within the tracts will be considered here; firstly the persecution of Waldegrave in comparison with those engaged in printing Catholic material, secondly a particular instance involving a text by the Scot John Davidson, and finally the actions taken by the authorities after the publication of The State of the Church in England in 1588.

In the Epistle, the Epitome and Hay any work for Cooper there are numerous references to the persecution Waldegrave suffered at the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities, and Waldegrave’s position as a martyr is emphasised, with his persecution compared with the lack of recrimination for others committing similar misdemeanours. There are two facets of the representation of Waldegrave within the tracts that reinforce the image of
him as a Puritan martyr and highlight that the Puritan movement sought to challenge the ‘papist’ bishops. The former is neatly illustrated in this quote from the *Epitome*,

> For as soon as any book is printed in the defence of Christ’s holy discipline, or for the detecting of your antichristian dealings, but your ravening pursuivants fly city and country to seek for Waldegrave, as though he were bound by statute unto you, either to make known who printed seditious books against my L. Face, or to go to prison himself and threatened with the rack. Are you not ashamed to say that he ever violated his faith? 339

The idea that Waldegrave was immediately suspected of all controversial material, not only that which articulated a Puritan message but anything which challenged the authority or conduct of the ecclesiastical authorities, reinforces the idea of Waldegrave as an innocent man, communicating the religious truth but being used as a scapegoat for all ‘seditious’ printing by corrupt and defensive authorities.

This image is further enhanced, and the authority of the bishops challenged, by ‘Martin’s’ ongoing comparison between the treatment of Waldegrave and those suspected or known to be printing Catholic material. In the *Epistle* there is a lengthy discussion of the press at Charterhouse, which was supported by the Catholic Earl of Arundel, and produced several texts supporting the Catholic faith. 340 ‘Martin’ questions why the press and type were not destroyed as Waldegrave’s had been in 1588, under the Star Chamber Decrees of 1586 which prohibited the production of unlicensed texts, and extended the Stationers’ Company’s powers of search and seizure in reference to unlawful or contentious material. 341 Using the standard rhetoric of logic, ‘Martin’ concludes that the difference in recriminations was due to the different religious positions of those involved. Waldegrave as a Puritan challenged the authority and position of the bishops on the grounds that they were not representative of the ‘true’ church. In contrast, the Catholics printing in Charterhouse were expressing a religious

340 Interestingly it was John Charlewood, a printer supported by the Earl, who had supposedly purchased Waldegrave’s second press after the raid on his print shop in April 1588.
position more agreeable to the Elizabethan bishops, as they themselves were closer to adherents of the Roman religion than the reformed one. This one example is intelligently utilised to both undermine the position of the bishops and to reiterate their popish leanings, and to reinforce the image of Waldegrave as a martyr to the truth. This coupled with the references to Waldegrave as the automatic suspect for all instances of seditious religious printing defines his public image as that of a Puritan martyr.

Having established that Waldegrave was persona non grata with the authorities, in the *Epistle* ‘Martin’ uses an anecdotal example of his treatment to both reinforce Waldegrave’s identity as a Puritan martyr, and to condemn as papist the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He reports that,

> There was the last summer a little catechism made by Master Davidson and printed by Waldegrave: but before he could print it, it must be authorized by the bishops, either Cant. Or London, he went to Cant. to have it licensed, his grace committed it to Doctor Neverbegood (Wood), he read it over in half a year, the book is a great one of two sheets of paper…

This complaint is followed by a discussion of the changes made to Davidson’s text, specifically to the removal of the word preaching which changed the meaning of the text to salvation through ‘the word read’. ‘Martin’ uses the quashing of Davidson’s account of the true way to salvation through godly preaching to emphasis the popish nature of the English bishops and their agents. However as an episode illustrating the way in which Waldegrave, as a printer of Puritan material, was thwarted by the religious authorities it has added greater value than merely reiterating the doctrinal differences between the Puritans and the Church of England. The account stresses the inherently honourable nature of Waldegrave, who followed the regulations to have the text approved by either a warden of the Stationers’ Company or a member of the clergy, despite their implicitly corrupt nature. The suggestion is that Waldegrave followed

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regulations explicitly, and was subsequently hampered by the prejudicial censors.

‘Martin’s’ choice of this particular text is also interesting and carries a deeper layer of meaning than merely an illustration of the unfair practices of the bishops. ‘Master Davidson’ was a Scottish minister who came to London and preached there throughout the 1580’s. His connection with Waldegrave through the publication of his *Short Christian Instruction* in 1588 is part of a series of connections between English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians, which will be examined at length in the subsequent chapters. The inclusion of a reference to this episode with ‘Martin’s’ work is possibly an allusion of these links between the movements, made tangible through the professional relationship of Davidson and Waldegrave.

There is also a lengthy description of the measures taken by the agents of the Stationers’ Company to find and punish Waldegrave in the wake of the publication of Udall’s *The State of the Church in England*. This includes reference to Thomas Draper, who provided the Stationers’ Company, and specifically the beadle John Wolfe, with the information that Waldegrave had fled to Kingston after the raid upon his print shop. More significant however, is the vivid description of the actions taken against Waldegrave’s press in April 1588, which evokes the sense of types of physical violence usually meted out to religious martyrs, only in this case, the violations are towards the material of printing, not a person,

> his press being timber, was sawn and hewed in pieces, the iron work battered and made unserviceable, his letters melted, with cases and other tools defaced.

Wolfe, the previously renegade printer turned enforcer, is named as the ‘most tormenting executioner of Waldegrave’s goods’. This ‘monstrous cruelty’ towards the press and letters, was compounded allegedly by the withholding of support to

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Waldegrave’s wife and six children. ‘Martin’, following the previous line of argument that Waldegrave was treated unfairly harshly by the authorities highlights that in other situations when printers, including those with Catholic sympathies, had been punished for illegal or seditious printing their families had been provided with some financial relief.

In examining the presentation of John Wolfe within the tracts, and the Epistle in particular, Monta credits Waldegrave with the scathing account of his doings, and the allusions to Wolfe’s ironic monopoly on the printing of Machiavelli in London. Whilst these insults are instrumental in reinforcing both Waldegrave’s position as a Puritan martyr and condemning Wolfe as a ‘cruel persecutor’, Monta ascribes too much agency to Waldegrave in this situation. As the printer of the works it is unlikely that he himself composed the cutting barbs, and whilst his experiences with Wolfe must have informed them, they were undoubtedly written by one of the several authors of the works and not the printer himself. This is not to deny Waldegrave any agency in the production the Marprelate tracts. As a printer he undoubtedly controlled the way in which the tracts were presented visually, and he probably also contributed directly to the content of the tracts, providing the anecdotal evidence of his experiences previously discussed, to support the image Penry, Udall and Throckmorton created of a printer persecuted for printing and disseminating the truth to the people, contributing the development of an canon of Puritan martyrs. It is also clear that his portrayal as a Puritan martyr/printer within the tracts has coloured subsequent studies of his career and significance, as scholars project the notion of a Puritan martyr/printer back through his English career, presenting a teleological narrative culminating in his involvement with ‘Martin’.

III. Finance and Distribution

Waldegrave’s presence within the tracts, and his involvement with their production place him at the heart of the Martinist cause. However as it has been made clear that throughout his English career he sought to balance his ideological commitment with his commercial interests, it is worth considering the other aspects of the enterprise which may have encouraged his continued involvement after April 1588. According to the deposition of the book binder Henry Sharpe, ‘the press that printed [the] first MARTIN, was Master Penrys, but WAL[DE]Grave the Printer had ye Commodity of ye Sale therof’.

This tallies with the account given by Nicholas Tomkins, the servant of Mistress Crane to whom Waldegrave offered the opportunity to purchase over 1050 copies of the Epistle at the price of 6d, whereas the usual selling price was 9d, but not of the subsequent tracts. Depending on whether he had been obliged to provide the capital to purchase ink and paper, it seems likely that Waldegrave made a large profit on the Epistle. Given that the average production cost of a 160 page text in octavo format was 5d, the far shorter Marprelate tracts must have had a greatly reduced production cost, and therefore if sold at either 6d or 9d would have made a tremendous profit.

After the publication of the Epistle it appears that the group moved to a more traditional method of remuneration for its printer, that is payment in kind. This was the more usual payment, for both authors and printers, when the publication was financed by a third party, suggesting that it was not Waldegrave who was responsible for the sourcing or purchasing of paper and ink. The shift may also have been brought about by the need

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347 Arber, An Introductory Sketch, p.95.
348 Arber, An Introductory Sketch, p.85. Given the profit Tomkins complained he could have made on the purchase was 20marks, we can calculate that the number of tracts he was offered at 6d, if he was reselling them at 9d was around 1060, which would likely have been the entire print run of the Epistle.
350 Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography, p.178.
to have a diverse network of distributors, and by paying Waldegrave in copies rather than coin, the press was able to take advantage of his contacts and distributors throughout London. Of the 400 copies of the *Epitome* sent with the bookseller Henry Newman to London, 200 were to be given to Waldegrave’s wife, who would have presumably sold them on herself, to generate a sizable sum.\(^{351}\) Sharpe makes further reference to Waldegrave’s ‘part’ of *Hay any work for Cooper*, of which he had sent 200 copies to London.\(^{352}\) The fact that Waldegrave had a portion of 200 for both this tract and the *Epitome* suggests that this was his payment after his initial ownership of all the copies of the *Epistle*.

Whilst there is no information about the trade price of the *Epitome*, Sharpe and Newman provide details of the price paid to Penry for *Certain Mineral and Metaphysical Schoolpoints*, *Hay any work for Cooper*, and *Theses Martinianae*. The broadside *Certain Minerals* had a cost price of merely 1d, whereas *Hay any work for Cooper* cost Newman 6d a copy.\(^{353}\) *Theses Martinianae*, which was less than half the length of *Hay any work*, had a price of 3d, and given that the *Epitome* was only marginally shorter than *Hay any work*, it most likely had a cost price close to 6d. The profit Waldegrave’s wife could have expected to gather would have been greater than the 20 marks Tomkins could have hoped to make on the resale of copies of the *Epistle*, costing 6d.\(^{354}\)

There is limited information available on the retail price of texts during this period, although Gaskell suggests that production costs in the early-sixteenth century were equivalent to 0.5d per sheet of paper, which would have been an 8 page octavo or 16

\(^{351}\) Ellesmere MS, 85v.  
\(^{353}\) Ellesmere MS, 86r & 86v.  
page quarto. It is worth noting that this is based on the limited information available about the cost of tools, labour and materials, and is not necessarily totally reliable. In order to generate a profit on texts, given the high cost of paper, equipment, ink and labour, printer publishers included a 50% mark up in the retail price, leaving the price at around 1d per sheet.\(^{355}\) This however was the price for the unbound texts, and there would therefore be a further increase on the retail price for consumers who wished the text to be bound. By the end of the century the cost of printing a sheet dropped to between 0.15d-0.25d and the Stationers’ Company laid down regulations for the price of texts, limiting the price to 0.5d per printed sheet for roman and black letter texts.\(^{356}\) This was not the first time that the authorities had placed a cap on the price of texts, and a key example of this in practice can be found under Edward VI, when the price of an unbound copy of the *Book of Common Prayer* was capped at 2s 2d.\(^{357}\)

If it is accepted that the cost of producing the Marprelate tracts was likely closer to the mid-century price of 0.5d per sheet that the costs recorded a decade later, due to the circumstance of production, and resultant costs associated with purchasing a press and the other equipment in a clandestine manner, according to the account from Tomkins the *Epistle* had a retail value of 9d, which is 2d more than the normal retail price of a 56 page quarto made up of 7 sheets.\(^{358}\) Given that there was a run of 1050 copies of the tract, the overall profit, assuming that each tract cost approximately 3.5d to produce, was £24 1s 3d, as opposed to the £15 6s 3d profit that would have been made had the tracts been sold at the normal 7d price for a text requiring 7 sheets of paper. Although this does not include the additional cost of binding the tracts, it is clear from this analysis of the first tract that the press was operating at a huge profit, and that the

\(^{357}\) Plant, *The English Book Trade*, p.239.
\(^{358}\) Arber, *An Introductory Sketch*, p.85.
Marpilate tracts were retailing at a far higher price than was usual for texts of their length. Therefore in order to sell the texts must have been highly compelling; otherwise they would have been unlikely to pay over the odds for the scandalous material. It also suggests a level of commercial motivation for those producing the tracts. Had they been motivated purely by a desire to spread a Puritan agenda they could have guaranteed a broader audience by reducing the price of the tracts, or giving them away.

As has been mentioned Waldegrave ceased to own the print run after the *Epistle*, and was subsequently paid with a portion of 200 copies of the *Epitome, Hay any work for Cooper* and *Schoolpoints*, which were then disseminated by his wife in London. Given what is known about the cost and price of the *Epistle* it is possible to approximate the profit Waldegrave would have earned from the *Epitome* and *Hay Any Work for Cooper*. Assuming that Waldegrave did not shoulder the burden of production costs, and that the two tracts, which required six and seven sheets of paper respectively and would likely be sold at the same price as the *Epistle*, made up of seven sheets, the texts should have been retailing at 9d per copy. This leaves Waldegrave, or rather his wife, who was selling them, with a profit of £7 10s for each tract, an impressive sum, perhaps reflecting the high level of risk in their production and dissemination.

It seems clear therefore that the tracts were highly lucrative. For a printer willing to take the risks of capture and punishment a sizable sum could have been made. Waldegrave, as part of the core Marpilate group, had a vested interest in the tracts being a success therefore, if not necessarily for ideological reasons then certainly for financial ones, and indeed it appears that they did not disappoint. However, it is clear that even such a large financial incentive was not sufficient to guarantee Waldegrave’s continued involvement, as after Easter 1589 he deserted the Marpilate press, and fled.
IV. Desertion

Waldegrave’s withdrawal from the Marprelate project had far-reaching ramifications and raises questions about the suitability of his replacements and the impact on the tracts themselves. There is some ambiguity over both where he went after he left the group, and why he decided to leave in the first place. According to Sharpe, Waldegrave, wolde no longer meddle or be a dealer in this Course, partly because...all the preachers that I have conferred withal do mislike yt, but chiefly for that he had now gotten the thing he had long desired’ which was Master Cartwrights Testament...[which]...he would go and print yt in Devonshire.

He also cited his own mistreatment during the printing of ‘Martin’s work, that he was kept, ‘so closely at worke, that for that tyme he had lyved as in a prison, and could not haue oftentimes warme meate.’ This report suggests that Waldegrave, at this point in time, was not willing to continue to be involved in the controversial project, and had a desire to return to printing more mainstream material, as he had done before April 1588. The majority of Puritans in England were highly disapproving of the Marprelate tracts, and numerous attempts were made to distance the mainstream elements of the movement from the scandalous tracts. The suggestion from within the wider circle supporting ‘Martin’ that Waldegrave would go on to print Cartwright’s work implies that he was not abandoning the production of Puritan religious literature, but wished to do so in a more acceptable, and presumably legal manner.

However, Waldegrave did not go on to print Cartwright’s Testament, suggesting that his motivation for fleeing the project was less ideological and more closely entwined with his own sense of self-preservation. The tracts had incensed the authorities, and as no stranger to punishment, the father of six may have finally placed his own concerns over that of the Martinist endeavour. The discussion of his role within the tracts would have made it wholly impossible to deny his involvement with their production or his

connections to the radical Puritan cause, and it must have been increasingly difficult for his wife to disseminate his portion of the tracts, due to awareness of his involvement with the press. He may even have had an eye to his refuge in Scotland, which may have been compromised if he had continued his involvement with the Marprelate tracts, as some English commentators, such as Bancroft, had equated their Presbyterian message with the Scottish Church, causing great offence north of the border. Distancing himself from the project at this juncture allowed him to escape capture with the press, and to avoid potential embarrassment in the future. If, as has been argued, his initial involvement was motivated by circumstance, it is logical that he would continue to balance his religious interests against his commercial ones. As the situation was becoming more dangerous the financial benefits were less likely and the widespread condemnation of ‘Martin’ by mainstream Puritans may have left Waldegrave suffering few qualms about deserting the press.

There are conflicting reports of where Waldegrave went after he left White Friars. Newman states that at the end of Easter 1589, Walgrave having then in his hands: Some in his colers and Penryes appellation to have printed immediatly after Hay any worke for cooper: wold not redeliver them: But promised Penrye to print them in the west contrye and to bringe them agayne unto him by Whitsontide.\(^{360}\)

This would agree with Sharpe’s claim that Waldegrave intended to go to Devonshire to print Cartwright’s *Testament*. However, as has been noted, Cartwright’s work was never published, and there is no evidence to suggest that Waldegrave did travel to the West Country. The traditional belief that Waldegrave instead fled to the Protestant stronghold of La Rochelle is similarly unsubstantiated, although many of his contemporaries believed that was where he went after he left the Marprelate press. The two texts, *Penry’s Appellation*, and *Some in His Colours*, whose authorship has been disputed, are

\(^{360}\) Ellesmere MS, 86v.
believed to have been printed by Waldegrave in La Rochelle, and indeed they are recorded in the Short Title Catalogue as having originated from there. However, there is no record of an English printer working in La Rochelle during the period Waldegrave was supposed to have been printing there and given the contemporary political tensions in France in 1589, with the recent murder of Henry III and the crown resting uneasily on the head of the Protestant Henry of Navarre, La Rochelle was no longer the sanctuary it had been in the past. The powerful city had rioted in 1588 when Henry III had attempted to tax wine, spices and fish, and although it would capitulate in 1590 to Henry of Navarre’s claim of 20,000 écus from the city, it did so despite strong resistance from the city’s ministers. The accession of Henry of Navarre to the French throne would also have strengthened their hand, although only briefly given his conversion in 1593, of the Calvinist clerics throughout France, who had long censured Rochelais printers for producing unorthodox Protestant material. Although the Protestant printers in La Rochelle had long ignored attempts by the national and regional authorities to censure their output, the period of Waldegrave’s disappearance, between April 1589 and early 1590 would not have been a fortuitous time for an English printer with Puritan sympathies to be operating in La Rochelle and therefore it is unlikely that he would have fled there. The continuing acceptance that Waldegrave fled to the city can be seen as a further example of scholars attempting to perpetuate the image of an ideologically-motivated martyr-printer presented within the Marprelate tracts, who journeyed to a traditional haven of radical printing despite numerous obstacles.

By April 1590, Robert Bowes, the English ambassador to Scotland wrote to Burghley concerning the presence of Penry in Scotland, and stated that he had, ‘published lately a

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362 Robbins, City on the Ocean Sea, p.182.
book without the privity of the ministers there.”\textsuperscript{363} This book was most probably A Treatise Wherein is manifestlie proved that Reformation and those that sincerely favour the same are unjustly charged to be enemies unto hir Maiestie and the state, of which around 800 copies were printed for Penry by Waldegrave around Christmas 1589. Penry sent 300 copies of the book to London with his servant Jenkin Jones, making a profit of five pounds on the books once Jenkins had been paid.\textsuperscript{364} This was one of several tracts Waldegrave and Penry printed in Scotland in 1589/90 although we can only guess at what Waldegrave was doing and where he was between his departure from the Marprelate press and his establishment in Scotland less than a year later.

Fascinating though Waldegrave’s disappearance is, the continued work of the Marprelate press required a replacement printer to be quickly found and put to work. The bookbinder Sharpe was the first choice of Penry, Throckmorton and Udall to replace Waldegrave, unsurprising perhaps, as he had already proved his skill in binding the first three tracts, and was a trusted member of the original group of producers, but due to his refusal they were forced to send to Henry Newman, the London agent distributing the pamphlets, for a new printer.\textsuperscript{365} It was Newman therefore who recruited John Hodgkins, a ‘salt-peter man’ who, due to the lack of records of him within the Stationers’ Company registers, presumably learnt to print abroad, and did not rely on the trade as his primary means of income. Once Penry had met and approved of Hodgkins, the printer returned to London to gather supplies, funded by Newman, on Penry’s account. As well as sourcing materials, he recruited Valentyne Simms and Arthur Thomlyn to assist with the printing, paying them £20 and £8 a year, respectively, as well as providing them with their food and drink, in return for their work on

\textsuperscript{364} Ellesmere MS, 87v.
\textsuperscript{365} Ellesmere MS, 86v.
‘Martin’s’ press. Unlike Hodgkins, both of these men had been members of the Stationers’ Company since the early 1580s, and were presumably working as journeymen when they were recruited.

For the printing of *Theses Martinianae* and *The just Censure and Reproof of Martin Junior* Penry paid Hodgkins five pounds, out of which sum he presumably paid Simmes and Thomlyn pro rata, at their different rates. Despite the smaller, and therefore cheaper nature of the tracts Hodgkins’ team printed, the sum of five pounds, as payment for the printing of two tracts is significantly less than the £7 10s Waldegrave appears to have made from each of the *Epitome* and *Hay any work for Cooper*. On recruiting the two printers, Hodgkins, ‘made them to sweare that they sholde not disclose any thinge that he shold committ unto them to be printed.’ Their loyalty therefore was not to the Marprelate cause itself, but to their employer, Hodgkins. This is a sharp contrast to the ideological and financial ties Waldegrave had had to the Marprelate press. The fact that Hodgkins was not paid with a portion of the completed copies, but with coin suggests that he lacked the connections to disseminate the material effectively, and was not considered, by the remaining key players, Udall, Penry and Throckmorton, to be as closely tied to the Martinist cause as Waldegrave had been. Certainly Simmes had no ideological ties to the material that was being produced, and was clearly attached to the press for merely commercial reasons. During the reign of James I he went on to print Catholic material amongst other ‘seditious’ texts, presumably for the high financial gains that could be made, which resulted in his imprisonment for a period between 1606 and 1608.

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366 Ellesmere MS, 86v.
368 Ellesmere MS 87r.
369 Ferguson, *Valentine Simmes*, pp.9, 15-17.
Regardless of the differing position within the movement of Waldegrave and his replacements, there was a huge typographical shift between the tracts they printed. Unlike the first four tracts, *Theses Martinianae* and *The just Censure and Reproof of Martin Junior* were printed in roman type, with no black letter being used at all. Some may suggest that this was the result of Waldegrave taking with him the ‘dutch letters’ with which he had printed the first tracts, but as he never appears to have used this type in any of his subsequent works it seems unlikely that any type left the press when he did. Assuming then that the three different cases of type available to Hodgkins, Simmes and Thomlyn included both roman and black letter, we can ascribe the typographical shift to the preferences of the new printers. There are two things that could have driven Hodgkins to print the two tracts in roman letter. If, as is believed, Hodgkins had learnt his trade abroad his decision to use the more modern type may be explained, as the majority of material printed on the continent would have used roman type as opposed to black or gothic letter. Secondly the shift could be connected with the changing ‘voice’ of the tracts, as the two tracts Hodgkins printed were supposedly written by the younger and elder sons of the eponymous ‘Martin’ as opposed to the original author of the tracts printed by Waldegrave. The shift in type may have been designed to distinguish between these different authors, whilst at the same time raising the visual calibre of the tracts to that of scholarly, modern material. No matter what motivated it, the shift to roman type had major implications on the visual signals the tracts communicated.

Despite being clearly and cleanly printed, the tracts were no longer instantly recognisable as religious material, nor did they appear to be open to an all inclusive audience. The authority associated with black letter was also lost, leaving the tracts perfectly aesthetically competent, but without any of the deeper significance and meaning that Waldegrave’s typographical choices gave them.
Although the Marprelate press maintained its aesthetic quality until the capture of Hodgkins, Simmes and Thomlyn by the Earl of Derby on 14 August 1589, the ideological and typographical sophistication of the project was compromised. The subconscious visual message Waldegrave had created through subtle use of different types was lost. Those replacing him worked solely for a financial reward and did not offer the press the valuable distribution network in London Waldegrave was connected to, or have any significant ties to the radical Protestant reform movement which could be presented and developed within the tracts as Waldegrave’s ties had been. Waldegrave’s public image as a Puritan martyr/printer, fostered and developed within the tracts, tied him to the cause in a way Hodgkins, Simmes and Thomlyn never were and allowed contemporaries and subsequent scholars to focus on his role and significance as a Puritan printer, without considering the wider context of his broader English career.

**CONCLUSION**

The ramifications of the Marprelate controversy are diverse and far reaching, not only for those directly involved, specifically Waldegrave, but also for those engaging with religious debate, and popular printing in the future. As has been discussed, the controversy opened up religious debate in an unprecedented manner, allowing, and in fact encouraging, popular engagement with a subject previously restricted to the religious and political elites. The work of ‘Martin’, and the myriad of responses, both official and independent, to him, more than any other episode in Elizabethan popular printing supports the idea of a nascent public sphere in England, where the general populace engaged with some, if not all of the major debates of the day, whilst risking

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370 Ferguson, *Valentine Simmes*, pp.9, 15-17.
censure from the authorities.\(^{371}\) Over-priced but incredibly popular, the Marprelate tracts were a phenomenon which reached large swathes of the Elizabethan people in 1588/89 and were revisited in later periods to great effect.\(^{372}\)

For English printing the ramifications were no less significant. Up until this controversy the general methodology for punishing those responsible for the printing of illegal or dubious material was to target the printer, whose technique, and sometime letters, were distinctive enough to be identified. Indeed the initial search for those behind ‘Martin’s’ output was based on identifying the owner of the type that was being used.\(^{373}\) However, in the wake of the Marprelate episode there was a new focus on identifying the author of controversial material, through analysis of the rhetorical style and structure of the text.\(^{374}\) For those advocating a move towards a Puritan style church in England, the Marprelate episode was a defining moment, as it marked the start of the breakdown of consensus within the movement.\(^{375}\) The distance the mainstream radical Protestant reformers put between themselves and ‘Martin’ left those behind the Marprelate press out on fringes of the movement they had previously been at the core of, and left the movement without a printer as publically tied to its ideology as Waldegrave. Although he may have deserted the press precisely because ‘Martin’s’ message was being denounced by mainstream Puritans, his close involvement with Udall, Penry and Throckmorton since early 1588 made it impossible for Waldegrave to return to his position within the wider network of stationers in London with Puritan sympathies.

For Waldegrave then the Marprelate controversy and his role within it had a huge impact on the development of his later career. The religious network of those with

\(^{371}\) Lake & Questier, ‘Puritans, Papists and the “Public Sphere”’, p.590.
\(^{372}\) Black, The Martin Marprelate Tracts, xvii.
\(^{373}\) Arber, An Introductory Sketch, p.112.
Puritan sympathies that he had been a part of until choosing to desert the press in April 1589 helped him to relocate to Scotland and to establish himself as a printer once more, although he was not able to return to England until the death of the Queen in 1603. The fact that he, unlike the other printers involved with the press, was not given leave to return is perhaps due to the nature of his personal ties the other key individuals behind ‘Martin’, and his public association with the movement through his portrayal within the tracts themselves. As has been discussed, Waldegrave used his agency as a printer to enhance the impact of the first four Marprelate tracts through his nuanced use of typeface, confirming that the tracts were aimed at the broadest possible audience, and imbuing ‘Martin’s’ writing with greater authority through the use of black letter. The development of the image of Waldegrave as a Puritan martyr/printer within the tracts themselves inevitably contributed to his continued exile, although it exaggerated his genuine position for rhetorical gain. The tracts established Waldegrave’s reputation as a committed and persecuted Puritan printer, and given their wide readership this image was too widely disseminated and accepted to be readily challenged or expunged.

The Marprelate press therefore represents the apogee of Waldegrave’s Puritan printing in England, and at the same time made it impossible for him to continue to work in that country. Simultaneously, through the ties between the English Puritans involved in and connected to the press, and the Scottish Presbyterians, it enabled his flight and re-establishment in Scotland. Very little work has been done on the links between these two movements, although Gordon Donaldson’s 1939 thesis is an exception. The next chapter examines the relationship that existed between these two religious groups and the resultant trans-national religious network, with a focus on the way in which these ties allowed Waldegrave to escape to Scotland and swiftly become the antithesis of the fugitive, controversial printer, the royal printer to James VI.
CHAPTER FOUR

TRANS-NATIONAL NETWORKS OF RELIGION AND PRINT

Our pretended English reformers doo imitate or rather exceede the Scottish Ministers in rebelling and rayling against all that doo encounter them...They haue had fiue or sixe supplications to severall Parliaments, penned altogether according to Knox his stile and violent spirit, in many places word for word: besides Martin, and his two soones...in their sise booke of consistorian gruait. And now, upon better care taken by her Maiesty, that no such libels should be hereafter printed in England (at the least without some daunger to the parties, if it may bee knowne) they haue founde such faour, as to procure their chiefe instrument and old servand Waldegrave to be the King of Scots Printer, from whence their wants in that halfe shall be fully supplied. For hauing obtained that place, (as hee pretendeth in Print) they haue published by hundreths, certaine spitefull and malicious booke against her Maiesties most honorable privy Council. Also their humble motion to their LLs with three or foure other very slanderous Treatises.


Although he was certainly driven throughout his English career by commercial concerns, Waldegrave’s involvement in the Marprelate press provided a public demonstration of his involvement in a wider Puritan network, involving writers, clerics, noblemen and members of the Stationers’ Company. This chapter will outline the scope of this network, and examine how Waldegrave was connected to individuals at all levels within it. This will involve considering both his personal and professional relationships with English Puritans and religious reformers and his commercial connections with the English printing trade. In doing this, the extent to which commercial and social networks shaped the early modern print trade in England will be shown. Then the connections between this extensive English network and various individuals within the Scottish Kirk will be examined. This will enable a trans-national network of religious reformers to be identified, allowing Waldegrave’s actions to be understood within this broader context. As has been discussed previously, these networks were informal, web like, structures which encompassed individuals from all areas of society. They included multiple relationships between multiple individuals, some of which were broadly shared, and others which were restricted to a small number of individuals within the wider network. Identifying these networks and the complicated series of relationships which tie them together expands our understanding not only of Waldegrave’s own
career trajectory, the nature of the early modern print trade and also of the intertwined nature of sixteenth-century religious society in England and Scotland. In much historical work, each sphere is considered separately, but when viewed together, they provide a more accurate image of the role of print within sixteenth-century society.

In order to reconstruct the trans-national religious network it is first necessary to demonstrate the existence of a Puritan network in London within which Waldegrave operated. To do this an examination of the various dedications included within Waldegrave’s printed output will be undertaken, which reflect the existence of a publically identified network of nobles who displayed Puritan sympathies. The use of dedications within Waldegrave’s printed output will be considered within the broader context of dedications and patronage during the late-sixteenth century, and his involvement with Puritan writers and their patrons explored. This will lead into a discussion of the role of various Puritan nobles and gentry in the Marprelate Controversy. Building on the work of Cathryn Enis, the network of nobles and gentry with Puritan sympathies can be explicitly linked with Waldegrave and his associates, particularly Job Throckmorton. Having established that the Puritan network in England was extensive and involved multiple areas of society, the relationship between this network and the Scottish Presbyterian Kirk will be considered. Gordon Donaldson’s work on the connections between the religious reformers across the Anglo-Scottish border will be used to assist in the identification of the crossover points between the two nations, within the context that impacted on Waldegrave and his associates. This will lead into chapter five and the discussion of Waldegrave’s role within the Scottish print trade. But before this discussion, this chapter will focus on the trans-national printing network which existed before Waldegrave arrived in Scotland in late 1589. The Scottish and English careers of Thomas Vautrollier and John Norton will be analysed to advance
our understanding of the trans-national book trade which operated on a minor level throughout the Elizabethan period. It will be argued that English stationers, despite perceiving the Scottish market to be the lesser of the two, were aware of the market for their wares north of the border and this may therefore explain why a commercially minded printer such as Waldegrave ended up in Edinburgh after being exiled from England.

PART ONE: NETWORKS OF PURITAN PATRONAGE IN ENGLAND

The use of dedications within Waldegrave’s London bibliography reveals a network of Puritan patrons and writers within which Waldegrave worked. Whilst Waldegrave himself had little or no direct contact with the Puritan nobles to whom the dedications are written, his printing of them publically aligned him with both the Puritan movement and the key players within it. The majority of his Puritan works, including those with dedications, were published by other stationers, to be sold by them in their various shops. Indeed of the eighty-five texts Waldegrave is known to have printed during his English career, twenty-seven carry dedications, however fifteen of these were printed for other stationers. Therefore, by association, these other stationers were drawn into the wider network of Puritan print. Analysis of the dedications affixed to Waldegrave’s output reveals which members of the Elizabethan elite were publically perceived to sympathise with the Puritan movement, and contribute to the identification of a broader network of radical religious reformers which included stationers, authors, nobles and members of the authorities. Further, this also reveals how English Puritans interacted with Scottish Presbyterians, both in England and in some cases, in Scotland.

Before the advent of the printing press authors and scribes were often reliant on the patronage they received from individual nobles and the monarchy. When Caxton
established his print shop in London in 1476 he continued to pursue both the traditional form of noble patronage along with that of his ‘patrons’ or customers. Although many scholars have discussed the decline of direct literary patronage in the final decade of the sixteenth century, and the rise of direct advertising, in fact literary patronage was a social and financial necessity for authors, and often for the stationers who produced their work. Different styles of patronage were enjoyed by London Stationers, with some prominent individuals such as John Day and William Seres enjoying direct support and preferment from significant courtiers such as Lord Burghley, allowing them to amass lucrative patents as they produced official and propagandistic literature with their patron’s tacit or explicit support. Other stationers and authors were less fortunate, and instead of a long-term relationship with a single patron, they had to solicit support from nobles and prominent individuals, usually through dedicatory letters preceding a printed work.

Dedications returned to common use with the rise of humanism, and could be used in a number of ways to improve a text’s reception. They gave the author the opportunity to address any deficiencies within the work, comment on current issues or the reception of the text as well as their primary role of soliciting support, either privately from friends and relatives, or publically from significant individuals who could provide social or financial rewards. The text itself also became a type of gift, to be presented to the dedicatee as part of a hoped for exchange, where the author or printer could hope for advancement. Several of the books Waldegrave printed which carried dedications explicitly stated that they were gifts, either for New Year or an unspecified occasion.

The benefits to be gained through dedications were numerous, as not only did they encourage tangible financial patronage, but they also acted as a type of endorsement which could give a text authority, respectability and significance, influence interpretations of its content and encourage a wider readership. In some cases it could also act as a form of protection from critics as well as the authorities, for both the author and the printer. Generally dedications took an epistolary form, allowing the author, or in some cases, the printer, to address directly the dedicatee and offer a formulaic series of compliments with the hope of securing benefit. The first book sold by Waldegrave, A Castle for the Soule, (1578) printed by Thomas Dawson, is prefaced by a dedication which conforms to the established conventions of literary dedications of the period. Written by Waldegrave to Ambrose Dudley, the Earl of Warwick, the dedication begins with praise of the Earl, listing his many titles and extolling his virtues, followed by a plea that, ‘a well ment labour, and to a good intent enterprised shalbe accordingly accepted.’ Waldegrave cites Warwick’s religious support for reform in his request for support,

> It is your Honours loue of true & sincere religion, that inforceth me to dedicate this manuell of Christian exercised to your Noblenesse: and at the request of my friends I have presumed to publishe vnder your Honours patronage. Which, though it want delicate and affected phrases and a polished style, pleasant and sweete to the eare of the curious readers (a thing in my judgement, not to be vsed in a prayer boke, wherein plainnesse rather than finesse is to be frequented and followed) yet notwithstanding, not lacking that zeale and ferventnesse, which is requireable, I trust the worke shall so like your Honour, that by your noble acceptation and approbation, it shall carrie the greater port and coutenaunce.

The final phrase reveals the secondary role of such dedications, after the request for patronage, was as a tool to ensure some level of commercial success through association

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382 Robert Waldegrave, A castle for the Soule, (London, 1578), *III.
with a notable figure. The rhetorical exaggerated humility was a commonly used trope within such dedications. It is also evidence that Waldegrave was attempting to elicit support from Warwick, and that he did not enjoy such patronage at the time of publication. Dedications generally framed the desired, as opposed to actual, relationship between its author and the dedicatee, and therefore it is unwise to assume that the presence of a dedication proves a relationship between the two parties named. In the case of Waldegrave, works which originated from his press regularly carried dedications to prominent nobles who were sympathetic to the Puritan cause, and whilst this does not prove a direct relationship, when considered in the broader context of the Puritan network which encapsulates the other Marprelate conspirators, it is at least indicative of a shared affiliation, if not direct contact. While other historians have used dedications as an indication of a noble’s perceived significance at court, in this case they reveal which nobles were publically associated with the Puritan cause, which helps to partially construct the Puritan network with which Waldegrave was associated.

Patronage networks operated in a different way to the professional networks of print discussed in the previous chapters. Traditionally patron-client relationships were hierarchical and relied on a sense of loyalty between the two parties, which helped to ensure the longevity of the connections. As Sharon Kettering has discussed, this understanding of patronage networks is too simplistic, and often only a small proportion of patron-client relationships were longstanding and based upon ties of loyalty. With a focus on early modern France, she highlights that there were increasing numbers of patron-client relationships which were based on specific material benefits without an underlying loyalty, which allowed these bonds to be broken by either party if circumstances altered. There was also a rise in ideological groupings, which enjoyed

385 Fox, ‘The complaint of poetry’, p.231.
patronage from notable individuals, often based on patron-client relationships with individuals within the group.\footnote{Sharon Kettering, ‘Clientage during the French Wars of Religion’, in, The Sixteenth Century Journal, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Summer, 1989), pp. 221-4.} Within the context of Waldegrave and the dedications on the texts he produced, these potential patron-client relationships reflect a wider group of nobles and gentry with Puritan sympathies, with whom Puritan writers were seeking, and in some case securing patronage. These individual patron-clients relationships provide a foundation for the wider Puritan network which was not necessarily reliant upon direct patronage.

A little under half of Waldegrave’s English output included some form of dedicatory letter before the main body text, however only one, attached to A Castle for the Soule, was written by the printer himself. All of the remaining dedications are printed above the author’s name, and therefore it is unlikely Waldegrave had any involvement with the direction of the dedications. Slightly less than a third of the volumes he printed carrying dedications were funded and sold by Waldegrave himself, the rest were published by other stationers within his London network. Nearly half of these were published by Thomas Man, whether independently or in conjunction with one of his partners, and therefore we can place Man alongside Waldegrave within the network of Puritan print which develops when the content and dedications of the works are considered. The remaining seven volumes were published by a range of stationers with whom Waldegrave had professional relations. Unlike Waldegrave and Man, they remain outside the network of Puritan print as their bibliographies are not dominated by Puritan works or dedicated to known Puritan sympathisers. Waldegrave’s output, whilst varied, like his contemporaries was dominated by religious works, many of which carry dedications to members of the nobility with known Puritan sympathies. Of the twenty-
seven volumes that carry dedications, only two were not religious in nature, Angel Day’s *The English Secretorie* (1586), and a translation of Ovid’s *Metamorphosis* (1587) by Arthur Golding, whilst the rest engaged with religion and religious education. The motivations for the dedications of these volumes therefore can be understood differently to those attached to the religious works, as their content and intended audience was no doubt different.

Day’s letter writing manual, *The English Secretorie* carries a glowing dedication to Edward De Vere, the Earl of Oxford. Day’s approach to De Vere acknowledges his significance at court, but was likely unsuccessful given the Earl’s persistent poverty, which would have limited any financial patronage Day could have hoped to receive, though he may have hoped that the Earl could offer him some other form of support, such as nominating him for a public office. Instead the dedication can be understood as an attempt to give the manual authority and significance through association with the Earl, as an association between a text and a significant noble was often seen to confer the literary merit or authority of a work.  

It was one of many books dedicated to Oxford during his lifetime, including two by Arthur Golding, whose translation of *Metamorphosis* was printed by Waldegrave in 1587. Waldegrave’s edition of *Metamorphosis* was dedicated to the Earl of Leicester rather than the Earl of Oxford, and Leicester openly patronised both Golding, and his original printer John Day throughout their careers. The death of Day in 1584 left Golding bereft of his printer and Waldegrave appears to have been his choice of replacement. Golding’s work is one of the few which was printed and sold by Waldegrave without the involvement of another printer, as Waldegrave was willing to shoulder the financial burden of producing the text. Given his financially prudent approach, the long-term relationship

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between Golding and his patron, Leicester, which should have garnered sufficient financial reward to defray production costs likely influenced his decision.

Two other volumes printed by Waldegrave during the 1580s carry dedications to Leicester. Namely John Field’s *A caveat for Parsons* (1581) and *A sermon preached the 26. day of May. 1584. in S. Maries Church in Shrewesbury before the right honorable the Earle of Leicester, accompanied with the Earle of Essex*, (1586) which was written by the reformed clergyman John Tomkys. The motivation behind these dedications differs to the motivation behind Golding’s dedication and to each other. Whilst Tomkys conforms to a more standard practise of dedicating the published sermon to the nobleman who attended it, he also uses the dedication to encourage the Earl to act to support further religious reforms. Similarly, Field’s dedication operates in tandem with the content of the work to encourage action on the part of Leicester against English Catholics. In *A caveat for Parsons* Field challenges the English Jesuit Robert Parsons’ work *A brief discovrs contayning certayne reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church* (1580). He explicitly states in his dedication that he dedicated the book to Leicester,

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\text{Because that as God hath set you in a cheefe place ouer this his church, so you and all the rest of your calling, might watch against suche enemies and discharge that trust he hath committed unto you, both to stoppe them from father undermining the Church of God, which evermore they haue hitherto endeuored and also stande for the preservation of the Queene her excellent maiesties, vpon whome soever now they flatter and faine for fauour & commodity, they haue bene, are, and shalbe, found her most dangerous enemies.} \]

The dedication not only emphasises Leicester’s responsibility to protect the true church, but also stresses the danger of allowing Catholics to flatter and seek favour with the Queen. This is likely a reference to Parsons’ own dedication to Elizabeth in his 1580 work. Field dedicated a number of his works to Leicester during the 1570s and 1580s,

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whilst enjoying the patronage of both the Dudley brothers throughout Elizabeth’s reign. In this case however the dedication can be seen as less of a request for patronage than a call to action against the perceived Catholic threat. This was not the only time Waldegrave printed a dedication written by Field motivated by a desire for action. Field’s 1583 work entitled, *A godly exhortation, by occasion of the late judgement of God, shewed at Parris-garden, the thirteenth day of Januarie* describes the events of 13 January 1583, a Sunday, when several people were killed while watching bear-baiting, as the stands collapsed. The event is mentioned by a number of Puritan writers, as well as Field, as an example of God’s wrath for public neglect of the Sabbath, with one author remarking that the event was, ‘a warning to such who take more pleasure on the Lord’s day to be in a theatre beholding carnal sports than to be in the Church in serving God’. Field’s pamphlet carries a dedication to the Lord Mayor of London, along with the Law Recorder William Fleetwood, in which Field entreats the pair to use the powers of their office to enforce the observance of the Sabbath, so as to avoid future punishment from God. Field therefore uses dedications for a more specific purpose than merely to appeal for patronage from nobles sympathetic to his cause, such as Leicester. These two particular examples also show the disparity between the ideological commitment of Puritan writers such as Field and those amongst the elite who sympathised with the Puritan cause but were reluctant to promote all aspects of the radical Protestant thought when it conflicted with other political and social concerns.

As well as the Earl of Leicester, who received over a hundred dedications throughout the period, his brother, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick also received numerous dedications, with two appearing within Waldegrave’s bibliography. Along with

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Waldegrave’s own *A Castle for the Soule* (1578), John Udall dedicated the 1587 edition of *The true remedie against famine and warres* to Ambrose and his wife, Anne Russell, due to their shared struggle to promote the true word of God. Anne Russell was the daughter of Francis Russell, the Earl of Bedford, a key Puritan courtier, a close friend of William Cecil’s who had spent a short time studying with Henry Bullinger in Zurich. Contemporaries perceived Bedford as a supporter and advocate for religious reform, and he enjoyed a long correspondence with continental reformers. Although there is limited evidence of his involvement with various reformist agitations throughout the reign, his library reflects his commitment to the Puritan cause. According to an inventory of his library conducted in 1584, the year before his death, of the 221 volumes he owned 165 were concerned with religion, and while this reflects the reading, and printing, conventions of the period, works of key English Puritans such as Udall and Field were found alongside the works of the European reformers, including Calvin, Beza and Bullinger. Twenty-three carry dedications to the Earl himself, the largest number to any individual, whilst other noble Puritan sympathisers such as the Earl of Leicester and Francis Walsingham are also the subject of numerous dedications.394 Bedford had a number of close relationships with the authors and translators who dedicated their works to him, and enjoyed his patronage. These works appear in the 1584 inventory of Bedford’s library, alongside the texts by Alexander Gee and John Udall printed by Waldegrave.395 Bedford owned at least three copies of Alexander Gee’s *The ground of Christianitie composed in maner of a dialogue between Paule and Titus, contayning all the principall poyntes of our saluation in Christ*, which Waldegrave printed in 1584, with a second edition produced in 1585. The dedication remains the same on both editions, with Gee acknowledging the Earl’s social and religious standing and expressing a wish for protection for both himself and his work.

Alongside these standard facets of early modern dedications, Gee also launches an attack on those who use the medium of print for,

Foolish Pamphlets, & frivolous toys, which in these our days are put in print, haue brought almost no lesse contempt of the faculty of printing, then discouragement to those that woulde write more waigthyte matters.  

This statement condemns the mass of popular print, yet Gee goes on to claim a level of legitimacy and authority for his work as it works for the ‘glory of God’. By dedicating the work to Bedford, a well-known figure with acknowledged connections to the Puritan movement, the protection Gee asks for can be seen as an antidote to the apathetic response his work may have received without its association with Bedford, within the mass of foolish and frivolous printing. Bedford is also the dedicatee of Udall’s *Peters fall: Two sermons upon the historie of Peters denying Christ*, of which Waldegrave printed at least one edition in 1585, the year of the Earl’s death. Udall requests protection from the Earl for the work, and himself, and follows the conventions for dedications of the period. Bedford’s daughter, Margaret Clifford, Duchess of Cumberland, was also the recipient of a number of dedications from Puritan writers, including some within Waldegrave’s bibliography. Whilst there has been discussion of a potential literary circle around the Duchess, recent work by Alistair Fox has suggested that dedications to the Duchess were generally speculative, and if this is the case then the dedications to her within Puritan literature could therefore be seen as a reflection of her public associations with Bedford, and her brother-in-law Ambrose Dudley, as opposed to an overwhelming personal commitment to the Puritan cause.

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397 There are at least two other known editions of the work, one printed by John Windet for Nicholas Lyng in 1584 and the other for Thomas Man in 1587, by an unknown printer. Some have suggested that Waldegrave also printed the 1587 for Man, with whom he had a long-term professional relationship, however although the woodcuts used in the 1587 edition also appear in some of Waldegrave’s works, they are used in the same manner as in the 1584 edition printed by Windet. The overall visual appearance of the 1585 edition is markedly different from the 1584 and 1587 editions, which are very similar.

The large network of prominent nobles sympathetic to the Puritan cause did much to promote their own position in court and the public consciousness, although key individuals such as the Earls of Leicester and Warwick, and Lord Burghley took a more pragmatic approach to the matter. Of the twenty-two named dedicatees on works Waldegrave printed in London, fifteen can be identified, and all but three of these individuals are part of the extended familial network which encompassed the most prominent nobles in Elizabethan England.399 The list of dedicatees also indicates who were the key nobles widely perceived to be associated with the Puritan cause. The Dudley brothers, Bedford and his daughter the Countess of Cumberland, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Sidneys and Edward Denny were known to support further religious reforms, and the content of the works dedicated to them was religious, and inevitably expressed a level of reformed Protestantism, which may have contributed to the authors’ decision to address their works to these particular members of the nobility. Of course the decision by the authors to dedicate their works to these nobles could also have been influenced by their high standing at court and sway with the Queen. All of the dedicatees within Waldegrave’s bibliography were influential or held positions of authority which enabled them to support the authors, or to act in the manner advocated within the dedication for public benefit. However, such power and authority would be irrelevant if the dedicatees did not, to some extent appear to support publically the Puritan cause, and therefore the dedicatees named within Waldegrave’s bibliography formed part of a Puritan network of nobles, whose religious sympathies were widely known.

In her recent thesis, Cathryn Enis has examined the way in which the Dudleys supported religious reforms within their home county of Warwickshire. She suggests that after the

399 See Appendix 4.
death of Leicester’s heir, the three year old Baron of Denbigh, in 1584, that Leicester’s focused shifted from securing Dudley strength in Warwickshire to establishing a reforming religious legacy. Whether or not this was the case, Warwickshire and the surrounding area was known to be the home of the most significant religious reformers, and many enjoyed a direct relationship with either Robert or Ambrose Dudley. The network of minor gentry supportive of Puritan reforms identified by Enis is a valuable extension of the noble familial network previously discussed, the members of which were targets of Puritan requests for patronage. By examining how this gentry network linked into the network of nobles sympathetic to the Puritan cause, and laying both alongside the network of Puritan print, it is possible to create a more accurate picture of the network within which Waldegrave operated in England. Through an examination of various events which occurred in Warwickshire throughout Elizabeth’s reign, including the prophesyings in Southam, the election of Marprelate co-author Job Throckmorton to parliament in 1586, Enis establishes that the network of Puritan sympathisers surrounding the production of the Marprelate tracts had direct links with the Earls of Warwick and Leicester, and their brother-in-law, the Earl of Huntingdon. Central to this analysis is the role and treatment of Job Throckmorton, who came from the lesser Protestant branch of the Warwickshire family, and whose father, Clement Throckmorton, was part of the corporation established by Leicester towards the end of the 1560s to promote preaching in Warwickshire. Throckmorton, who had spent a period in 1584 pursuing the Catholic lawyer, William Skinner, received tacit support from the Earl of Warwick in his bid to become an MP in 1586, and established himself as a controversial religious reformer in Parliament. Enis suggests that Job Throckmorton was protected from persecution for his involvement with the Marprelate tracts until the death of Warwick in 1590, and even then his connections with prominent

Puritan sympathisers such as the Earl of Huntingdon and other Warwickshire gentry prevented him from suffering any penalty. The suggestion that such a prominent player in the Marprelate enterprise might have enjoyed relationships with such significant political players, who were themselves part of a network of Puritan sympathisers at Court, raises the question as to whether any other Marprelate players enjoyed such links. Enis identifies similar connections for Sir Richard Knightly, who hosted the press at his house in Fawsley and John Hales, who hosted it at his home at Whitefriars in Coventry. Knightly was part of the corporation established by Leicester to promote preaching, along with Throckmorton’s father, Clement Throckmorton, and both the Earls of Warwick and Huntingdon. The moderator of the resulting prophesysings was John Oxenbridge, friend of Stephen Hales, the brother of John Hales. Hales was the nephew of Sir Thomas Lucy, an outspoken reformist MP, who was also named as a member of the corporation by Leicester.

Although this network of gentry and nobility surrounding the Marprelate press in Warwickshire is merely a snap shot of a wider, national network of Puritan sympathisers, it is highly significant in establishing Waldegrave’s link with such a network. Both John Udall and John Penry, the final two key individuals involved with the Marprelate press had their work printed by Waldegrave during the 1580s and several of these works carry dedications to individuals within the familial network of Puritan nobles, with Udall dedicating four works to Lord Howard of Effingham, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Huntingdon between 1584 and 1588.

Both Udall and Penry can therefore be seen within the previously discussed network of

Puritan writers and the nobles they sought patronage from. By examining the dedications within works printed by Waldegrave, which name prominent nobles with Puritan sympathies, and connecting this network with the one surrounding Throckmorton identified by Enis, the relationships between the four key Marprelate players become part of a far wider, and more significant network of Puritan supporters, writers and stationers. This network surrounding the Marprelate press provides new information about the nature of Waldegrave’s position within the English Puritan network, which must be understood before his role within a broader trans-national religious network can be considered. By tracing the numerous layers of the English Puritan network it becomes clear that it operated at all levels of society, and on a broad geographical basis, potentially providing Waldegrave with support from a wide range of individuals within the network.

PART TWO: PURITANS AND PRESBYTERIANS - A TRANS-NATIONAL RELIGIOUS NETWORK?

In his 1939 doctoral thesis, Gordon Donaldson traced the links between the Scottish Presbyterians and the English Puritans throughout the reformation period, up until 1604. The network of Puritans and Presbyterians he identifies interlocks with the noble network of Puritan sympathisers and the broader Puritan printing network outlined above, and helps to establish the frameworks Waldegrave operated in, both in England and in Scotland after 1589. This trans-national network of like-minded religious reformers involves a number of prominent stationers who engaged with the market on both sides of the border, and therefore an understanding of this network is crucial when Waldegrave’s flight to Scotland and subsequent career is considered.

406 Donaldson, The Relations Between the English and Scottish Presbyterian Movements.
Whilst Donaldson traces the relationship between the English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians from 1560 until the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, when considering the network within which Waldegrave operated it is most pertinent to examine the interactions which took place during the 1580s, with a specific focus on the period between May 1584 and April 1585. During the preceding years relationships were established between key English and Scottish reformers abroad, and these interactions provide the foundations for the support offered to Scottish exiles in England in 1584. Because of the passage of the highly controversial ‘Black Acts’ by the Earl of Arran’s government in April 1584, which endangered the Presbyterian nature of the Church of Scotland, between May 1584 and October 1585 a number of radical prominent Scottish ministers fled Scotland for England, engaging in direct contact with English Puritans in London and beyond.407 Whilst their exile and contact with English Puritans has been extensively detailed by Donaldson, there are a number of focal events which provide evidence of relationships between the Scottish reformers and the previously identified network of English Puritans. When these are combined, a transnational religious network that spanned England and Scotland, within which Waldegrave operated throughout his English and Scottish careers is identified. The key interactions include Walsingham’s meetings with the exiles in London, the informal conferences at Oxford and Cambridge Universities during the summer graduation period in 1584, John Lawson’s funeral in October of the same year, and the establishment of a reformed congregation in Newcastle to serve the interests of the exiled Scottish lords. The continued interactions between the Scottish and English between 1585 and 1590 gain political significance as they were conducted alongside officially sanctioned attacks on the Presbyterian nature of the Scottish Kirk, conducted primarily by Richard Bancroft, first in a well-known sermon on 9 February 1588/9 at St

Paul’s Cross, and later in *Daungerous positions and proceedings* (1593) and *A surveay of the pretended holy discipline* (1593).  

These attacks were motivated by the fear that should James VI succeed his English cousin to the throne he would create a universal Church based on the Scottish model which was more radically reformed than the Church established through the Elizabethan Settlement. The existing relationship between the radical English reformers and the Scottish Kirk exacerbated this fear, particularly in the wake of the Marprelate scandal and the discrediting of the Puritans in England. The trans-national network of religious reformers within which Waldegrave operated had significance beyond the enabling of trans-national support and debate, for it also contributed to the political and dynastic controversies which punctuated the final decade of Elizabeth’s reign.

Before the watershed years of 1584 and 1585, relationships were established between English and Scottish reformers that flourished and developed during the 1580s. All of the Scottish reformers attended the University of St Andrews during the years following the Reformation Parliament in 1560, and the majority had the opportunity to hear the radical John Knox preach in the university town. Andrew Melville, uncle to the famous diarist James Melville, established the first significant relationships with English reformers during his European travels. He was resident in Geneva for five years between 1569 and 1574, where he worked alongside the reformer Theodore Beza. In 1571 Walter Travers and Thomas Cartwright, the well-known English Puritans, were also resident in the city, having been forced to leave the University of Cambridge after the appointment of John Whitgift as master, and Beza secured permission for Cartwright to attend meetings of the Geneva consistory. It is likely that they

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established some sort of relationship during their residency there. At the end of 1579 the University of St Andrews was restructured to form a School of Divinity, and Melville was made Principal. In the following year Cartwright and Travers were invited to take up chairs at the university, which they evidently declined. Whilst the formal invitation claims that their repeated attempts to promote Presbyterianism in England recommended them to the positions, it seems likely that their association with Melville also made them appealing candidates for the positions.\(^{411}\) Cartwright and Travers were both key Puritan writers, with their works printed by Waldegrave at different points during his English career, and had strong associations with other individuals within the broader Puritan network. Cartwright had written the *Second Admonition* in 1573, before going into exile on the continent. Moving to Antwerp in 1578 he married Alice Stubbs, the sister of reformer John Stubbs, a secretary and client of William Cecil, who wrote *The Gaping Gulf* in 1579. On his return to England, Cartwright enjoyed the patronage of the Earl of Leicester, and enjoyed an itinerant preaching position in Warwickshire, where on at least two occasions Job Throckmorton accompanied him to preach in Stratford-upon-Avon.\(^{412}\) Travers, who had written and published widely during his exile from England in 1570, acted as chaplain to the Merchant Adventurers in Antwerp between 1578-80 returned to England in 1580 to become chaplain to William Cecil and tutor to his son, Robert Cecil. Travers continued to enjoy the protection of Cecil, who was supportive of further religious reforms. Both Cartwright and Travers can be seen to enjoy links with a broad selection of English reformers and Puritan sympathisers, as well as their relationship with Andrew Melville.

One other significant link between the English Puritans and the Scottish Presbyterians is the correspondence between the Puritan writer John Field and the Scottish minister John


Davidson during 1583. The initial correspondence served to establish the state of Puritanism within England, with Davidson stating,

It is no small confort, brothir…to brethren of one natione to undertand the state of the brethren in other nations and therefore let us practise it as occasione will serve…Thair is a motiione, brother, in the heads of some brethren herin wherein your advice wold do goode as we think, to wit that a generall sute be made be our generall assemble nixt…to the King’s grace and hole state that a request frome thame and the hole generall assemble be directed to the Quenes majestie with hir state and your church touching the reformattion of some abuses in your churche and especialle that sincere men may have libertie to preache without deposing be the tyrannie of the bishoppes.

Davidson had been resident in England during the 1570s when he had become acquainted with Field initially, as well as becoming known both to Walsingham and his associates, but also to John Stubbs, Cecil’s client and Thomas Cartwright’s brother-in-law. His correspondence with Field can therefore be seen both as official correspondence between representatives of the English and Scottish reformers, and also as letters between friends.

In 1583, at the same time the radical ministers within the General Assembly of Scotland were seeking to promote reform in England, Archbishop Patrick Adamson travelled to England, and sought to develop conformity between the two nations, with the aid of the conservative minister John Whitgift, who had been elected Archbishop of Canterbury in August 1583. Whitgift, as has been discussed, took numerous measures to repress Puritan elements within the Church throughout his career, first as Master of Cambridge University, and from 1583 in his role as Archbishop. Although the two clerics communicated regularly during Adamson’s stay in London, he was ultimately unsuccessful in securing conformity between the two Churches, and instead his visit served to radicalise further and motivate English Puritans, whilst his personal conduct

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413 Donaldson, The Relations Between the English and Scottish Presbyterian Movements, p.159.
served to damage the image of the Scottish Kirk within the English ecclesiastical hierarchy. This helped to create tensions Waldegrave and Penry were able to exploit on their arrival in Scotland towards the end of 1589.

I. Scottish Exiles in England

The security of the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland was challenged in May 1584, when a number of acts were passed by the new regime headed by the Earl of Arran, asserting monarchical power over the Kirk, and forbidding meetings not officially sanctioned by the King. As all ministers were compelled to subscribe to the acts, the Presbyterian ministers were placed in an impossible position and a number fled south with the hope of gaining support in England. They were joined in exile by the Earls of Angus and Mar, along with the Master of Glamis, who had been the driving forces behind the Ruthven Raid the previous year, holding the young King against his will until his escape in June 1583. The Earls settled in Newcastle, and their religious needs were met by a series of Presbyterian ministers fleeing the Arran regime’s ‘Black Acts’. The Church they established conformed to the strict Genevan model, and between June and July 1584 John Davidson, the friend and correspondent of John Field served as their preacher, with James Melville stepping into the breach between July 1584 and February of the following year, when the lords removed to London, to be served by both James and Andrew Melville. Although geographically distant from exiled ministers in London they continued to communicate with John Carmichael who had settled in there. Walsingham also made overtures to the various ministers in London in both June and July 1584, arranging various meetings with the exiled Scots. He invited

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417 Dawson, Scotland Re-Formed, p.313.
419 Donaldson, The Relations Between the English and Scottish Presbyterian Movements, p.195.
Carmichael and Andrew Melville on 20 June and 19 July, with James Lawson who had met Walsingham previously in Edinburgh in 1583, and his associate Walter Balcanquhall was also invited in July. These meetings, where news was exchanged on the situation in Scotland based on reports from Walsingham’s agents, provide evidence of a direct link between the network of noble Puritans in England and the exiled Scottish ministers, who also enjoyed relationships with English Puritan writers, clergy and sympathetic stationers such as Waldegrave and Man.420

While there is no evidence that the Scottish ministers attended the Lambeth Conference in December 1584, when Walter Travers, along with other notable Puritans, was given the opportunity to advocate the Presbyterian system to Archbishop Whitgift, several of the Scottish exiles attended the informal conferences held at Oxford and Cambridge around the summer graduations.421 Andrew Melville and James Lawson are known to have attended, and it is likely that Balcanquall joined them, and all would therefore have had the opportunity to converse with Thomas Wilcox and John Field along with numerous other Puritan writers, clerics and academics. This helps to explain why over 500 people attended the funeral of James Lawson in London in October 1584, in a spectacle that involved both English and Scottish reformers and a large number of Frenchmen.422 As well as the Scottish ministers Melville, Balcanquall and John Cowper, Walter Travers, John Field, Stephen Egerton and a representative of Walsingham represented the English reformers. John Davidson’s wife is also listed as attending, amongst a group of women which included the wife of the printer Thomas

420 Donaldson, The Relations Between the English and Scottish Presbyterian Movements, pp.196-98.
Vautrollier, who may have had contact with Lawson during his stay in London, as she had remained in England while her husband operated his business in Edinburgh.⁴²³

Whilst these events serve to establish a number of significant links between the exiled Scottish Presbyterians and individuals including Walsingham, Field, Travers, Wilcox and their associates, including Vautrollier, who were part of the extended Puritan network within England, the presence of a number of Scots in the south west of England should also be noted. As has been mentioned, Waldegrave expressed a desire to go to Devonshire to print the work of Thomas Cartwright on leaving the Marprelate press in April 1589, although there is no evidence to suggest he did.⁴²⁴ His supposed desire to travel to the area may have been a reflection of the reformist tendencies of many in Devon and Cornwall, which saw a number of Scottish exiles established there during the 1580s. John Cowper, whose brother taught at a school in Hertfordshire run by a relation of fellow Scot John Lawson, travelled to Saltash in the weeks following Lawson’s funeral in October 1584, where he became the minister to Anthony Rouse, a Justice of the Peace there.⁴²⁵ David Black, the Scottish minister, also held the post of Schoolmaster in Kilkhampton, near Bude in Cornwall for a time, where he was chastised for advocating the removal of the bishops in England.⁴²⁶ It is clear that it was not just in London that the Puritan cause was bolstered by the Scottish Presbyterians, as the south-west enjoyed the radical ministry of a number of Scots during the 1580s, possibly contributing to its supposed appeal for Waldegrave in April 1589.

Connections between the Scottish Presbyterian exiles and English Puritans did not cease when the former returned to Scotland in October 1585, although English officials began

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⁴²⁴ Arber, An Introductory Sketch, pp.99-100.
⁴²⁵ Donaldson, The Relations Between the English and Scottish Presbyterian Movements, p.194.
to act against any further relationship with reformers north of the border. Udall travelled
to Newcastle on the order of the Earl of Huntingdon, another member of the English
Puritan network, after leaving the Marprelate press in 1588.427 He spent a short time in
Scotland, and preached before James VI in St Giles Cathedral 20 June 1589, having
attended the General Assembly in the same month.428 By December 1589 however,
Udall was imprisoned in London for his role in producing the Marprelate tracts, and
although a pardon was eventually secured for him thanks to pressure from the Earl of
Essex and James VI himself, he died in prison before he could be released.429

The fear of Scottish support for the English Puritans led the English Church to attack
Scottish Presbyterianism, starting with Richard Bancroft’s sermon at St Paul’s Cross on
9 February 1589. While the sermon supported the Episcopal system, it also attacked the
Scottish Presbyterians for corrupting the English Church, and announced that James VI
was seeking to reinstate and strengthen episcopacy in Scotland.430 The sermon provoked
an angry reaction from both the King and the Kirk, and steps were taken to answer
Bancroft’s ‘slanderous sermon’ in print, two examples of which Waldegrave printed in
early 1590, John Penry’s A briefe discovery of the vntruthes and slanders (against the
true gouernement of the Church of Christ) contained in a sermon, preached the 8. of
Februarie 1588. by D. Bancroft and since that time, set forth in print, with additions by
the said authour. This short answer may serue for the clearing of the truth, vntill a
larger confutation of the sermon be published and the former exile John Davidson’s, D.
Bancrofts rashnes in rayling against the Church of Scotland. These two texts must be
seen not only as part of Waldegrave’s Scottish output, but also as contributions to a
trans-national debate about Scottish Presbyterianism and its relationship to both the

429 Black, The Martin Marprelate Tracts, xlviii.
Scottish monarchy and the English Puritans. Given that these two texts were produced independently by Waldegrave, before his appointment as Royal Printer, it is important to consider his motives for publishing them. He may have been attempting to capitalise on the relationship he had with the Scottish Kirk by printing material which defended both them and Presbyterianism in general, against Bancroft’s vitriolic attacks, hoping to secure future commissions from the Kirk for religious texts. The fact that the Scottish text, *D. Bancrofts rashnes in rayling against the Church of Scotland*, had been written by Davidson, who had corresponded with Field before his flight to England in 1584 implies that it is plausible that Waldegrave had met the minister while he was resident in London, through Field himself. The publication of Penry’s similar work, *A brieve discouery of the vntruthes and slanders*, rebutting Bancroft’s sermon may have been motivated by a similar desire to show shared sympathies to the Presbyterian Kirk, whilst Penry may have been hoping to secure protection against English calls to return him to England to stand trial for his role in the Marprelate controversy. As Penry sent 300 of the 700 copies produced to London for sale it is evident that the text was designed for both an English and Scottish readership and that his defence of the Scottish Kirk and Presbyterianism was partially designed to infuriate and frustrate the English ecclesiastical authorities who sought his arrest.\(^{431}\) Regardless of Penry’s motivation it is clear that the climate of fear bred by the associations between the English Puritans and the Scottish Presbyterians during the 1580s provided the ideal opportunity for Waldegrave to resume printing pro-reforming and pro-Scottish literature after his arrival in Scotland in 1589.

It is evident therefore that there was a trans-national network of English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians which reached its apogee in the 1580s during the exile of the

\(^{431}\) Ellesmere MS, 87r.
Scottish ministers. Their numerous associations with writers, clerics and nobles with Puritan sympathies allowed religious debate to be conducted both while they were resident in England as well as the preceding and subsequent years. Waldegrave, as a commercial printer with Puritan associations, was involved at the fringes of this trans-national network during the majority of the 1580s. He printed the works of numerous Puritan authors, with or without their direct involvement, and the works he produced carrying dedications are almost universally dedicated to identifiable members of the nobility with Puritan sympathies, who were also involved in protecting Puritan writers and clerics, and in some cases providing support for the Scottish exiles in England.

Through his involvement with the Marprelate press Waldegrave became further embroiled within the trans-national religious network through his association with individuals like Job Throckmorton, John Udall, John Penry, and the myriad of gentry and nobility around the Earls of Warwick and Leicester who provided support for the press in Warwickshire. Through his connections with this particular group, Waldegrave would have gained further links with Scottish Presbyterians, building upon his own relationships, such as that with John Davidson, which is discussed in Marprelate’s *Epistle*.\footnote{Marprelate, ‘The Epistle’, in, Black, *The Martin Marprelate Tracts*, p.31.} The relationship with Davidson certainly provided Waldegrave with one of his first Scottish tracts, Davidson’s, *D. Bancrofts rashnes in rayling against the Church of Scotland*, which he printed during his first months in Scotland in 1590. Waldegrave’s output, both English and Scottish must be considered within this trans-national religious network, which provided words, funds and protection to those working within it. The existence of such a network also offers a new way to understand why Waldegrave chose to flee to Scotland after deserting the Marprelate press, as it is probable that he had
associates there who could be relied upon to assist him in establishing a new career north of the border.

PART THREE: THE TRANS-NATIONAL PRINTING NETWORK

Having established a trans-national religious network within which Waldegrave operated for the majority of his career, it is important to consider whether there existed a similar trans-national printing network. This would enable us to understand Waldegrave’s Scottish career both through his involvement within a trans-national religious network and within a broader context of trans-national trade. In order to establish whether such a trans-national printing trade existed it is necessary to consider the role English stationers played in the Scottish printing trade before Waldegrave’s arrival in 1590. This examination shows that his significance within the Scottish printing trade was not an aberration, and that to an extent his career built upon the model developed by other English Stationers in Edinburgh, specifically Thomas Vautrollier and John Norton.

The careers of Vautrollier and Norton provide two different examples of how stationers’ careers could develop in a trans-national manner, with them conducting business on both sides of the border simultaneously, whether they resided in England or Scotland. Their Scottish careers reflect the significance of the influence the Kirk and the King in the Scottish printing trade, which can also be seen in Waldegrave’s Scottish career. Unlike Waldegrave, both Norton and Vautrollier returned to trade in England, although they retained contact with the Scottish market in various ways, and continued to produce texts to be sold in Scotland, or authored by Scottish writers. These continuing ties with Scotland imply that there existed a form of trans-national printing trade between the two nations, which Waldegrave was no doubt aware of, and may have been
involved in during his English and later Scottish career. By examining the careers of both Norton and Vautrollier after their removal from Edinburgh it is possible to connect them and their London printing network to that of Waldegrave, and to appreciate how their professional networks interlinked in the years preceding Waldegrave’s relocation to Edinburgh. These trans-national printing connections, formed by Waldegrave within the London trade can be laid alongside his ties to the trans-national religious network previously examined to form a clearer picture of his connections with Scottish Presbyterians and Scotland before 1589.

I. ‘English’ Printers in Scotland Pre 1590

Vautrollier and Norton were the two significant printers operating in Edinburgh during the 1580s whose addresses have proved impossible to state with certainty. However, their careers are highly significant, because both were members of the Stationers’ Company, conducting the majority of their business in London. Vautrollier and Norton’s careers, and those of their Scottish associates in Edinburgh provide evidence of the way in which the print trade was entwined across the nations, before Waldegrave arrived in 1590.

Thomas Vautrollier, a French Huguenot, had been made a ‘brother’ in the Stationers’ Company in 1564, and operated a press in London, first in partnership with fellow immigrant Jean Desserans, who, like Vautrollier was an agent for Christopher Plantin, and then independently from 1570. A skilled printer of both text and music, he was awarded a number of lucrative patents in 1574, including Theodore Beza’s Latin New Testament and Augustine Marlorat’s Thesaurus of Scripture.

Vautrollier’s career has been extensively examined, but his significance within the history of Scottish printing has not been fully appreciated. Commissioned to print in London for the Scottish printer Henry Charteris in 1577, this successful venture was followed in July 1580 by a petition to the King from the General Assembly that,

Because ther is great necessitie of a printer within this countrey and ther is a stranger banischit for religioun callit Vautrolier, quho offers to imploy his labour in said vocation, for the weill of the country, it will please your Grace and Counsell to take ordour heirin, and your Grace thinks meit, and to give licence and provoledge to him for that effect,if it salbe thocht expedient be your Grace and Counsell.\(^{434}\)

On the basis of this recommendation Vautrollier began to import books into Edinburgh in earnest, supplying books to the King’s tutor Peter Young.\(^{435}\) Although the subject of a court case in 1582, led by Henry Charteris and the bookbinder John Gibson, Vautrollier himself only appears to have arrived in Edinburgh in 1583, while his servant John Cowper operated the Edinburgh business. In 1584/5 Vautrollier produced a number of books in the city, including *The Confession of the Faith*, Calvin’s *The Institution of Christian Religion*, and the King’s own *Essays of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie*. There are several key parallels between the circumstances which led Vautrollier to Edinburgh, and those which led Waldegrave to the city at the end of the decade. Firstly, Vautrollier, like Waldegrave, was in conflict with the authorities, specifically for a number of editions of the work of Giordano Bruno printed in 1582/3, and this prompted him to leave London. His connections with Scotland were more substantial than Waldegrave’s, given his established bookselling operation and previous professional association with Charteris. And, like Waldegrave, the Kirk promoted the establishment of his business in the Scottish capital. Unlike Waldegrave, Vautrollier had the means and permission to return to England, as he did in 1585, despite the patronage of both King and Kirk. Vautrollier benefited greatly from James’ preference for French


literature and subsequent patronage of his press, and therefore could easily have become the preeminent printer in the country had he not chosen to return to his London business. However his career in Scotland created a precedent that shaped Waldegrave’s, and established the role of a primary printer in Scotland, who worked for both the King and the Kirk. This model had developed during the century, but until this point there had been no printer who could fulfil the role.

The other major English stationer operating in Edinburgh during James VI reign was John Norton, the well-known English printer who worked with Thomas Bodley to establish the latter’s famous library. He worked as a bookseller in Edinburgh after serving his apprenticeship with his uncle, the London based printer William Norton. After gaining his freedom in 1586, Norton established an Edinburgh based business in partnership with the Scottish printer Andro Hart, who went on to have a long term partnership with Robert Charteris, the son of Henry. The two printers imported books from Germany, including works printed by Plantin, to be sold in Edinburgh, protesting in 1590 against a customer demanding that they pay duty on the books, from which they were exempt, having purchased the books directly and avoiding the London based merchants. At some point Edmund Wattes, who had served out his apprenticeship alongside Norton, joined the business, and the role Hart played diminished. Norton may also have undertaken some informal espionage work for Bancroft in the early 1590s, in the wake of the outcry against Bancroft’s February 1589 sermon at St Paul’s Cross, when he had attacked the Scottish Kirk and Presbyterianism. In January 1590 Bancroft requested, via a mutual associate John Copcot, master of Corpus Christi College Cambridge, that Robert Naunton who was attached to the English embassy in

Edinburgh, provide him with information pertaining to the Kirk and its organisation.\textsuperscript{437} On Naunton’s return to England shortly after the request, it appears that he passed the task to John Norton who was discovered in January 1590 and, having made a full confession appears to have continued with his business unaffected.\textsuperscript{438}

Although immensely successful, Norton’s enterprise was unpopular with native practitioners, and in 1593 a group including Hart brought a legal case against Norton for damaging the market for other printers. Soon after losing this case Norton moved to London and established a shop in St Paul’s Churchyard near St Paul’s School [18]. That same year Norton commissioned Waldegrave to print John Napier’s \textit{A plaine discoverie of the whole Revelation of Saint John set down in two treatises}, to be sold at his shop in London. In 1596, after the death of Wattes, Norton withdrew from Edinburgh altogether, selling his stock to Hart and the printer Edward Cathkin. Cathkin, who was Hart’s brother in law, having married his sister Jonet, was the brother of another Edinburgh based printer, James Cathkin, and had been part of the group who had brought the case against Norton in 1593. The brothers were Presbyterians, and had fled to England in 1585 after being involved in religious disturbances.\textsuperscript{439} They, along with Hart, Richard Lawson, James and Robert Bryson, and John Wreittoun dominated the Presbyterian printing movement between 1580 and 1639.\textsuperscript{440}

The transition from Norton to the partnership of Hart and Cathkin was not seamless. The Cathkin brothers, along with Hart, were arrested after the riots in Edinburgh on 9 December 1596, after a debtor of Norton’s attempted to avoid payment of £400 by denouncing them as ringleaders. However the deceit was quickly uncovered and they

\textsuperscript{437} Donaldson, ‘The Attitude of Whitgift and Bancroft to the Scottish Church’, p.106.
\textsuperscript{440} Mann, \textit{The Scottish Book Trade}, p.151.
were set at liberty.\footnote{Calderwood, \textit{Calderwoods History of the Kirk}, p.511.} For the following decade Hart and Cathkin operated a successful publishing business, commissioning texts from London and the continent as well as Edinburgh.\footnote{R. B. McKerrow, \textit{A Dictionary of Printers & booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640}, (London, 1910), p.128.} In 1610, Hart began printing in his own right, having acquired the equipment of Robert Charteris, whom he had previously patronised. Until his death in 1621 Hart continued to print, publish and sell books, working with James Cathkin briefly in 1613, but otherwise operating independently with great success.

\textbf{II. Relations Between the Edinburgh & London Printing Networks}

It is evident that Vautrollier, Norton and Hart played significant roles within the network of Scottish printers in Edinburgh during James VI’s reign, before Norton and Vautrollier returned to England. However it is also vital to consider their London based networks, and how these extensive networks increase our understanding of the complicated trans-national printing trade. Analysis of these London based networks also reveals a level of overlap with the professional network within which Waldegrave worked in London, providing evidence of a further link between Waldegrave and Scotland which predates 1589. Waldegrave’s London based network was concentrated amongst stationers operating within the Charnel Chapel area of St Paul’s Churchyard.\footnote{See Figure 5.}

These stationers, George Bishop, Thomas Woodcock, John Harrison I and Francis Coldock, and their associates were all part of a wider London-based network of stationers, which included Thomas Vautrollier, John Norton and their associates, before, during and after their enterprises in Scotland. It was the stationers within the network who were patronised by the new King James I after 1603, presumably due to the connections with Scotland that they enjoyed, directly or through association.
Vautrollier’s London based network is highly significant, as he was operating in the city at the same time as Waldegrave. His press was located in Blackfriars near Ludgate, somewhat distant from the main book selling market of St Paul’s Churchyard, but between there and Waldegrave’s premises near Somerset House. Although Vautrollier printed independently for the most part, there is evidence that on occasion he collaborated with his contemporaries. In February 1579 he registered joint copies with John Norton, as mentioned, and Edward White, who commissioned texts from Waldegrave in 1581, and had a professional relationship with Man. Vautrollier’s limited professional network was therefore closely linked with Waldegrave’s before his brief relocation to Edinburgh. However his association with Scotland did not end when he returned to London in 1586, and in 1587 he was commissioned by the Kirk to print the *Psalms of David in meter For the vse of the Kirk of Scotland.* In July 1587 however, Vautrollier died, leaving his equipment to his four children and his wife Jacqueline. As a Frenchwoman and legally barred from trade, Jacqueline struggled to maintain her husband’s business, and in 1588 Richard Field, Vautrollier’s former apprentice, commissioned her to print his first book. This collaboration was cemented by their marriage in January 1589. Field, from Stratford-upon-Avon, had been apprenticed to George Bishop in 1579 on the understanding that for the first six years of his training he would work for Vautrollier, before undertaking the final year of his apprenticeship with Bishop. Field worked with Vautrollier while the latter conducted his business in Scotland before transferring to Bishop’s tutelage in 1586. From 1588 onward Field conducted a lucrative business in London, building on Vautrollier’s patents held by his wife, and working in collaboration with a number of different

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445 Church of Scotland, *The CL Psalms of David in Meter For the vse of the Kirk of Scotland*, (London, 1587).
446 Plomer, *Abstracts from the Wills*, p.27.
stationers. According to his will, written in 1624, he worked out of, ‘The Splayed Eagle in St Michaels Parish near Wood Street’, north east of St Paul’s Churchyard.449 Like Vautrollier’s these premises were some distance from the Churchyard, however, unlike Vautrollier, Field printed extensively with other stationers more centrally based, as well as independently.

Perhaps building on Vautrollier’s Scottish links, Field registered the rights to ‘the furious, translated by James the Sixte kinge of Scottland with the le panto of the same Kinge’, in 1589, although he never printed the work.450 The ‘furious’ refers to James’ translation of Du Bartas’ Les Furies, originally printed in Scotland by Waldegrave in 1591 as part of the volume His Maiesties Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Hours. It is no coincidence that Vautrollier had printed the King’s first edition of poetry The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poetry at Edinburgh in 1584. Without such an association between Vautrollier’s press and James it seems unlikely that Field should have access to or knowledge of the Scottish King’s work before a Scottish edition had been produced by Waldegrave in Edinburgh.

Field is most famous for his connection with the works of William Shakespeare, who, like Field, had originated from Stratford-upon-Avon. In 1593 Field produced the first printed edition of Venus and Adonis. However, in June 1594 Field signed the copy over to John Harrison I, later printing an edition of the Rape of Lucrece and three further editions of Venus and Adonis for Harrison I between 1594 and 1596.451 This is not the only collaboration recorded in the Register, and between 1596-1599 Field jointly registered a number of volumes with Robert Dexter, including, ‘Aphorismes of

Christian Religion, or a very compendious abridgement of Master John Calvines

449 Plomer, Abstracts from the Wills, p.50.
institucons set forth in shorte sentences methodically,' (1596), and, ‘The Sacred Shielde of all Christian Souldyours,’ (1599). Dexter was associated with numerous stationers, with his shop the Brazen Serpent at the centre of the Cross Yard [10] close to the Charnel Chapel. A close contemporary of both John Norton and Richard Field, the three were made Liverymen in Company on 1 July 1598. Dexter also requested in his will that Thomas Man, and his close neighbours George Bishop [3b] and William Ponsonby [6] sell his remaining copies to cover his debts. Field was also to collaborate with Man, in 1598, and Ponsonby in 1596 and 1598, printing for the latter the first editions of *The Faerie Queen* (1596) and *Arcadia* (1598). It was this edition of *Arcadia*, published by Ponsonby, his former associate, that Waldegrave used as the copy for his pirate edition, produced in Edinburgh in 1599. Ponsonby had a long association with Waldegrave, and connections with Dexter and John Norton, as well as Field. Married to Coldock’s daughter, Ponsonby was part of a group of London based stationers including Bishop and John Norton who entered a copy of the works of Plutarch into the Register in July 1602.

John Norton is perhaps the most famous English printer to be associated with Scotland. Apprenticed to his uncle, the noted printer William Norton on 8 January 1578, at 21 or 22 years old, John Norton was older than the majority of apprentices bound in the Stationers’ Company. He completed his training at The Queen’s Arms [14] three buildings to the east of the Charnel Chapel, and gained his freedom in 1586. Before becoming a freeman he appears a number of times in the Registers, as the joint owner of various copies, including, ‘*Andomari Talei rethorica* and *Rethorica Rame*, beinge ij

453 See Figure 5 for this and subsequent references to the topography of the London printing network.
severall bookes’, with Harrison I in 1577 and Geoffrey Fenton’s *The Histoirie of Guiccairdin* with Vautrollier in April 1579.\(^{458}\) There are no further joint copies shared by Vautrollier and Norton, but it is interesting that these two stationers who were to have such an important role in Scotland collaborated at the start of Norton’s career. Vautrollier had withdrawn from Scotland before Norton established his bookselling business, but it is possible that the younger printer gained insights into the Scottish industry from his older associate.

Barnard has argued that Norton’s study of Latin was designed to enable him to take a significant role in the importation of books from the continent, the majority of which were Latin.\(^{459}\) His bookshop in Edinburgh enabled him to hone these skills, and he and his apprentice, John Bill went on to dominate the importation of Latin books at the start of the seventeenth century. It was with Bill that Norton worked with Thomas Bodley, to develop the latter’s great library during the reign of James I. Whilst conducting his business in Edinburgh Norton established a press in London, entering his first copy, Beza’s *Tractatus pius et moderatues De vera excommunicatione christiano prebiteria*, which had previously belonged to his uncle and master, in June 1590.\(^{460}\) Once he relocated his primary business to London, Norton operated out of a shop called the White Horse, near St Paul’s School on the eastern side of the churchyard [18] a small distance from his collaborators, although a section of the building housed the business of Henry Carre, [19] for whom Waldegrave printed John Field’s *A godly exhortation, by occasion of the late judgement of God, shewed at Parris-garden, the thirteenth day of Januarie: where were assembled above a thousand persons whereof some were slain* in 1583.

From what is recorded within the Registers, Norton appears to have worked independently in London, having withdrawn from Edinburgh in 1596, until 1600 when he collaborated with George Bishop to produce *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigirndid Continens Catalogum absolutum manuscriptorum in illuistrissimis bibliothecis florentissimarum*.\(^{461}\) Bishop, who operated out of the Rose [3b] was the neighbour of Norton’s first publishing partner Harrison I, and he and Norton continued to register joint copies, both as a partnership and within a wider publishing group. He also worked with the publisher Thomas Man, who had also had a significant relationship with Waldegrave in the 1580’s. Man and Norton registered a number of joint copies, along with the 1603 edition of *Basilikon Doron*, including ‘Andrew Willett’s Hexapla in Genesin’, in 1605.\(^{462}\) Man, who was named as the overseer of Norton’s will in 1612, also had professional dealings with Field, Dexter and both Harrison I and Harrison II, along with many other stationers within Norton’s extended professional network.\(^{463}\)

Norton, along with Bishop, was part of a group that included Ponsonby, who registered ‘The Morall Workes of Plutarque’ in July 1602, and on 28 March 1603 along with Man and three others, entered James VI’s *Basilicon Doran* into the Registers. Presumably Norton’s pre-existing connections with Scotland heightened his awareness of the work, and the group must have been confident that James would welcome widespread publication of it in England at the point of his accession. Although initially only 7 copies had been printed in Scotland in 1599, there had subsequently been a second edition in early 1603.\(^{464}\) Norton’s appointment as the King’s Printer for Latin, Greek and Hebrew in May 1603 can be considered a reward for his involvement with the

\(^{463}\) Plomer, *Abstracts from the Wills*, p.47.  
English edition of Basilikon Doron, and it proved highly lucrative, despite a legal challenge over the ownership of the right to print Latin grammars.\(^{465}\) The elder Norton conducted business at the Queen’s Arms [14] from 1573 until his death in 1595, when his son, Bonham Norton inherited the address. William Norton had been apprenticed to Francis Coldock [4], who had also trained Thomas Woodcock, [1] a key collaborator of Waldegrave’s. Coldock was also the father in law of William Ponsonby [6], who had collaborated with Waldegrave before the latter fled to Scotland, and who was named in the Registers as collaborating with John Norton and Coldock’s neighbour, George Bishop, on the 1602 edition of Plutarch and the 1603 English edition of Basilikon Doron.\(^{466}\) In 1595 Norton died a wealthy man, leaving various manors and lands to his son and heir, Bonham Norton. His will, which contains numerous bequests to individuals and the Stationers’ Company, is dated 27 August 1593, and was witnessed by ‘Edmond Watts’, a former apprentice of William Norton who acted as the Edinburgh based agent of his nephew, John Norton.\(^{467}\) Bonham and John Norton were cousins and contemporaries, but brought different skills to the print trade, John, expertise and business acumen and Bonham, huge levels of financial capital, inherited from his father. Bonham had gained his freedom in 1593/4 and continued to work out of the Queen’s Arms, until 1596 when he took on a second premises, that backed directly on to the shop, facing out on to Paternoster Row [17].\(^{468}\) From 1605 John and Bonham Norton published books under the name Officina Nortoniana, based at John’s bookshop near St Paul’s School [18].\(^{469}\)
According to the will of his cousin, John Norton, he and Bonham together continued to trade at the Queen’s Arms, until the former’s death in 1612.\textsuperscript{470} It can also be learnt from this document that Bonham’s daughter Sarah, was married to Christopher Barker, the son of the King’s printer, Robert Barker.\textsuperscript{471} Bonham and Barker, together with John Norton and his former apprentice John Bill dominated printing under James I, although this was not a harmonious enterprise after John Norton’s death in 1612. Bonham, though wealthy, was eclipsed by Bill, whose involvement in the English, Scottish and European book trades in pursuit of texts for Thomas Bodley, gave him skills and expertise that surpassed his partners, who were relied upon to supply capital for what became the King’s Printing House.\textsuperscript{472} Whilst highly successful, the business was marred by internal rivalries and legal challenges until the end of the reign.\textsuperscript{473}

The network in which John Norton was embedded, which encompassed William and Bonham Norton’s businesses, included a large number of individuals connected to Waldegrave, or part of the network of stationers within which he worked. Although these relationships were cemented in the years after Waldegrave established himself in Edinburgh, Norton’s familial connections and both their and his professional relationships with Vautrollier, Man and John Harrison I predated his own departure to Edinburgh in 1586, at the height of Waldegrave’s English career. Norton’s apprenticeship was served at the Queen’s Arms [14] close to the Charnel Chapel area of the churchyard, during a period when Waldegrave and the majority of his associates were operating there, and therefore it seems likely that before Norton established himself in Edinburgh that the two had some professional, if not personal contact, before meeting again in Scotland.

\textsuperscript{470} Plomer, Abstracts from the Wills, p.45.  
\textsuperscript{471} Plomer, Abstracts from the Wills, p.45.  
\textsuperscript{473} For further details consult Rees & Wakely, Publishing, Politics and Culture.
Norton and his Scottish associates facilitated the movement of books both into, and out of Edinburgh, and it is clear that large numbers of texts printed in England were sent by Norton to be sold in Edinburgh. On 17 June 1591, George Bishop seized a parcel of books from William Norton’s London shop [14], which had been sent out of Scotland by his nephew. All of the volumes, including 600 copies of The Sacrifice of the Christian Soule, and thirty of His Maiesties poetical exercises at vacant houres, originated from Waldegrave’s newly established press in Edinburgh, and this relatively large order of materials is evidence that the two English stationers had a level of professional association in the Scottish capital. This was followed in 1594 by Waldegrave’s edition of John Napier’s A plaine discoverie of the whole Revelation of Saint John set down in two treatises (1594) produced in Edinburgh ‘for John Norton dwelling in Paules Churche-yarde neere vnto Paules School London’. There is no further evidence that the two collaborated after Norton withdrew to London, in 1596. However, J Bruce argues that Norton continued to travel between London and Edinburgh, as in the month running up to the ill-fated coup in February 1601 he carried a letter from the Earl of Essex to James VI on behalf of Henry Cuffe, who bequeathed Norton £40 on his death, ‘to clear a debt ‘as allsoe to give him recompence for the trouble which this great tempest (I feare) is like to bringe upon him’. No action seems to have been taken against Norton, but the incident highlights that he continued to play a role in the print trade in Scotland after 1596.

476 J. Bruce, (ed.), Correspondence of King James VI of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and others in England during the reign of Elizabeth, (1861), pp.90-92
III. The Significance of the Trans-National Printing Network

The network of English stationers who engaged with those with connections with Scotland is significant, as it places the English stationers who operated in Scotland at the heart of English book trade. Indeed, they were never separated from it. In the case of John Norton, it appears that establishing a business in Scotland was primarily designed as an extended apprenticeship, as he was able to learn how to conduct himself within the continental Latin book trade before establishing a printers and booksellers within London, which dominated the import of Latin texts into England. For Thomas Vautrollier, although his bookshop in Edinburgh was an extension of his primary London printing business, his brief sojourn to Scotland came out of necessity, and he returned to London, the hub of the book trade in the British Isles as soon as was feasible. For these stationers the Scottish market was of secondary importance, and whilst they played an important role in the development of printing in Scotland, it is important to understand their position both within the Scottish trade, and that in London.

Until the period after Vautrollier left Scotland in 1586, Edinburgh had an almost monolithic print trade, and even when a number of stationers were resident in the city, only one individual could develop a commercially successful business. Scottish printers such as Robert Lekprevik, John Ross and Thomas Bassandyne all had relatively successful careers, although the King’s printer Alexander Arbuthnot proved the exception to this. For the brief period Vautrollier printed in Edinburgh he was the most experienced and skilful printer in the country, although native Henry Charteris proved himself a competent printer and clever businessman over the course of the decade, with only John Norton’s bookshop to compete with, after 1586. By the time Waldegrave

477 Barnard, ’Politics, Profits and Idealism’, p.334.
arrived in the country in 1590 Charteris and the partnership of Norton and Hart were the only competition to face, although domestic printers such as the Cathkin brothers and Andro Hart eventually succeeded in pushing Norton out of the Scottish market in 1596. Until the accession of James VI to the English throne in 1603 this small group of native Scottish stationers improved their skills and share of the Scottish book trade.

The network of London based stationers surrounding John Norton and Thomas Vautrollier who had experience north of the border, is significant as it encompasses all of those with whom Waldegrave was associated during his English career. Although he himself had no direct connections with the northern nation before 1590, John Norton had been apprenticed relatively close to Waldegrave’s premises in St Paul’s Churchyard, and they shared several associates including John Harrison I, who printed with both Waldegrave and Norton before the latter left for Scotland in 1586. Waldegrave’s business connections with Norton in Edinburgh have been outlined, and indicate that from the first year Waldegrave operated a press in Scotland, he provided Norton with material to be disseminated to an English audience in London. As the material seized in 1591 included translations by John Penry and tracts written by John Udall and John Davidson against Bancroft, it could be inferred that both Norton and Waldegrave were aware of the commercial viability of Puritan material printed beyond the control of the Stationers’ Company. The perceived association between Waldegrave and the Puritan movement would have made the Scottish produced material more credible, and the dissemination of the material in England would perpetuate the association, which would in turn make Waldegrave the printer of choice for the Scottish Kirk. Unlike his professional relationship with Norton which spanned both nations, Waldegrave had no known direct contact with Vautrollier, or Field, but shared with both a network of associates working in the Cross Yard and Charnel Chapel, including
William Ponsonby, George Bishop, Edward White and Waldegrave’s closest collaborator, Thomas Man.

Alongside Waldegrave’s indirect association with Scotland through the network of stationers in London, throughout his English printing career he showed an interest in Scottish material. He was involved in printing religious literature originally written in Scotland, in London, for an English audience from the start of his career. Some of the earliest copies entered in his name are related to the Scottish Church, and the preacher and reformer John Knox. Intensely disliked by Elizabeth due to his ill-timed publication of *The First Blast of the Trumpet* in 1558, which challenged the nature of female rule, very few of his works were printed in England during her reign. Although Waldegrave only entered a copy of Knox’s *A confession and Declaration of praières*, and not one of his more controversial works, this was a courageous move given the circumstances, and perhaps indicates an abiding interest in Scottish theology that overrode the need to be pragmatic.

Showing similar courage, in 1581 he printed, *The Confession of the true & christian Fayth according to God's word, and Actes of Parliament holden at Edinburgh, the eyght and twentie day of Januarie one thousande, five hundred, fourescore and one*, which laid out in detail the parliamentary settlement of 1561 that established a Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Unlike the English reformation which had been led by the monarchy, the Scottish reformation was driven by the nobility and increasingly large numbers of the laity, who embraced the Protestant faith despite their absent Catholic Queen. Therefore this text offered two challenges to the Elizabethan regime. Firstly it advocated the Presbyterian style of worship and Church governance, and secondly, it provided an example of the way in which this could be achieved legally through
Parliament, without the support of the reigning monarch. Since 1559 Puritan leaders in Parliament had attempted a legislative reformation, but had been thwarted by the establishment. Clearly, as Waldegrave was authorised to print the text, the authorities were not overly concerned with these ideas in 1581, but they laid the foundation for Waldegrave’s increasingly controversial output. Seen in the context of the other religious material he printed therefore, the issues this book raises are more significant, as they offer some evidence in support of Waldegrave’s classification as a religious, and openly Puritan printer, with an interest in the religious life of Scotland. So, in April 1589, having left the Marprelate press at White Friars, Waldegrave would have been aware of both the success of Norton’s bookshop in Edinburgh and the large market for Presbyterian material in Scotland, which made a move north a lucrative option for a commercially minded printer with a Puritan image. And, like Vautrollier before him, the Scottish Church perceived the potential benefits of employing the disgraced London printer, whose religious credentials appeared compatible with their own.

CONCLUSION

Having explored in previous chapters the networks which existed within the English print trade in London during the sixteenth century, it may have been tempting to accept that the English industry was both autonomous from and separate to the industry developing in Scotland. However, the existence of a trans-national network of printers, publishers and stationers working in both England and Scotland challenges the notion that these two industries developed independently of each other. The English print trade gained a second market in which to operate, and new works by Scottish authors were gained by English stationers engaged in the Scottish market, alongside valuable experience. The significance of the English stationers who operated in Edinburgh before 1590 implies that the Scottish printing trade was not as commercially advanced as that
in England, although this was to change after 1603. There is also evidence that the trans-national printing network served a trans-national readership, with texts being produced on one side of the border yet distributed on both. John Norton’s bookselling business in Edinburgh and Vautrollier’s production of Scottish texts in London after his return in 1586 supports this analysis, as does Waldegrave’s own 1590 edition of Penry’s *A briefe discovery of the vntruthes and slanders*, which was sold in both London and Edinburgh.

When Waldegrave’s career is considered within a trans-national context, it becomes clear that there was a degree of cross over between the trans-national printing network and the trans-national religious network. English stationers in Scotland invariably enjoyed the patronage of the Scottish Kirk, and produced texts composed by notable reformist ministers, who were in turn key members of the trans-national religious network. For example, Vautrollier’s invitation to establish a press in Scotland originated from within the Kirk itself. The English print trade was in turn influenced by its members’ connections with Scotland. On his return to London in 1586, Vautrollier was commissioned to print *Psalms of David in meter For the vse of the Kirk of Scotland*. His apprentice, Field, maintained his former master’s links with Scotland after the latter’s death in 1587, registering works penned by the Scottish King. Norton’s ties with Scotland continued after his withdrawal to London, and as discussed, Waldegrave became his key supplier, both furnishing him with books printed in Edinburgh to sell in London, and also printing works specifically for Norton to sell at his premises in St Paul’s Churchyard. It is clear Waldegrave was not the only stationer to operate within both networks, and the integration of the trans-national printers of the period into the trans-national religious network perhaps is a reflection of the latter’s awareness of the significance and power of print to further their cause. The trans-national printing
network viewed in isolation remains significant, as it provides evidence of cross border trade and advances our understanding of the nature of both the English and Scottish printing trades during the final decades of the sixteenth century. However, when considered in conjunction with the trans-national religious network of reformers, it becomes a powerful tool for the production and dissemination of religiously significant material in England and Scotland, which was made necessary by the existence of relations between English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians. The need for a trans-national religious response to the English authorities’ attack on the Scottish Kirk and Presbyterianism was met by Waldegrave in 1590, when he printed the works of both English and Scottish writers on the issue, on the press he had recently established in Edinburgh. For a brief period the needs and interests of the two networks were in accord and Waldegrave was able to act in the best interests of both the trans-national religious and trans-national printing networks. The following chapter will examine how this opportune entrance into the Scottish market elevated Waldegrave and helped to secure him the position of Royal Printer to James VI.
CHAPTER FIVE

SCOTTISH PRINTING, JAMES VI AND ROBERT WALDEGRAVE

Mr David Foulis in the King’s name and in great haste has pressed Robert Walgrave, the King’s printer, to print a book in Latin made by Walter Quinn the Irishman and corrected by Monsieur Damon concerning the King’s title to England… But Robert Walgrave deferred to do it until the Acts of Parliament almost done should be ended… lamenting his hard fortune that either he must print it staying here or be undone and he fears ‘quarrelled’ for his life if he refuse it, and printing it grieve his conscience, offend her Majesty and utterly lose his country.


The final decade of Waldegrave’s career was less eventful, but arguably more significant, than his years in London and on the run with the Marprelate press. His contributions to the developing relationship between Crown and press were to help shape the nature of James VI’s relationship with print both before and after his accession to the English throne in 1603. Whilst Waldegrave’s Scottish career has been given some consideration by historians there has been limited effort made to place the Royal Printer’s career within any broader context, either within his own eventful career, or within Scottish and trans-national printing. This chapter will not only place Waldegrave within the history of Scottish printers in Edinburgh during the sixteenth century, but also analyse how his own nationality and apparent religious associations coloured his relationship with his major patron, James VI.

On his arrival in Scotland towards the end of 1589, Robert Waldegrave faced joining a printing trade which was very different to the industry he had been used to in England. The first half of this chapter will examine the nature of the domestic print trade in Scotland in the decades leading up to Waldegrave’s arrival, which, coupled with the discussion of English printers who resided in Edinburgh in the previous chapter, provides a clear and comprehensive view of the industry into which Waldegrave came in 1589. The careers of key domestic printers will be examined, to reveal the true nature of the Scottish print trade and the criteria for success within it. Using the colophons and
surviving records, the topography of the Edinburgh printing trade will also be established, and parallels between the London and Edinburgh trades considered.

The second half of this chapter will consider in depth Waldegrave’s Scottish output, and trace the circumstances of his transformation from trans-national Puritan printer, to Royal Printer in 1590. It will be suggested that his relationship with James VI coloured the vast majority of his bibliographical choices during the decade he worked in Edinburgh, and that in some instances he was forced to act against his own interests, specifically in the publication of various pieces of succession literature. Full analysis of his Scottish bibliography will highlight that although Waldegrave continued to print a wide range of material, in most instances the influence of the Crown can be perceived, and this therefore brings into question whether Waldegrave was really able to enjoy a level of autonomy as the most high profile printer in the nation. Whilst he remained commercially successful by continuing to produce lucrative and popular material, both secular and religious, it appears he was no longer primarily constrained by commercial considerations, but the whims and orders of his patron, James VI.

PART ONE: PRINTING IN EDINBURGH

Before it is possible to understand the role Waldegrave played in the Scottish printing industry, it is necessary to consider the trade into which he entered in 1589. Although the industry lacked any formal regulation or organisation, printing in Edinburgh flourished during the latter half of the sixteenth century. While the number of trained printers was small, those resident in Edinburgh operated together within a professional network, with none able to operate autonomously. It was not until Waldegrave arrived in 1590 that a printer operated with a high level of independence. Hitherto, the most successful individuals received patronage from the Kirk or the Crown, or were part of
strong partnership. Therefore in order to understand Waldegrave’s position within the Scottish printing milieu it is vital to appreciate his relationships with his contemporaries and their relationship with each other. What emerges is a complex network of professional relationships and grievances that encompassed the Edinburgh printing industry during the reign of James VI. The most significant printers during this period were Robert Lekprevik, Thomas Bassandyne, Alexander Arbuthnot, John Ross and Henry Charteris.

I. The Edinburgh Printing Network

Robert Lekprevik was one of the most prolific printers in Scotland from 1561, when he established his business, to his death in 1582. During this period he printed at least eighty-eight different texts, including a 1561 edition of The Confession of the Faith, which was later printed by Waldegrave in London in 1581, works by Theodore Beza and John Calvin, numerous ballads, official proclamations and an undated copy of The Complaint of Scotland. A religious reformer, he received financial support from the Kirk in 1562 to cover the production costs of a book of psalms, and he continued to rely on the Kirk to supplement his income and assist with the costs of producing reformed literature. His financial issues were not solved by the sporadic support of the Kirk however, and we find him receiving a pension and generous bequest in the will of fellow printer Thomas Bassandyne, who died in 1577, although there is no evidence to illuminate any professional connections they may have had, other than that they worked in close proximity, in the Netherbow area of Edinburgh.  

Lekprevik’s position shifted in January 1568 when he was appointed Royal Printer to the infant King James VI, a dangerous position in a country poised to descend into civil

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478 Scott, Laing & Thomason, Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club, Vol. 2, p.203. See Figure 8.
war after the deposition of James’ mother Mary Queen of Scots in July of the previous year. This position, guaranteed for twenty years, should have provided him with the means to operate autonomously for the rest of his career, as it provided him with numerous lucrative licences, including those for the Psalms of David, the catechism in Latin and English, and school grammars. This was followed in April with a licence from the Kirk to print the ‘Ingliss Bibill’ after the Genevan text.\textsuperscript{479} However, unlike his peers in England, he did not have sufficient capital or resources to make effective use of these patents, and although his office saw him print in both Stirling and St Andrews, throughout the second decade of his career he worked for other Edinburgh-based printers. He produced three volumes for the Edinburgh bookseller, and later printer, Henry Charteris in 1570/1.

The troubled political situation in Scotland during the 1570s and his own financial limitations denied Lekprevik the security that his office should have afforded him, and he was imprisoned for a time for printing an unauthorised tract in 1574. He disappears from the records until September 1580, when, along with the King’s bookbinder, John Gibson, he brought a case against Englishman Robert Woodhouse, who was selling and binding books within the city, to the detriment of native professionals.\textsuperscript{480} Lekprevik’s career highlights how in Scotland it was very difficult for a printer to develop his business without the support of both the crown and the Kirk, and that even such patronage was not a guarantee of commercial success. Although other, less well-supported printers flourished in Edinburgh, Lekprevik was unable to enjoy similar success, as he lacked the financial capital needed to make use of the lucrative patents he held.

One contrasting example is Thomas Bassandyne, the printer and bookseller who on his
death in 1577 bequeathed Lekprevik a pension and lump sum of £20. As with most
printers in sixteenth-century Scotland, there are limited records of his early career, but
he learnt his trade abroad and first appears in the Kirk records in 1568, where the order
to recall certain volumes suggests he was already operating a printing business in
Edinburgh.\footnote{Dickson & Edmond, \textit{Annals of Scottish Printing}, p.273.} Although a supporter of the deposed Queen Mary, he was forgiven this
transgression and together with Alexander Arbuthnot received support from the Kirk to
print an English version of the Genevan Bible, regardless of Lekprevik’s licence to the
same. The text was to be monitored and approved by a group of scholars including Peter
Young, the tutor of the young King James; James Lawson, a Presbyterian who later fled
to England and became an important link between English Puritans and the Scottish
Kirk; and Robert Pont, whose work was extensively printed by Waldegrave in the final
decade of the century. Originally due to be published in March 1575, the edition was
eventually completed by Arbuthnot and a group of printers in 1579, after limited
financing and the death of Bassandyne on 18 October 1577 delayed the project.\footnote{Mann, \textit{The Scottish Book Trade}, p.37.}

Bassandyne had links with a number of known printers residing in Edinburgh during the
period, beyond his most famous partnership with Arbuthnot. As previously mentioned,
he left Lekprevik both a generous bequest and a pension in his will, but before his death
he held fellow printer John Scott’s equipment in trust while the latter was imprisoned.\footnote{Dickson & Edmond, \textit{Annals of Scottish Printing}, pp.156-7.}
Bassandyne’s widow went on to marry fellow Edinburgh based printer and bookbinder,
Robert Smythe who was presumably known to Bassandyne in a professional capacity
before his death, as his premises were in the Netherbow area of the city.\footnote{McKerrow, \textit{A Dictionary of Printers & booksellers}, p.249.} Bassandyne
was also based near the Netherbow gate in the eastern part of the city of Edinburgh, and

\footnote{\begin{itemize}
\item Dickson & Edmond, \textit{Annals of Scottish Printing}, p.273.
\item Mann, \textit{The Scottish Book Trade}, p.37.
\item Dickson & Edmond, \textit{Annals of Scottish Printing}, pp.156-7.
\item McKerrow, \textit{A Dictionary of Printers & booksellers}, p.249.
\end{itemize}}
his premises is specifically referred to as being on the south side of the gate.\textsuperscript{485} Unlike the majority of his contemporaries, Bassandyne’s will survives and includes a detailed inventory of the books he held upon his death, and their retail value, which is an invaluable resource when considering the commercial aspects of the Edinburgh print trade. What is more significant perhaps is the range and value of the texts Bassandyne held, which included historical, classical and religious texts, alongside grammars, ballads and political broadsides and costs which varied from a few pence to several pounds.\textsuperscript{486} This implies that he had a thriving bookselling business, catering to a relatively wide audience, with varied reading needs and disposable incomes, proving that by the end of the 1570s the demand for printed material in Edinburgh had greatly expanded.

With Bassandyne, Alexander Arbuthnot worked on the Scottish Bible, the largest printed work produced in Scotland during the period, with the Scottish Kirk generating the financial capital required. Given the political situation in Scotland during the period, it is unsurprising that the primary patron of the printing press was the Kirk, as the crown was not in the position to commission works. However, in 1579 after the expiration of Lekprevik’s appointment, Arbuthnot was named Royal Printer to James VI, with this designation appearing on the title page of the Scottish Bible when it was finally completed in August 1579.\textsuperscript{487} This appointment perhaps explains how Waldegrave ended up in possession of Arbuthnot’s type once he was named King’s Printer in 1590.\textsuperscript{488} Arbuthnot was the first printer during this period to enjoy official patronage from both the crown and the Kirk, and therefore it would be reasonable to assume he was a printer of skill. However, the texts that emerged from his press until his death in

\textsuperscript{485} Dickson & Edmond, \textit{Annals of Scottish Printing}, p.291. See Figure 8.
\textsuperscript{486} Scott, Laing & Thomason, \textit{Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club}, Vol. 2, pp.201-203.
\textsuperscript{487} Dickson & Edmond, \textit{Annals of Scottish Printing}, pp.312-3
\textsuperscript{488} McKerrow, \textit{A Dictionary of Printers & booksellers}, p.9.
1585, including an edition of Buchanan’s *History*, were plagued with errors and it has been suggested that he lacked professional training, which left him unable to handle the immense workload of the King’s printer, as well as production of the Scottish Bible. With his premises in Kirk o’Field, in the south-east corner of the city, Arbuthnot was forced to turn to other printers to assist in the fulfilling of his commissions.

John Ross was one such printer who was involved in printing parts of the Old Testament for Arbuthnot in 1579. Ross is better known for his association with fellow printer Henry Charteris, for whom he produced several works, including *The Catechisme in Two Parts* (1574), *Ane Treatise callit the Palice of Honovr* (1579), and Buchanan’s famous work, *De Jure Regni Apud Scotos* (1579). On his death in February 1580 he owned ‘nynetene stane wecht of prenting letters’, valued at £136 6s, and these, along with the press and other equipment were purchased by Henry Charteris, who established his own print house with his long standing associate’s materials. Charteris did not retain all of the equipment, and two of Ross’ distinctive woodcuts appear on three texts printed by Waldegrave in 1590, the year he arrived in Edinburgh, and were employed extensively throughout his Scottish bibliography.

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489 Dickson & Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, p.313
490 See Figure 8.
The oval woodcut may have appealed to Waldegrave as the banner, reading ‘Truth will win in the end’ was suitable for an individual who supposedly had controversial religious affiliations. It is also similar to the emblem he had used in English, which was also an oval woodcut, of a swan surrounded by a banner reading ‘God is my Helper.’ Ross’ woodcuts are also found amongst the materials used by the Scottish printer Thomas Finlason, who presumably purchased them, along with the rest of Waldegrave’s equipment, in 1604.492

Once John Ross died in 1580, Henry Charteris emerged as the premier printer in Edinburgh, unrivalled until the arrival of Waldegrave in 1590. Until his death in August 1599, he was a key member of the Scottish printing trade, associating with key individuals such as Bassandyne, who named Charteris as an overseer of his will.493 The inventory attached to Charteris’ own will shows that he was a very wealthy individual by 1599, and his large holdings and financial position were only rivalled by his contemporary Andro Hart, who died in 1621.494

492 McKerrow, A Dictionary of Printers & booksellers, p.103
Charteris was the most high profile printer during the reign of James, taking an active part in the public life of Edinburgh, being elected seven times as a member of the town council between 1574 and 1590, and serving as Baillie several times.\textsuperscript{495} Ross appears to have been in relatively high standing with the Kirk, presumably through personal as well as professional activities, and in 1589 he was appointed to a commission to counter the perceived papist threat.\textsuperscript{496} The image of Charteris as a printer who also acted within the hierarchy of the Scottish Kirk is supported by his will, within which he advised his children to take the advice of noted Kirk Minister Robert Rollock, whose writing were printed extensively by Waldegrave during the 1590s. Rollock was a well-respected theologian and colleague of James Melville, and was the minister of Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh from 1598, which explains Charteris’ instructions. However he unfortunately predeceased Charteris by several months. Charteris’ faith in Rollock and his own involvement with the Kirk authorities is an important connection which contributes to the wider network of Scottish printers, their patrons and associates, of which Charteris, Waldegrave and their contemporaries were part.

Before acquiring Ross’ print house Charteris operated as a publisher and bookseller, patronising a number of Edinburgh printers to produce the texts he wished to sell. Beyond his long-term relationship with Ross between 1574 and 1580, he is known to have enjoyed a three-year collaboration with John Scott from 1568 until his death in 1571, and commissioned three texts from Lekprevik’s press between 1570-1.\textsuperscript{497} He also patronised Thomas Vautrollier, who produced a number of books in London for sale in Scotland in 1577. Although there was a strong trade within Scotland and England for vernacular texts, the majority of Latin materials continued to be purchased from the

\textsuperscript{495} Dickson & Edmond, \textit{Annals of Scottish Printing}, p.349.
\textsuperscript{497} McKerrow, \textit{A Dictionary of Printers & booksellers}, p.66.
continent, and in the three years between 1580-83, Charteris ordered over 2000 texts from Christopher Plantin in Antwerp, by far the largest number of any Scottish printer during the period.\textsuperscript{498} Charteris’ retail business clearly functioned in the same manner as the large London based booksellers.

This may not have been due to an expansion in the demand for printed material in Scotland, but the fact that Charteris found himself the sole printer in Edinburgh between 1585 and Waldegrave’s arrival in 1589. Perhaps due to his open involvement with the Kirk, with which James was often at loggerheads, he was not named Royal Printer and therefore was not commissioned to print official or legal material, instead primarily producing literary and religious texts, although he did produce two religious pamphlets written by James in 1588 and 1589. He also provided texts for the young King’s education, as there is an invoice from 1586 which refers to the £62 15s 10d paid to Charteris for providing Peter Young texts for the use of his young charge.\textsuperscript{499}

Although never named Royal Printer, he enjoyed a long-term relationship with the bookbinder, John Gibson, who was appointed Royal Bookbinder in July 1581.\textsuperscript{500} There is evidence to suggest that these two men had a long professional relationship. In 1582 they took the London based printer, Thomas Vautrollier and his servant John Cowper to court, for importing, binding and selling to the detriment of native burgesses.\textsuperscript{501} Gibson had been involved in a similar action with Lekprevik in 1580, highlighting how the influx of books from outside Scotland was considered a threat by domestic practitioners who could not compete as they did not have access to the same resources and equipment, or have the same level of skill, as their London-based counterparts. Gibson

\textsuperscript{498} Mann, \textit{The Book Trade and Public Policy}, p.125.
\textsuperscript{500} MacDonald, Dennistoun & Robertson, \textit{The Miscellany of the Maitland Club}, p.17.
and Charteris can also be connected throughout the 1590s by *The Works of David Lindsay*, of which Charteris had published numerous editions throughout his career. However in 1590 the copyright was granted to Gibson, yet Charteris produced two further editions in 1592 and 1597, implying that they had come to some professional agreement.\(^{502}\)

It is clear that Charteris was associated with the majority of printers and bookbinders in Scotland throughout his long career, and therefore he was Waldegrave’s primary competitor during the 1590s. Although he did not enjoy royal patronage, he had a strong relationship with the Kirk through both his professional and personal life, which gave him an ongoing body of work to produce. A wealthy merchant, Charteris was the most successful native printer in Scotland during the sixteenth century, operating a business similar to any comparably sized one in England. His premises were on the High Street, opposite the Salt Tron, [5] and this is presumably near, if not where John Ross was situated before his death in 1580.\(^{503}\)

This brief examination of the print trade in Edinburgh up until 1590 shows that it was dominated by a series of individuals, none of whom had the skill or significance of the London stationers resident in Scotland during the reign of James VI. Although collaboration and partnerships were as common in Scotland as in England, they appear to have enjoyed only limited success. The relatively sparse nature of domestic print during the period highlights the significance of patronage from both the Crown and the Kirk, and the limited success of printers such as Lekprevik and Arbuthnot, who enjoyed both, emphasises the difficulties faced by printers in Scotland. Charteris, the only native Scot to embody the roles of printer, publisher and bookseller can be seen as the model


\(^{503}\) See Figure 8.
for successful printing in Scotland, but his strong ties with the Kirk may have served to alienate him from the Crown, accounting for his limited involvement in royal and official printing. To be a truly successful printer in Edinburgh it seems that balancing the competing interests of the Kirk and crown was paramount. On his arrival in Edinburgh therefore Waldegrave would have to satisfy both of these competing interests, whilst also challenging one of the most successful Scottish printers of the period.

II. The Topography of Printing in Edinburgh

Unlike the English industry, the Scottish print trade had no centralised hub, and therefore it is difficult to reconstruct where within the city printing and the associated trades took place. There has been no work done in the manner of that of Peter Blayney in England, which enables us to understand how the geography of the trade impacted the relationships of different printers operating within Edinburgh. However, by examining colophons, and the various wills and limited records which survive concerning the printers of Edinburgh it is possible to build up an image of the topography of the trade during the reign of James VI.
The first printer we can locate with some level of certainty is John Scott, who in 1539 secured ‘two chambers, with cellars beneath in a house on the north side of the Cowgate at the foot of Borthwick’s Close’[6]. Scott printed during the mid-century, and around March 1564 was imprisoned for unauthorised printing, during which time his equipment...
was held by Bassandyne. By 1568 he was released and commissioned by Henry Charteris to print an edition of *The Works of David Lindsay*, with a second edition appearing under Scott’s name in 1571. When the locations of Bassandyne and Charteris’ presses are considered it appears that the Edinburgh print trade operated in a slightly different manner than its English equivalent. Where English printers worked in close proximity in St Paul’s Churchyard and developed a network shaped by a combination of personal, professional and geographical considerations, the Edinburgh trade was topographically less restrictive.

Bassandyne and his partner Alexander Arbuthnot did not work in close proximity, with the former occupying premises near the Netherbow Port, on the ‘south side of the gait’ [1] and the latter based in Kirk o’Field [2]. This perhaps exacerbated the delays and obstacles that plagued their Bible project, as the work had to be undertaken in two different locations, around half a mile apart. The Netherbow area of the city where Bassandyne operated appears to have been the primary location for Edinburgh’s print trade, and it was the location of Henry Charteris’, and later his son Robert Charteris’ print works and bookshops, as well as that of the printer Richard Smythe who married Bassandyne’s widow. Robert Lekprevik also worked in this area, although at an unknown address, until his death in 1582.

Henry Charteris’ premises, as has been mentioned, were on the High Street on the ‘north side of [the] gait aboue Throne’, [5] which is believed to refer to the ‘salt tron’ or public weigh house. This places Charteris’ press to the north of Bassandyne’s, but in the same general area, and it is likely that this was near to, if not where, John Ross

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printed before his death in 1580. Robert Charteris’ press was located in the vicinity [3] by 1603, specifically on the ‘west side of Auld Provosts closehead on the north side of the gate, above the salt tron.’ It is impossible to know whether both the father and son’s premises were the same, and as there is some difference in description they have been recorded as two separate locations, until further evidence can be uncovered. Indisputably Robert Charteris’ long term business associate Andro Hart was situated close by, also on the High Street, on the, ‘north side of [the] gate, beneath the cross’ [4], and it is possible to speculate from this that between the deaths of Arbuthnot and Bassandyne in the 1570s, and the start of the partnership of Hart and Charteris in 1610 that the print trade in Edinburgh was starting to be influenced by topography, as the London trade had been since the fifteenth century. Unlike the development of St Paul’s Churchyard through the manuscript trade in London, there is no evidence to suggest the same is true for the Edinburgh based trade, as in the manuscript period the majority of texts were imported from England and the Continent. Domestic manuscript production was slow to develop in Scotland, and the primary consumers were the large university libraries, as proved by the surviving inventories for the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen. Relatively small-scale domestic production was therefore limited to ecclesiastical and noble consumers, who were able to employ scribes to copy works of particular interest.

It is impossible to say with any certainty where the other key printers working in Edinburgh were located during the reign of James VI, however we can speculate that they may have continued the trend for working in the Netherbow area of the city. This is particularly true for the English printer and bookseller John Norton who had a close professional relationship with Andro Hart, who, as discussed, worked in the area.

Waldegrave’s location may be hypothesised from a reference by Robert Bowes, the English ambassador, in a letter to Lord Burghley dated 18 December 1590, which states, ‘This man [Waldegrave] is drawn to be a nearer neighbour than Bowes likes to the house where he lodges, but he will have little dealing with him except by Burghley’s direction.’ If it were possible to locate Bowes’ lodgings then this would provide an indication of the area where Waldegrave worked. Other English ambassadors had been temporarily been housed in the Provost’s lodging in the Kirk o’Field area, and as there is limited evidence of printing taking place in the area, other than Arbuthnot’s unsuccessful enterprise, it is relatively safe to assume that although Waldegrave was the heir of Arbuthnot’s position as Royal Printer, this did not extend to his location. Although it is impossible to state with certainty, a tentative conclusion can be drawn that Waldegrave was most likely to establish his print shop near those of the only native printers operating in Edinburgh in 1590, Andro Hart and Henry Charteris in Netherbow. Following the precedent established in London, where the majority of stationers operated in the relatively small area in and around St Paul’s Churchyard, enabling collaborative production, it is logical that a similar practice would have occurred north of the border. Although the Edinburgh print trade was significantly smaller, and subject to less regulation, the proximity of traders within the smaller city and their collaborative projects would have fostered a similar model of trade to that which Waldegrave experienced in London during the 1580s. Customers would be aware of the areas in which they could purchase texts, and printers were able to work together on texts, and sell their works to booksellers with relative ease. To succeed in the Scottish print trade therefore, Waldegrave required premises within the area stationers already operated.

PART TWO: WALDEGRAVE IN SCOTLAND

It is most likely that Waldegrave arrived in Scotland towards the end of 1589, around six months after he deserted the Marprelate press, travelling with or following Marprelate author, John Penry. According to his diary, Penry arrived in Scotland around the 15 November 1589, and with Waldegrave’s help produced, ‘a book intituled Reformation no enemie to the state’, or *A Treatise Wherein is manifestlie proved that Reformation and those that sincerely favour the same are unjustly charged to be enemies unto hir Maiestie and the state*. However, the book carries the date 1590 and therefore it may have taken several months to complete and publish. According to Waldegrave’s apprentice Henry Kildale, who likely travelled with him to Scotland, towards the end of May 1590 Waldegrave and Penry were engaged in producing a further text, *An humble motion vvith submission vnto the right Honorable LL. of Hir Maiesties Priuie Counsell VVherein is laid open to be considered, how necessarie it were for the good of this lande, and the Queenes Majesties safety, that ecclesiasticall discipline were reformed after the worde of God: and how easily there might be provision for a learned ministery*, of which 1000 were printed. Although there is no information on how or where the text were sold, 300 copies of *A Treatise* were sent to London by Penry to be sold, as were a further 300 out of the 700 copies of, *A brieve discouery of the vntruthes and slanders (against the true gouernement of the Church of Christ) contained in a sermon, preached the 8. of Februarie 1588. by D. Bancroft and since that time, set forth in print, with additions by the said authour. This short ansver may serue for the clearing of the truth, vntill a larger confutation of the sermon be published*, which was printed shortly after *A humble motion*. Waldegrave’s motivations for printing *A brieve discouery of the vntruthes and slanders (against the true gouernement of the Church of Christ)* along with Davidson’s *D. Bancrofts rashnes*

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510 Ellesmere MS, 87v.
511 Ellesmere MS, 87r.
in rayling against the Church of Scotland in answer to Bancroft’s railing against the Scottish Kirk and Crown have already been discussed in the context of the trans-national religious network within which Penry, Davidson and Waldegrave operated. The subject matter of these tracts, and those authored by Penry, and the trans-national dissemination of the texts, suggests that Waldegrave, in conjunction with Penry and other members of the trans-national religious network, was deliberately producing material which might garner religious support on both sides of the border from the safety of Edinburgh. In light of the controversy created by Bancroft’s sermon, these efforts were likely to be welcomed by both the Kirk and the Scottish Crown. By printing such material openly at this juncture Waldegrave may have been looking to assure the Kirk that he was an appropriate recipient of their patronage, and also to show his loyalty to the Puritan cause within England, with the hope that the clemency Penry petitioned for within A humble motion, and A Treatise, would be extended to him and allow him to return. Whatever his motivation for producing the three tracts Penry authored, they reveal much about the level of preparation that went into his move north, and the equipment he had use of in the early months of his Scottish career.

Typographically the three tracts are all very similar, using the same roman font for the body text and the same small collection of woodcuts. Waldegrave clearly had access to some of the illuminated letters he had previously used at his London press, including one of the letter frames, although his use of both an ornamental woodcut letter ‘w’ and a letter frame for the same letter in A humble motion suggest that he was printing at speed, and therefore did not have the opportunity to reset the woodcut on to a second frame. His choice of borders was small, and included only three details at this point, all of which had been used extensively throughout his English bibliography. They are most evident in A Treatise, which of the three works conforms most to the traditional
bordered cover page layout, were they have been used to create a full border. When it came to the other two tracts, Waldegrave instead used the border details to add interest in small section of the cover page. This use of the borders to divide sections of text was to become the standard manner in which these woodcuts were used throughout his Scottish bibliography.

Figure 9: Title pages from John Penry, A Treatise Wherein is manifestlie proved that Reformation and those that sincerely favour the same are unjustly charged to be enemies unto hir Maiestie and the state, An humble motion vwith submission vnto the right Honorable LL. of Hir Maiesties Priuie Counsell & A breve discovery of the vntruthe and slanders (against the true gouernement of the Church of Christ), (Edinburgh, 1590), EEBO.

The use of roman as opposed to black letter type for the tracts, which were both religious and polemical, may have been a conscious decision, with Waldegrave
attempting to show some level of continuation between these and early tracts of Penry’s he had printed in London which were also printed in roman type. It also reflected the typographical conventions in Scotland, where roman type was used for texts of a religious nature, after the manner established in Geneva. Like the two 1588 tracts, An exhortation vnto the gouernours, and people of Hir Maiesties countrie of Wales, to labour earnestly, to haue the preaching of the Gospell planted among them, printed in London and, A defence of that which hath bin written in the questions of the ignorant ministerie, and the communicating with them, which is believed to have been printed on the Marprelate press at East Molesey, the three Penry tracts Waldegrave printed in Edinburgh carry no information concerning printer, or place of production on the cover page. It is possible to infer from this that there was a still a perceived danger to those involved in producing the tracts, despite their relative safety in Scotland, and no doubt led the English authorities to consider whether the supposed Puritan printer Waldegrave was still working within their borders.

By March 1590 however this concern would have abated, as on 3 March 1590, when Waldegrave could scarcely have been in Edinburgh for three months, he received license and priviledge…to imprint, or caus to be imprinted, the Confessioun of Faith, together with the generall band made tuiching the maintenances of true religiouin, the King’s majesties persoun and estate, and withstanding of all forane preparations and forces tending to the trouble therof, from the Lords of the Secret Council in Edinburgh.512 This license, with its guarantee that the printer would suffer no ramifications for the printing of the work was included on the reverse of the title page of Waldegrave’s 1590 edition of The confes[s]sion of faith, subscrib[ed] by the Kingis Maiestie and his houshold togither with the copie of the bande, maid touching the maintenance of the true religion, the Kingis Majesties person

and estate. Waldegrave had previously printed an edition of the *Confession of Faith* in London in 1581, which may have recommended him over Henry Charteris, his main competition, for the task of producing a new Scottish edition at this juncture. During the first years Waldegrave operated a press in Edinburgh he printed primarily religious material, including works by Robert Rollock, John Davidson and Andrew Melville, along with continental reformers such as Beza and Fenner, and other members of the trans-national religious network, and this has contributed to the accepted belief that the Kirk was instrumental in his establishment in Scotland. There is however no evidence that the Kirk were directly involved in his relocation, which, while undoubtedly influenced by the trans-national religious network of English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians, was likely also due to the commercial potential of the Scottish print trade that Waldegrave must have been aware of through his links with John Norton and knowledge of Vautrollier’s previous business there. There is no doubt however, that Waldegrave’s initial printing endeavours in Scotland were of a distinctly religious character, building upon and cementing his image on both sides of the border as a Puritan printer, with the positive and negative connotations in Scotland and England respectively. His task was made easier by the trans-national debate that resulted from Bancroft’s attack on the Scottish Kirk, which united the Kirk and Scottish Crown with English religious reformers in their desire to repudiate it. Throughout his Scottish career his known bibliography was dominated by religious texts, including sermons, scriptural exegeses and key Kirk texts such as *The Confession of the Faith*.

However, on 9 October 1590 the nature of his business changed somewhat, as under the Privy Seal James VI, ‘makand and constituand him oure Soveraine Lordis prentare and

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513 See Appendix 5.
gevand to him the privilge thairof for all the dayis of his lyiftyme’.  

For the rest of his career Waldegrave, the exile and fugitive, enjoyed the patronage and protection of the ultimate patron, which inevitably shaped his output and standing. Indeed it is interesting to note, that on the instructions of Lord Burghley, Robert Bowes, the English ambassador petitioned the King to banish John Penry, Waldegrave’s fellow Marprelate from May 1590, referring to Penry’s ‘publishing of books for the alteration of the government in England’ but making no reference to Waldegrave, who had printed them.  

Although James resisted, he did eventually banish Penry by act of council in August. Penry still remained in Scotland at the end of November, when first reference is made to Waldegrave, Penry’s collaborator and the recently appointed Royal Printer to James. Bowes’ request that Waldegrave be denied the right to print material which appeared to argue against the English authorities was partly accepted by the Scottish King, who claimed that, 

Waldegrave acknowledged his fault in printing a book set forth by Penry, and entered into bond not hereafter to imprint anything without the King’s warrant. The King, and such as shall be appointed by him to examine these things will bar anything offensive to England. This realm needs a printer, and therefore upon the bond mentioned the King allowed him to use his science here; but if he be taken hereafter with any like offence, he and his sureties shall be well punished.

The following month Bowes reported that Waldegrave had been made the King’s printer, and that his print shop was located close by Bowes’ own lodgings. By the time the English authorities were aware of Waldegrave’s Scottish press he had been operating it for nearly a year, and had produced a range of religious material, but it was not until he was appointed to the position of King’s printer that the English authorities attempt was made to limit his autonomy across the border.

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I. Royal Printer to James VI

James’ appointment of Waldegrave as his printer was both a logical and highly political decision. The number of printers in Scotland in general and Edinburgh specifically was relatively limited during the period, and indeed for the five years preceding Waldegrave’s arrival in Edinburgh only Henry Charteris operated a press in the city. Charteris’ close association with the Kirk has already been identified as a reason for the young King not to appoint the native Scot as his Royal Printer, despite commissioning him to print two of his own works, religious commentaries on Revelation and the Book of Kings, printed in 1588 and 1589 respectively. Charteris, like James was highly supportive of the use of traditional Scots language in literature, and it does appear that he was the most logical, and indeed only choice for the office of Royal Printer before Waldegrave’s arrival in Edinburgh in 1589. However, Waldegrave’s appearance in Scotland and early printing in Edinburgh, probably supported by the Kirk, put paid to any chance Charteris had of gaining the position. Waldegrave, trained in London and a veteran printer at this point, was highly skilled in his craft, and certainly Charteris’ superior in this respect. The fact that he had fled England to escape prosecution for his role in the controversial Marprelate tracts and that his business in London had been destroyed, meant that he was unlikely to be able to return to England as Vautrollier had and it was therefore more probably that he would remain in Scotland for an extended period. Scotland had therefore gained a skilled printer, unable to return home, and it is logical that as the most typographically skilled and experienced printer in the city he was appointed to the office of Royal Printer.

Whilst it was logical for the crown to make use of the most skilled printer in the realm, Waldegrave’s appointment was likely to offend the English Queen and her authorities,

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who sought to punish Waldegrave for his transgressions. The diplomatic relationship between the two monarchs was strained, with the execution of James’ mother at Elizabeth’s hands still dangerously recent, whilst James’ marriage to Anne of Denmark and the resultant new alliance threatened the English Queen’s superior position in their relationship. Finally the issue of the English succession loomed large in the political debate between the nations during the decade, as James, the closest Protestant claimant sought to have his cousin officially acknowledge his right to inherit her throne. Given these circumstances, James’ decision to appoint Waldegrave his Royal Printer was diplomatically significant and potentially inflammatory, as it showed a disregard for Waldegrave’s standing in England and his nefarious past. Some have argued the employment of Waldegrave, and Vautrollier before him, was designed as, ‘a subtle assertion that the King of Scotland was superior to the Queen of England in his capacity to control the press and harness it to serve his own purpose,’ as James demonstrated that he was able successfully to employ Waldegrave and Vautrollier, who had both been at odds with the English authorities.519

Although he benefitted professionally from his appointment, Waldegrave’s autonomy and agency as a printer was restricted by his new role. As the Royal Printer he was, at times, merely the instrument of the sovereign he served, and this not only limited his autonomy but actively hindered his own interests on occasion, specifically in regards of his desire to receive a pardon from Elizabeth, and therefore to be able to return to England. If his appointment was a passive aggressive move on the part of James, Elizabeth had limited avenues through which to respond, and the matter of a pardon was one such avenue. Whilst his close ties with the main perpetrators of the Marprelate tracts along with his own involvement provided ample ammunition against him, it may

well have been Waldegrave’s association with the Scottish King coupled with his longstanding connections with the trans-national religious network that saw him exiled from England for the rest of Elizabeth’s reign. There is evidence that shows from as early as June 1592 James himself was actively petitioning the English authorities to show clemency to the printer, and allow him to ‘repair in his native cuntre as necesserly he shall have occasiou’.

However, as will be considered, although the Scottish King assured Elizabeth that Waldegrave, ‘sall wirk in his art na otherwyis then he salbe licensed be us’, many of the works he engaged Waldegrave to produce inevitably caused concerns in England that put the final nail in the coffin of Waldegrave’s hope to return to his native country.

Waldegrave was not the first printer to enjoy the patronage of James VI, nor was the patronage offered to the Royal Printer of Scotland the same as that enjoyed by his English counterpart, both facts driven by James’ own particular relationship with the printing press, which was significantly different from that of other monarchs of the period. There has been some historical interest in the relationship James had with the press once he ascended the English throne in 1603, however the majority of work concerning James and the Scottish press has been restricted to the study of the literary culture of Scotland, and James’ patronage of and involvement in it.

James, unlike his contemporaries, made extensive use of printed media throughout his life, both as a patron and an author, publishing poetry, political treatises and scriptural exegeses in both England and Scotland. Engaging with printing in this manner was highly problematic for the royal author, as the medium was open to all, and therefore lacked any guarantee of quality, which contributed in part to its perceived lack of authority, as once a text was in the hands of a printer errors and changes could be made over which

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the author, however powerful, had limited influence. Many scholars have recognised the ‘stigma of print’ in the early modern period, which discouraged noble writers from engaging with the ‘un-gentlemanly’ medium, and led those whose works were printed to issue caveats and disclaimers to the reader implying that they had been reluctant to publish their work.\textsuperscript{523} Despite these obstacles, James used printed material to his own ends, whether literary, religious or political. Until 1584 his works were concerned with literary pursuits, and in that year Vautrollier printed James’ \textit{Essays of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie}, which included both poems written by the King but also a guide for the establishment of a new, distinct form of Scottish vernacular poetry. This was developed by various court writers such as William Fowler and Alexander Montgomerie, who became known as the ‘Castalian Band’, patronised and headed by the King himself. During the final decade of the century the King’s focus was more political, and much of his work concerned the nature of monarchy, divine right and royal succession. Throughout his Scottish reign he was actively involved in publishing texts which supported his literary, religious and political aims, and therefore the Royal Printer was responsible not only for the production of official and parliamentary material, but for numerous literary and polemical works by the King and his associates.

There are significant limitations within the existing studies of James’ writings, which are only relatively recently being addressed by scholars keen to place the King’s works within the canon of both English and Scottish literature, as well as those whose focus is on the political rhetoric developed within his works. Jane Rickard has considered the range of research conducted on the subject, where James’ writings are rarely examined within their full context, as monarchical texts, dealing with the religious, political and

literary development of both England and Scotland during the late-sixteenth century. Historians such as Jenny Wormald and J P Sommerville have considered the political writings of James in light of the Scottish political context, and Wormald has challenged those who read James’ political works with the view that they were written for an English audience. However, as Rickard points out, historians are mainly concerned with James’ political writings, whilst his religious and literary endeavours are ignored, even by those studying the literary culture of the period. James’ role as an author is rarely considered, but more recent scholarship has considered his writings within a broader context of his Scottish reign, considering his relationship with other literary figures of the period, and the impact of his works on the development of Scottish literature. There is yet to be any study which considers James’ entire canon of works within the wider context of both his English and Scottish reigns, an omission highlighted within Rickard’s analysis. James’ relationships with the various printers who produced his works has also been neglected by the majority of scholars, although there has been some consideration of his brief connection with Thomas Vautrollier in 1584-6, and a significant study of the development of the King’s Printing House in London from 1603. For a King who authored a considerable number of printed works it seems important to consider how his relationship with the press developed throughout his early reign, culminating in the appointment of Waldegrave as Royal Printer during the turbulent 1590s, which saw James pen and patronise numerous texts on a variety of significant topics.

526 Rickard, ‘The writings of King James VI, p.656.
527 Rickard, ‘The writings of King James VI, p.661.
James’ first royal printer was Robert Lekprevik, who was appointed as the King’s Printer in 1568, as Scotland was in turmoil after the murder of James’ father, Henry Darnley, and the Queen’s hasty marriage to the Earl of Bothwell. As mentioned, Lekprevik lacked the financial resources to take advantage of this position, and died impecunious in 1582. In 1581, during the early years of his reign James also appointed the Edinburgh based John Gibson his Royal bookbinder, although after the death of Arbuthnot the position of Royal Printer remained vacant. However it was with Thomas Vautrollier that James had his first significant encounter with a printer. Vautrollier had previously supplied the young King with educational books through his tutors, and his French background was appealing to the Francophile James. Therefore it is perhaps unsurprising that during his brief stay in Edinburgh he produced the King’s first published text, *Essays of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie*, (1584), and at his request the *Historie of Judith*, by Du Bartus, a French writer particularly admired by the Scottish King. Vautrollier’s return to England in 1586 prevented any closer relationship with James, and it was the Edinburgh printer Henry Charteris who printed the King’s next works, two theological pamphlets printed in 1588 and 1589 respectively. Astrid Stilma argues that the publication of these religious works was one way in which James sought to bolster his Protestant credentials in the wake of the 1588 Spanish Armada and his own struggles with the Kirk during the 1580s.

The first of the two tracts, *Ane fruitfull meditatioun contening ane plane and facill expositioun of ye 7.8.9 and 10 versis of the 20 chap. of the Reuelatioun in forme of ane sermone* (1588) was the most widely disseminated of James’ works, being reprinted in

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529 MacDonald, Dennistoun & Robertson, *The Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, p.17.
Latin, Dutch and French, as well as the original Scots version. Charteris printed both in a similar typographical style, using an ornate black letter font for the body text, whilst the cover pages, marginalia and running titles were printed in roman font, conforming to the typographical conventions of England during the period, as opposed to those of Scotland, where religious texts were printed in roman, after the typographic conventions established in Geneva. However, despite the original 1589 edition conforming to English conventions, the 1603 reprint of Ane meditatioun vpon the xxv, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, and xxix verses of the XV chapt. of the first buke of the Chronicles of the Kingis, produced in London by Felix Norton, rejected the traditional typographical conventions with the work printed completely in roman, despite its religious nature.

Although the pamphlets produced by Charteris are competently presented, it appears that James was not sufficiently impressed with the work to name Charteris Royal Printer, despite the fact that he was the sole printer operating in Scotland after Vautrollier returned to London in 1586. As discussed, this may have been due to Charteris’ strong ties to the Kirk, with whom James was regularly at odds. However, despite the dearth of domestic printers, there was no reason for Waldegrave to assume that he would gain the coveted role as Royal Printer when he arrived in Scotland in 1589. Indeed his own connections with the Kirk for whom he first printed in Edinburgh, could be seen as obstacle to his appointment. However, in a similar way that his appointment was a subtle signal to the English and Elizabeth that the Scottish King had superior control of the print trade, Waldegrave’s appointment as Royal Printer may have been an attempt on James’ part to demonstrate his supreme power and authority to the Kirk, by appropriating their new printer. There is no doubt either, that Waldegrave was

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532 Stilma, ‘King James VI and I as a Religious Writer’, p.134.
533 For a contemporary example see Vautrollier’s 1854 edition of The Confession of the Faith.
the most skilled printer operating in Scotland in 1590, and this alone would have recommended him to the role of Royal Printer.

After his appointment, Waldegrave was swiftly commissioned to print *His Maiesties poetical exercises at vacant houres* in 1591. This was the first of four books written by James himself that Waldegrave was to print, and the only one of a literary nature. Although primarily consisting of verse, the volume included numerous woodcuts, ornamental letter frames and border details which were to reappear in other volumes Waldegrave produced in Scotland, having also appeared in the texts he printed in 1589. There is an impressive title page woodcut, depicting two figures under the titles ‘Love’ and ‘Peace’ and a second similar arrangement at the start of *The Lepanto*, which uses the various border elements of the cover page image, with two further figures, ‘Truth’ and ‘purity’.

![Figure 10: Cover pages of James VI, His Maiesties poetical exercises at vacant houres, (Edinburgh, 1591), EEBO.](image-url)
Waldegrave only used these images for two volumes printed for public consumption, *His Maiesties poetical exercises at vacant houres* (1591) and in the same year an edition of Theodore Beza’s *Propositions and principles of diuinitie propounded and disputed in the vniuersitie of Geneua, by certaine students of diuinitie there*. When Waldegrave reprinted Beza’s work in 1595 the title page was far less ornate, and at no other point can these woodcuts be seen within Waldegrave’s bibliography, until 1599, when the border including ‘Peace’ and ‘Love’ is found on the title page of the private edition of James’ *Basilikon Doron*. The initial print run of seven, for James’ closest advisors, is markedly different from Waldegrave’s 1603 edition, which was aimed at a wider audience.

The 1591 edition of *His Maiesties poetical exercises at vacant houres*, demonstrates that by this point Waldegrave had amassed the majority of typefaces and woodcuts which he would use for the rest of his Scottish career. The text includes a range of different roman and italic typefaces, as well as Greek lettering and a variety of ornamental letters. The four main border details Waldegrave used throughout the 1590s are also included within the text. Whilst the first two, very ornate woodcuts, were new to Waldegrave in 1590, it appears he may have brought the second two with him from England along with some of his type, as they appear in different permutations throughout his English bibliography, and are also found in Penry’s works Waldegrave printed on his arrival in Edinburgh in 1590.
After this first text, Waldegrave produced no more of James’ works until 1597 when *Daemonologie, in forme of a dialogue, divided into three bookes* was published, in which James argued for the existence of witches and witchcraft. *Daemonologie*, was the first of three books composed by James and printed by Waldegrave between 1597-1599, the others being *The trew lawe of free monarchies: or The reciprock and mutuall dutie betwixt a free king, and his naturall subiectes* (1598) and the private edition of *Basilikon Doron* (1599). These latter two works form the basis for James’ political works, which have been the subject of much scholarly inquiry and analysis due to their engagement with issues such as monarchical authority and the divine right of kings. James’ preoccupation with such issues is unsurprising, as he had been faced with a myriad of historical and contemporary challenges to Scottish monarchical authority throughout his reign. The 1560 reformation had been achieved through rebellion against the regent, and the deposition of Mary in 1567 further undermined monarchical
authority in Scotland. During his own minority James had been subjected to the whims of numerous regents, and the Ruthven Raid of 1582 had further emphasised the relatively weak authority of the young King. The many works of John Knox published throughout the 1550s, along with George Buchanan’s *De Juri Regni apod Scotos* (1579) had strongly advocated the people’s right to resist a monarch on religious grounds and this had further eroded the strength of the Scottish monarchy, whilst buttressing the position of the Kirk. For a monarch who was clearly comfortable with using printed media as a propagandistic tool, it is natural that the reassertion of his own authority over the Kirk and the people of Scotland should be conducted in print.

Wormald discusses the danger of assuming that these works were designed to be widely disseminated beyond Scotland’s borders, particularly in reference to an English readership, as they were primarily a leisure pursuit for the Scottish King and not intended for implementation. However, the relevance of the issues addressed within both *The Trew Law* and *Basilikon Doron*, suggest that while they were directed primarily but not exclusively at a Scottish audience, they represented James’ belief in the supreme authority of the monarch derived from a belief in the divine right of kings. There is evidence in both texts which suggests the King sought to limit either the readership and his association with the texts, as the 1599 edition of *Basilikon Doron* was primarily a manual for kingship designed to instruct the young Prince Henry and enjoyed an initial print run of seven, and that *The Trew Law* was published under the Greek pseudonym C. Philopatris, or ‘A Lover of His Country’. In neither case was the text designed to be widely read, with the knowledge that the King was the author, and this is reflected in the manner in which Waldegrave presented the texts.

Whilst both the *Daemonologie* (1597) and the 1603 edition of *Basilikon Doron* acknowledge James to be their author on the title page through the inclusion of woodcuts which explicitly refer to their royal author, the 1599 edition of *Basilikon Doron* and *The True Law* make no reference to the King, nor do the woodcuts on the cover page imply his involvement. Whilst within *Basilikon Doron* the author’s identity is quickly established through the dedication ‘To Henrie, My Dearest Sonne and Natvrnal Svcceessor’, there is no direct identification of James as the author of *The True Law* within the text itself, and even the pseudonym used, ‘Philopatris’ offers no connection to the royal author.

Waldegrave, with his involvement with the Marprelate press and the various controversial works he had produced for Udall would have been well aware of the various ways a printer could distance himself and the author from printed works, and therefore he was ideally placed both through position and experience to produce *The*
True Law and original edition of Basilikon Doron for James. Although Waldegrave acknowledges his own involvement on the cover page of The True Law, he omitted all but his most common woodcuts and images, choosing to use only those which are common to both his English and Scottish bibliography, and none of those with particularly royal or Scottish connotations. In contrast the seven copies of Basilikon Doron intended for private consumption in 1599 are highly decorated, making extensive use of Waldegrave’s distinctive border motifs shown in figure nine along with the ornamental borders previously used on the 1591 edition of His Maiesties poeticall exercises at vacant houres. As Waldegrave only used this border detail for three texts throughout his career, two of which were authored by James, this may have been a visual clue as to the authorship of the text to a wider readership, although those receiving a copy of the text likely knew of its provenance. As previously mentioned this is probably why no attempt is made within the text to conceal the King’s authorship, although it is not acknowledged on the title page. The several distinctive ornamental letter frames used within the text have a distinctly Scottish flavour, particularly the large image of two figures, one holding a cross and the other a spade, plucking thistles from a bush. This same letter frame was used in Daemonologie, and a number of Waldegrave’s official publications, including The lawes and actes of Parliament, maid be King Iames the First, and his successours kinges of Scotland, (1597) edited by John Skene.

Figure 13: Detail from James VI, Basilikon Doron, (Edinburgh, 1599) EEBO.
Despite the fact the initial print run in 1599 was of only seven copies, which were gifted by the King to his friends and relations, Waldegrave took a number of steps to conceal the author’s identity, which become more apparent when the text is compared to the 1603 edition. Scholars have considered the changes within the text, motivated by the wider readership, and the hugely negative reaction of Andrew Meville and the Scottish Kirk when they had come across a copy of the original manuscript text in 1599, and had identified James as the author. They particularly resented his criticism of the Presbyterian clergy and his claim that the Kirk was subject to the crown. However the layout and appearance also dramatically changed between the two editions. The use of the royal crest on the title page of the 1603 gave the text greater weight and authority than the images of ‘Love’ and ‘Peace’ which graced the cover of the original edition. The elegant italic font used in the original edition is also replaced with a more

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537 J. P. Sommerville, *King James VI and I: Political Writings*, (Cambridge, 1994), xviii.
538 It should be noted that this is the same cover layout and woodcuts as used by Waldegrave on James VI, *His Maiesties poetical exercises at vacant houres*, (Edinburgh, 1591), providing a visual clue for those interested in identifying the author of the work. See Figure 8.
commonplace roman font, and the extensive ornamental lettering of the 1599 volume is similarly replaced by more simplistic ornamental letters and letter frames, whilst the complex thistle frame (Figure 11) is omitted completely. The overall appearance of the 1603 edition is therefore more akin to other political and academic texts of the period, with roman font and sparing use of ornamental woodcuts within the text, whilst the image on the cover left the reader in no doubt of the King’s support of the work.

The publication of *Basilikon Doron* has been identified as an example of overt and deliberate Anglicisation within Waldegrave’s bibliography. The original manuscript, in Scots, carries numerous English annotations in a different hand. Marjorie Bald cites this evidence of deliberate Anglicisation of the 1599 edition, in her discussion of Waldegrave’s apparent tendency to ‘correct’ Scots texts before printing, as the number of anglicised texts emanating from his press is far higher than any of his Scottish contemporaries.\(^{539}\) This may have been a reflection of the perceived prestige of English, in a similar fashion to the use of Latin and not the vernacular for religious texts in the first half of the century, or, more likely, an attempt to access a broader, trans-national market of readers for particular works, such as *Basilikon Doron*. Whilst it seems highly plausible that Waldegrave would have anglicised some of the works he printed in Edinburgh in order to appeal to this broader, trans-national audience, it is impossible to state with any certainty that he, and not a third party, made the decision to anglicise particular works.

Although much work has been done examining the Anglicisation of Scots during the sixteenth century, it is impossible to say with any certainty any role Waldergave may have played in the emergence of Anglo-English as the dominant form, even in the case

of the *Basilikon Doron* manuscript, as we have no way to prove that he provided the English annotations to this or any other work. It is indisputable that the sixteenth century saw a profound change in the use of language in Scotland, as the first half of the century saw a marked rise in the use of the vernacular in print and manuscript, particularly in poetry and official documentation, whilst the second half of the century saw the prestige of Anglo-Scots rise.\textsuperscript{540} It has been suggested that rather than a deliberate move being made in the final years of the century to anglicise Scots, that there had been a more gradual change over the century, with the number of anglicised texts trebling between 1508 and 1625.\textsuperscript{541} Religious texts were the most widely anglicised at the end of the century, followed by official correspondence, whilst national public records and personal correspondence generally retained Scots language.\textsuperscript{542}

Whilst the Anglicisation of official correspondence was likely due to the intended recipients, the predominance of anglicised religious works could have been a result of the trans-national religious and printing network which opened up a trans-national network of religious readers, which may have motivated printers, including Waldegrave, to adapt their texts in order to make them accessible to the broadest possible audience. Some authors such as John Knox, due to their personal experiences, wrote in a mixed dialect, using Scots and Anglo-English simultaneously, and by the turn of the century a number of native Scottish printers, including Robert Charteris and Thomas Finlason were producing mixed dialect texts, reflecting the gradual but incomplete Anglicisation which had taken place.\textsuperscript{543} It is impossible to state with certainty however the extent to which this Angliciation was driven by the printers, and


\textsuperscript{542} Devitt, *Standardizing written English*, p.71.

\textsuperscript{543} Bald, ‘The Anglicisation of Scottish Printing’, p.111.
whether the various Scottish authors were working to anglicise their own works for a wider, trans-national audience. However, Waldegrave’s presence and dominant role as an English printer at the heart of the Scottish print trade during the final decade of the century suggests that he contributed to the existing trend of Anglicisation of Scottish print. If he were acting as his own compositor it seems likely that he would have continued to adapt texts to suit his own particular spellings, as was common practice during the period, with different compositor’s adopting their own spellings of common words. This would presumably have contributed to any attempt to deliberately anglicise texts.

Given that the Scottish King had previously promoted the use of the Scots language in *The Essays of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie* (1584) in an attempt to strengthen national identity in literature, the Anglicisation of *Basilikon Doron* specifically is strange. Although the text was primarily aimed at a small readership of seven, use of Anglo-English may reflect a wider expected audience for the work, even for the first edition, and the King’s desire to promote the divine right of kings in an accessible manner. This apparent contradiction reflects James’ mixed attitude towards Scots, the use of which he had championed in the early years of his reign. The compulsory ownership of the Geneva Bible, and the vernacular psalm book in wealthy households in Scotland after 1579 exposed large numbers of educated Scots to Anglo-English texts, which appears to be at odds with the King’s patriotic support for the use of the vernacular.\(^{544}\) Although it seems unlikely that Waldegrave played no role in the Anglicisation of *Basilikon Doron*, and subsequent Scottish texts he printed, it is dangerous to claim that it was his presence Scotland which provided the catalyst whereby Anglicisation occurred. Rather it was a long-term process, which began as

early as 1520, and whilst he no doubt played a significant part in continuing the trend, he did not initiate it. The involvement of English stationers in the Scottish trade must have contributed to the process of Anglicisation, as texts printed in London were sold by booksellers in Edinburgh, and it is unlikely that they produced a ‘Scots’ version of such texts. Scottish readers would therefore have been exposed to English texts throughout the sixteenth century and therefore by the turn of the century would have been accustomed to reading in both English and Scots. As well as this gradual shift within the printing trade, numerous social and political concerns may have influenced the language shift. The breaking of the Auld Alliance with France after the deposition of Mary Queen of Scots in 1567, the growing significance of the relationship between England and Scotland, specifically in reference to the English succession, and the transnational religious and printing networks no doubt contributed to the decline of the Scottish language in favour of an anglicised version, as audiences and contributors were to be found on both sides of the border. In the interests of his patron, and for his own commercial benefit, it seems likely that Waldegrave anglicised some of the material he printed, to make it more accessible to this wider, trans-national audience. It is unclear whether he acted as an autonomous agent in this case, or whether he was merely an instrument to the Scottish King. However, given the influence James appears to have exerted over Waldegrave’s bibliographical choices it seems plausible that the impetus for Anglicisation came from the patron not necessarily the printer, although it is interesting to consider Waldegrave’s Scottish bibliography within this context of gradual Anglicisation.

Devitt, *Standardizing written English*, p.72.
II. Scottish Bibliography

Waldegrave did not merely print material written by James VI during his Scottish career, and the only historian to consider his Scottish bibliography, Katherine Van Eerde, has divided the texts into four categories: religious, royal, general and legal, rightly highlighting that religious material dominated his output throughout his Scottish career.\(^{546}\) However these categories are not exhaustive, and in order to appreciate fully his Scottish bibliography it is important to break down the ‘general’ category identified by Van Eerde, and to consider, in light of their relationship with James VI, Waldegrave’s patron, the literary material he printed for the ‘Castalian Band’. The various succession tracts Waldegrave printed from 1597 should also be considered, as although authored by others, they played a significant part in James’ campaign to be recognised as the heir to the English throne, and directly impacted on Waldegrave’s own circumstances as an English exile. There are also other subsections within Waldegrave’s bibliography which deserve to be considered in the particular context of their composition, production and dissemination. Consequently, in order to analyse fully Waldegrave’s Scottish output, it has been divided into eight categories: religious, the works of James VI, legal, the works of the ‘Castilian Band’, succession literature, proclamations, the works of Udall and Penry and finally miscellaneous texts. This final group includes several notable works such as Thomas Tusser’s *Fiue hundreth pointes of good Husbandrie Corrected*, and William Welwood’s 1590 text *The sea-lavv of Scotland shortly gathered and plainly dressit for the reddy vse of all seafairingmen*. In the light of Waldegrave’s previous career as a commercial printer portrayed as an ideologically motivated printer, it is vital to also consider the apparently anomalous volumes he printed, such as Robert Southwell’s *Saint Peters Complaint* in 1600 and the 1599 edition of Alexander Montgomerie’s *Cherry and the Slae*, as well as the notorious

texts, specifically his 1599 edition of Sidney’s *Arcadia*. Such volumes highlight that even once established as the premier printer in Scotland Waldegrave was still motivated by commercial gain in addition to other considerations such as religion or professional courtesy.

Waldegrave was however content to use his reputation as a Puritan printer to attempt to ingratiate himself with members of the Scottish nobility, who could presumably provide additional patronage to the printer already supported by both the Kirk and the King. His 1592 edition of *Certain godly and learned treatise*, written by the noted English Puritan, Dudley Fenner contains the only known dedication written by Waldegrave during his Scottish career. Addressed to James Lindsay, the 7th Lord Lindsay of the Byres, the dedication expresses admiration for the Lord’s reformed practice, and presents an image of Waldegrave as a staunch support of the reformed Kirk, so akin to the Puritan church advocated by Fenner within the text. Lindsay was the son of Patrick Lindsay, the key Scottish reformer who had been part of the Lords of the Congregation. James became a gentleman of the bedchamber in 1580, and was to become a member of the Scottish Privy Council in 1594. This was not the first edition of Fenner’s work Waldegrave had produced, having printed two of the few editions of the Puritan’s work produced in England during the 1580s. Despite his lucrative appointment to the office of Royal Printer only two years previously, the dedication to this religious work, reading, ‘I desire to shew my selfe profitable in my vocation, unto the whole Church of God in generall: so I would willingly gratifie your Honour in particular’, establishes Waldegrave as a printer committed to producing reformed literature, who sought patronage from influential lords, conforming to the patronage models of the period. Waldegrave may have targeted Lindsay specifically because of his position as a

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547 Dudley Fenner, *Certain godly and learned treatises written by that worthie minister of Christe, M. Dudley Fenner; for the behoofe and edification of al those, that desire to growv and increase in true godliness*, (Edinburgh, 1592), p.6.
gentleman of the bedchamber, which gave him constant access to the King, an
association Waldegrave may have been interested in utilizing, despite his own position.

A brief examination of Waldegrave’s surviving bibliography during his Scottish career
reveals several expected phenomenon and also a number of anomalies which are hard to
explain. Religious material is the only genre of text Waldegrave printed steadily
throughout the fourteen-year period, and the genre dominated several years of
production. Although the number of proclamations is low, peaking at five in 1596, this
cannot be considered an accurate representation of the number Waldegrave produced, as
the ephemeral nature of such broadsides results in low survival rates. Those that have
survived focus on a number of key issues: the currency, the punishment of the northern
Earls in the wake of the Spanish Blank controversy, and James’ accession to the English
throne in 1603. Such significant issues may have resulted in a large print run for the
proclamations, or their content may have prompted their preservation for later
consideration or analysis by contemporaries. Proclamations concerning more day-to-day
issues in Scotland may have seemed less significant, and therefore no efforts were made

Figure 15: Waldegrave’s Scottish Bibliography by Category
to preserve copies. The relatively low number of official legal texts is puzzling, as Waldegrave’s office as Royal Printer guaranteed him the monopoly on official and parliamentary texts. However when those volumes surviving are examined it quickly becomes evident that these texts were a substantial undertaking, as they are large, ornate works including several years of legislation. It is therefore unsurprising that there are a limited number of them within Waldegrave’s bibliography.

One clear anomaly in Waldegrave’s bibliography is his relative lack of activity in 1601, for which year only one volume survives bearing his name. It is only possible to speculate on the reasons for this, as there was no known practical, legal or commercial restriction on Waldegrave at this time. It is possible, that in the wake of his most productive year, Waldegrave was sufficiently financially secure to be able to take a break from the press, operating primarily as a bookseller, selling the stock produced in the previous year, but this seems an unlikely scenario. It is more plausible that those texts he did produce in 1601 were of an ephemeral nature and consequently do not survive to the present; broadsides, short pamphlets and ballads, the sort of jobbing printing all printers turned to in lean times. Indeed D F McKenzie suggests that the survival rates for such material during the late-sixteenth century were as low as 1:55,000, which makes the notion of none of Waldegrave’s ephemeral output surviving to the present day readily plausible. In contrast to Waldegrave’s lack of known significant output during 1601, Robert Charteris, the son of Henry, published seven known volumes in that year including an edition of the Genevan Bible. However three of the volumes he published in 1601, including the Bible were printed on behalf of him and his business partner Andro Hart in Dort, and therefore those texts known to have been printed in Scotland in 1601 number only four, making the sharp dip in

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Waldegrave’s output in that year less strange, given the overall context of Scottish printed output, and the likely survival of any ephemera he may have printed in 1601.\footnote{McKerrow, A Dictionary of Printers & booksellers, p.67.}

In contrast, Waldegrave’s output appears to have peaked several times throughout the decade, with high outputs in 1590, 1594-5, 1600 and 1603. The numbers for 1603 are potentially inflated, as a large number of proclamations concerning James’ succession to the English throne survive, and as discussed, the usual survival rate for such material was extremely low. For the other four years, 1590, 1594-5 and 1600, the relative amount of religious material Waldegrave printed increased from 36% in 1590 to 69% in 1600, showing his ongoing and constantly developing connection with the Scottish Kirk. However the bibliography of each year was significantly varied and dominated by different genres. In 1590 and 1595 more than 40% of the books Waldegrave printed dealt fall within the general category, which encompassed all non-religious and non-official material, such as Welwood’s *The sea-lavv of Scotland shortly gathered and plainly dressit for the reddy vse of all seafairingmen* (1590) and the many educational texts written by Andrew Duncan, three of which were published in 1595. 1590 also saw Waldegrave print a number of non-religious Latin texts, which were presumably more affordable than the editions available for importation from continental presses. The texts he printed for his fellow Marprelate exile John Penry also contribute to the large output of his first year in Scotland. In contrast, in 1594 nearly half of Waldegrave’s output was authored by members of the so-called ‘Castalian Band’ of court poets, specifically Alexander Hume and William Fowler. This can be explained in part by the royal baptism of Prince Henry, which occurred in 1594 and inspired various tracts and poems.
i: Official Texts

Although legal texts account for a very small percentage of Waldegrave’s overall surviving output, they represent one of his key responsibilities as Royal Printer, to print official material for the Scottish State. Such material includes legal texts, such as Parliamentary proceedings, along with Royal Proclamations, and accounts of official events, such as the baptism of Prince Henry in 1594. Although the number of official texts which survive is relatively low, it is likely that Waldegrave produced many more, particularly proclamations, which have a very low survival rate. As the Royal Printer it is logical that he should have been the primary producer of official texts within Scotland, indeed no other printer produced such material during the period Waldegrave operated as the printer to the King. Waldegrave’s involvement in producing a number of official texts caused consternation both within Scotland and across the border in England, and accounts of their production provide a fascinating insight into the regulation of the press within Scotland, as well as reflecting the political concerns of the day.

The most significant official material Waldegrave printed were the various editions of Parliamentary proceedings, which laid out the laws enacted by the Scottish parliament from the time of James I to James VI. Waldegrave held a royal warrant guaranteeing his right to print all acts of parliament, however, in February 1597 he was tried and found guilty of printing a false act in the wake his 1593 volume, *Actis of Parliament, past sen the coronatioun of the kingis Maiestie, our soverane lorde*. The act concerned had been passed to Waldegrave by the minister John Howiesoune, to whom he supplied between 40-50 finished copies, and discussed ‘the abolishing of the Actis concerning the Kirk.’ Waldegrave was accused of,

adulterat and alterit fra the originall Act of Parliament, votit and agreit vpoune be his hienes and thre estaitis in the Parliament foirsaid… ffor the quhilk
tressonabill cryme (he) is wardat, to be pwneist be tinfe if lyffe, landis and guidis.\textsuperscript{550}

Waldegrave claimed to have received the act along with a number of genuine manuscripts, and therefore denied malicious intent. Despite this he was found guilty, although he continued to print throughout 1597, producing a variety of texts of all genres. His punishment therefore was not prolonged, although there is no evidence of him receiving a pardon for his involvement with the false act. Van Eerde has suggested that the entire episode was a reflection of the struggling relationship between the King and the Kirk, as the King had begun to assert his authority.\textsuperscript{551} However she cannot account for Waldegrave’s swift return to work within this hypothesis. In light of the material Waldegrave produced in 1597 and the following years it seems likely that his release was motivated by James’ own propaganda agenda. The subject of royal authority over the Kirk and James’ place in the English succession were explored within texts Waldegrave was to print in the final years of the decade, and it is likely that his printing skills were too valuable to the King to be long restricted.

The second texts to consider are those produced for and about the baptism of the heir to the Scottish throne at Stirling in 1594. It appears that Waldegrave relocated to Stirling with the court, taking with him sufficient equipment to print an account of the event.\textsuperscript{552} Whilst resident in Stirling he appears to have produced only one text, William Fowler’s \textit{A true reportarie of the royal accomplishment of the Baptisme of Frederik Henry Prince of Scotland the 30 day of August 1594}. However it was the text he produced in the weeks preceding the baptism which caused controversy, specifically, Andrew Meville’s verses entitled \textit{Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia}.

\textsuperscript{551} Van Eerde, ‘Robert Waldegrave: The Printer as Agent’, pp.73-5.
\textsuperscript{552} Annie I. Cameron, (ed.), \textit{Calendar of Scottish Papers 1593-1595}, Vol. 11, (Edinburgh, 1936), p.420
The verses, written to commemorate the birth and baptism of the Scottish prince made reference to ‘the king of all Britain’ which caused consternation south of the border, and potentially damaged any possibility of a pardon for the exiled English printer. The English ambassador Robert Bowes details his inquiries into Waldegrave’s involvement with the production of the text, which had reached the English court before the baptism at Stirling on the 30 August.\textsuperscript{553} The suggestion that the young prince of Scotland was to be the King of Britain not only undermined the authority of the English monarchy, but also fed into the ongoing debate over the English succession, an issue which was becoming increasingly volatile. The controversial implications of the verses were heightened when the Bishop of Aberdeen, in his address at the baptism, repeatedly referenced Prince Henry’s connection to the English throne. When Bowes confronted Waldegrave about the text, he claimed that he had refused to print the Bishop’s address for fear of offending Elizabeth, but had been unaware of the potentially controversial content of\textit{Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia} as he ‘had no Latin’.\textsuperscript{554} This was probably not true, as in 1595 Waldegrave added a Latin dedication to George Buchanan’s \textit{De prosodia libellus}, and therefore it seems likely that Waldegrave feigned ignorance in an attempt to avoid the consequences of offending the English sovereign, also claiming that the King had directly commanded him to print the work. This suggests that while James exerted a significant level of control over Waldegrave’s output, Waldegrave was shrewd enough to manipulate the situation to his own advantage on occasion, feigning ignorance, or claiming that he was only following the orders of his royal patron, when material he printed in Scotland threatened to damage his own interests in England. Whilst he appears to have been primarily the instrument of the King, he was able to exercise a level of agency, if only in the form of denial or abdicating responsibility for the texts he produced.

\textsuperscript{553} Cameron, \textit{Calender of Scottish Papers}, Vol. 11, pp.420-431.
\textsuperscript{554} Cameron, \textit{Calender of Scottish Papers}, Vol. 11, pp.430-1.
Although the text carries none of the royal woodcuts Waldegrave used for other material commissioned directly from the King, the account of the circumstances of their production given by Robert Bowes indicate that the King had authorised their production although he claimed not to have read the verses. However, James also rejected Bowes’ suggestion that they were offensive to Elizabeth, as, being descended as he was, he could not but make claim to the crown of England after the decease of her Majesty, who was well pleased to promise to him that upon his good behaviour towards her she would never hurt or impeach his title or right therein.

Waldegrave’s publication of *Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia* in 1584 can be considered both in the context of the royal baptism, and that of the English succession crisis. The latter had a significant impact on Waldegrave’s relationship with the English authorities, and was the driving force behind the publication of several significant texts Waldegrave printed in the closing years of the century.

**ii: Succession Literature**

Succession literature became more prevalent in both England and Scotland during the 1590s as Elizabeth’s increasing age made the question of her heir more pertinent. Elizabeth’s failure to marry and produce an heir forced contemporaries to consider the various candidates across Europe who had a lineal claim to the English throne. During the early years of her reign there had been a number of potential English candidates: Catherine Grey, the younger sister of Lady Jane Grey, and primary claimant from the Protestant House of Suffolk; Margaret Douglas and her son Henry Darnley, Catholic claimants descended from Margaret Tudor; and the Puritan Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, the brother-in-law of Elizabeth’s favourite Robert Dudley, whose claim

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556 Cameron, *Calender of Scottish Papers*, Vol. 11, pp.430-1. After the execution of MQS in 1587 Elizabeth had assured James that his mother’s treason would have no impact on his position within the English succession.
descended from the Duke of Clarence. However the most significant candidate was Mary Queen of Scots, who was descended from Henry VIII’s older sister, Margaret Tudor.

There were however a number of obstacles which prevented the acceptance of Mary as Elizabeth’s heir during the 1560s, the most obvious being Mary’s adherence to the Catholic religion, which was considered a threat to the Protestant religious settlement established in 1559. Legally her position was also questionable, as the Will of Henry VIII and 1544 Succession Act omitted the line of Margaret Tudor from the English succession, whilst the descendants of her younger sister, Mary, were specifically referenced. However there was a fear that the Catholic Mary, who could expect support from the European Catholic powers, could not legally be kept from the English throne in the event of Elizabeth’s death, and this conclusion contributed to the decision to execute her for treason in 1587, after her involvement with the Babington Plot.

During the early years of Elizabeth’s reign, particularly after her illness in 1562, the question of the succession became a subject of speculation within the court and beyond. It was considered in contemporary drama, such as the 1561 play Gorboodeuc by Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, which examined the consequences of subverting hereditary succession. However, as the Queen was young the assumption was that she would marry and produce an heir, thus circumventing any problems caused by the Catholic faith of the closest claimant to the throne. However, by 1571 the Queen’s


continued spinsterhood made discussion of the succession politically dangerous, domestically and internationally. The Papal Bull excommunicating Elizabeth in 1571 made it the duty of Catholics both within and without England to remove her in favour of Mary Stuart, the Catholic heir and therefore discussion of the succession was made illegal.\textsuperscript{559} This was bolstered by the 1581 censorship legislation which made it illegal to address the situation in print, although some pamphlets still appeared in London discussing the issue. Like the Marprelate tracts, the publication of succession literature throughout the final decades of Elizabeth’s reign supports the definition of the public sphere put forward by Lake and Pincus, that individuals within early modern society contributed to public debate in ties of particular tension, regardless of the legal prohibitions against such engagement.\textsuperscript{560} It also helps to broaden this understanding of the public sphere into the early modern Scottish context as well as the English one, as a number of succession tracts were produced in print and in manuscript towards the end of the century.

The appearance of these tracts in Scotland was linked to James VI’s concern over the English succession, and the publication of similar literature in England, despite the legal obstacles to it. After the execution of his mother in 1587 James VI became the hereditary successor of Elizabeth, and a tense but regular correspondence was established between them. Around this time Elizabeth wrote to James that, although his mother had been executed under accusation of treason and therefore forfeited her titles and positions,

\begin{quote}
There shall be nothing done by us or any other with our assent that may tend to prejudice, hinder, or impeach any title that you may after our time pretend to this crown, which promise of ours we do mean for our part inviolably to keep, with condition that you for your part will attempt nothing during our life neither
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{560} Lake & Pincus, ‘Rethinking the Public Sphere’, p.277.
directly or indirectly nor assent that any other shall attempt anything that may
either breed peril to our person or trouble to our estate.  

In 1596 James had this letter officially recorded by his privy council, but there was no
further acceptance from Elizabeth of his right to claim the English throne after her
death. Until 1595 James petitioned the Queen to accept his position within their
correspondence, however after 1595, although he continued to request that she
recognise his position either in through Royal proclamation or in her Will, he made
steps to bolster publically his claim through printed material, as well as sending
ambassadors to different European courts seeking support and acknowledgement of his
claim.  

The impetus for James’ increased activity was rooted in the publication of
Robert Parsons’ *A Conference About the Next Succession to the Crowne of Ingland*, a
Catholic polemic published in 1595 which challenged James’ right and asserted that the
Infanta of Spain, Isabella Clara Eugenia, had the strongest hereditary claim to the
English throne. It consisted of two books, the first examining the nature of monarchical
succession, and the second considering the various claimants competing to be
recognised as Elizabeth’s heir, concluding that on genealogical grounds the strongest
claim came the Catholic Infanta of Spain. The numerous legal issues surrounding
James’ claim were minutely examined, and his claim deemed insubstantial. Parsons, an
exiled English Jesuit who resided in Spain, gained the support of the Pope for the text,
which, after publication in Antwerp, was swiftly disseminated across England and
continental Europe.

James’ displeasure at the text is well recorded, and he repeatedly used the work as a
justification of his policy of sending ambassadors abroad to gain recognition of his

p.1120.
It also motivated him to explore the use of print to promote his claim to the English throne and to refute the arguments within Parson’s text. In 1598 and 1599 James commissioned two texts from Waldegrave which explicitly dealt with the English succession, Peter Wentworth’s *A pithie exhortation to her Maiestie for establishing her successor to the crowne* (1598) and the pseudonymous Irenicus Philodikiaos’ *A treatise declaring, and confirming against all objections the just title and right of the moste excellent and worthie prince, Iames the sixt, King of Scotland, to the succession of the crowne of England* (1599). Although these are the only printed tracts dealing with succession Waldegrave produced directly, the Scottish King’s *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* also printed by Waldegrave in 1598 can also be considered to be a piece of succession literature. The text directly challenges *A Conference About the Next Succession to the Crowne of Ingland*, arguing that a monarch may govern subjects of a different confessional background, and dismissing English common and statute law obstacles to James’ claim to the English throne. The pseudonym used by James for the tract, C Philopatris, is strangely similar to the one adopted by the unknown author of *A treatise declaring, and confirming against all objections the just title and right of the moste excellent and worthie prince, Iames the sixt, King of Scotland, to the succession of the crowne of England*, Philodikiaos, which may have led to an unconscious association between the two texts in the minds of the readers.

Waldegrave appears to have been reluctant to become involved in the publication of material concerning the English succession, as he feared that he could damage his chances of being able to return to his native country. Waldegrave was in a difficult position for as an exile and the Royal Printer to the King of Scotland he was not bound

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by the laws of England, and any suggestion that he was would undermine the position of his royal patron. Yet, as has been discussed, throughout the 1590s numerous appeals were made on his behalf to Elizabeth that he might be allowed to return to England, implying that, regardless of his respected position within the Scottish printing trade, his overwhelming desire was to return to his native country.

In February 1598 it was reported to Elizabeth that Waldegrave was resisting a request from James that he print ‘a book in Latin made by Walter Quinn the Irishman and corrected by Master Damon concerning the King’s title to England that it may be dispersed to foreign princes’. Waldegrave claimed that ‘he fears…[that] printing it grieve his conscience, offend her Majesty and utterly lose his country,’ but that his refusal could endanger not only his position in Scotland but his liberty.\(^{566}\) This attempt to display his own lack of autonomy in the production of such material failed to mollify the English authorities and there is no doubt that Waldegrave’s continued involvement with succession literature put paid to any possible pardon from his native country. The Scottish King must have been aware of the added frustration that the involvement of an English printer in the production of succession literature caused to the English authorities and Elizabeth herself, and that this would likely prevent Waldegrave ever receiving a pardon. James was evidently willing to follow his own course, both to promote his claim and display a level of spiteful one-upmanship to the English, regardless of the personal cost to his printer.

A similar mentality can be seen in the publication of Wentworth’s *A pithie exhortation to her Maiestie for establishing her successor to the crowne* in 1598. Wentworth, an English, Puritan MP, initially wrote the first half of the tract in 1587, decrying

Elizabeth’s policy of silence on the succession, and condemning her for failing to fulfil her duty to God and her people. He outlines the chaos that would follow her death if the matter remained unresolved, arguing that Parliament should weigh the various claimants and declare an heir during the Queen’s lifetime.\(^{567}\) Wentworth wrote the second half of the tract, *Discourse containing the Authors opinion of the true and lawfull successor to her Maiestie*, after being imprisoned in 1593 for his involvement in a Puritan plot to discuss the succession in the House of Commons. This second section promoted James’ claim to the English throne and addressed the key objections to it, whilst at the same time placing limits on the power of parliament, which had been championed in *A Pithie Exhortation*. Neale suggests that this shift was due to the fact that the *Discourse* was responding to Parsons’ *A Conference*, published in 1595 rather than laying out a coherent political agenda that had been the aim of *A Pithie Exhortation*.\(^{568}\) It may also have been an attempt on Wentworth’s part to curry favour with the Scottish monarch, who might be persuaded to intervene with Elizabeth on his behalf. Marginal notes in the first half of the tract, added by Wentworth’s friends also suggest a more pro-Scottish position than exists within the main body of the text.

Although Wentworth died in prison, his succession tract was smuggled to Scotland, and, given its support for James’ claim, was a logical choice of work to start James’ campaign to bolster his position in print. The fact that the tract was written by an Englishman gave greater weight to James’ position, as it implied a level of native support for his accession in England, regardless of the Queen’s refusal formally to acknowledge his rights. The origins of Irenicus Philodikaios’ tract are less clear, although the author claims to be English, declaring that his intention was to aid and

\(^{567}\) Peter Wentworth, *A Pithie Exhortation to her Maiestie for Establishing her successor to the crowne. Whereunto is added a Discourse containing the Authurs opinion of the true and lawfull successor to her Maiestie*, (Edinburgh, 1598) p.82.

inform his, ‘deare countrie-men…procuring thereby…the peace, honour, & prosperitie of this your native countrie’.569 The tract was not as widely disseminated as Wentworth’s, nor did it cause concern amongst the English authorities, although it dealt with the same controversial material.570 This was perhaps because the identity and nationality of the author was unknown and could not be proved, unlike *A Pithie Exhortation* whose author was notorious.

Both tracts are typographically simplistic, and Waldegrave avoided using any identifying woodcuts in their production, although he did utilise a number of ornamental letters, but not the letter frames he most often used. The sparse presentation of the tracts is more akin to the edition of Udall’s *The State of the Church of England* (1588), as the texts are devoid of printing and publication details, elaborate typefaces or other identifiable characteristics. This was perhaps an attempt on Waldegrave’s part to distance himself from the material he had been commissioned to print by the Scottish King because of the offence he knew it would cause in his native country. In contrast the 1598 edition of *The True Law of Free Monarchies* makes use of a wide variety of woodcuts, letter frames, ornamental letters and typefaces, and therefore has a different visual impact to the tracts that deal explicitly with the English succession.

After the publication of Philodikaios’ tract in 1599 Waldegrave printed no further succession literature. It continued to circulate around Europe, but tended to be in manuscript, as opposed to printed form. This shift away from printed succession literature may have been influenced by a number of factors: the expressions of displeasure from England, which may have jeopardised James’ future accession;

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569 Irenicus Philodikaios, *A Treatise Declaring and confirming against all objections the just and right title of the moste excellent and worthie Prince, Iames the sixt, King of Scotland, to the succession of the crowne of England*, (Edinburgh, 1599), pp.3-4.
Waldegrave’s reluctance to print such material; and the lack of material readily available to be printed. There is no doubt however that the succession literature Waldegrave printed on behalf of James was significant in maintaining his own controversial reputation in England and is a key example of where his official position was detrimental to his personal interests. His reluctant involvement in the production of succession literature in 1598/9 shows that regardless of his skill, he remained reliant on the patronage and good will of the King, acting primarily as his instrument in many situations, with only limited autonomy.

iii: The ‘Castalian Band’

Whilst much of the material Waldegrave printed throughout his Scottish career was politically or religiously significant, from 1594 he was consistently involved in printing various literary and religious material authored by members of the so-called ‘Castalian Band’, a group of poets and authors gathered around, and including, the King. The term itself is problematic, and has been explored by literary scholars and historians, who challenge the use of the term, which has become confused and in some cases anachronistic. The term ‘Castalian’ refers to the mythical spring on Mount Parnassus, the home of the Muses, which was named Castalia. It is a reoccurring reference within renaissance poetry, and is found within a sonnet written by James on the death of the ‘prince of poets’, Alexander Montgomerie in 1598,

What drousie sleepe doth syle your eyes allace
Ye sacred brethren of castalian band
And shall the prince of Poets in our land
Goe thus to graue unburned in anie cace.571

Scholars debate whether those poets operating with and around James were a highly organised grouping formed after 1582, who did in fact identify themselves as the

‘castalian band’ or whether this title has simply been applied to a loose grouping of court poets, retrospectively.\(^{572}\) It is logical that court poets would gravitate towards the King, who showed himself to be highly interested in literary pursuits during the 1580s, and while his focus shifted to political and religious writing in the final decade of the century, his continued connection with these poets may have encouraged Waldegrave to print their works. In order to examine Waldegrave’s ‘castalian’ output the ‘band’ will be defined as Alexander Hume, William Fowler, Walter Quinn, William Alexander, the Earl of Stirling and Alexander Montgomerie.\(^{573}\)

The work of Alexander Hume dominates Waldegrave’s output of ‘Castalian band’ material in the period 1594-1603, as of the twelve volumes Waldegrave printed, six were penned by Hume. Patrick Hume of Polwarth, Alexander’s elder brother, had previously been part of the literary court circle around James VI during the early 1580s, although little of his work survives. Alexander Hume, a moderate reformer, seems to have been particularly prolific in the early part of the 1590s and in 1594 Waldegrave printed four of his religious treatises, entitled, *Foure discourses of praise unto God, A treatise of the felicitie, of the life to come, Vnsavorie to the obstinate, alluring to such as are gone astray, and to the faithful, full of consolation, Ane treatise of conscience Quhairin divers secreits concerning that subiect, are discovered, and A reioynder to Doctor Hil concerning the descense of Christ into Hell.* Despite being published in quick succession, there is no consistency in the typography or layout of these volumes, suggesting that their production was relatively ad hoc, and not as part of a planned series printed consecutively. Hume’s 1599 work, *Hymnes, or Sacred songs wherein the right use of poësie may be espied* is considered a significant contribution to Scottish

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Protestant poetry, and its religious nature is emphasised by the dedication to the Protestant lay preacher Lady Elizabeth Melville. The typography of the volume however is more significant as the verses are all printed in black letter type, with roman marginalia, which does not conform to the typographical conventions of Scotland, which Waldegrave adhered to in the vast majority of circumstances. Unlike in England, Scottish readers did not expect religious books to be printed in black letter, which was used for official volumes and proclamations, but in roman, and therefore Waldegrave’s use of black letter in this case is intriguing. It is unlikely that it was a decision based on the content of the text, or that the text itself was destined for a non-Scottish audience. Rather, it appears that Waldegrave’s use of black letter type may have been due to the pressure his press was under in 1599. Of the twelve texts Waldegrave is known to have printed in 1599, three were printed in black letter, Hume’s *Sacred Songs*, Thomas Tusser’s *Five Hundred pointes of good husbandrie*, and a translation of *The conversion of a sinner* by L. de Granada. None of these texts were of an official nature and therefore there is no clear reason for them to be printed in black letter. However, in 1599 Waldegrave produced three significant texts, which were printed in roman type for aesthetic and political reasons, namely Irenicus Philodikaios’ succession tract, *A treatise declaring, and confirming against all objections the just title and right of the moste excellent and worthie prince, Iames the sixt, King of Scotland, to the succession of the crown of England*, a pirate copy of Sir Philip Sidney’s *The Countesse of Pembroke’s Arcadia*, and the first edition of seven copies of James’ *Basilikon Doron*. Whilst the volume of *Arcadia* was commercially significant, both Philodikaios’ volume and *Basilikon Doron* were commissions from the King and therefore must have taken precedence over any other material Waldegrave produced during 1599. Although the choice of roman for *Basilikon Doron* was most likely an aesthetic choice on

Waldegrave’s part, the use of roman for Philodikaios’ work was unavoidable as the volume was destined to be read outside Scotland, where roman type was associated with academic discourse. Sidney’s *Arcadia* was a well-known text, and the English edition, printed in roman, was available in Scotland, which perhaps influenced Waldegrave’s typographical choices for his version. With his roman type utilised in the production of these works he may have been forced to find alternative types for the other texts, leading him to use black letter type in unconventional settings.

The only work of William Fowler printed by Waldegrave was also printed in black letter, although this was unsurprising as the volume in question was, *A true reportarie of the royal accomplishment of the Baptisme of Frederik Henry Prince of Scotland the 30 day of August 1594*, and as an official account of the baptism of the young prince it would traditionally have been produced in black letter. Fowler, who had associations with France, and often unclear religious affinities, was Queen Anne’s secretary during the 1590s and wrote a large amount of material of literary significance, however most survives only in manuscript form. Waldegrave is known to have printed three funeral verses authored by Fowler, for Sir John Seton of Barnes and Elizabeth Dowglass in 1594, and the English Ambassador Robert Bowes in 1597.

The third member of the ‘Castalian band’ whose work Waldegrave printed was Walter Quinn, an Irish poet studying in Scotland. On New Year’s Day 1596 Quinn presented the King with an ‘oration touching his title which [was] well accepted and he was placed at the Master of the Household’s table to be rewarded’. Quinn was commissioned by the King to write a version of this oration for publication, as well as a

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576 Mackie, *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, Vol. 13 Part 1, p.120
refutation of Spencer’s *Faerie Queen*, which portrayed his mother, Mary Queen of Scots in a manner that undermined his authority and right to inherit the throne of England. It was this tract on the English succession Waldegrave protested strongly against printing in 1598, despite his involvement with Wentworth’s *A pithie exhortation* (1598), and Philodikaios’ 1599 succession treatise. Quinn became a tutor to the young princes of Scotland, and in 1600 Waldegrave finally printed a volume of his work, *Sertum poeticum, in honorem Iacobi Sexti serenissimi, ac potentissimi Scotorum Regis*, which included a number of epigrams based on the King’s name, and a variety of poems. Despite Waldegrave’s previous reluctance to print for Quinn, the volume is elegant and carries a number of ornate woodcuts depicting the royal crest, suggesting royal support for the innocuous work.

![Figure 16: Royal crest details from Walter Quinn, *Sertum poeticum, in honorem Iacobi Sexti serenissimi, ac potentissimi Scotorum Regis* (Edinburgh, 1600), EEBO.](image)

The least innocuous work printed by Waldegrave for a member of the ‘Castalian Band’ is Alexander Montgomerie’s *The Cherrie and the Slae*, which Waldegrave printed twice in 1597. Montgomerie had been an associate of the royal favourite Esme Stuart, was a poet of note before James’ personal rule, and was purportedly held up by the King as a master poet and his own mentor. During the 1580s Montgomerie served in the war

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against Spain, but in the 1590s was forced into exile, his Scottish pension withdrawn
and given to a committed Protestant, as Montgomerie’s Catholic faith became apparent.
In July 1597 he was outlawed for his involvement with the failed Tyrone rebellion, and
died in hiding a year later. Waldegrave’s 1597 editions of *The Cherrie and the Slae*
appear to have been originally motivated by the King’s guilt over Montgomerie’s exile
and later, his death, which had also led him to authorise and fund Montgomerie’s burial
on consecrated ground at Canongate Kirk, despite his exile.\(^579\) This is unlikely to have
been the sole reason for their publication in 1597, as the notoriety of the exiled author
made them a sound commercial investment. Helena Shire has suggested that the second
edition within the year is proof of this popularity, however, Roderick Lyall has
highlighted that the first edition was full of typographical errors that may also have
prompted a second edition.\(^580\) Visually the two volumes are very similar, utilising the
same border details and woodcuts, perhaps in an attempt to achieve consistency,
however there are typographical differences, such as the switch from italic to roman
type for the running titles and a slightly different layout of the title page. The overall
appearance of the second volume is more professional than the first, suggesting the
original edition had been rushed off the press to take advantage of Montgomerie’s
recent exile. The second edition also claims new input from the author, but this may
have been an attempt to pass blame for the first edition’s typographical errors, as
Montgomerie’s exile would have significantly impeded his contribution to the second
dition. As no further edition was produced on Montgomerie’s death in 1598, it seems
that there was limited demand to the notorious poet’s final work. Scholars have debated
the literary and religious significance of *The Cherrie and the Slae* extensively,
considering the literary and rhetorical tools Montgomerie used to explore ideas of

\(^{579}\) Sweetnam, *Calvinism, Counter Reformation and Conversion*, p.145.
Scotland*, (Tempe, 2005), p.29, 137 & 209.
happiness and contentment, and whether there are religious messages within the text. What is more significant when its publication is considered is where the impetus came from for the Royal printer to produce a text written by a Catholic exile, when he himself was strongly identified with the reformed faith.

iv: Miscellaneous Commercial Printing

It is texts like Montgomerie’s *The Cherrie and the Slae* which can be used to consider the level of autonomy Waldegrave enjoyed within his Scottish business. Anomalous texts such as the works of a Catholic exile or recently martyred Jesuit demand an understanding of the commercial aspect of Waldegrave’s press. As has been previously discussed in regard to how Waldegrave balanced his commercial and ideological interests during his English career, a similar attitude can be seen in the different motivations behind his decision to print first *The Cherrie and the Slae* in 1597 and Robert Southwell’s *Saint Peters Complaint* in 1600. It seems likely that the motivation to produce Montgomerie’s text stemmed from the King, Waldegrave’s primary patron, whose long-term relationship with Montgomerie spurred him to arrange an appropriate funeral for the outlaw, and not from any potential commercial benefit Waldegrave perceived. It is clear that Waldegrave did exercise a level of control over the texts he printed, his reluctance to print the succession tract penned by Quinn being a key example of this. In other situations his agency is more subtly displayed, for example in his dedication to James Lindsay in Dudley Fenner’s *Certain godly and learned treatise* (1592), which is one of the few examples of Waldegrave addressing the reader within his entire bibliography. He address to the reader in 1595 edition of George Buchanan’s *De prosodia libellus* speaker in highly laudatory terms of the former royal tutor’s linguistic teachings, perhaps stressing the utility of the text in order to justify publishing

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a work whose author had so extensively undermined the Scottish monarchy. In these cases Waldegrave’s decision to justify the publication works he produced implies that he sought to insulate himself from any concern caused by his actions.

However, when we consider the work of Robert Southwell which Waldegrave printed in 1599 there is no such caveat attached. Whilst the impetus to produce Montogmerie’s *The Cherrie and the Slae* in 1597 appears to have stemmed from Waldegrave’s royal patron, his decision to print a volume of poetry composed by the Jesuit martyr Robert Southwell is more perplexing. Southwell was an English Jesuit, who was executed for his faith in 1595, after being hunted down by Richard Topcliffe in 1592. His poetry has become the subject of study since the turn of the century, and whilst his work has previously been dismissed, it has become more widely acknowledged that he had a poetical influence over a number of his contemporaries, including John Donne and George Herbert. After his execution in February 1595, a volume of his poetry entitled ‘Saincte Peters Complainte with Mary Magdalens blushe and her Complaint at Christes deathe with other poems’, was entered into the Register by Gabriel Cawood, and was authorised by two of the masters of the Stationers’ Company. Cawood had previously registered a volume by Southwell in 1591, entitled, ‘Mary Magdalens funeral teares’, which had been authorised by the Archbishop of Canterbury, as opposed to a warden of the Company, perhaps because of the religious background of the author. Religious material was not necessarily taken to the ecclesiastical authorities for approval, but more controversial texts appear to have been sent to such august persons as a precaution.

582 George Buchanan, *De prosodia libellus*, (Edinburgh, 1595).
As Southwell’s work had been published in England before his death, it is unsurprising that the demand for his work after his execution made it a commercial success in England, despite its Catholic overtones. As well as the edition printed by Cawood, John Wolfe, the Beadle of the Company, sold an edition of *Saint Peter’s Complaint* printed for him by John Windet. Monta has suggested that Waldegrave’s motivation to produce Southwell’s poetry may have partly come from his dislike of Wolfe and Windet, with whom he had a number of professional conflicts in London during the 1580s. Windet had been the printer of a number of anti-Puritan texts which had contributed to the establishment of the Marprelate press, and Wolfe, in his role as Beadle, had lead the violent raid on Waldegrave’s print shop which had forced him into hiding.\textsuperscript{585} Waldegrave may also have been interested in Southwell due to the fact his patroness, Anne Dacre, was the wife of the Earl of Arundel.\textsuperscript{586} The Earl’s Catholic sympathies were well known and had been discussed by Marprelate in *The Epistle*, when Arundel’s secret press had been ignored by the authorities, despite its Catholic output, whilst Waldegrave had been raided and forced to flee.\textsuperscript{587} Monta has suggested that along with his professional jealousies, the primary motivation to publish Southwell’s work was his depiction of martyrdom, but in light of his wider bibliography and lack of overwhelming ideological conviction this seems unlikely.\textsuperscript{588} A more probable explanation is the broadening appeal of religious verse literature in Scotland and beyond, which, coupled with the notoriety of the author, made *Saint Peter’s Complaint* a secure commercial investment. Monta identifies a number of other editions of religious verse printed by Waldgrave in the 1590s, including John Davidson’s *A memorial of the life [et] death of two vvorthy Christians, Robert Campbel of the Kinyeanceugh, and his wife, Elizabeth Campbel* (1595), Henoch Clapham’s *A briefe of*

\textsuperscript{585} Monta, ‘Martyrdom in Print in Early Modern England’, p.291.
\textsuperscript{586} Peter Davidson & Anne Sweeney (eds.) *Robert Southwell Collected Poems*, (Manchester, 2007), xix.
the Bible drawne first into English poësy, and then illustrated by apte annotations, (1596) and Hume’s Hymnes, or Sacred songs wherein the right use of poësie may be espied (1599).\(^5^8^9\) There was therefore a clear market for verse material such as Southwell’s in Scotland, which Waldegrave had identified.

Waldegrave’s edition of *Saint Peters Complaint*, published in 1599, is similar in format to these other verse publications he printed during the final years of the century. Typographically simplistic, using roman and italic fonts, Waldegrave avoided the use of black letter type, despite the religious nature of the text. This supports Monta’s belief that the edition was designed to compete with those being produced in London, which were also presented in roman type.\(^5^9^0\) Waldegrave also presented a ‘Protestant’ version of the poems, omitting and amending them as necessary to adhere to Protestant theology, reflecting his personal affinity to the reformed belief. Whilst he removed any sense of theological uncertainty, he also amended the biblical annotations and side notes, drawing on the English, Protestant Bishop’s Bible, thereby sanitising the Catholic volume for a predominantly Protestant audience.\(^5^9^1\) This may have been an attempt to broaden the readership of the tracts, or a necessary action to enable them to be sold in the Scottish market. As the Royal Printer, had he printed an unchanged version of the poems he could have suffered reprisals from both the King and the Scottish Kirk, his main patrons. Within Scotland, as in England, Catholic literature continued to circulate in manuscript form, and it is likely that the original poems were available in manuscript for Catholic readers.\(^5^9^2\) *Saint Peter’s Complaint* can therefore be seen as an example of Waldegrave making an autonomous decision to publish a text with strong commercial potential, but amending it both for a legitimate audience within Scotland and also to

\(^5^8^9\) Monta, ‘Martyrdom in Print in Early Modern England’, p.289.
\(^5^9^0\) Monta, ‘Martyrdom in Print in Early Modern England’, p.292.
\(^5^9^1\) Monta, ‘Martyrdom in Print in Early Modern England’, p.292.
conform to his own religious beliefs. The fact that he was also able to pirate a text produced by one of his rivals in London was likely a happy coincidence.

Unlike *Saint Peter’s Complaint*, Waldegrave’s 1599 edition of Philip Sidney’s *The Arcadia* has become notorious as an example of Elizabethan piracy, although as it was printed in Scotland it was not technically a pirate copy of the text licensed to William Ponsonby by the Stationers’ Company in London.\(^{593}\) Ponsonby and Waldegrave were known to each other, having collaborated on two works by John Tomkys printed by Waldegrave in 1585 and 1586 and sold by Ponsonby, whose shop was close to the White Horse, from which Waldegrave had worked in 1585.\(^{594}\) The third edition of *The Arcadia*, produced in 1598, was printed for Ponsonby by Richard Field, the former apprentice of Thomas Vautrollier, and sold for the price of nine shillings. Waldegrave’s edition which emerged in 1599, sold for only six shillings and appears to have been based on the 1598 English edition.

Whilst other scholars have examined the complicated trial and court actions taken by Ponsonby to protect his right to print *The Arcadia*, there are some key details to consider when Waldegrave’s role is explored.\(^{595}\) Ponsonby, aware that the English authorities had no control over texts printed in Scotland claimed that the Cambridge printers John Legatt and William Scarlett, along with the London based Richard Banckworth, John Flasket, Paul Lynley and John Harrison the Younger had:

> Imprinted or caused to be imprinted divers of the said bookes called *Arcadia* wither in Cambridge or in your highness Citie of London of in some other place within your highness realme of England and …they have in the first page & title


\(^{594}\) A godly and comfortable treatise, very necessary for all such as are over-laden with the burden of their sinnes, & do seeke comfort in christ, by the vndoubted promises of saluation, made to them that with true fayth do come vnto him, (London, 1585).

of the booke sett downe the same booke to be printed in Edenborough within the realme f Scotland with the King priveledge.\textsuperscript{596}

By suggesting that the volume had been printed in England and not Scotland Ponsonby no doubt hoped for swift retribution and destruction of the texts, which, retailing for 6 shillings, were undercutting his own edition. Unfortunately for Ponsonby the texts were undoubtedly printed by Waldegrave in Edinburgh, and a large number brought to England by his former collaborator and Charnel Chapel neighbour, John Harrison II.\textsuperscript{597}

The extensive use of some of Waldegrave’s more distinctive woodcuts, including the thistle letter frame and border details depicting the Scottish royal crest help to refute Ponsonby’s claim the work had been produced in England. Waldegrave was evidently aware that he would suffer no ramifications for his involvement with the text, although those involved with its dissemination in England would be further condemned by the evidence of his involvement with the text. Therefore it seems likely that in the first instance Waldegrave’s 1599 edition of \textit{The Arcadia} was designed for a Scottish audience, not an English one, as had the group of English stationers involved in disseminating it commissioned an edition from Waldegrave he surely would have omitted the imprint and any identifying woodcuts, as he had for other material he wished to distance himself from. Although Ponsonby, who stood to lose out financially reacted decisively against the Edinburgh edition, the Sidney family themselves seem unconcerned about it, remaking that it would ‘make them good cheepe’ and no doubt extend the readership of the book.\textsuperscript{598} It seems that Waldegrave was determined to pursue a commercially viable text, regardless of his professional relationship with Ponsonby, which might have caused a pang of conscious to others less concerned with maintaining a financially successful business. The anomalous texts within Waldegrave’s Scottish bibliography can almost all be explained in this way, as examples of

\textsuperscript{596} Star Chamber, Elizabeth P/5/6 Appendix B, pp.156-158. 
\textsuperscript{597} Judge, \textit{Elizabethan Book Pirates}, p.105.
\textsuperscript{598} Rowland Whyte to Robert Sidney, 1 Sept. 1599 (CKS U1475 C12/156) f. 30r.
Waldegrave pursuing a commercial success before concerns such as religion, nationality and personal relationships.

CONCLUSION: INSTRUMENT OR AGENT?

Waldegrave’s output continued steadily throughout his final years in Scotland, despite the apparent dip in 1601. He printed a number of significant texts during this period, particularly the 1603 edition of Basilikon Doron, reprinted for a public audience. Although his output for 1603 was the fourth highest throughout his entire Scottish career, it included a large amount of ephemera, which has survived due to its subject matter, namely the accession of James VI to the English throne. It is unclear whether Waldegrave travelled with James to London when he left Edinburgh in April 1603, as an edition of Thomas Tusser’s *Fiue hundreth points of good husbandrie* appeared in 1604 supposedly printed by Waldegrave in London. However, although the preliminaries and the cover page of the 1604 edition are markedly different from the 1599 edition, the main body of the text is identical, and it is possible that the 1604 edition was simply the 1599 one with a different cover page and that Waldegrave never in fact returned to London before his death. According to the imprint on a proclamation issued by the Scottish Privy Council on 5 January 1604, the text was printed by Waldegrave’s widow, suggesting that Waldegrave himself died in the final months of 1603. By the end of March 1604 Waldegrave’s widow and children had sold his equipment and publishing rights to Thomas Finlason, a Scottish printer, who also purchased the printing rights of Robert Smith in 1602 and John Gibson in 1606. At this point Finlason owned the most printing rights in Scotland, a feat Waldegrave never achieved, despite serving for more than a decade as Royal Printer.  

599 **McKerrow, A Dictionary of Printers & booksellers, p.103.**
After his accession to the English throne James made great use of the press in England, whilst letting his Scottish interests fade. This was perhaps due not only to his relocation to London but the death of Waldegrave, his most powerful weapon in the war of words he had conducted during his Scottish reign. Had Waldegrave survived it seems likely he would have followed James to London, however whether he would have retained his position as Royal Printer seems more dubious, his skills and resources, both practical and financial being far less substantial than his English rivals.

It has been concluded that during his English career Waldegrave was not a martyr, but a relatively pragmatic businessman, who published material with an eye to his religious affinity, but balancing this against the commercial needs of his press. In comparison during his Scottish career, whilst some of his bibliographical choices appear commercially motivated and opportunistic, for the majority of the time he was subject to the interests and needs of his patrons, first the Scottish Kirk, then the King. An examination of both his output and personal circumstances where known, highlights that for the most part he was an instrument of the King’s, with very little autonomy to act as he wished in his bibliographical choices. Whilst the material he printed was varied, the majority of it reflected the needs or political agenda of James, as can be seen in the variety of literature considered here. Regardless of Waldegrave’s own personal position, the King used him to further his own interests, both within Scotland on matters of religion, monarchical authority and political power, and abroad, particularly on the subject of the English succession.

Had Waldegrave been less skilled than his Scottish contemporaries it seems likely that he would have remained a printer for the Scottish Kirk until his death, however his superior skills brought him into the service of the King. This potentially saved him from
the fate of John Penry, Waldegrave’s Marprelate colleague, who was exiled from Scotland and returned to England only to be imprisoned, tried and executed for his involvement with the fugitive press.\(^{600}\) James, aware of the power of printed media and eager to show his authority to both the Scottish Kirk and the English queen may have taken the opportunity to appoint the notorious ‘Puritan’ exile to display this in a publically powerful manner.

This is not to say that once across the border Waldegrave abandoned his commercial interests altogether. He swiftly retreated from the Kirk, neglecting the trans-national religious network which may have initially enabled his flight and establishment in Scotland in 1589, in favour of his more powerful royal patron, although the level of autonomy he enjoyed in this situation appears to have been limited. Throughout his tenure as Royal Printer he also made attempts to distance himself from material he was commanded to print which hampered his personal interests, and sought to print commercially successful material both with and without the support of his royal patron. His ideological commitment to religious texts appears to reflect the attitude of James VI and the demands of the Scottish market, rather than any firm belief on his part, further supporting the conclusion that he was a commercially minded printer, albeit with a religious affinity to the Puritan cause, although in the Scottish context he rarely had full autonomy over his bibliographical choices. Like other English printers in Edinburgh before him, he maintained a presence within the trans-national print trade spanning England and Scotland, producing texts for sale in both nations. The trans-national dissemination of his early Scottish output authored by Penry provides the first evidence of his continued presence in the English market, and this connection continued throughout his Scottish career. As previously discussed, in collaboration with John

Norton, Waldegrave exported a large parcel of books to London in 1591, and although this was seized by the authorities, it provides evidence that Waldegrave’s output continued to be sold on the English market even after his establishment in Edinburgh. His involvement in the production of an unauthorised version of *The Arcadia* in 1599 and various English authored succession literature also helped Waldegrave to retain his controversial image in England, whilst working primarily within the Scottish market.

Whilst there is plenty of evidence to suggest that Waldegrave and his output was influenced by the Scottish printing trade, there is limited material to suggest that he had a similarly significant impact on the Scottish printing trade. Whilst much of the material he produced was anglicised to some extent, as there had been a long-term trend towards Anglicisation, dating from the start of the century, it is not possible to credit him with affecting a wholesale change in the language of print in Scotland. His anglicised output merely reflects this broader trend, which was likely brought about by the closer relationship England and Scotland enjoyed during the second half of the sixteenth century, assisted and expanded by the trans-national network of religion and print, of which Waldegrave was part. The significant political and social changes which occurred in Scotland after James VI’s accession to the English throne in 1603 also make it difficult to assess the nature of the Scottish print trade before and after this date with any level of accuracy. Before his removal to London in 1603 James, through Waldegrave as Royal Printer, dominated the Scottish print trade, significantly influencing the nature of the works printed. The loss of both the King and his Royal Printer in 1603 profoundly changed the nature of the Scottish print trade, as domestic printers such as Robert Charteris and Thomas Finlason grew in significance, but lost their greatest patron, the King.

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James used his experience of the print trade, gained through his relationship with Waldegrave and Vautrollier before him, and on his removal to England was quick to establish strong relationships with prominent members of the Stationers’ Company, including John Norton, who he appointed the King’s Printer for Latin, Greek and Hebrew in May 1603, although Robert Barker inherited his father’s more prominent office of Royal Printer. Norton’s partnership with his cousin Bonham Norton, and his former apprentice John Bill, established a rival power base, against Barker, which was consolidated after Norton’s death in 1612, when Bonham and Bill entered into an arrangement with Barker, cemented by the marriage of Barker’s son and heir to Bonham’s daughter. The King’s Printing House, operated by Barker, Bonham and Bill during James VI & I’s reign has been the subject of a recent study by Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, which considers the realities of the printing house against the competing professional and personal interests of the three key stationers, and the role and influence of the King. James, unlike Elizabeth, personally took control over patents and censorship, and was able and willing to offer his printers legal protection, even from the Stationers’ Company, if it was in his interests. The King also took an active role in the promotion of texts that strengthened his political and religious position, the epitome of this being authorised King James Bible, printed in 1611 by Robert Barker. Whilst the Rees and Wakely’s study of the King’s Printing House provides a great many insights into the workings of Printing House, and James’ relationship to print in England, it does not connect this with the King’s earlier relationship with the Scottish printing trade. In the context of his broader relationship with print, his use of the King’s Printing House demonstrates his awareness of the power of print, garnered in the years he patronised Waldegrave in Edinburgh, and his

602 Barnard, 'Politics, Profits and Idealism', p.333.
high level involvement with the printing house can be seen as a reflection of the level of control he had previously exercised over Waldegrave. The involvement of John Norton and John Bill and James’ support of their position is also more significant when it is considered as part of the trans-national network of print, within which the two printers had operated before 1603. The greatest impact that Waldegrave appears to have had on the nature of printing in a trans-national context is that his relationship with James VI offered the King a model for his use of print on his accession to the English throne in 1603.
Over the course of this thesis three major themes have been examined. The first of these is whether Robert Waldegrave truly was ‘one of the great Puritan printers’ of the sixteenth century, ‘devoted to furthering the cause of the discipline’. This characterization of Waldegrave has been systematically analysed throughout his career, and shown to be a reductive understanding of his role and activity. The second major theme is the role Waldegrave played within the Scottish print trade, and the new understanding of the trade that can be reached through consideration of his career and its significance. The final theme underpinning this research is the nature and role of networks of print, patronage and religion within which Waldegrave operated in England and Scotland.

Multifaceted and complex, Waldegrave’s career spanned two countries, four decades and numerous controversies. Whilst it is tempting to consider only his radical or politically significant roles, that is, his position as the Marprelate printer, as the English producer of succession literature, or as the printer of James VI’s controversial works on kingship and monarchical authority, it is important to consider these instances within his wider career and question assumptions about his motivation and autonomy. The traditional focus on Waldegrave’s tenure as the Marprelate printer has contributed to the notion that he was an ideologically motivated religious radical. The image of a persecuted religious martyr-printer is no less appealing to modern scholars than it was to the sixteenth-century ‘martinist’ readers; however when his career is considered within the broader context of the early modern print trade rather than as part of this

teleological narrative, and his bibliography is examined as a whole, rather than the focus falling on only four texts, it is possible to trace a more nuanced narrative of his career.

When placed within this wider context it becomes clear that Waldegrave was not the dedicated religious radical typically presented by historians, rather that he was a stationer with an affinity for the radical Protestant cause, struggling to maintain a business when faced with the commercial and financial constraints in London, then Edinburgh, who therefore constantly sought to balance his commercial needs with his religious beliefs.

Analysis of Waldegrave’s bibliography within the context of his personal circumstances leaves little doubt that he did sympathise with the radical reformed Protestant cause and aligned himself with other stationers who shared a similar affinity to radical Protestantism. Some, such as Thomas Man, have a greater claim to be considered committed Puritan publishers than Waldegrave. Man’s overall bibliography provides a stronger argument for designating him to be a Puritan publisher than Waldegrave’s output, as on the majority of occasions Man autonomously decided to produce, or cause to be produced, Puritan literature, whereas Waldegrave was more likely to be a junior partner, reliant on another stationer, such as Man, for the financial investment to produce a text. Therefore it is difficult to define Waldegrave primarily as a Puritan printer on the basis that, during the period between 1578-1584, the motivation to produce much of the Puritan literature he was involved with came from others within his printing network, not his own religious convictions.

Between 1584-88 Waldegrave printed three texts which demonstrate a relatively strong affinity with the Puritan cause however, in a way that the rest of his English
bibliography does not. These three tracts were Fulke’s *A Briefe and Plaine Declaration* printed in 1584, Beza’s *The iudgement of a most reuerend and learned man from beyond the seas concerning a threefold order of bishops*, (1585) and Udall’s *The State of the Church of England* which Waldegrave printed in early 1588. All three expressly support the Puritan cause, and the impetus for production came directly from Waldegrave himself, acting autonomously as opposed to on behalf of any of his collaborators. As has been explored, Waldegrave was aware of the controversial content of *The State of the Church of England*, making extensive efforts to conceal his involvement with the text’s production by omitting any identifiable woodcuts or typographical details which could reveal his identity, which was ultimately unsuccessful. However, apart from these three specific texts Waldegrave can be understood to be a commercial printer with a personal affinity to the Puritan movement, which could only be demonstrated within favourably financial circumstances, or through collaboration with other stationers sympathetic to reformed Protestant literature.

Waldegrave’s involvement with the Marprelate press must therefore be reassessed in light of the circumstances he found himself in during April 1588. Although he had professional ties to both Udall and John Penry through the production of their work during his English career, had he not been on the run due to the earlier raid on his premises there is no guarantee that he would have chosen to become involved with the press at this stage, as he had a solid business and a wide network of collaborators who could supply him with work. As Waldegrave’s role was not merely to place ‘Martin’s’ words onto the page, had circumstances not led him into exile at such an opportune moment and had another printer been commissioned, there would have been a significant impact on the Marprelate tracts and their effects. Instead Waldegrave played
a key role in all areas of the tracts’ production and distribution, reflected in his strong financial involvement with the publications, and played a significant role in shaping the texts for publication with a considered manipulation of typographical conventions and readers’ expectations.

Waldegrave also served as a valuable rhetorical tool, providing ‘Martin’ with a Puritan martyr/printer whose persecution could be documented and condemned. It was through this presentation of his career that Waldegrave’s image as a Puritan printer has developed and persisted. Although the representation of Waldegrave within the Marprelate tracts provides a compelling figure for study, it is naive to accept ‘Martin’s’ Waldegrave as the genuine article given his propagandistic utility. If the broader context and evidence is considered then his career appears more nuanced, and the constant balance between commercial and ideological interests becomes more apparent. Similarly it is important to question the assumption that Waldegrave fled to La Rochelle for six months in 1589, as there is no evidence to support his presence there, and the political situation in France makes it unlikely that he would have fled to the city by choice although scholars have previously accepted this assumption as it conforms to the long accepted image of Waldegrave as a radical martyr printer.607

Regardless of his whereabouts in the preceding months, there is no doubt that by December 1589/90 Waldegrave was operating a press in Scotland, producing Puritan literature penned by fellow exile John Penry, alongside religious texts for the Scottish Kirk. Through the study of Waldegrave’s Scottish career our knowledge of the Scottish print trade during the sixteenth century has been extended and deepened, and the significance of the King’s patronage and the role of English stationers has been

607 Robbins, City on the Ocean Sea, p.182.
established. His appointment to the role of Royal Printer to James VI in October 1590 has been given little consideration by scholars, but can be seen as both a logical choice, given his superior skills and personal circumstances, and a highly politically charged decision on the part of the Scottish King as it challenged the authority of both the Scottish Kirk and the English Queen.  

As a printer with known Puritan sympathies, Waldegrave produced a number of texts for the Kirk during his early months in Scotland, and may have established himself as a commercially successful printer in Edinburgh serving the Kirk. His appointment as Royal Printer allowed the King to supplant the Kirk as his primary patron, and deprived the Kirk, with whom James was at odds, of a valuable asset. Although Waldegrave continued to print religious material, from October 1590 he could only support the radical Presbyterian cause so long as it did not impede his royal patron’s interests. On the international stage, Waldegrave’s appointment inevitably offended Elizabeth and the English authorities, who sought to capture the Marprelate exiles and punish them for their involvement with the press. James’ disregard of the English regime’s request to expel Waldegrave is important, as he eventually capitulated and returned Penry to them.  

James evidently valued Waldegrave’s skills and was willing to risk the displeasure of his cousin to retain him as Royal Printer, potentially as a sign that he, unlike Elizabeth, could harness this renegade printer to serve his own interests. Although James made overtures to the English authorities during Waldegrave’s Scottish career to secure a pardon for his involvement with the Marprelates, it was hampered by Waldegrave’s involvement with succession literature which challenged Elizabeth’s ban.

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610 Rickard, Authorship and Authority, p.40.
on the discussion of the English succession south of the border. These texts were directly supported by the King, who would have been aware of the likely negative reaction to them in England, and therefore he appears to have pursued his own interests regardless of the personal cost to his printer.

For the majority of his Scottish career Waldegrave appears to have been the instrument of the King, enjoying scarcely more autonomy than he had as a minor printer in England. His attempts to exert his own agency during his Scottish career are limited, and primarily focused on distancing himself from texts he was ordered to produce, although his 1599 edition of Sidney’s *Arcadia* and the 1600 edition of Southwell’s poetry highlight the fact that he was still considering his commercial interests, although they were superseded by the needs of his patron. To consider Waldegrave’s Scottish career therefore is to examine his relationship with his royal patron. Waldegrave’s relationship with James VI is significant, both in terms of the history of Scottish printing, and the understanding of James’ own relationship with print, which was unusual for a monarch in the period. Previously the role of Waldegrave within the Scottish print trade and the significance of his relationship with James VI during both the King’s Scottish and English reigns has been given limited attention by scholars, but as has been shown the impact of Waldegrave’s career was significant and lasting in the both the Scottish and English contexts.

James’ high level of involvement with Waldegrave’s press in Edinburgh can be understood as a previously unacknowledged precursor to the control he enjoyed over the King’s Printing House, and an indication of the manner in which he would use print during his English reign. Throughout his Scottish reign James made extensive use of

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print to support his personal, political and religious interests, supporting the publication of works by himself and his associates through Waldegrave’s press. After 1603 he continued to make use of the medium of print, drawing on printers such as John Norton, John Bill and Bonham Norton, who had played roles within the trans-national network of print during the final decades of the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{613} Investigations into the relationship between the crown and print in England after 1603 must therefore be considered in light of the relationship between James VI and Waldegrave during the final decade of the sixteenth century.

Waldegrave enjoyed significant patronage through his appointment as Royal Printer to James VI and was able to enjoy the protection and relative financial security ensured by the support of a significant patron for the remainder of his career. However, as has been shown, the patronage of the King did not enable Waldegrave to act with greater autonomy than in London, and had a negative impact on his personal interests in regards to his desire to return to England. James made extensive use of print, and therefore Waldegrave, to promote his interests at home and abroad, and Waldegrave was highly vulnerable as an English exile, reliant on the King’s protection and goodwill to avoid the fate suffered by his colleague John Penry. Consequently Waldegrave was compelled to meet his patron’s needs regardless of his own interests, a situation rarely acknowledged by scholars considering the role of patronage within the early modern print trade. Whilst it is clear that patronage could offer an author, and a stationer, protection and reward, either financial or otherwise, but could also restrict and limit their autonomy. This is keenly demonstrated by Waldegrave’s career, as his autonomy during his English career was limited by his lack of patronage and resultant financial constraints, but it was more severely hampered once he was appointed Royal Printer in

\textsuperscript{613} Barnard, ‘Politics, Profits and Idealsim’, p.333; Rees & Wakely, \textit{Publishing, Politics and Culture}. 331
Scotland, where the interests of his patron superseded and in some cases impeded his own personal interests.

In the context of the history of the Scottish printing trade, Waldegrave’s tenure as Royal Printer was significant, as it marked a point when print was being more extensively utilised by the monarch, increasing its role and significance. Waldegrave also contributed to the continuing trend of Anglicisation within Scottish literature, at a point when there was increasing discussion of the value and use of the Scottish vernacular. Although he did not initiate this process, the volume of material produced by his press undoubtedly increased the volume of anglicized material printed and circulating in Scotland. He also may have been motivated to anglicise further religious material which supported the radical Protestant cause for distribution through the trans-national religious network, particularly in the wake of English attacks on the Scottish Presbyterian Kirk. The shift in James’ focus from Scotland to England in 1603 and Waldegrave’s death in the same year left the Scottish print trade without its primary printer and key patron, contributing to the expansion of collaborative printing in the country at the turn of the century, where stationers operated within partnerships to ensure a lucrative business, unable to operate independently as Waldegrave had.

When the full span of Waldegrave’s career is addressed in England and Scotland, it becomes clear that the networks within which he operated played a significant role in shaping his output and career. A number of complex, interlinked networks of print, patronage and religion influenced and restricted what autonomy he was able to exercise. By establishing the significance of these networks within the context of Waldegrave’s career it is possible to offer them as a framework through which other stationers’

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615 McKerrow, A Dictionary of Printers & booksellers, p.67.
careers can be examined and understood. The most significant networks within which Waldegrave operated were the networks of print in London and Edinburgh, as well as the wider trans-national print network which encompassed both England and Scotland. This research has demonstrated the role and importance of these networks, both as a method for understanding and contextualising Waldegrave’s career, and also as a new way of appreciating the nature of the print trade within the British Isles.

As with the networks of patronage and religion considered here, the networks of print Waldegrave engaged with were non-hierarchical in the most part, involving major and minor stationers alike, and provided the basis for financially viable trade during the Elizabethan period. In establishing this framework for understanding the nature of the London print trade as early as 1578 when Waldegrave was apprenticed, this research takes the concept of syndicates and group production identified by Evenden as dominating the trade during the 1590s, and traces it back before the death of John Day in 1584.616 This therefore challenges the notion of the ‘great’ individual stationers during the first half of Elizabeth’s reign, as the network indentified in London involved a number of major stationers who collaborated both with each other and minor, jobbing printers, to produce texts throughout the period.

Although the concept of networks within the printing trade has been considered by a range of scholars, there has been very little consideration of the widespread practice of collaborative production within St Paul’s Churchyard during the sixteenth century although there is a wealth of information available on the practice within the Registers.617 By considering the known personal, professional and geographical ties of the different stationers operating within London it has been possible to trace a web of

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stationers with whom Waldegrave was connected and with whom he worked during the
decade he operated a press in London. The presence of such print networks within the
London trade provides a new framework through which to consider the careers of
individual members of the Stationers’ Company, as well as a broader context within
which to place the production of specific texts. It also raises significant questions about
the level of autonomy individual stationers enjoyed within the network they operated,
whether the texts they are known to have produced were the product of collaboration,
and is so the nature of that professional relationship. In the case of Waldegrave a
thorough examination of his print network highlights the fact that much of the Puritan
material he produced was printed at the request of one of his collaborators, and that he
was rarely sufficiently confident in the commercial potential of Puritan texts to risk
producing them independently, highlighting the balance he sought to maintain between
his commercial and ideological interests.

By focusing on Waldegrave’s role and relationship with the Marprelate press it has been
possible to place ‘Martin’ within the context of both the national network of print, and
the national and trans-national networks of religion and patronage to which Waldegrave
was tied. Waldegrave’s pre-existing professional relationship with John Udall highlights
the professional nature of Waldegrave’s involvement with the press, whilst Udall’s own
connection the Scottish lords in Newcastle can now be understood within the context of
the trans-national networks of print and religion within which Waldegrave operated.618
By building on Cathryn Enis’ work concerning the ties between ‘Martin’s’ press, the
Warwickshire gentry and the nobility including the Earls of Leicester and Warwick it
has been possible to place Waldegrave within a wider network of patronage and
reformed Protestant sympathizers, confirming his ties to radical Protestantism without

618 Arber, An Introductory Sketch, p.170; Donaldson, The Relations Between the English and Scottish
Presbyterian Movements, p.217; Black, The Martin Marprelate Tracts, xlvi.ii.
relying on his personal narrative as presented by ‘Martin’. Placing Waldegrave, Throckmorton, Penry and Udall within the wider, non-hierarchical radical reformed Protestant network contextualises the Marprelate press within the wider Puritan community, and helps to establish the various trans-national connections between the Scottish Kirk and these four members of the radical Protestant movement in England. This contextualisation of Waldegrave within a broader trans-national religious network helps to explain why Waldegrave was treated so differently to his replacement Marprelate printers, as he was not merely working with the press but contributing to a trans-national network of religious reformers who endangered the stability of the Church of England.

Waldegrave’s involvement with the network of Puritan patronage, involving stationers, authors, clergy, gentry and nobles who supported further reform of the English Church, can also be seen to have limited his autonomy after his commitment to the Marprelate press in April 1588. Before this point he engaged with it superficially, and his connections to it have been traced through the examination of Waldegrave’s bibliography, the circumstances for its publication and the dedications carried on some of the texts. The dedications carried by Waldegrave’s output indicate a group of Elizabethan nobles and other prominent individuals who were considered to have Puritan sympathies and whose patronage was solicited by the authors Waldegrave worked with. The dedications carried speculative requests for patronage after publication, allowing the authors to use the convention of gift giving between client and patron to secure potential future support or protection.

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620 See Appendix 5.
Although a large proportion of Puritan material continued to be produced abroad in Antwerp and Middleburg, there were a number of stationers who actively encouraged its production and dissemination in London. Waldegrave’s collaborator Thomas Man is a key example of a stationer pursuing a radical Protestant agenda through print, and a large amount of the Puritan literature Waldegrave produced was a product of his collaborations with Man. Unlike Waldegrave, Man was willing and able to invest his own capital to ensure Puritan material was produced. Other stationers in London supported the production of reformed Protestant literature, some of which were part of Waldegrave’s network of print. Although Waldegrave evidently had a degree of sympathy for the radical Protestant cause he was not necessarily the most ideologically driven stationer operating in London in the late-sixteenth century, although he is traditionally presented as the most significant Puritan printer during the period.

Waldegrave does not appear to have benefited personally from the dedications included in his English bibliography, although the presence of so many dedications to prominent Puritan sympathizers within his printed output undoubtedly brought his existence and Puritan affinities to the notice of those to whom texts were dedicated, and those who opposed the content of the texts, further embedding him within the wider Puritan and trans-national religious networks. His association with this wider network may also have contributed to his acceptance as Marprelate printer in 1588, as his Puritan sympathies had been widely displayed and were then able to be exaggerated and augmented to suit the needs of ‘Martin’.

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Examination of Waldegrave’s Scottish career has allowed new aspects of the late-sixteenth century print trade in Scotland to be identified and explored. As has been shown through the analysis of the topography of print in Edinburgh, the network of connected stationers in the city during the century was less extensive and significant than the network which existed in England. This was due to the limited nature of the Scottish print trade at the time, and the reliance on imported texts from the continent, which left few stationers with the financial capital to operate independently or on a full time basis. Consequently collaborations were invariably necessary to produce substantial vernacular texts, and before Waldegrave, even printers who enjoyed the support of the crown and the Kirk were often financially constrained.

The trans-national network of print outlined in chapter four significantly extends our understanding of the print trade in Scotland during the later half of the sixteenth century whilst at the same time broadening our understanding of the London based industry. The careers of John Norton, Thomas Vautrollier, and by association Richard Field, not only provide a significant model for Waldegrave’s own Scottish career, but show that the involvement of English stationers within the early modern Scottish print trade was well-established and therefore Waldegrave’s career was not without precedent. Indeed it may have been Waldegrave’s knowledge of and contact with those stationers who had operated successful businesses north of the border that encouraged him to relocate to Scotland after deserting the Marprelate press in 1589. Whilst their motivations for operating businesses in Scotland may have been different, Vautrollier and Norton both contributed to and continued to work with the Scottish printing trade once they returned to England, helping the establish cross border trade interests. At times this included both Waldegrave’s English and Scottish businesses, as he was known to produce

Scottish texts during his English career, and export books to England from his Edinburgh based press, some of which were produced specifically for sale by John Norton in London. Due to their continuing ties to Scotland, the significance of the London based print network within which Vautrollier, Field and Norton operated has been shown, as many of their associates benefited from Field and Norton’s associations with Scotland after the accession of James to the English throne in 1603. Had Waldegrave not died in the same year, it is possible that his own London based printing network may have benefited from his association with the new King in the same manner. By establishing these trans-national professional ties this research has nuanced the idea that the two industries operated in isolation, as they were in fact both contributing to a wider trans-national trade with numerous links, one of which being Waldegrave.

Within the context of Waldegrave’s career, the trans-national printing network was supported by the existence of a trans-national network of religious reformers in England and Scotland. Building on Donaldson’s research into the ties between the English Puritans and the Scottish Presbyterians is has been possible to extend the known network and tie it into both a broader network of radical Protestants who supported Puritan print and the wider trans-national printing network through Waldegrave, whose career and flight to Scotland was influenced by both the networks of print and religion. As has been shown, there were extensive ties between the English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians at all levels of society. During the English authorities attack on the Scottish Kirk in the late 1580s and throughout the 1590s Waldegrave was able to support the trans-national response to this threat through print, which could be

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625 Ferguson, ‘Relations Between London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers, pp.154-5; Bruce, Correspondence of King James VI, pp.90-92.
626 Donaldson, The Relations Between the English and Scottish Presbyterian Movements.
disseminated on both sides of the border through the trans-national print network.\textsuperscript{627} Vautrollier’s removal to Scotland, like Waldegrave’s was supported by the Scottish Kirk, although no evidence can be found to support the idea that the Kirk funded the establishment of Waldegrave’s Scottish press, and as mentioned, his motivation for relocating there likely stemmed from a combination of political, ideological and commercial concerns. However, the fact that some of the first texts produced by Waldegrave in Scotland concerned the defense of the Scottish Kirk against Bancroft’s attack demonstrates some form of connection between them even in the initial weeks Waldegrave worked in Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{628}

In engaging with Waldegrave’s characterization as a Puritan printer, his Scottish career and these thematic areas of networks of print, patronage and religion, a number of traditional assumptions about Waldegrave’s career and the industry in which he worked have been dispelled or nuanced to develop a new way of framing the careers of early modern printers and understanding the nature of the printing trade within England and Scotland in the sixteenth century. Drawing on the interdisciplinary field of book history, and the history of the print trades of England and Scotland during the early modern period it has been possible to build upon existing research into the nature and significance of the sixteenth-century print trade, and the wide range of scholarship concerning the role of networks in society as well as trade, to present a new way of considering the print trade which takes into account the religious, political and economic influences over the industry, and acknowledges the trans-national aspects of the trade.

\textsuperscript{628} John Penry, \textit{A briefe discovery of the vntruthes and slanders (against the true gouernement of the Church of Christ) contained in a sermon, preached the 8. [sic] of Februarie 1588. by D. Bancroft and since that time, set forth in print, with additions by the said authour. This short ansvver may serue for the clearing of the truth, vntill a larger confutation of the sermon be published}, (Edinburgh, 1590); John Davidson, \textit{D. Bancrofts rashnes in rayling against the Church of Scotland}, (Edinburgh, 1590).
Although this research has deepened our understanding of Robert Waldegrave, the print trade and multiple networks within which he worked it has also raised a number of new wide ranging research questions which have not been addressed within the scope of this study. The network model developed to contextualise Waldegrave’s career should be considered within the wider context of Elizabethan printing, and it would be valuable to investigate whether such networks were typical and whether it is possible to extend them both chronologically and geographically. The experience of stationers based outside St Paul’s Churchyard in areas such as Black Friars and Paternoster Row may be harder to map topographically due to the lack of work similar to Blayney’s on St Paul’s Churchyard, but would be worth pursuing as it seems likely that any networks of print established in these areas would be part of a wider network which involved stationers within St Paul’s Churchyard, as it was the commercial epi-centre of the trade.629

Moving beyond the London-based print trade, the study of the trans-national network of print encompassing England and Scotland could be extended by an investigation of whether there existed a trans-national readership in both countries. This would involve examining the inventories of significant private libraries in both early modern England and Scotland to establish whether texts truly achieved a trans-national ownership and readership. It would also be interesting to consider new ways of mapping the trans-national networks to enable further research. Recently, through his research into the networks of Marian exiles on the continent between 1553-8, Martin Skoeries at the University of Leipzig has developed a computer program which is able to produce a visual representation of personal religious networks.630 If this technology could be

629 Blayney, ‘The Bookshops in Paul’s Cross Churchyard’.
harnessed within the context of trans-national print and religious networks it may be possible to build up a more accurate image of the relationship between these two networks.

More broadly it would be logical to consider whether the trans-national networks of print and religion also encompassed the print trade of the Low Countries in the latter half of the sixteenth century, given their political ties with both England and Scotland. Andrew Pettegree has remarked on the significance of Antwerp as a printing centre during the middle of the sixteenth century, when around 70% of the city’s output was destined for exportation.  

Booksellers in England and Scotland were inevitably amongst the consumers of the material produced in Antwerp and across the Low Countries. As a large amount of radical Protestant literature continued to be printed abroad in cities including Antwerp and Middleburg, and Scotland continued to rely upon the import of the majority of texts sold in the country, it would be interesting to consider whether the print trade between these three countries was in fact underpinned by networks of religion, conforming to the idea put forward by Graham that strong trade networks were generally built upon deeper social or personal networks.

Within the Scottish context the examination of Waldegrave’s career raises numerous questions for further consideration. In the first instance this study has not considered the importation of printed material into Scotland during the sixteenth century, which would be the logical extension of any examination of a broader trans-national network of print encompassing the Low Countries alongside England and Scotland. As there was no printing network similar to the London model in Edinburgh during the late sixteenth

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633 It is likely that this, along with a further consideration of Anglicisation with early modern Scottish print, will be covered by the new volume within the Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland series due for release in March 2014.
century, presumably due to the relatively limited nature of the industry at that point, and the existence of a number of urban printing centres, it is possible that something similar may have developed during the seventeenth century. To enable an investigation into this it would be necessary to map the topography of the print trades in Glasgow, Aberdeen and St Andrews, in order to extend the scope of the map of Edinburgh’s trade. The impact of James VI, the industry’s greatest patron’s relocation to England in 1603 is also worthy as further study, as in conjunction with Waldegrave he drove the print trade within Edinburgh during the final decade of the sixteenth century.

To conclude this thesis has offered a broader and deeper explanation of the career of Robert Waldegrave, placing this supposedly Puritan printer within the context of the networks of print, patronage and religion within which he worked during his complex and varied career. Underpinned by a wealth of scholarship concerning the History of the Book and the English and Scottish printing trades, the role and nature of popular printing and the significance of the public sphere and the relationship between religion and print in both England and Scotland, this research has questioned the traditional assumptions surrounding the Waldegrave’s career and established a new framework of interlinked networks within which to examine it. Thorough analysis of his entire career and bibliography within the context of these networks has shown that throughout his career Waldegrave attempted to balance with his affinity with the radical Protestant cause with his commercial needs. His autonomy as a printer fluctuated and at no point during his career was he free to pursue his own ideological interests without considering his financial or legal position, or the interests of his patron. Rather than the ideologically driven martyr printer portrayed within the Marprelate tracts and presented by numerous historians he was a pragmatic Puritan, whose religious interests were
balanced against his commercial ones, and whose career was shaped by the networks within which he worked.
Appendix One

Transcript of Merchant Taylors’ Company Indenture, 1611
British Library Collections C106.cc.3

This indenture witnesseth that John the

Sonne of ------- of Chitwood in the Country of Buck esquier

doth put himself Apprentice to Thomas A-erscitezen and marchaunt tailor of London, merchant of

---- ----staple and one of ye merchante of the levant, turkey and ffro—Compiariot. To

learne his arte: And

with him (after the manner of Apprentice) to serve from the Day of the Date of those present ---don --ures

unto the full end and terme of nyne yeeres from thence next following to be fully compleat and ended. During

Which terme the sayd Apprentice, his sayde master faithfully shall serve, his secret kept, his lawfull commandementes everywhere

Gladly do: He shall doe no damage to his sayd master, nor know to be done by other, but that to his power shall lik or foorthwith

give warning to his sayde master of the same: hee shall not waste the goods of his sayd master, nor lend them unlawfully to any:

He shall not commit fornication, nor contract matrimony within the sayd terme, He shall not play at the Cardes, Dice, Tables or

any other unlawfull games whereby his sayd master may have any osse: with his owne goods or others, during the said terme (without

licence of his sayd master) hee shall neither buy nor sell: hee shall not haunt taverns, nor absent himselfe from his said masters

service day nor night unlawfully. But in all things as a faithfull apprentice he shall behave himselfe towards his said master

and all his, duing the said terme. AND the said master, his saydt Apprentice in the same Arte which hee useth, by

the best meanes hee can shall teache and instruct, finding unto his saide Apprentice, meate, drinke, apparel, lodging and all

other necessaries, according to the custome of London during the sayd terme. And for the true performance of
all and singular the sayde Covenantes and Agreementes, either of the sayde parties bindeth himself unto the other by these presente.

In Witnes whereof the parties aboue named to these Indentures unterchangeably have put their handes and seales the Eighteenth Day of February in the yeere of our Lord God, One Thousand sixt hundreth and Eleven. And in the Nynthe yeere of the Reign of our Sovereigne Lord King James.
Appendix Two

COVENANTS OF AN INDENTURE OF APPRENTICESHIP, Familiarly explained and enforced by SCRITURE for the Use of the APPRENTICES of the CITY of LONDON

London, Printed by Henry Fenwick, Little-Moorfields, Printer to the Honourable City of London 1794

Indenture of Apprenticeship,
Which ought to be frequently read by Apprentices.

This Indenture Witnesseth, That _______________Son of ________________Late of ____________doth put himself Apprentice to ______________Citizen and ___________________________of London, to learn his Art, and with him (after the Manner of an Apprentice) to serve from the Day of the Date hereof, unto the full End and Term of seven Years from thence next following to be fully compleat and ended; during which Term the said Apprentice his said Master faithfully shall serve, his secrets keep, his lawful Commands every where gladly do. He shall do no Damage to his said Master, nor see it to be done of others; but that he to his Power shall let or forthwith give warning to his said Master of the same. He shall not waste the Goods of his said Master, nor lend them unlawfully to any. He shall not commit Fornication, nor contract Matrimony within the said Term. He shall not play Cards, Dice, Tables or any other unlawful Games, whereby his said Master may have any Loss. With his own Goods or others, during the said Term, without Licence of his said Master, he shall neither buy nor sell. He shall not haunt Taverns nor Play Houses, nor absent himself from his said Master’s Service Day or Night unlawfully, but in all things, as a faithful Apprentice, he shall behave himself towards his said Master, and all his, during the said Term. And the said Master in Consideration of ____________________________his said Apprentice in the same Art which he useth, by the best Means that he can, shall teach and instruct, or cause to be taught and instructed, finding unto his said Apprentice, Meat, Drink, Apparel, Lodging, and all other Necessaries, according to the Custom of the City of London, during the said Term. And for, the true Performance of all and every the said Covenants and Agreements, wither of the said Parties bindeth himself unto the other by there Presents. In Witness whereof, the above named to these Indentures interchangeably have put their Hands and Seals the __________Day of __________in the __________Year of the Reign of our Sovereign of the united Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; and in the Year of our Lord &c

A Copy of the Testimony Given by every Master to the Chamberlain when he makes his Apprentice Free of the City of London

‘NAMELY, You declare upon the oath that you took at the Time of your Admission into the Freedom of London that R.B. did serve you Seven years, from the Date of his Indenture, after the manner of an Apprentice and according to the Covenants in his Indenture, and in that Time did not marry nor take Wages to his own Use as you know or believe.’
No Apprentice can be made Free by Servitude until his Master or Masters (or in case they are dead or in Parts beyond the seas, some Freeman of London) has testified his Service for Full seven years as above; and therefore it is incumbent on every Apprentice carefully to observe and perform the Covenants of his Indenture, that he may not by marrying or taking wages forfeit all Title to the Freedom of London, or by other Misbehaviour disable his <Aster from giving that Testimony without which he cannot obtain it.

Masters ought to enroll their Apprentices at the Chamberlain’s Office within Twelve Months from the Date of their Indentures, it being for their mutual Advantage. And in Default thereof the Master is to pay the Fine of 9s 2d and all Turnovers not passed at the Chamberlain’s Office as well as their Company are ineffectual and void.
## Appendix Three

### Robert Waldegrave’s Annotated Bibliography 1578-1604

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>SCTrans Date</th>
<th>SCTrans</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Printer/Publisher</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Dedication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1578</td>
<td>17 June 1578</td>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>Waldegrave,</td>
<td>A castle for the soule containing many godly prayers, and divine meditations, tending to the comfort and consolation of all faithful Christians, against the wicked assaults of Satan. Dedicated to the right honorable, Lord Ambrose, Earle of Warwicke, with an alphabet upon his name. Sene and allowed.</td>
<td>Thomas Dawson for Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1579</td>
<td>5 Dec 1579</td>
<td>Waldegrave – lycenced vnto him vnnder the [eh]andes of the Wardens, A dialoge of a Christian unlearned: provinge ye unlearned papist to be yo[u]ng Romanistes and Schismatikes and the unlearned Christians to be old Romanistes and true Catholiks : vjd</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580</td>
<td>2 June 1580</td>
<td>Waldegrave – tolerated vnto him a sighte in th[e] element in Cornewall : iiijd</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580</td>
<td>2 Nov 1580</td>
<td>Waldegrave – lycenced vnto hum vnnder the handes of the wardens a dialogue between BALDWINand a Sailor : vjd</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Tolerated by</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>1580</td>
<td>14 Dec 1580</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Lycenced vnto him vnder master Watkins his hande the Anchor of faith grounded uppon the Sacred scriptures vjd Robert Waldegrave – Tollerated vnto him by master Watkins fflatteries Displaie vjd</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580</td>
<td></td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>The order of matrimonie.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580</td>
<td></td>
<td>Horne, William</td>
<td>A Christian exercise containing an easie entrance into the principles of religion</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>9 Jan 1581</td>
<td>Waldegrave – tolerated vnto him by the wardens, The wonderfull worke of GOD shewed upon a Childe in Als[ing]ham in the Countie of Suffolke lyenge in a Traunce : vjd NB passed onto Edward WHITE : Edward White, assigned over the him from Robert Wal[de]grave the thinge of the Childe abouementconed - vjd, 13 Jan 1581</td>
<td>Phillips, John</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edward Denny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The wonderfull worke of God shewed vpon a chylde whose name is William Withers, being in the towne of Walsam, within the countie of Suffolke: who being eleven yeeres of age, laye in a traunce the space of tenne dayes, without taking any manner of sustenance, and at this present lyeth, and neuer speaketh, but once in twelue, or four and twentie houres, and when he commeth to himselfe, he declareth most straunge and rare things, which are to come, and hath continued the space of three weeks.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Licence/Received</th>
<th>Licence Details</th>
<th>Publisher/Author</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>10 Jan 1581</td>
<td>Lycenced vnto him vnder the hand of master Watkins, three little bookees. Intituled as foloweth: <em>A confession and Declaration of praiers</em>, made by John Knox; Item the Confession of the faithe and doctrine believed and confessed by the protestantes of Scotland.; Item a sermon of LUTHER upon the XXth [Chapter] of JOHN : xviijd</td>
<td>Waldegrave</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>15 March 1581</td>
<td>Waldegrave – Receyued of him for printinge A confession of faithe agreed upon In Scotland at a parlement. Allowed vnder the Bishops [ie of London] hand and master Coldoks : iiijd</td>
<td>The Confession of the true &amp; christian Fayth according to God's word, and Actes of Parliament holden at Edenburghe, the eyght and twentie day of Januarie one thousande, five hundred, fourescore and one</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>28 April 1581</td>
<td>Waldegrave – Lycenced vnto him vnder the handes of the Wardens, The groundes of Christianytie : yjd</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>23 May 1581</td>
<td>T Man – Lycenced unto him under the handes of the warden the Substance of the Lorde supper shortelie and soundlie sette for the - vjd</td>
<td>A preparation into the waye of lyfe vvith a direction into the right vse of the Lords Supper; gathered by VWilliam Hopkinson, preacher of the worde of God.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave for John Harrison the Younger &amp; Thomas Man</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Month</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>1 July</td>
<td>Waldegrave – tolerated vnto him by the wardens, the Tryumphe Shewed before the Queene and the Ffrench Embassadors: vjd</td>
<td>Goldwel, Henry</td>
<td>1581</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>12 Aug</td>
<td>T Man Lycenced vnto him vnder the Bisshop of London his handes and master Dewcee A Caveat for Hawlette for his untimely flighte and Srichinge in the Cleare daie lighte of the gospel necessarie for him and the reste of that darke broode and uncleane cage of popistes written by John Ffield student in devinitie - vjd</td>
<td>Field, John</td>
<td>1581</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>13 Oct</td>
<td>W – Receaced of him for printinge A discourse of the Estate of Cambray during the Seige Allowed under the wardens handes :vjd</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1581</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td></td>
<td>A sermon of the famous and Godly learned man, master John Caluine chiefe Minister and Pastour of Christs church at Geneua, containing an exhortation to suffer persecution for followinge Jesus Christe and his Gospell, vpon this text following. Heb. 13. 13. Go ye out of the tents after Christe, bearing his rebuke. Translated out of French into english</td>
<td>Calvin, Jean</td>
<td>1581</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

351
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title and Notes</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Natural Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td></td>
<td>Holy Roman Empire, Emperor Charles V</td>
<td>The joyfull entrie of the Dukedome of Brabant &amp; the articles agreed vpon, and graunted by their lordes, and confirmed by the Emperor Charles the Fifte, and solemnely sworne by Philippe his sonne King of Spaine. Anno 1549. Set forth to the viewe of al louers of the truth, who openly may see therein, how the same in no wise is perfourmed, (the Lord in his mercie emende it) but to the contrary, in place of getting and preseruing of priuileges and liberties, they are through the inspiration of the Pope and his allied, with all crueltie and tyrannie, broken, taken away, &amp; totally voyd. Printed at Delft in Dutch, and Englished by R.V.S. 1581</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.B</td>
<td>A dialogue betweene a vertuous gentleman and a popish priest [ ... ]pleasaunt and profitable, both for ministers and gentlemen, men and vvomen, old and yong, made by I.B.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1582</td>
<td>19 Sept</td>
<td>W – Receaued of him of his licence to printe. A Singular and fratefull maner of prayer used by doctor MARTIN LUTHER and compiled at ye desire and instance of a Special frend of his. Uppon the Lordes praiuer the Ten commaundementes and the xii Artycles of Christian faythe under the handes of the wardens so far as it is otherwise lawfull : [no sum stated]</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, London</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Author</td>
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<td>1582</td>
<td></td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>Certaine short questions and answeres very profitable and necessary for yong children, and such as are desirous to be instructed in the principles of the Christian fyth</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave for Thomas Man</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1582</td>
<td></td>
<td>Beze, Theodore</td>
<td>A Discourse, of the True and Visible Markes of the Catholique Church</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1583</td>
<td>18 January 1583</td>
<td>T Smithe – Licenced vnto him vnder the handes of the Bishop of London and master Barker - an answere to a popishe treatise intituled 'An epistle to the right honorable lords of her maisties priuie counsel towching the persecution of Catholickes in England'</td>
<td>An ansvvere to a supplicatorie epistle, of G.T. for the pretended Catholiques written to the right Honorable Lords of her Maisties priuy Councell. By VVater Trauers, minister of the worde of God</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave for Tobie Smith</td>
<td>London</td>
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<tr>
<td>1583</td>
<td></td>
<td>Travers, Walter</td>
<td>A godly exhortation, by occasion of the late judgement of God, shewed at Parris-garden, the thirteenth day of Januarie: where were assembled above a thousand persons whereof some were slain</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave for Henry Carr</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1583</td>
<td></td>
<td>Field, John</td>
<td>Certaine verie worthie, godly and profitable sermons, vpon the fifth chapter of the Songs of Solomon: preached by Bartimeus Andreas, minister of the word of God; published at the earnest and long request of sundrie well minded Christians</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave for Thomas Man</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Publisher</td>
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<tr>
<td>1583</td>
<td></td>
<td>Day, Thomas</td>
<td>Wonderfull straunge sightes seen in the element, over the citie of London and other places on Munday being the seconde day of September: beginning betweene eight and nine of the clocke at night, increasing and continuing till after midnight: most strange and fearefull to the beholders</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, London</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1583</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marnix van St. Aldegonde, Philips van</td>
<td>A pithie, and most earnest exhortation, concerning the estate of Christiandome together with the meanes to preserve and defend the same; dedicated to al christian kings princes and potentates, with all other the estates of Christiandome: by a Germaine gentleman, a lover of his country</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, London</td>
<td>To all Christian Kings, Princes and Potentates'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1583</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fenner, Dudley</td>
<td>An abstract, of certain acts of parliament: of certaine her Maiesties inquisition: of certaine canons, constitutions, and synodalles prouinciall: established and in force, for the peaceable gouernment of the Church, within her Maiesties dominions and countries, for the most part heretofore vnknowen and vnpractized</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, London</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td>6 April 1584</td>
<td>Tymothie Rider – Graunted vnton him A copie yat was henry disleys called the widowes treasurer. PROVYDED THAT he shall not alienate this copue without licence of the master wardens and assistants and that Robert Waldegrave shall printe it for him/The booke concerneth phisicke and chiruurgerye vjd</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, London</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td>12 Sept 1584</td>
<td>John Harrison Junior – Recceued of him of printinge the Coat armoure of a Christian</td>
<td>The coat-armour of a christian, containyng diuers Godly prayers, and comfortable meditations, for the preseruation of the soule. Set Forth by I.P</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave for John Harrison the younger</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td></td>
<td>Phillips, John</td>
<td>A fruitfull Sermon upon the 3 4 5 6 7 and 8 verses of the 12 Chapiter of the Epistle of S Paul to the Romanes, etc</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chaderton, Laurence</td>
<td>A Brieve and Plaine Declaration concerning the desire of all those faithfull ministers that have and do seeke for the discipline and reformation of the Churche of England</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fulke, William</td>
<td>Libellus de Memoria verissimaque bene recordandi scientia, authore G P Cantabrigiens</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cantabrigiensis, G P</td>
<td>Huc accessit eiusdem admonitiuncula ad A Disconum de artificiosae memoriae quam publice profitetur vanitat</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fenner, Dudley</td>
<td>A counter-poyson modestly written for the time, to make aunswer to the obiections and reproches, wherewith the aunswerer to the Abstract, would disgrace the holy discipline of Christ</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td>See 1581 licence</td>
<td>Gee, Alexander</td>
<td>The ground of Christianitie composed in maner of a dialogue between Paule and Titus, containing all the principall poyntes of our saluation in Christ.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave for Thomas Woodcocke</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pagit, Eusebius</td>
<td>A godly and fruitefull sermon, made vpon the 20. &amp; 21. verses of the 14. chapter of the booke of Genesis wherein there is taught, what provision ought to be made for the ministrie: Very necessarie to be learned of all Christians</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Publisher</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td>The unlawfull practises of prelates against godly ministers, the maintainers of the discipline of God</td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td>Thomas Man - Receaued of him for printinge a Short Somme of the whole Catechisme gathered by master John Craig Minister of the worde of GOD in Scotland, Allowed under the wardens hands - vjd</td>
<td>Craig, John</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Oct 1581</td>
<td>A short summe of the whole catechisme: wherin the question is propounded, and answered in few words, for the greater ease of the common people and children / gathered by M. John Craig, minister of Gods worde, to the Kings Maiesty</td>
<td>Fenner, Dudley</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td>An abstract, of certain acts of parliament: of certains Her Maiesties iniunctions: of certaine canons, constitutions, and synodalles prouinciall: established and in force, for the peaceable gouernment of the Church, within Her Maiesties dominions and countries, for the most part heretofore vnknownen and vnpractized</td>
<td>Udall, John</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Charles, Lord Howard, Baron of Effingham</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td>Amendment of Life: Three Sermons upon Actes 2. Verses 37.38</td>
<td>Udall, John</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td>Obedience to the Gospell: Two Sermons Containing Fruiteful matter</td>
<td>Udall, John</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>N</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author</td>
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<tr>
<td>1584</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Examinations of the worthy servant of God, Mystresse Anne Askew, the younger daughter of Syr William Askew Knight of Lincolnshire, lately martyred in Smith-Fielde, by the Romish Antichristian Broode</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td>18 January 1585</td>
<td>Thomas Mann William Brome – Receaved of them for printinge a booke intytuled, An A.B.C. for Laye men - vjd</td>
<td>An A.B.C. for layemen, otherwise called, the laymans letters An alphabet for lay-men, deliuering vnto them such lessons as the holy Ghost teaches them in the worde, by thinges sensible, very necessary to be diligently considered.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave for Thomas Man &amp; William Brome</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td>28 June 1585</td>
<td>Thomas Mann William Brome – Receaued of him for printinge a booke made by master Wilcox upon the Cantycles - vjd</td>
<td>An exposition vppon the Booke of the Canticles, otherwise called Schelomons Song. Published for the edification of the Church of God. By T.VV</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave for Thomas Man</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td>7 Oct 1585</td>
<td>W – Alowed vnto him for his copie the lamentations of the prophet JEREMYE with a paraphrase upon the same, published by Daniel Toutsaints and Englyshed by. FF.S/ upon this Condycon nevertheles that the said Robert before he goo in hand to print yt shall procure it to be Aucthorised accordinge to her maiesties Injunctions: [no sum stated]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Note</td>
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<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td>Tomkys, John</td>
<td>A brief exposition of the Lordes Prayer, contained in questions and answeres: collected for the instruction of the unlearned, by John Tomkys preacher of Gods word in the towne of Shrewsburie. 1585. Seene and allowed according to her Maiesties inuictions</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td>Gee, Alexander</td>
<td>[The ground of Christianitee, composed in manner of a dialogue between Paule and Titus contayning all the principall poyntes of our Salvation in Christ</td>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td>Bisse, James</td>
<td>Two Sermons preached, the one at Paules Crosse, the eight of Ianuarie 1580, the other at Christes Churche in London the same day in the after noone</td>
<td>Sir John Horner &amp; Sir George Rogers</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td>Wilcox, Thomas</td>
<td>An Exposition vppon the Booke of the Canticles, otherwise called Schelomons Song Published by T W [ie Thomas Wilcox With the tex</td>
<td>Sir John Brockette, Sir John Suttes Knights &amp; Charles Morison</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td>Viret, Pierre</td>
<td>The Schoole of Beastes, intituled, the good Housholder, or the Oeconomickes [pt 2 dialogue of the work entitled: “Metamorphose chrestienne,”] translated out of French into English, by J B</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Editors</td>
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<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td></td>
<td>Beze, Theodore</td>
<td>The judgement of a most reuerend and learned man from beyond the seas concerning a threefold order of bishops, with a declaration of certayne other waightie points, concerning the discipline and gouernement of the Church</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bisse, James</td>
<td>Two sermons preached the one at Paules Crosse the eight of Ianuarie, 1580. the other at Christes Churche in London, the same day in the after-noone: by James Bisse maister of Arte, and fellowe of Magdalene Colledge in Oxenford</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave for Thomas Woodcoke</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td></td>
<td>R.M</td>
<td>An exercise for a Christian familie; contayning a short sum of certayne poyntes of Christian religion, with certayne godly prayers, psalmes, &amp; thanksgiuings, both before and after meales. Very necessary to be vsed in euery Christian familie.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A lamentable complaint of the commonalty, by way of supplication to the high court of Parliament, for a learned ministery</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td></td>
<td>Petrus Ramus</td>
<td>W – receave of him for printinge one sermon on the XIjth to the Romans and a sermon of master GIBSON preched at Okam, vpon condicon that they be lawfull and belong to no other: xijd</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1586</td>
<td>22 Aug</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Receaved of Richard Jones for Pryntinge the Englishe Secretarye. By warrant under master Warden Byshops hand and the booke comiled by ANGELL DAYE : vjd
Also Robert Walldegrave by his handwriting did consent to this entrance in Richard Jones his name

Day, Angel

The English secretorie. VVherein is contayned, a perfect method, for the inditing of all manner of epistles and familiar letters, together with their diversities, enlarged by examples vnder their seuerall tytles. In which is layd forth a path-waye, so apt, plaine and easie, to any learners capacity, as the like wherof hath not at any time heretofore beene deliuiered. Nowe first deuized, and newly published, by Angell Daye

Robert Waldegrave for Richard Jones
London

Edward De vere, Earl of Oxford

W – received of him for printinge the confutacon of the prognosticacon out of Calabria : vjd

Day, Angel

Vpon the life and death of the most worthy, and thrise renowned knight, Sir Phillip Sidney a commemoration of his worthines, contayning a briefe recapitulation, of his valiant vsage and death taken, in her Maiesties seruices of the warres in the Low-countries of Flaunders

Robert Waldegrave
London

NA

A sermon preached the 26. day of May. 1584. in S. Maries Church in Shrewesbury before the right honorable the Earle of Leicester, accompanied with the Earle of Essex, the Lorde North, diuers knightes, gentle-men of worshipfull callynge, the worshipfull baylues, aldermen and burgesses of the towne of Salop. By John Tomkys publick preacher of Gods word there: now first published by the authour. Seen, perused, and allowed accordyng to her Maiesties iniunctions

Robert Waldegrave for William Ponsonby
London

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>10 Jan 1587</th>
<th>W- Receaved of him for printinge the second part of ‘the Englishe Secretarye’ : vjd</th>
<th>Robert Waldegrave</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>22 Feb 1587</td>
<td>W – received of him for the printinge the life death and order of the funeralles of Sir PHILLIP SYDNEY knight deceased : vjd</td>
<td>Phillips, John</td>
<td>Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Life and Death of Sir P Sidney His funerals, etc [In verse]</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td></td>
<td>The xv. bookes of P. Ouidius Naso, entituled, Metamorphosis A worke very pleasant and delectable. Translated out of Latin into English meeter, by Arthur Golding gentleman.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td></td>
<td>A combat betwixt the spirite and the fleshe. A right fruiteful and godly sermon vpon the 6 and 7 verse of the 2 chap. to the Collossians: / by Wilfride Roos preacher of Gods worde..</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td></td>
<td>A forme of preparation to the Lordes Supper meete for all such as minde with fruite and comfort to communicate in the same / written by T.W.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td></td>
<td>A worthy treatise of the eyes contayning the knowledge and cure of one hundred and thirtene diseases, incident vnto them: first gathered &amp; written in French, by Jacques Guillemeau, chyrurgion to the French King, and now translated into English, togetheer with a profitable treatise of the scorbie; &amp; another of the cancer by A.H. Also next to the treatise of the eies is adoyned a work touching the preseruation of the sight, set forth by VV. Bailey. D. of Phisick De cancri natura et curatione. De cancri natura et curatione</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>To the people and inhabitants of B and H in the countrie of Hertford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>18 July 1586</td>
<td>W- received of him for printinge a treatise for the eyesight: Entered in full Court : vjd</td>
<td>Guillemeau, Jacques</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave for Thomas Man &amp; William Brome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Publisher</td>
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<tr>
<td>1587</td>
<td>11 Sept 1587</td>
<td>W – received of him for printinge A Tragedie or Dialoge of the unijust usurped primacie of the bishop of Rome, made by BARNERDINE OCCHINE in ix Dialogues translated into English by Doctor Ponet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1587</td>
<td></td>
<td>Udall, John</td>
<td>Peters fall Two sermons vpon the historie of Peters denying Christ, wherein we may see the causes of mans falling from God, and the maner how: both of the wicked thorow incredulitie, and of the godly by infirmitie: and also the way that God hath set downe in his word to rise againe</td>
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<tr>
<td>1587</td>
<td></td>
<td>Udall, John</td>
<td>The true remedie against famine and warres</td>
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<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td></td>
<td>Graie, H</td>
<td>A short and easie introduction to Christian faith conteining the summe of the principles of religion, necessary to be knowne of all before they presume to receiue the sacrament of the Lords Supper: set downe in questions and answers, and distinguished into chapters.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td></td>
<td>Penry, John</td>
<td>A defence of that which hath bin written in the questions of the ignorant ministerie, and the communicating with them.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Publisher</td>
<td>Dedication</td>
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<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>Penry, John</td>
<td>An exhortation vnto the gouernours, and people of hir Maisties countrie of Wales, to labour earnestly, to haue the preaching of the Gospell planted among them There is in the ende something that was not in the former impression</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Earl of Pembroke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>Udall, John</td>
<td>A demonstration of the trueth of that discipline which Christe hath prescribed in his worde for the gouernment of his Church, in all times and places, vntil the ende of the worlde Wherein are gathered into a plaine forme of reasoning, the proofes thereof; out of the scriptures, the euidence of it by the light of reason rightly ruled, and the testimonies that haue beene giuen therevnto, by the course of the churche certaine hundredths of yeares after the Apostles time; and the generall consent of the Churches rightly reformed in these latter times: according as they are alleaged and maintained, in those seuerral bookes that haue bin written concerning the same.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>Udall, John</td>
<td>Amendment of Life: Three Sermons upon Actes 2. Verses 37.38</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Charles, Lord Howard, Baron of Effingham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>Wilcox, Thomas</td>
<td>Two very lerned Sermons of M Beza, togethuer with a short sum of the sacrament of the Lordes Supper Whereunto is added a treatise of the substance of the Lords supper By T W</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Publisher</td>
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<tr>
<td>1588</td>
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<td>Udall, John</td>
<td>The state of the Church of Englande laide open in a conference betweene Diotrephes a bishop, Tertullus a papist, Demetrius an vsurer, Pandocheus an in-keeper, and Paule a preacher of the word of God.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>13 May 1588</td>
<td>Marprelate, Martin</td>
<td>W – A copie whereof he is to bringe the title ____ vjd (There are other entries where there are no titles included with the payment)</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Marprelate, Martin</td>
<td>The Epistle</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>November</td>
<td>Marprelate, Martin</td>
<td>The Epitome</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1589</td>
<td>January/February</td>
<td>Marprelate, Martin</td>
<td>Certain Mineral and Metaphysical Schoolpoints</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1589</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>Marprelate, Martin</td>
<td>Hay Any Work for Cooper</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rollock, Robert</td>
<td>In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Ephesios, Roberti Rolloci Scoti, ministri Iesu Christi in Ecclesia Edinburgensi, commentarius</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Comment</td>
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<tr>
<td>1590</td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>The confession of faith, subscribed by the Kingis Maiestie and his household togethervvith the copie of the bande, maid touching the maintenance of the true religion, the Kingis Majesties person and estate, &amp;c. : sseueraly to be subscribed by all noblemen, barrons, gentlemen and otheris, according to the tenor of the acte of secret counsell, and commissionis therein contained, as heirafter followeth.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590</td>
<td>Daneau, Lambert</td>
<td>The iudgement of that reuerend and Godly lerned man, M. Lambert Danaeus, touching certaine points now in controversy, contained in his preface before his commentary vpon the first Epistle to Timothie, written in Latine, and dedicated by him to the Prince of Orange. But novv translated into Englishe, for the behofe and comfort of all those, who (not understanding the Latine tongue) are desirous to know the trueth in those points</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Prince of Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590</td>
<td>Penry, John</td>
<td>A briefe discouery of the vntruthes and slanders (against the true gouernement of the Church of Christ) contained in a sermon, preached the 8. of Februarie 1588. by D. Bancroft and since that time, set forth in print, with additions by the said authour. This short ansvver may serue for the clearing of the truth, vntill a larger confutation of the sermon be published</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Edition</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>1590</td>
<td>Penry, John</td>
<td>An humble motion vwith submission vnto the right Honorable LL. of Hir Maiesties Priuie Counsell VVherein is laid open to be considered, how necessarie it were for the good of this lande, and the Queenes Majesties safety, that ecclesiasticall discipline were reformed after the worde of God: and how easily there might be provision for a learned ministry.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590</td>
<td>Penry, John</td>
<td>A treatise vwherein is manifestlie proued, that reformation and those that sincerely fauor the same, are vnjustly charged to be enemies, vnto hir Maiestie, and the state Written both for the clearing of those that stande in that cause: and the stopping of the sclaundraus mouths of all the enemies thereof.</td>
<td>Uncredited (attributed through STC)</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590</td>
<td>Welwood, William</td>
<td>The sea-lavv of Scotland shortly gathered and plainly dressit for the reddy vse of all seafairingmen</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590</td>
<td>Belus, John</td>
<td>Gratiarum actio ob profligatam Hispanorum classem</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590</td>
<td>Damman, Hadrianus</td>
<td>Schediasmata Hadr. Dammanis a Bisterveld gandavensis I. De nuptiis serenissimi potentissimique Scot. regis Iacobi VI. et serenissimae virginis Annae Friderici II. Daniae, Nordvegiae</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590</td>
<td>Davidson, John</td>
<td>D. Bancrofts rashnes in rayling against the Church of Scotland</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590</td>
<td>Burton, William</td>
<td>A sermon preached in the Cathedrall Church in Norwich, the xxi. day of December, 1589. by W. Burton, minister of the word of God there. And published for the satisfying of some which took offence thereat.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Place</td>
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<tr>
<td>1591</td>
<td>Ursinus, Zacharias</td>
<td><em>Catechesis religionis christinae : quae in ecclesiis &amp; scholis Palatinatus ac Belgii traditur : unà cum notis breuissimis</em></td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1591</td>
<td>Rollock, Robert</td>
<td><em>In librum Danielis prophetae, Roberti Rolloci Scoti, ministri Iesu Christi in Ecclesia Edinburgensi, commentarius</em></td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1591</td>
<td>Beze, Theodore</td>
<td><em>Propositions and principles of diuinitie propounded and disputed in the vniversitie of Geneua, by certaine students of diuinitie there, vnder M. Theod. Beza, and M. Anthonie Faius ... Wherein is contained a methodicall summarie, or epitome of the common places of diuinitie. Translated out of Latine into English, to the end that the causes, both of the present dangers of that Church, and also of the troubles of those that are hardlie dealt vvith els-vvhere, may appeare in the English tongue.</em></td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1591</td>
<td>Bruce, Robert</td>
<td><em>Sermons vpon the sacrament of the Lords Supper: preached in the Kirk of Edinburgh be M. Robert Bruce, minister of Christes euangel there: at the time of the celebration of the Supper, as they were receaued from his mouth</em></td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1591</td>
<td>James VI</td>
<td><em>His Maiesties poeticall exercises at vacant houres (The Furies [translated from Du Bartas] The Lepanto, La Lepanthe de Jacques VI, faicte Francoise par le Sieur Du Bartas)</em></td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1591</td>
<td>Bastingius, Jeremais</td>
<td><em>A catechisme of Christian religion taught in the schooles and churches of the Low-countries, and dominions of the countie Palatine: with the arguments, and vse of the severall doctrins of the same catechisme By Jeremias Bastingius. And now authorized by the Kings Maiestie, for the vse of Scotland. Wherunto is adiowned certaine praiers, both publike and priuate, for sundry purposes</em></td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
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<td>1591</td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>The sacrifice of a Christian soule conteining godlie prayers, and holy meditations for sundry purposes; drawne out of the pure fountaines of the sacred Scriptures</td>
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<tr>
<td>1591</td>
<td>Smith, Henry</td>
<td>Certain sermons, preached by H. Smyth taken by characterie and examined after, the contents whereof, are set done in the page following</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1591</td>
<td>Jack, Thomas</td>
<td>Ane act and proclamatioun for cunzie</td>
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<tr>
<td>1592</td>
<td>Jack, Thomas</td>
<td>Onomasticon poeticum siue, Propriorum quibus in suis monumentis usi sunt veteres poetae, breuis descriptio poetica</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1592</td>
<td>Fenner, Dudley</td>
<td>Certain godly and learned treatises written by that worthie minister of Christe, M. Dudley Fenner; for the behoofe and edification of al those, that desire to grovv and increase in true godlines. The titles whereof, are set done in the page following</td>
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<tr>
<td>1592</td>
<td>Ker, George</td>
<td>A Discovery of the unnaturall and traiterous Conspiracie of Scottisch Papists against God, His Kirk, their native Countrie, the Kingis Majesties persone and estate, set done, as it was confessed and subscrivit be M George Ker and D Grahame Wherunto are annexed certaine intercepted letters Published at the special commaund of the Kingis Majestie</td>
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<td>1592</td>
<td>Fenner, Dudley</td>
<td>Catechisme</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<td>1592</td>
<td>Perkins, William</td>
<td>A case of conscience the greatest that euer was, how a man may know, whether he be the son of God or no. Resoluted by the vword of God. Whereunto is added a briefe discourse, taken out of Hier. Zanchius.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>1593</td>
<td>Ker, George</td>
<td>A discouerie of the unnaturall and traiterous conspiracie of Scottisch Papists, against God, his kirk, their native cuntre, the kingis Majesties persone and estate; set downe, as it was confessed and subscriuit be M. George Ker, yet remaining in prysone, and David Grahame of Fentrie, iustly executed for his treason in Edinburgh, the 15. of Februarie, 1592. Whereunto are annexed, certaine intercepted letters, written by sundrie of that factioune to the same purpose. Printed and publisched at the speciall commaund of the Kingis Maiestie</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1593</td>
<td>Perkins, William</td>
<td>A direction for the governement of the tongue, according to Gods VVorde</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1593</td>
<td>Udall, John</td>
<td>A parte of a register containinge sundrie memorable matters, written by diuers Godly and learned in our time, which... desire the reformation of our Church... [And A briefe aunswere to the principall pointes in the Archbishops Articles. Also certayne reasons against subscription to the Booke of Common Prayers, and the Booke of Articles.]</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>1593</td>
<td>John Udall</td>
<td>[A Demonstration of the truth of that Discipline which Christe hath prescribed for the governement of his Church, in all times and places, untill the ende of the worlde Wherein are gathered into a plain forme of reasoning, the proofes thereof; out of the Scriptures, etc</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<td>1593</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Actis of Parliament, past sen the coronatioun of the kingis Maiestie, our soverane lorde: : in furtherance of the progres of the true and Christian religioun, professit be his Hienes, and all his faithfull subiectis, and for punissing of the aduersaries of the same religioun as alswa, concerning prouisiouen for the puir and impotent, and punissing of strang and idle vagaboundis. Publissit and imprentit at the special command and directioun of his Hienes, that name of his subiectis fall haue occasioun to pretend ignorance of the same..</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh N</td>
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<tr>
<td>1594</td>
<td>Rollock, Robert</td>
<td>Analysis dialectica Robert Rolloci Scoti, ministri Iesu Christi in Ecclesia Edinburgensi, in Pauli Apostoli Epistolam ad Romanos</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh N</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1594</td>
<td>Rollock, Robert</td>
<td>De aeterna mentis divi nae approbatione et improbatione, doctrina brevis, et pro natura reitam arduae, explicata. Per Robertum Rollocum</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh N</td>
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<tr>
<td>1594</td>
<td>Hume, Alexander</td>
<td>A reioynder to Doctor Hil concerning the descense of Christ into Hell Wherein the answere to his sermon is iustlie defended, and the roust of his reply scraped from those arguments as cleanlie, as if they had neuer bene touched with that canker. By Alexander Hume, Maister of Artes. Heere, besides the reioynder, thou hast his paralogismes: that is, his fallacies and deceits in reason pointed out, and numbered in the margin: amounting to the number of 600. and aboue: and yet not half reckoned</td>
<td>Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex</td>
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<tr>
<td>1594</td>
<td>Hume, Alexander</td>
<td>Ane treatise of conscience Quhairin divers secreits concerning that subiect, are discovered, as may appeare, in the table following</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh N</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<td>1594</td>
<td>Hume, Alexander</td>
<td>A treatise of the felicitie, of the life to come, Vnsavorie to the obstinate, alluring to such as are gone astray, and to the faithful, full of consolation</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
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<tr>
<td>1594</td>
<td>Hume, Alexander</td>
<td>Foure discourses of praise unto God. To wit, 1 In praise of the mercie and goodnesse of God. 2 In praise of his justice. 3 In praise of his power. 4 In praise of his Providenc</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
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<tr>
<td>1594</td>
<td>Napier, John</td>
<td>A plaine discoverie of the whole Revelation of Saint Iohn set down in two treatises: the one searching and proving the true interpretation thereof. The other applying the same paraphrastically and historicallie to the text. Set forth by Iohn Napeir L. of Marchistoun younger. Whereunto are annexed certaine oracles of Sibylla, agreeing with the Revelation and other places of Scripture</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave for John Norton</td>
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<tr>
<td>1594</td>
<td>Napier, John</td>
<td>Newlie imprinted and corrected</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave for John Norton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1594</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>In the Parliament haldin at Edinburgh, the aucth day of Junii, 1594. Thir lawis, statutis and constitutions, maid, and concludit, be the richt excellent, richt heich and michtie prince, Iames the Sext, be the grace of God King of Scottis, with avise of his estatis as followis</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
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<tr>
<td>1594</td>
<td>Fowler, William</td>
<td>A true reportarie of the royal accomplishment of the Baptisme of Frederik Henry Prince of Scotland the 30 day of August 1594</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1594</td>
<td>Melville, Andrew</td>
<td>Principis Scoti-Britannorum natalia</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
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<td>1594</td>
<td>Morison, Thomas</td>
<td>Papatus, seu Depravatae religionis origo et incrementum Summa fide diligentiaque e gentilitatis suae fontibus eruta: vt fere nihil sit in hoc genus cultu, quod non sit promptum, ex hisce, meis reddere suis authoribus: vt restitutae evangelicae religionis, quam profitemur, simplicitas, fucis amotis, suam aliquando integritatem apud omnes testatam faciat per Thomam Moresinum Aberdonanum, Doctorem Medicum</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>1594</td>
<td>Monipennie, John</td>
<td>Certaine matters composed together The genealogie of all the kings of Scotland, their liues, the yeares of their coronation, the time of their reigne, the yeare of their death, and manner thereof, with the place of their buriall. Whole nobilitie of Scotland, their surnames, their titles of honour, the names of their chiefe houses, and their marriages Arch-bishoppricks, bishoppricks, abbacies, priories, and nunneries of Scotland. Knights of Scotland. Forme of the oath of a duke, earle, Lord of Parliament, and of a knight. Names of the barronnes, lairdes, and chiefe gentle-men [sic] in euery shirefdome. Names of the principall clannes and surnames of the bourders, not landed. Stewartries and baylieries of Scotland. Order of the calling of the Table of the Session. Description of whole Scotland, with all the iles, and names thereof. Most rare and wonderfull things in Scotland</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>1595</td>
<td>Dalby Danus, Christopher Johannides</td>
<td>De praedestinatione, sive, De cavsis salvtis et damnationis aeternae dispvtatio : in qua praeside D. Andrea Melvino, sacrar. literarum professore, &amp; rectore Academiae Regiae Andreanae in Scotia : Deo volente Christophorus Johannides Danvs respondebit</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<td>1595</td>
<td>Greenham, Richard</td>
<td>A fruitful and godly sermon: containing necessary and profitable doctrine, for the reformation of our sinful and wicked lives, but especially for the comfort of a troubled conscience in all distresses</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<td>1595</td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>De praedestinatione, sive, De causis salutis et damnationis aeternae disputatio in qua praeside D. Andrea Melvino, sacrar. literarum professore, &amp; rectore Academiae Regiae Andreaeae in Scotia, ... Christophorus Johannides Danus respondebit</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>1595</td>
<td>Beze, Theodore</td>
<td>Propositions and principles of divinitie propounded and disputed in the universitie of Geneva, by certaine students of divinitie there, vnder M. Theod. Beza, and M. Anthonie Faius ... Wherein is contained a methodicall summarie, or epitome of the common places of divinitie: Translated out of Latine into English, ...</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>1595</td>
<td>Church of Scotland; Presbytery of Edinburgh</td>
<td>The causes of this general fast, to begin the first sabbath of August nixt, 1595. / Set out by the Presbyterie of Edinburgh for the churches within their boundes..</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>1595</td>
<td>Pasquier, Etienne</td>
<td>The decree of the court of Parliament against Iohn Chastel, scholler, student in the Collidge of the Iesuites, vpon the parricide by him attempted against the kings person. Also for the banishment of the whole societie of the said Iesuites out of France and all the kings dominions, withal containing a prohibition, not to send their children to any colladge of the saide societie. / Faithfullie translated out of the French copy printed at Paris, by Iamet Mettayer and Pierre L’huillier, the kings printers and stationers ordinarie..</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
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<td>Location</td>
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<td>1595</td>
<td>Aristotle</td>
<td>The problemes of Aristotle with other philosophers and phisitions. Wherein are contayned diuers questions, with their answers, touching the estate of mans bodie</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>N</td>
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<tr>
<td>1595</td>
<td>Clapham, Henoch</td>
<td>Sommons to doomes daie sent vnto his beloved England, as a memoriall of his deepe printed loue and loyaltie</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>N</td>
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<tr>
<td>1595</td>
<td>Davidson, John</td>
<td>A memorial of the life [et] death of two vvorthy Christians, Robert Campbel of the Kinyeancleugh, and his wife, Elizabeth Campbel In English meter</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>Elizabeth Campbell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1595</td>
<td>Duncan, Andrew</td>
<td>Rudimenta pietatis</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>Baron of Fife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1595</td>
<td>Duncan, Andrew</td>
<td>Latinae grammaticae pars prior, siue Etymologia Latina in usum rudiorum</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>Johanne Commiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1595</td>
<td>Buchanan, George</td>
<td>De prosodia libellus</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>N</td>
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<tr>
<td>1596</td>
<td>James VI</td>
<td>James VI desire to capture Huntly and Arroll</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1596</td>
<td>James VI</td>
<td>The articles set downe be his maiestie to be first effectiveallly performit be the Earle of Huntly</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>N</td>
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<tr>
<td>1596</td>
<td>Clapham, Henoch</td>
<td>A briefe of the Bible drawne first into English poësy, and then illustrated by apte annotations: together vvth some other necessary appendices. By Henoch Clapham</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>Thomas Mylot Esquire (Vol1) Richard Topclyf (Vol 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1596</td>
<td>Clapham, Henoch</td>
<td>The sinners sleepe vvherein Christ willing her to arise receiueth but an vntoward answer</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>Richard Ogle &amp; Thomas</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<td>1597</td>
<td>Skene, John</td>
<td>De Verborm significantione The Exposisiton of the Terme and Difficill Wordes conteined in the Foure Bvikes of Regiam Majestatem and others in the Acts of Palliament…</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>N</td>
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<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>Skene, John</td>
<td>The lawes and actes of Parliament, maid be King Iames the First, and his successours kinges of Scotland</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>James VI</td>
<td>Daemonologie, in forme of a dialogue, divided into three booke</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>N</td>
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<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>De libero arbitrio theses theologicae de quibus in Christiana &amp; sobria ... disputabitur volente Domino, ad. d. VI. Maij, praeside D. And. Melvino, Academie Andreane rectore &amp; ss. theologiae professore, respondent J. Massonio Gallo</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>Greenham, Richard</td>
<td>Propositions containing answers to certaine demaunds in divers spirituall matters specially concerning the conscience oppressed with the grieffe of sinne. With an epistle against hardnes of heat, made by that woorthie preacher of the Gospell of Christ, M. R. Greenham pastor of Drayton</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>Rollock, Robert</td>
<td>Tractatus de vocacione efficaci Adjectae sunt questiones aliquot de modis illis quibus Deo visum est jam inde a principio homini verbum utriusque foederis sui revelare</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>N</td>
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<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>Duncan, Andrew</td>
<td>Studiorum puerilium clausi miro quodam compendio ac facilitate, Latinae linguae ac poeticae rudimenta complectons. Autor de se.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
<td>N</td>
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<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>Montgomerie, Alexander</td>
<td>The cherrie and the slae. Composed into Scottis meeter, be Alexander Montgomerie. ; Prented according to a copie corrected be the author</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh</td>
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<td>1597</td>
<td>Alexander Montgomerie</td>
<td>The cherry and the slae. Composed into Scottis meeter, be Alexander Montgomerie. ; Prented according to a copie corrected be the author himselfe.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh N</td>
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<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>James VI</td>
<td>The questions to be resoluit at the convention of the estaits and Generall Assemblie, appointed to be at the burgh of Perth the last day of Februarie nixt to come</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh N</td>
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<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>James Melville</td>
<td>Ane fruitful and comfortable exhortatioun anent death</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh James Lummisden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1598</td>
<td>James VI</td>
<td>The true lawe of free monarchicalies: or The reciprock and mutuall dutie betwixt a free king, and his naturall subiectes</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1598</td>
<td>Peter Wentworth</td>
<td>A pithie exhortation to her Maiestie for establishing her successor to the crowne Whereunto is added a discourse containing the authors opinion of the true and lavyfull successor to her Maiestie. Both compiled by Peter Wentworth Esquire.</td>
<td>Waldegrave not named on cover</td>
<td>Edinburgh N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1598</td>
<td>Robert Rollock</td>
<td>In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Thessalonicenses priorem (posteriorem) commentarius Roberti Rolloci</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1598</td>
<td>James Melville</td>
<td>A spirituall propine of a pastour to his people</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh Fathers, Brethren and flock of Kilrenny</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1598</td>
<td>A true copie of the admonitions sent by the subdued provinces to the states of Holland and the Hollanders answere to the same. Together with the articles of peace concluded betweene the high and mightie princes, Phillip by the grace of God King of Spaine, &amp;c. and Henry the Fourth by the same grace, the most Christian King of France, in the yeare 1598. First translated out of French into Dutch, and nowe into English by H.VV</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>To Holland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>The conversion of a sinner by L. de Granada ; translated out of Italian, by M.K</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>A treatise declaring, and confirming against all objections the just title and right of the moste excellent and worthie prince, Iames the sixt, King of Scotland, to the succession of the crowne of England. Whereunto is added a discourse shewing how necessarie it is for the realme of England, that he be in due time acknowledged and admitted to the succession of the kingdom</td>
<td>Not openly attributed to Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>Against sacrilege three sermons / preached by Maister Robert Pont</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>James VI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>Fiue hundredth pointes of good husbandrie as vvell for the champion or open cuntrie, as also for the woodland or seuerall, mixed in euyer moneth with huswiferie, ouer and besides the booke of huswiferie, corrected, better ordered, and newlie augmented to a fourth part more, with diuers pther lessons, as a diet for the farmer, of the properties of the windes, planets, hops, hearbs, bees, and approued remedies for sheepe and cattle, with many other matters both profitable and not vnpleasent for the reader. Newly set forth by Thomas Tusser gentleman.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>Lord William Paget</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>Pont, Robert</td>
<td>A new Treatise of the right reckoning of yeares and ages of the World and of the estate of the last decaying age thereof this 1600 yeare of Christ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>Sharp, Patrick</td>
<td>Doctrinae Christianae brevis explicatio: in tria priora Geneseeos capita, Symbolum Apostolorum, Baptismi, Coenae Domini institutionem, Decalogum, &amp; orationem Dominicum, etc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>Sidney, Phillip</td>
<td>The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia, written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now the third time published with sundry new additions of the same author</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>Hume, Alexander</td>
<td>Hymnes, or Sacred songs wherein the right use of poësie may be espied. Be Alexander Hume. Whereunto are added, the experience of the authors youth, and certaine precepts seruing to the practise of sanctification.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>Melville, Andrew</td>
<td>Scholastica diatriba de rebus divinis ad anquirendam &amp; inveniendam veritatem, à candidatis s. theol. habenda (Deo volente) ad d. XXVI. &amp; XXVII. Iulij in Scholis Theologicis Acad. Andreanae, spiritu sancto praeside, D. And. Melvino s. theol. d. et illius facultatis decano</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>James VI</td>
<td>Basilikon doron. Or His Majesties instructions to his dearest sonne, Henry the prince</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>Davies, John</td>
<td>A Briefe and true declaration of the sicknes, last words, and death of the King of Spain, Phillip the Second of that name who dyed in his abbey of Saint Laurence at Escuriall, seuen miles from Madrill, the 13. of September. 1598 / written from Madrill in a Spanish letter, and translated into English according to the true copie</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td></td>
<td>Epigrammes and elegies by I.D. and C.M</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

No printer named
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Rollock, Robert</td>
<td>Commentarius D. Roberti Rolloci, ministri ecclesiae, &amp; rectoris Academiae Edinburgensis, in Epistolam Pauli ad Colossenses</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, Edinburgh, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Du Bartas, Guillaume de Salluste</td>
<td>Hadriani Dammanis a Bystervldt Dn. de Fair-Hill, Bartasias; Qui de mundi creatione libri septem / e Guilielmi Salusti Dn. de Bartas Septimana poemate Francico liberius tralati et multis in locis acuti</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, Edinburgh, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Becon, Thomas</td>
<td>The sicke mans salue wherein all faithfull Christians may learne both how to behau themselves patiently &amp; thankfully in the time of sicknes, and also vertuously to dispose their temporall goods, and finally how to prepare themselves gladly and godly to die / made by Thomas Becon</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, Edinburgh, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Howesoun, John</td>
<td>A sho short exposition of the 20. and 21. verses of the third chapter of the first epistle of S. John Containing a very profitable discourse of conscience, and of al the actions, sortes, and kinds thereof, wherby every man may easily know his estate, wherein hee standeth in the sight of his God, and whether his conscience be good or euill, with all things also belonging either to get a good conscience, or else to releieue it out of trouble, being grieued and wounded, as in the epistle to the reader is more specially mentioned, and in the discourse itselfe clearely expressed.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, Edinburgh, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Quinn, Walter</td>
<td>Sertum poeticum, in honorem Iacobi Sexti serenissimi, ac potentissimi Scotorum Regis, a Gualtero Quinno Dubliniensis contextum</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, Edinburgh, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Alexander, William</td>
<td>A short discourse of the good ends of the higher prouidence, in the late attemptat against his Maiesties person</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, Edinburgh, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>De Granada, Luis</td>
<td>Granados spiritual and heavenly exercises devided into seauen pithie and briefe meditations, for every day in the weeke one, with the exposition vpon the 51. psalme. Written in Spanish by the learned and reuerend diuine, F. Lewes of Granada</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Rollock, Robert</td>
<td>An exposition vpon some select Psalmes of David containing great store of most excellent and comfortable doctrine, and instruction for all those that (ynder the burthen of sinne) thirst for comfort in Christ Iesus. Written by that faithfull servant of God, M. Robert Rollok, sometime pastour in the Church of Edinburgh: and translated out of Latine into English, by C. L. minister of the Gospell of Christ at Dudingstoun. The number of the psalmes are set downe in the page following</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Sharp, John</td>
<td>heses theologicae de peccato quas spiritu sancto praeside, D. Andrea Melvino sacrae theologiae doctore, &amp; illius facultatis decano .... Joannes Scharpius, ad diem III. &amp; IV. Julij in Scholis Theologicis Academia Andreanae</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Southwell, Robert</td>
<td>Saint Peters complaint With other poems</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Skene, John</td>
<td>Act of Parliament anent Registration of Seasings</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Black, David</td>
<td>An exposition vpon the thirtie two psalme describing the true manner of humbling and raising yppe of Gods children. Set foorth by Maister David Blak</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Norden, John</td>
<td>A pensiue mans practise verie profitable for all persons wherein are contained very devout and necessarie praiers for sundrie godly purposes, with requisite perswasions before every prayer</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Location</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1601</td>
<td>Burrell, John</td>
<td>To the right vallereus my Lord of Weims</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1602</td>
<td>Melville, Andrew</td>
<td>Theses theologicae de sacramentis, &amp; missa idolatria/qua Spiritu Sancto praeside: D Andrea Melvino Sacrae Theologiae Doctore &amp; illius Facultatis Decano</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1602</td>
<td>Morton, Andrew</td>
<td>Some helpes for young schollers in christianity, : as they are in vse &amp; taught; partly, at the examination before the communion: and partly, in the ordinarie catechism euer Sabbath day, in the new kirk of Salt-Preston.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave, Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Place</td>
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<tr>
<td>1602</td>
<td>Hume, Alexander</td>
<td>A diduction of the true and catholik meaning of our Sauiour his words this is my bodie, in the institution of his laste Supper through the ages of the Church from Christ to our owne daies. Whereunto is annexed a reply to M. William Reynolds in defence of M. Robert Bruce his arguments in this subiect: and displaying of M. Iohn Hammiltons ignorance and contradictions: with sundry absurdities following vpon the Romane interpretation of these words. Compiled by Alexander Hume Maister of the high schoole of Edinburgh. Facile traictise, contenand, first: ane infallible reul to discerne trew from fals religion. Facile traictise, contenand, first: ane infallible reul to discerne trew from fals religion.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1602</td>
<td>Welch, John</td>
<td>A reply against M. Gilbert Browne priest Wherein is handled many of the greatest and weightiest pointes of controuersie betweene vs and the papists, and the truth of our doctrine clearely proved, and the falset of their religion and doctrine laide open, and most euidentlie convicted and confuted, by the testimonies of the Scripture and auncient fathers; and also by some of their own popes, doctors, cardinals, and of their owne writers. Whereunto is annexed a seuerall treatise, concerning the masse and Antichrist. By M. Iohn Welsche, preacher of Christs Gospell at Aire</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Edition</td>
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<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>A Perticular and true narration of that great deliverance of Geneva</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>The whole prophesie of Scotland, England, &amp; some-part of France, and Denmark, prophesied bee meruellous Merling, Beid, Bertlingtoun, Thomas Rymour, Waldhaue, Eltraine, Banester, and Sibilla, all according in one. Containing many strange and meruelous things</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>Craig, Thomas</td>
<td>Sereniss. et potentiss. principem Iacobum Sextum e sua Scotia decedentem paraenticon</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>James VI</td>
<td>Basilikon doron. Or His Majesties instructions to his dearest sonne, Henry the prince</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>Alexander, William</td>
<td>The Tragedie of Darivs</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>Hume, David</td>
<td>Daphn-amarillys</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>University of St Andrews</td>
<td>Theses philosophicæ quædam, a generosis quibusdam adolescentibus Leonardinis Laureâ donandis, in publicam suzetesin propositae, quas Deo auspice sub presidio M.D. Willikij philosphiæ professoris in Collegio Leonardino sunt propugnaturi, in Scholis Theologicis, Academiae Andreapolitanae</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>James VI</td>
<td>The copie of the K. majesties letter to the L. Maior of London 28 Mar. 1603</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>anon</td>
<td>A New song to the great comfort and rejoicing of all true English harts.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>Dod, H</td>
<td>Certaine Psalms of Dauid, heretofore much out of vse because of their difficult tunes. The number whereof are contained in the page following. Reduced into English meter better fitting the common tunes. By H.D.</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>Petreius, Johannes</td>
<td>Theses aliquot philosophicae</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave Edinburgh N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>Martine, Richard</td>
<td>Speach to the Kinges Maiestie</td>
<td>Robert Waldegrave London/Edinburgh N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1604</td>
<td>Tusser, Thomas</td>
<td>Fiue hundreth points of good husbandrie as well for the champion or open countrie, as also for the woodland or seueral, mixed in euery month with huswiferie, ouer and besides the booke of huswiferie. Corrected, better ordered, [and] newly augmented to a fourth part more, with diuers other lessons, as a diet for the farmer, of the properties of winds, plants, hops, herbs, bees, and approved remedies for sheepe and cattell, with manie other matters both profitable and not vnpleasant for the reader. Also two tables, one of husbandrie and the other of huswiferie, at the end of the booke: for the better and easier finding of any matter contained in the same. Newlie set foorth by Thomas Tusser Gentleman</td>
<td>For the Companie of Stationers London? Late William Paget</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix Four

Puritan Patronage within Waldegrave’s Dedications
(Framed names denote identification of dedicatees.)

John Dudley
Earl of Northumberland

Francis Russell
Earl of Bedford

Ambrose Dudley
Earl of Warwick

Anne Russell

Margaret Clifford
Countess of Cumberland

Henry Sidney

Mary Dudley

Edmund Denny

Robert Devereux
Earl of Essex

Anne Russell

Mary Russell

Margaret Clifford
Countess of Cumberland

Francis Russell
Earl of Pembroke

Anthony Denny

Joan Denny

Edward Denny

Mary Sidney

Henry Herbert
Earl of Pembroke

William Walsingham

Joyce Denny

Edward Denny

Mary Walsingham

Elizabeth Walsingham

Peter Wentworth

Frances Walsingham

Ursula St Barbe
385

Francis Walsingham

Philip Sidney

Katherine Carey
Baron Hunsdon

Mary Boleyn

Anne Morgan

Henry Carey

Catherine Carey

Francis Knollys

Lettice Knollys

Robert Dudley
Earl of Leicester

Mary Dudley

Henry Sidney

Katherine Morgan

Charles Howard

Anne Morgan

John Dudley
Earl of Northumberland

Frances Walsingham
Appendix Five

Robert Waldegrave’s License to act as Royal Printer

Anon, The confession of faith, subscribed by the Kingis Maiestie and his houshold together with the copie of the bande, maid touching the maintenance of the true religion, the Kingis Majesties person and estate, &c, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1590), p.2.

THE PRIVILEDGE GRANTED to the Printer.

He Lords of the Secret Counsell, grants and gve this licence & Privileged be this presents, to ROBERT WALDEGRAVE, to Imprent, or caute to be imprertric, the Confessioun of Faith, togidder with the generall Band, maid touching the maintenance of true Religion, the Kingis Majesties person and estate, and witholding of all forreine preparations and forsettending to the troubill thairof. As also the Acte of secret Counsell, Conteyning a Commission to certaine Nobill men, Barons and vther: for searcing, secking, apprehending and purfute of Papists, Iesuits, Seminarie Priestis and Excommunicate personis: with the like Commission to certaine Ministers of Gods word, To receive DE NOVO, the subscriptions of al Nobill men, Barons, gentlemen and vther: his highnes lies, of quahet-someuer degree, to the said generall Band. For the Imprinting of the qubilc and act of secret counsell, & contenision forsaid, the said Lords deeme & deigne that the said Robert fall not be calllit or acuseit, criminalie nor civillie, in maner of way in time cumming. Nor incur naughtie or danger in his lands or gods. But the samen fals counsell & ceteris gud & acceptance vnto his Maiestie, tending to the advancement of Gods glorie, & anon weale of this Realme. Exercising him be thir presents, of al paines in order that he may inwarth throw, for euer. Discharging be thir samen fals counsell, all and fundrie judges and ministers of his highnes laws, & vther: Majesties lies, and subjectes quahet-someuer. Of all calling, accussing, troublin, pursuinf, or in any wise proceeding against the said Robert for the caule forsaid, and of their offices in that part. Sub-scriuitt be the said Lords. At Edinburch, the xliij. day of March: The zeir of God, ane thousand five hundred foure to score nine zeiris.
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CKS U1475 C12/156 f. 30r

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Wilson, John Dover, *An Historical and Bibliographical Account of the Marprelate Press and Its Printer Robert Waldegrave.*
NLS MSS 6.1.13.f.42

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Green, Mary Anne Everett, (ed.), Calendar of State Papers: Domestic 1591-1594, (London, 1867).


——— *A short discourse of the good ends of the higher prouidence, in the late attemptat against his Maiesties person*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1600).

Andrewses, Bartimaeus, *Certaine verie worthie, godly and profitable sermons, vpon the fifth chapter of the Songs of Solomon: preached by Bartimeus Andreas, minister of the word of God; published at the earnest and long request of sundrie well minded Christians*, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1583).

Anon, *COVENANTS OF AN INDENTURE OF APPRENTICESHIP*, Familiarly explained and enforced by SCRITURE for the Use of the APPRENTICES of the CITY of LONDON (London, 1794).


——— *Certaine short questions and answeres very profitable and necessary for yong children, and such as are desirous to be instructed in the principles of the Christian fayth*, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1582).

——— *The unlawfull practises of prelates against godly ministers, the maintainers of the discipline of God*, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1584).

——— *The confes[s]ion of faith, subscribed by the Kingis Maiestie and his houshold togither vvith the copie of the bande, maid touching the maintenance of the true religion, the Kingis Majesties person and estate, &c*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1590).

——— *The sacrifice of a Christian soule conteining godlie prayers, and holy meditations for sundry purposes; drawne out of the pure fountaines of the sacred Scriptures*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1591).

——— *De praedestinatione, sive, De causis salutis et damnationis aeternae disputationi in qua præside D. Andrea Melvino, sacrar. literarum professore, & rectore Academiae Regiae Andrearæ in Scotia*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1595).

——— *De libero arbitrio theses theologicae de quibus in Christiana & sobria ...*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1597).


——— *A New song to the great comfort and rejoycing of all true English harts*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1603).

——— *Ane act and proclamatioun for cunzie*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1591).

——— *In the Parliament haldin at Edinburgh, the aught day of Iunii, 1594. Thir lawis, statutis and constitutions, maid, and concludit, be the richt excellent, richt heich and michtie prince, Iames the Sext*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1594).

——— *Theses philosophicæ quædam, a generosis quibusdam adolescentibus Leonardinis Lauretæ donandis, in publicam suzetesin proposita, quas Deo auspice sub presidio M.D. Willikij philosophiae professoris in Collegio
Leonardino sunt propugnati, in Scholis Theologicis, Academiae Andreapolitanae, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1603).

----- Examinations of the worthy servant of God, Mystresse Anne Askew, the younger daughter of Syr William Askew Knight of Lincolnshire, lately martyred in Smith-Fielde, by the Romish Antichristian Broode, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1584).

----- A godly and comfortable treatise, very necessary for all such as are over-laden with the burden of their sinnes, & do seeke comfort in christ, by the undoubted promises of saluation, made to them that with true fayth do come vnto him, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1585).

----- A lamentable complaint of the commonalty, by way of supplication to the high court of Parliament, for a learned ministry, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1585).

----- Acts of Parliament, past sen the coronatioun of the kings Maiestie, our soverane lord: in furtherance of the progres of the true and Christian religioun, professit be his Hienes, and all his faithfull subjectis, and for punissing of the aduersaries of the same religioun as alswa, concerning prouisioun for the puir and impotent, and punissing of strang and idle vagaboundis. Publisit and imprentit at the special command and direction of his Hienes, that name of his subjectis fall haue occasioun to pretend ignorance of the same..., (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1593).

----- A true coppie of the admonitions sent by the subdued provinces to the states of Hollande and the Hollanders answere to the same. Together with the articles of peace concluded betweene the high and mightie princes, Phillip by the grace of God King of Spaine, &c. and Henry the Fourth by the same grace, the most Christian King of France, in the yeare 1598. First translated out of French into Dutch, and nowe into English, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1598).

----- A Briefe and true declaration of the sicknes, last words, and death of the King of Spain, Phillip the Second of that name who dyed in his abbey of Saint Laurence at Escuriall, seuen miles from Madrill, the 13. of September. 1598 / written from Madrill in a Spanish letter, and translated into English according to the true copie, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1599).

----- Proclamation, Mar. [Accession to crown of England], (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1603).

Aristotle, The problemes of Aristotle with other philosophers and phisitions. Wherein are contayned diuers questions, with their answers, touching the estate of mans bodie, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1595).

Bancroft, Richard. Dangerous Positions and Proceedings, Published and Practised within This Island of Britain under Pretence of Reformation and for the Presbyterial Discipline. (London, John Wolfe, 1593).

B.I., A dialogue betwene a vertuous gentleman and a popish priest [... ]pleasaunt and profitable, both for ministers and gentlemen, men and vwomen, old and yong, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1581).

Bastingius, Jeremais, A catechisme of Christian religion taught in the schooles and churches of the Low-countries, and dominions of the countie Palatine: with the arguments, and use of the several doctrins of the same catechisme By Jeremias Bastingius. And now authorized by the Kinges Maiestie, for the vse of Scotland, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1591).


Becon, Thomas, The sicke mans salve wherein all faithfull Christians may learne both how to behaue themselves patiently & thankfully in the time of sicknes, and also
virtuously to dispose their temporall goods, and finally how to prepare
themselves gladly and godly to die, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1600).

Belus, John, Gratiarum actio ob profligatam Hispanorum classem, (Edinburgh, Robert
Waldegrave, 1590).

Beza, Theodore, A Discourse, of the True and Visible Markes of the Catholique

——— The iudgement of a most reuerend and learned man from beyond the seas
concerning a threefold order of bishops, with a declaration of certaine other
waightie points, concerning the discipline and gournemnt of the Church,
(London, Robert Waldegrave, 1585).

——— Propositions and principles of divinitie propounded and disputed in the
universitie of Geneua, by certaine students of divinitie there, (Edinburgh, Robert
Waldegrave, 1591).

——— Propositions and principles of divinitie propounded and disputed in the
universitie of Geneua, by certaine students of divinitie there, (Edinburgh, Robert
Waldegrave?, 1595).

Bisse, James, Two sermons preached the one at Paules Crosse the eight of Ianuarie,
1580. the other at Christes Churche in London, the same day in the after-noone,
(London, Robert Waldegrave, 1585).

Black, David, An exposition vpon the thirtie two psalme describing the true manner of
humbling and raising vppe of Gods children, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave,
1600).

Bruce, Robert, Sermons vpon the sacrament of the Lords Supper: preached in the Kirk
of Edinburgh be M. Robert Bruce, minister of Christes euangel there: at the time
of the celebration of the Supper, as they were receaued from his mouth,
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Buchanan, George, De prosodia libellus, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1595).

Burrell, John, Poems to the Richt High Lodwick Duke of Lenox Iohn Burel wisheth lang
life, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1596).

——— To the right vallereus my Lord of Weims, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave,
1601).

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Calvin, Jean, A sermon of the famous and Godly learned man, master John Caluine
chiefe Minister and Pastour of Christs church at Geneua, conteining an
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vpn this text following. Heb. 13. 13. Go ye out of the tents after Christe, bearing
his rebuke. Translated out of French into English, (London, Robert Waldegrave,
1581).

Cantabrigiensis, G.P, Libellus de Memoria verissimaque bene recordandi scientia,
authore G P Cantabrigiense Huc accessit eiusdem admonitiuncula ad A
Disconum [sic] de artificiosae memoriae quam publice profitetur vanitat,
(London, Robert Waldegrave, 1584).

Cartwright, Thomas, Syn theoi en christoi the ansvvere to the preface of the Rhemish

Chaderton, Laurence, A fruitfull Sermon upon the 3 4 5 6 7 and 8 verses of the 12
Chapter of the Epistle of S Paul to the Romanes, etc, (London, Robert
Waldegrave, 1584).

Charles V, The ioyfull entrie of the Dukedome of Brabant & the articles agreed vpon,
and graunted by their lorde, and confirmed by the Emperour Charles the Fifte,
and solemnly sworne by Philippe his sonne King of Spaine, (London, Robert
Waldegrave, 1581).
Church of Scotland, *The Confession of the true & christian Fayth according to God’s word, and Actes of Parliament holden at Edenburgh, the eyght and twentie day of January one thousande, five hundred, fourescore and one*, (London, Robert Waldegrave, London).

——— *The causes of this general fast, to begin the first sabbath of August nixt, 1595. / Set out by the Presbyterie of Edinburgh for the churches within their boundes*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1595).

Clapham, Henoch, *Sommons to doomes daie sent vnto his beloved England, as a memoriall of his deepe printed loue and loyalty*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1595).

——— *A briefe of the Bible drawne first into English poësy, and then illustrated by apte annotations: togither vvith some other necessary appendices*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1596).

——— *The sinners sleepe vvhherein Christ willing her to arise receiueth but an vntoward answer*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1596).

Craig, John, *A short summe of the whole catechisme: wherin the question is propounded, and answered in few words, for the greater ease of the common people and children*, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1584).


Daneau, Lambert, *The judgement of that reuerend and Godly lerned man, M. Lambert Danaeus, touching certaine points now in controuersie, contained in his preface before his commentary upon the first Epistle to Timothie, written in Latine, and dedicated by him to the Prince of Orange*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1590).

Davidson, John, *D. Bancrofts rashnes in rayling against the Church of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1590).

——— *A memorial of the life [et] death of two vvorthye Christians, Robert Campbel of the Kinyeancleugh, and his wife, Elizabeth Campbel In English meter*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1595).

——— *Some helps for young schollers in christianity, : as they are in vse & taught; partly, at the examination before the communion: and partly, in the ordinarie catechism euery Sabboth day, in the new kirk of Salt-Preston*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1602).

Davies, John, *Epigrammes and elegies*, (Edinburgh, ??, 1599).


——— * Upon the life and death of the most worthy, and thrise renowned knight, Sir Phillip Sidney a commemoration of his worthines, containing a briefe recapitulation, of his valiant vsage and death taken, in her Maiesties services of the warres in the Low-countries of Flaunders*, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1586)

Day, Thomas, *Wonderfull strange sightes seene in the element, ouer the citie of London and other places on Munday being the seconde day of September: beginning betweene eight and nine of the clocke at night, increasing and
continuing till after midnight: most strange and fearefull to the beholders,
(London, Robert Waldegrave, 1583).
De Granada, Luis, The conversion of a sinner by L. de Granada ; translated out of
Italian, by M.K, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1599).
———Granasos spiritual and heavenly exercises devided into seaven pithie and briefe
meditations, for every day in the weeke one, with the exposition upon the 51.
psalme. Written in Spanish by the learned and reuerend diuine, (Edinburgh,
Robert Waldegrave, 1600).
Dod, H, Certaine Psalmes of Daviud, heretofore much out of vse because of their
difficult tunes. The number whereof are contained in the page following.
Reduced into English meter better fitting the common tunes, (Edinburgh, Robert
Waldegrave, 1603).
Doleta, John, Straunge newes out of Calabria prognosticated in the yere 1586, vpon the
yere 87, and what shall happen in the said yere: Praying the Lord to be merciful
unto vs, (London, 1586).
Du Bartus, Guillaume de Salluste, Hadriani Dammanis a Bysterveldt Dn. de Fair-Hill,
Bartasias; Qui de mundi creatione libri septem / e Guilielmi SalustI Dn. de
Bartas Septimana poemate Francico liberius tralati et multis in locis acuti,
(Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1600).
Duncan, Andrew, Rudimenta pietatis, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1595).
———Latinae grammaticae pars prior, siue Etymologia Latina in usum rudiorum,
(Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1595).
———Studiorum puerilium clauis miro quodam compendio ac facilitate, Latinae
linguae ac poeticae rudimenta complectons, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave,
1597).
Echlin, John, De regno Angliae, Franciae, Hiberniae ad serenissimvm et invictiss.
Iacobvm 6. Scotorum Regem vltor delato: Panegyricon / autore Ioanne Echlino
philosophiae professore in Collegio Leonardino, apud Andreapolitano,
(Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1603).
Field, John, A caveat for Parsons Howlet necessarie for him and all the rest of that
darke broode and uncleane cage of papistes, who with their untimely bookes,
seeke the discredite of the truth, and the disquiet of this Churche of England,
(London, Robert Waldegrave, 1581).
———A godly exhortation, by occasion of the late judgement of God, shewed at
Parris-garden, the thirteenth day of Januarie: where were assembled above a
thousand persons whereof some were slain, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1583).
Fenner, Dudley, An abstract, of certain acts of parliament: of certaine Her Maiesties
injunctions: of certaine canons, constitutions, and synodalles prouinciall:
established and in force, for the peaceable gouernment of the Church, within
Her Maiesties dominions and countries, for the most part heretofore vnknowen
———A counter-poyson modestly written for the time, to make aunswere to the
objections and reproches, wherewith the aunswerer to the Abstract, would
disgrace the holy discipline of Christ, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1584).
———Certain godly and learned treatises written by that worthie minister of Christe,
M. Dudley Fenner; for the behoofe and edification of al those, that desire to
grovv and increase in true godliness, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1592).
———Catechisme, (Edinburgh, Robert Walerdgave, 1592).
Fowler, William, A true reportarie of the royal accomplishment of the Baptisme of
Frederik Henry Prince of Scotland the 30 day of August 1594, (Edinburgh,
Robert Waldegrave, 1594).

——— *A Goodly Gathering with a most pleasant Prospect into the Garden of all natural contemplation*, (London, 1571).


——— *The ground of Christianitie, composed in manner of a dialogue between Paule and Titus containing all the principal points of our Salvation in Christ*, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1585).

Goldwel, Henry, *A briefe declaration of the shews, deuices, speeches, and inuention, done & performed before the Queenes Maiestie, & the French ambassadours, at the most valiaunt and worthye triumph, attempted and executed on the Munday and Tuesday in VVhitson weeke last, anno 1581*, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1581).

Graie, H, *A short and easie introduction to Christian faith containing the summe of the principles of religion, necessary to be knowne of all before they presume to receiue the sacrament of the Lords Supper: set downe in questions and answers, and distinguished into chapters*, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1588).

Greenham, Richard, *A fruitful and godly sermon: containing necessary and profitable doctrine, for the reformation of our sinfull and wicked lives, but especially for the comfort of a troubled conscience in all distresses*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1595).

——— *Propositions containing answers to certaine demands in divers spirituall matters specially concerning the conscience oppressed with the griefe of sinne. With an epistle against hardnes of heat, made by that woorthie preacher of the Gospell of Christ, M. R. Greenham pastor of Drayton*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1597).

Guillemeau, Jacques, *A worthy treatise of the eyes containing the knowledge and cure of one hundred and thirtene diseases, incident vnto them: first gathered & written in French, by Jacques Guillemeau, chirurgion to the French King, and now translated into English, togethether with a profitable treatise of the scorbie; & another of the cancer by A.H*, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1587).


Hume, Alexander, *A reioynder to Doctor Hil concerning the descense of Christ into Hell Wherein the answere to his sermon is jüstlie defended, and the roust of his reply scraped from those arguments as cleanlie, as if they had neuer bene touched with that canker*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1594).

——— *Ane treatise of conscience Quhairin divers secrets concerning that subiect, are discovered, as may appeare, in the table following*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1594).

——— *A treatise of the felicitie, of the life to come, Vnsavorie to the obstinate, alluring to such as are gone astray, and to the faithful, full of consolation*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1594).
—— Foure discourses of praise unto God. To wit, 1 In praise of the mercie and
goodnesse of God. 2 In praise of his justice. 3 In praise of his power. 4 In praise
of his Providence, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1594).
—— Hymnes, or Sacred songs wherein the right vse of poësie may be espied. Be
Alexander Hume. Whereunto are added, the experience of the authors youth, and
certaine precepts seruing to the practise of sanctification, (Edinburgh, Robert
Waldegrave, 1599).
—— A diduction of the true and catholik meaning of our Saviour his words this is my
bodie, in the institution of his laste Supper through the ages of the Church from
Christ to our owne daies, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1602).
Hume, David, Daphn-amarillis, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1603).
Jack, Thomas, Onomasticon poeticum siue, Propriorum quibus in suis monumentis usi
sunt veteres poetae, breuis descriptio poetica, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave,
1592).
James VI, The true lawe of free monarchies: or The reciprock and mutuall dutie betwixt
a free king, and his naturall subiectes, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1598).
—— Basilikon Doron. Or His Majesties instructions to his dearest sonne, Henry the
prince, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1599).
—— Basilikon Doron. Or His Majesties instructions to his dearest sonne, Henry the
prince, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1603).
—— His Maiesties poeticall exercises at vacant houres (The Furies [translated from
Du Bartas] The Lepanto, La Lepanthe de Jacques VI, faicte Francoise par le
Sieur Du Bartas), (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1591).
—— James VI desire to capture Huntly and Arroll, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave,
1596).
—— The articles set downe be his maiestie to be first effectively performit be the
Earle of Huntly, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1596).
—— Daemonologie, in forme of a dialogue, divided into three booke, (Edinburgh,
Robert Waldegrave, 1597).
—— The questions to be resoluit at the convention of the estaitcs and Generall
Assemblie, appointed to be at the burgh of Perth the las
t day of Februarie nixt to
come, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1597).
—— The copie of the K. majesties letter to the L. Maior of London, (Edinburgh,
Robert Waldegrave, 1603).
—— By the King. Forasmuch as it hath pleased the almighty God ... to call vs
peacea[---]and gournement of those kingdomes, whereunto by lineall descent &
approbat[ion of our] sister Queene Elizabeth, we haue a most iust & undoubted
title, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1603).
Johnston, John, De cruenta morte Archibaldi Hunteri Edinburgensis Scoti. musus
martique militantis querela Ioh. Ionstoni ad Robertum Houaeum frat. et pop.
Suum, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1590).
Ker, George, A Discovery of the unnaturall and traiterous Conspiracie of Scottisch
Papists against God, His Kirk, their native Countrie, the Kingis Majesties
persone and estate, set downe, as it was confessed and subscrivit be M George
Ker and D Grahame Wherunto are annexed certaine intercepted letters,
(Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1592).
—— A discoverie of the unnaturall and traiterous conspiracie of Scottisch Papists,
against God, his kirk, their natie cuntrie, the kingis Majesties persone and
estate; set downe, as it was confessed and subscriuit be M. George Ker, yet
remaining in prisone, and David Grahame of Fentrie, lustly executed for his
treason in Edinburgh, the 15. of Februarie. 1592. Whereunto are annexed,
certaine intercepted letters, written by sundrie of that factioun to the same purpose, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1593).


Marnix van St. Aldegonde, Philips van, A pithie, and most earnest exhortation, concerning the estate of Christiandome together with the means to preserve and defend the same; dedicated to al christian kings princes and potentates, with all other the estates of Christiandome: by a Germaine gentleman, a lover of his country, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1583).

Marp reluctance, Martin, The Epistle, (East Molesey, Robert Waldegrave, 1588).

——— The Epitome, (Fawsley Court, Robert Waldegrave, 1588).


——— Hay Any Work for Cooper, (White Friars, Robert Waldegrave, 1589).

Martine, Richard, Speach to the Kings Maiestie, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1603).


——— Scholastica diatriba de rebus divinis ad anquirendam & inveniandam veritatem, à candidatis s. theol. habenda (Deo volente) ad d. XXVI. & XXVII. Iulij in Scholis Theologicis Acad. Andreamae, spiritu sancto praeside, D. And. Melvino s. theol. d. et illius facultatis decano, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1599).

Melville, James, Ane fruitful and comfortable exhortatioun anent death, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1597).

——— A spirituall propin of a pastour to his people, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1598).

Monipennie, John, Certaine matters composed together The genealogie of all the kings of Scotland, their liues, the yeares of their coronation, the time of their reigne, the yeare of their death, and manner thereof, with the place of their buriall. Whole nobilitie of Scotland, their surnames, their titles of honour, the names of their chiefe houses, and their marriages Arch-bishoppricks, bishoppricks, abbacies, priories, and nunneries of Scotland, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1594).

Montgomerie, Alexander, The cherrie and the slae. Composed into Scottis meeter, be Alexander Montgomerie, ; Prented according to a copie corrected be the author himself, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1597).

Morison, Thomas, Papatius, seu Depravatae religionis origo et incrementum Summa fide diligentiique e gentilitatis suae fontibus eruta: vt fere nihil sit in hoc genus cultu, quod non sit promptum, ex hisce, meis reddere suis authoribus: vt restitutaevangelicae religionis, quam profitemur, simplicitas, fucis amotis, suam aliquando integritatem apud omnes testatam faciat per Thomam Moresinum Aberdonanum, Doctorem Medicum, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1594).


Napier, John, *A plaine discoverie of the whole Revelation of Saint Iohn set down in two treatises: the one searching and proving the true interpretation thereof. The other applying the same paraphrastically and historickallie to the text. Set forth by Iohn Napeir L. of Marchistoun younger. Whereunto are annexed certaine oracles of Sibylla, agreeing with the Revelation and other places of Scripture*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1594).

———*Newlie Imprinted and Corrected*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1594).

Nordern, John, *A pensiue mans practise verie profitable for all persons wherein are contained very devout and necessarie praiers for sundrie godly purposes, with requisite perswasions before euery prayer*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1600).


Pagit, Eusebius, *A godly and fruitefull sermon, made vpon the 20. & 21. verses of the 14. chapter of the booke of Genesis wherin there is taught, what prouision ought to be made for the ministrie: Very necessarie to be learned of all Christians*, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1584).

Pasquier, Etienne, *The decree of the court of Parliament against Iohn Chastel, scholler, student in the Collidge of the Iesuites, vpon the parricide by him attempted against the kings person. Also for the banishment of the whole societie of the said Iesuites out of France and all the kings dominions, withal containing a prohibition, not to send their children to any collidge of the saide societie*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1595).

Penry, John, *A defence of that which hath bin written in the questions of the ignorant ministerie, and the communicating with them*, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1588).

———*An exhortation vnto the gouernours, and people of hir Maiesties countrie of Wales, to labour earnestly, to haue the preaching of the Gospell planted among them There is in the ende something that was not in the former impression*, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1588).

———*A briefe discouery of the vntruthes and slanders (against the true gouernement of the Church of Christ) contained in a sermon, preached the 8. of Februarie 1588. by D. Bancroft and since that time, set forth in print, with additions by the said authour. This short ansver may serue for the clearing of the truth*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1590).

———*An humble motion vvith submission vnto the right Honorable LL. of Hir Maiesties Priuie Counsell VVherein is laid open to be considered, how necessarie it were for the good of this lande, and the Queenes Majesties safety, that ecclesiasticall discipline were reformed after the worde of God: and how easily there might be provision for a learned ministery*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1590).

———*A treatis vwherin is manifestlie proued, that reformation and those that sincerely fauor the same, are vnjustly charged to be enemies, vnto hir Maiestie, and the state Written both for the clearing of those that stande in that cause: and the stopping of the sclaunderous mouthes of all the enemies thereof*, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1590).


———*A case of conscience the greatest that euer was, how a man may know, whether he be the son of God or no. Resolued by the vvord of God. Whereunto is added a

———An exposition of the Lords prayer, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1593).

Petreius, Johannes, Theses aliquot philosophicae, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1603).

Phillips, John, The Life and Death of Sir P Sidney His funerals, etc [In verse], (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1587).

———The wonderfull worke of God shewed vpon a chylde whose name is William Withers, being in the towne of Walsam, within the countie of Suffolke: who being eleven yeeres of age, laye in a traunce the space of tenne daies, without taking any manner of sustenance, and at this present lyeth, and never speaketh, but once in twelue, or four and twentie houres, and when he commeth to himselfe, he declareth most strange and rare things, which are to come, and hath continued the space of three weeks, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1581).

———The coat-armour of a christian, containing diuers Godly prayers, and comfortable meditations, for the preservation of the soule, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1584).

Philodikaios, Irenicus, A treatise declaring, and confirming against all objections the just title and right of the most excellent and worthie prince, Iames the sixt, King of Scotland, to the succession of the crowne of England. Whereunto is added a discourse shewing how necessarie it is for the realme of England, that he be in due time acknowledged and admitted to the succession of the kingdom, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1599).

Pont, Robert, Against sacrilege three sermons / preached by Maister Robert Pont, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1599).

———A new Treatise of the right reckoning of yeares and ages of the World and of the estate of the last decaying age thereof this 1600 yeare of Christ, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1599).

Quinn, Walter, Sertum poeticum, in honorem Iacobi Sexti serenissimi, ac potentissimi Scotorum Regis, a Gualtero Quinno Dublieniis contextum, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1600).

Rollock, Robert, Tractatus de vocatione efficaci Adjectae sunt questiones aliquot de modis illis quibus Deo visum est jam inde a principio homini verbum utriusque foederis sui revelare, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1597).

———In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Thessalonicenses priorem (posteriorem) commentarius Roberti Rolloci, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1598).

———In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Ephesios, Roberti Rolloci Scoti, ministri Iesu Christi in Ecclesia Edinburgensi, commentarius, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1590).

———In librum Danielis prophetae, Roberti Rolloci Scoti, ministri Iesu Christi in Ecclesia Edinburgensi, commentarius, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1591).


———De aeterna mentis divi nae approbatione et improbatione, doctrina brevis, et pro natura reitam arduae, explicata. Per Robertum Rollocum, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1594).

———Commentarius D. Roberti Rolloci, ministri ecclesiae, & rectoris Academiae Edinburgensis, in Epistolam Pauli ad Colossenses, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1600).

———An exposition vpon some select Psalmes of David conteining great store of most excellent and comfortable doctrine, and instruction for all those that (vnder the

Roos, Wilfride, A combat betwixt the spirite and the fleshe. A right fruitefull and godly sermon vpon the 6 and 7 verse of the 2 chap. to the Collossians, (London, Robert Waldegrave, 1587).


Sharp, John, Theses theologicae de peccato quas spiritu sancto praeside, & illius facultatis decano ..., Joannes Scharpius, ad diem III. & IV. Julij in Scholis Theologicis Academia Andreanae, (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1600).


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