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# Marketing Good Taste: Print Agents' Use Of Paratext To Shape Markets And Readers In Early Modern England

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**MARKETING GOOD TASTE: PRINT AGENTS' USE OF PARATEXT TO SHAPE  
MARKETS AND READERS IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND**

by

**ANDIE SILVA**

**DISSERTATION**

Submitted to the Graduate School

of Wayne State University,

Detroit, Michigan

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

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## INTRODUCTION

The author had prepared his Fellow-Traveller to wait upon you in this Summers Receptions, but some of the chief workmen in the presse being sick, he could not set forth till now; yet any time he will be seasonable, being fitted for Summer-dayes and Winter-nights, This advantage you have by the stay, that the work comes forth most correct from the Presse, and more complete in divers parts from the Authour. And if it be lawful for us (who do know indifferently well the palates of men for books) to interpose our judgments, we are much decided if this do not generally please, having so much of what pleaseth most men, merry stories, and witty speeches: in which, within those stages the author hath limited his travels, you will finde more satisfaction then you expected ... so that it is below the commendation of the work to say it is worth your money.”

“The Stationer to the Reader,” *The Fellow-Traveller Through City and Country*, A4r.

Open a modern book and you will still find many preliminary elements inherited from manuscript and early print: dedications, tables of content, prefaces, and even errata lists all remain ubiquitous to printed books. Notably absent from modern books, however, is the voice of the publisher; beyond copyright information and labels from whichever press was responsible for printing and circulating the book, the designer, typesetter, editor, or bookstore owner does not directly intervene in our reception of the contents. Even as we still may purchase and collect books based on genre and perceived quality (both features which the publisher helps shape), we no longer feel as connected to the individuals who edit and print our books. Early modern publishers, booksellers, and printers, on the other hand, relied on their relationships with book-buyers in order to properly advertise and sell their products. Humphrey Robinson, for instance, declares in his preface to the reader that stationers “know indifferently well the palates of men for books.” His preface for *The Fellow Traveller* (1658) justifies the book’s delay, which should have been available for readers’ “summer’s recreations,” by saying the work now “comes forth most correct from the presse, and more complete in divers parts.” Robinson’s preface testifies to the stationer’s participation in all aspects of production: he must have been in touch the printing press workers, as he was able

to reschedule the work until they were no longer sick; he implies contacting the author, who got to expand the book in “divers parts” after the delay; whereas the preface addresses those readers who had been tirelessly asking about the book at his stall.

Robinson was not alone in assuming book-buyers would see the value of his editorial work as evidence of the book’s quality and commendation. In his preface to *A Short Discourse of the Most Rare and Excellent Virtue of Nitre* (1584), publisher Gerald Dewes says that “I have adventured (gentle reader), for thy behoofe, to print this small treatise ... whose virtue (being such as our author avoucheth) may bring to you no small ease, & commodity.” Dewes avoids commendation of the work, claiming it “will commende it self sufficiently” (¶2r), a trope typical of prefaces designed to convince browsing readers they should invest in a particular book. Although printers, publishers, and booksellers did not always see eye to eye, they often worked collaboratively to attract and maintain reading markets.<sup>1</sup> This dissertation examines how the work of these “print agents,” who wrote and designed paratextual materials like title-pages, dedications, prefaces, and indexes, functioned as powerful marketing strategies. This project offers a starting point for the study of individual techniques by analyzing single texts (such as More’s *Utopia*, Queen Elizabeth’s *Godly Meditation*, and Spenser’s *Shepherd’s Calender*) across different print agents as well as individual print agents’ careers over time (such as John Day, Thomas Archer, and Hugh Singleton). By examining early modern print culture in these ways, my project complicates the dichotomy of profit and pleasure that suggests early modern print agents had strictly literary sensibilities whereas eighteenth century printers were profit-seeking opportunists. As I will prove, non-authorial paratexts are evidence that the early modern book trade relied simultaneously on financial, editorial, and literary practices. Looking at how editions changed

<sup>1</sup> Some contemporary examples include George Wither’s now infamous *The Schollers Purgatory* (1624) and *A Brief Discourse on Printers and Printing* (1663), collaboratively written by “a society of printers.” For more, see Cyprian Blagden, “A ‘Company’ of Printers,” *Studies in Bibliography* 13 (1960).

not only over time but also across markets can help us better understand developments in canonicity, popularity, and cultural capital.

Although recent studies have examined the collaborative work between a single editor and his author (Dobranski, Kastan) or different publishers' interventions in single publications (Lesser, North), no one has yet studied the work of print agents by tracking multiple, variant editions across different markets. A consideration of how early modern print agents managed the production and framing of books challenges traditional approaches to literary analysis and calls for a new way to engage with early modern texts. In *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication* (2007), Zachary Lesser highlights the role of the publisher who, more so than the printer

does not merely bring a commodity to market but also imagines, and helps to construct, the purchasers of that commodity and their interpretations of it. Studies of the economic conditions under which books were exchanged can and should lead us to new understandings of the texts, and the politics, of those books. (17)

Publishers (or, as they might be called in the early modern period, booksellers or stationers) no doubt held considerable influence over readers. Building on Lesser, I suggest that publishers need to be considered alongside editors, translators, and printers. In using the broad umbrella term "print agent," I thus suggest that we acknowledge the broad range of individuals who were involved in the production of books. After all, the early modern book trade is characterized by less nuanced divisions of labor, as often the same individual performed a variety of tasks. For example, printers like Richard Jones and Bernard Alsop saw themselves as editors, compilers, and disseminators of books; translators or editors likewise personally arranged for their texts to be printed and distributed. Collaborative work was also an intrinsic aspect of the early modern book trade; printer John Wolfe and publisher William Ponsonby, for example, formed a strong partnership to print and sell the literary works of Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser. Thus, critical efforts to distinguish between trades often

overlook the fact that the printed page, as the site of authorial, social and political negotiations, effectively created multi-faceted editorial roles beyond simple trade titles. By introducing the broader term “print agent,” I argue for a more nuanced understanding of how marketing and production strategies not only catered to customers, but actually helped to create an entirely new reading audience that was ready to encounter and understand print as a new medium.

This project analyzes the production history of popular early modern texts to offer evidence of three different editorial (and authorial) maneuvers: the use of paratexts to define and identify genres; the manipulation of politics and ideology to present texts and authors; and the self-fashioning of authors to shape their marketplace persona. As I hope to prove, print agents’ writing and designing of paratexts made them a recognizable influence in readers’ reception and interpretation of printed books. Print agents understood the practical aspects of the book trade, and they recognized that their markets relied as much on profitable textual commodities as on commendable texts and authors—the literary work had to have merit, but it was up to the print agent to market it as a desirable commodity. Their deliberate manipulation and presentation of printed texts offer us a unique picture of the social, cultural, and historical values and preferences of early modern English readers. This critical approach to the study of early modern marketing strategies fills a gap in current history of the book scholarship, which has thus far focused mostly on authorship and drama. Finally, at the dissertation’s conclusion I discuss my own research methodology as part of a shift in approaches to book history and material textuality: what is now known as “the digital turn.” In discussing 21<sup>st</sup> century database development, I suggest that digital resources must more accurately represent the individual agents responsible for shaping and disseminating printed books.

Given our current access to and development of computer technologies for studying and cataloguing material (databases like *Early English Books Online* and *Early Broadside Ballads Archive* are an invaluable source for locating digitized copies of original texts), we may no longer argue that this omission comes from a lack of access to primary texts, or that we lack the technology to produce multi-faceted editions. As I discuss in Chapter 5, we have only recently begun to consider how to organize academic databases according to parameters other than authorship. My study offers a historical and cultural background that underscores the importance of looking at original editions and variant paratexts. In order to encourage scholars to further the study of paratexts and print agents beyond the case studies presented here, Chapter 5 also proposes a new digital database to catalogue all occurrences of non-authorial paratexts. My database, *Printed Paratexts Online*, contributes to the next generation of digital humanities scholarship by curating and eventually visualizing data about paratextual materials. Once completed, this work will allow further inquiry into new and previously overlooked marketing strategies.

**(Financial) Profit and Delight** In *Profit and Delight: Printed Miscellanies in England 1640-1682* (2004), Adam Smyth argues that “printed miscellanies, with their frequently invoked emphasis on ‘profit and delight,’ their stress on advantages to be gained through reading, and the social functions of their verse, develop this tradition [of blending reading and practical utility]” (20). As this quote betrays, Smyth’s definition of “profit” addresses its figurative, rather than financial, meaning—miscellanies, as he sees it, are designed to promote the reader’s personal growth and edification. In addition to overlooking the financial connotations of the word “profit,” Smyth’s argument also omits the editorial and authorial agency behind these developments: the material object (in this case printed miscellanies) seems directly responsible for creating literary traditions, and the work of innumerable print

agents are rendered invisible. Although *Profit and Delight* has been foundational in establishing the value of popular culture to the production and circulation of literature, much work has yet to be done to uncover the intricate and deliberate ways in which print agents were active and intentional players in the establishment of reading practices and literary genres.

In the chapters that follow, I argue that print agents carefully associated financial profit to the acquisition of cultural capital in order to corral readers and define niche markets. I discuss booksellers who, like Thomas Bentley, solicited and edited their own material, but also editors like John Bale who authored, printed, and translated texts in collaboration with different printers and publishers. Print agents recognized the potential for individual texts to be marketed towards multiple groups of readers, understanding that books could represent different meanings by the simple manipulation of their basic framing elements (a shift in marketing and packaging, not in content). For early modern print agents, attracting and maintaining readerships, developing a good reputation, and earning financial profit were all inextricable elements of their trade. Careful attention to print agents' participation in framing texts, then, is of particular value because it demands that literary analyses venture beyond authorial intention alone, recognizing that the financial and technological aspects of the book trade are a continuing influence on our own approaches to reading and teaching early modern texts.

The idea that books were produced and sold for a profit-centered marketplace is not new to literary and cultural studies. Analyses of modern and contemporary authors like Vladimir Nabokov and Phillip Pullman, respectively, as well as readings of the national literary cultures of France, the United States, and even China have all made use of the term

“marketing” to discuss book trade practices.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in *The Manufacturers of Literature: Writing and the Literary Marketplace in Eighteenth-Century England* (2002), George Justice argues that Richard Steele and Joseph Addison were among the first print agents to bring together “Literature” and the public sphere in “an expanded literary marketplace” (15) in ways never before possible. Justice seems to rely on the assumption that the eighteenth-century brought on a major cultural shift unparalleled in previous periods. One of the goals of this dissertation is to challenge modern definitions of “literature” and to unsettle critical arguments that suggest the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries engaged in remarkably different approaches to printing and selling books.<sup>3</sup> If, as Adrian Johns has argued, print agents modeled many aspects of book production after manuscript and scribal cultures, certainly later printers and publishers inherited and continued to improve the marketing strategies developed by early modern print agents.

In order to understand print agents’ calculated efforts in designing and authoring paratexts, I make use of different marketing and theoretical concepts like cultural and emotional capital, iconic branding, and nostalgic or retro-branding. Pierre Bourdieu introduced his theory of cultural capital in his foundational *Distinction: A Social Critique of Taste* (1979). According to Bourdieu, taste and cultural preferences are forms of intellectual and social capital which help define middle-class values and impede social mobility. In Chapter 1, I argue that print agents used advertising strategies to market their books as unique sources of cultural capital: readers who invested in the right books and markets could gain access to certain social groups by reading popular literature, knowing about current events, or

<sup>2</sup> See Yuri Leving and Frederick H. White, *Marketing Literature and Posthumous Legacies: The Symbolic Capital of Leonid Andreev and Vladimir Nabokov* (2013); Claire Squires, *Marketing Literature: The Making of Contemporary Writing in Britain* (2009); Catherine Turner, *Marketing Modernism Between the Two World Wars* (2003); Shuyu Kong, *Consuming Literature: Best Sellers and the Commercialization of Literary Production in Contemporary China* (2005).

<sup>3</sup> See also, for instance, Christopher Flint’s take on the advances of the eighteenth-century, wherein “to the extent that books had become commodities ... agents in the eighteenth-century book industry felt the need to create the aura of exclusive, crafted objects made to order” (19). As I argue especially in chapter 1, this process was already in motion during the early periods of English print, going as far back as the sixteenth-century.

collecting well-designed religious works. For example, printer and bookseller Richard Jones often advertises in his title-pages that his books could be used to “purchase profit” or to impress one’s superiors. In Chapter 3, I expand on this methodology by considering the value of “emotional capital,” as outlined by Helga Nowotny. Since women arguably had restricted access to traditional forms of capital, they could utilize their emotional investments in the well-being of their family as a form of social currency. I discuss this approach in relation to the framing and reception of Queen Elizabeth’s *Godly Meditation of the Christian Soul* (1548), showing that women might seek to buy devotional books in order to teach or pray for their family. In chapters 2 and 4, I focus on marketing theories on branding to understand how a text like Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia* could evolve from a unique popular narrative to iconic genre of literature; or why an author like Edmund Spenser might choose an infamous print agent like Hugh Singleton to publish his first work in print to develop his personal authorial reputation.

Although the word “marketing” did not appear in English until the mid-twentieth century, marketing theory can be a productive starting point for thinking about the conflation of profit, market value, and popular culture evidenced by early modern printed books. Each of the chapters in this dissertation seeks to go beyond acknowledging that print agents worked in and for the marketplace by identifying different strategies used by successful print agents and recognizing them as related to contemporary marketing techniques used to brand and commodify products. By doing so, I make visible the influential work of print agents and call attention to the importance of theorizing and close-reading these print-agent strategies as a key first step in understanding the meaning and context of early modern books.

**Non-Authorial Paratexts as a Unique Literary Genre** In their preface to *The Roaring Girl* (1611), Middleton and Dekker blend performance and readership by promising the “comic



playreaders” that their play can find “both galley room at the playhouse, and chamber room at your lodging” (A3r). By the seventeenth century, the print marketplace was no doubt a ubiquitous presence in the lives of both authors and readers, influencing the ways they produced and understood new works. Readers and potential buyers often wandered St. Paul’s Churchyard with no intention of purchasing at all, going from shop to shop to browse and scan works set out by the bookseller. Booksellers counted on this type of idle reading to attract curious readers, convert browsers to buyers, and reward discerning buyers for their good taste. This connection between reader and print agent often occurred through paratexts: as the first textual elements a browsing reader would encounter, title pages and prefaces were especially influential tools, helping print agents “sell” their books as worthwhile investments and helping readers locate specific titles within a larger niche market. Whereas manuscript culture may have depended on coteries and exclusive groups to circulate books, print culture did not imply familiarity between authors and readers. Instead, that feeling of interpersonal connection was often generated through attractive and engaging paratexts written and printed by reliable, popular print agents like Humphrey Mosely, William Ponsonby, or Bernard Alsop.

Title-pages also helped establish distinctions and connections among genres: as Gerald Eades Bentley observes, “nearly all plays which got printed had appeared on bookstalls looking like almanacs, joke books, coney-catching pamphlets, and other ephemera” (56). Bentley means to highlight how little value plays held for the print marketplace and, consequently, how little interest printers had in making format changes appropriate for printed drama. However, visual connections between printed plays and pamphlets were often an intentional marketing strategy, not a printing oversight. Thomas Archer, for instance, seemed invested in connecting his plays and pamphlets visually as well as thematically: several of his title pages suggest that the bookseller assumed the same

marketing strategy (and thus, perhaps the same kind of reader) would better advertise pamphlets and plays amidst his other news prints.

Organizational and practical components like indexes, tables of contents, and errata lists could also be used to build cultural capital and help print agents maintain their markets. Errata lists, as Seth Lerer has discussed, are a rich “place holder in the ongoing narratives of bookmaking and book reading,” being simultaneously a product of their immediate moment and a reminder of the reader’s role in correcting and responding to the book in front of him or her (42). Print agents like Richard Jones may have feared “faultfinders” like censors and critics, but errors in printing were taken in stride as part of the reading experience. As I discuss in Chapter 2, playful notes on the errata sheet may have offered attentive readers a reward for locating errors, or have implied their complicity in the lifecycle of book production.

Although critics like Helen Smith and Terrance Cave have rightly observed that all kinds of paratexts can and often do play a crucial role in shaping the reception of texts,<sup>4</sup> it is clear that paratexts specifically authored by print agents deserve special attention. Printers and booksellers took advantage of the changeable nature of the market and expected browsing and curious readers to purchase a book based on its title, illustrations, or even playful front and back matter. As such, understanding these works within the context of the print marketplace adds unique perspectives to the production, reception, and circulation of texts. Leah Marcus claims that “the printer and the publisher play a striking part [in presenting] a strong authorial presence” for printed books (193). But many prefaces, in fact, played a much larger role in setting up a relationship between the print agent and the reader

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<sup>4</sup> In their introduction to the collection *Renaissance Paratexts* (2011), Helen Smith and Louise Wilson suggest that new paratextual studies can uncover “novel perspectives on the technologies of reading.” This project builds on the work of scholars like Smith and Terence Cave (*Thomas More’s Utopia in Early Modern Europe: Paratexts and Contexts*, 2012) by focusing specifically on the possible motivations behind paratextual and editorial choices.

as a potential customer. William Ponsonby, for instance, made a point to announce to his readers that he was in the process of anthologizing Spenser's works, stating in his 1591 edition of the *Complaints* that "I have by good meanes gathered together these fewe parcels present, which I have caused to bee imprinted altogether, for that they al seeme to containe like matter of argument in them" (A2r). Ponsonby's preface promises loyal readers that he would continue to look for more works that may be "disperst abroad in sundrie hands" (ibid).

The publishers of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Comedies and Tragedies* (1679) similarly took the credit for assembling the collection, which contained "no fewer than seventeen plays, more than were in the former, which we have taken pains and care to collect, and print out of quarto in this volume, which for distinction sake are markt with a star in the catalogue of them facing the first page of the book" (A1r). Non-authorial prefaces therefore helped establish relationships between readers—as both appreciators of quality literature and as book-buyers with precious money to invest—and print agents, who sought not only to reinforce the authorial present when necessary, but especially to demonstrate their unique cultural capital as editors, collectors, and disseminators of printed materials. As such, they are worth more careful cataloguing, not to mention more critical attention.

**New Bibliography and the Early Modern Book Trade** In focusing on the early modern book trade through its paratextual materials, I am indebted to the work of critics like Helen Smith, William H. Sherman, Wendy Wall, and David Scott Kastan, all of whom have argued for the importance of paratexts to cultural and historical studies. However, while these works have been crucial in uncovering the biographies and careers of print agents, they continue to focus on how paratextual strategies served to reinforce authorship, rather than on the influences of print agents on their own markets. David Kastan, for example, persuasively argues that "the specific forms of a text's embodiment—things as vulgarly material as

typeface, format, layout, design, even paper ... are not external to the meaning of the text, inert vehicles designed only for its conveyance, but rather are part of the text's structures of signification" (5). Following Kastan, Lukas Erne calls attention to the individuals responsible for creating such structures (printers, publishers, and even collectors), claiming that their work significantly influenced our definitions of canonical literature. However, both Kastan and Erne perpetuate our scholarship's continued obsession with using Shakespeare as a primary case study.<sup>5</sup> As Stephen Dobranski admits, research on the early modern book trade (like his own *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade*, 1999) remains too invested on canonical (male) authors:

by writing at length about only one author ... this book isolates Milton even as it tries to place him within a collaborative context. It remains, therefore, for scholars to develop ... and investigate in depth other seventeenth-century authors and their practices of book-writing and book-making. (182)

This dissertation shifts the focus back to the agency involved in the work of print, looking at print agents as at once (co)authors, readers and, of course, businessmen and women. Such an approach is naturally indebted to Elizabeth Eisenstein's groundbreaking *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (1980), which proved that the technology of print actively influenced society, science, and culture. Critics such as Adrian Johns and David McKitterick have rightly challenged some of her claims on the fixed and unchanging nature of print culture. Nonetheless, *Agent of Change* inaugurated a new moment in book history scholarship, whereby scholars became interested not only in historical or bibliographical facts, but also questioned how these developments affected literary and reading cultures.

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<sup>5</sup> Following his influential *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (2003), Erne's *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (2014) promises to show that not only did Shakespeare design his texts to be published, but that his strategies resulted in an unusually popular career as a printed dramatist. Erne's second book deliberately responds to and engages with Kastan's *Shakespeare and the Book* by offering quantitative analyses of surviving copies, reprints, and new editions of Shakespeare's works.

Eisenstein posits that the printing press allowed for the dissemination of knowledge to have a widespread cultural impact but, as many scholars have since observed, her descriptions of print culture as effecting standardization and dissemination fail to account for how inaccurate and unreliable early modern presses really were.<sup>6</sup> As David McKitterick demonstrates, practices in manuscript culture encouraged readers to correct and amend texts, and “the definition of a text in the early modern period depended on an understanding by both author and reader that, even within a single impression, texts were themselves liable to be mobile” (134). This project argues that these two stances are not so oppositional: although printed books were indeed “mobile,” print agents’ use of indexes and errata lists demonstrates efforts to create stability and attempts to define and understand what a printed, bound book could look like.<sup>7</sup> Further, as I argue particularly in Chapters 1 and 2, what McKitterick sees as “an understanding between author and reader” was more often an understanding between *print agent* and reader.

In order to define and select paratextual materials to study, I rely on Gerard Genette’s *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1997), which outlines paratextual elements as “a message that has taken on material form, [and] necessarily has a location that can be situated in relation to the location of the text itself” (4-5). Paratexts are therefore any features that are printed along with the central text, including but not limited to the title-page, dedications, poems, woodcuts, or printers’ marks. In Chapter 1, I begin my discussion of title-page features as “protocols for reading” (Chartier 21) in order to outline the deliberate marketing techniques print agents utilized to attract browsing and returning readers. By authoring and designing (and including or omitting) paratextual elements, print agents could indicate the

<sup>6</sup> For example, Adrian Johns analyzes the printing of Shakespeare’s first folio, which “boasted some six hundred typefaces, along with non-uniform spelling and punctuation, erratic divisions and arrangement, mispaging and irregular proofing” to demonstrate how unstable each edition was expected to be, leading to “questions of credit [that] took the place of assumptions of fixity” (31).

<sup>7</sup> While I am not interested in tracing a historical evolution of print, I suggest that the relationship between fixity and mobility can be better understood when we consider that print agents were invested in constructing more reliable, stable texts.

genre and value of a text (for instance, dedicating a text to “worthy gentlemen” might signal a text typical of aristocratic, manuscript circulation). Further, as these patterns became popular and were mimicked by other print agents, readers had immediate visual cues for recognizing different types of texts.

This project builds on what D.F. Mackenzie calls the “sociology of texts,” that is, the ways in which material objects influenced history, culture, and society. I thus consider practical, economic aspects of the book trade like profit and costs alongside print agents’ personal and literary preferences. Following Foucault (“What is an Author?”) and Barthes (“The Death of the Author”), I suggest that early modern readers also figured as a “function” in prefatory epistles and through marginal notations. The reader imagined by the print agent’s preface, therefore, may not have corresponded to a real-life book buyer, but nonetheless represents the print agent’s expectations for the kinds of readers he could advertise to. Additionally, since print agents themselves were often public figures (especially when they were held liable for printing illicit works, like Hugh Singleton), it is important that we dissociate print agents’ personal tastes from the tastes and interests they seem to defend in the books they chose to print. Although we are not able to get a complete picture of early modern readers’ personal preferences, a study of popular print agents and texts can offer a glimpse into the many ways in which the print marketplace both constructed and responded to social and cultural changes.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, a careful consideration of the variety present in early modern editions can lead to the development of richer *modern* editions. This study invites an approach to literary analysis that privileges multiplicity over singularity; that works beyond the concept of authoritative editions, and that includes print agents, readers, and authors as equally important agents in the creation of meaning.

<sup>8</sup> For the purposes of this study, popular print agents are those whose presses and bookstalls endured for an extended period of time (usually until their death). Similarly, my definition of popular books includes not only canonical works we still read today, like Thomas More’s *Utopia* (1516), but also printed texts that produced multiple editions and reprints, like Queen Elizabeth’s *Godly Meditation* (1548).

In her introduction to *Margins and Marginality* (1993), Evelyn Tribble points to a potentially problematic “divorce between the body of writing designated as early modern literature and its original medium” (2). She, like others before her, complains about the inability of modern edited books to reflect the multiplicity of meanings available in original editions because they “omit such accompanying matter [and] in effect rewrite the text by effacing evidence of its collaborative nature, of the conversation between a text and its margins, of the play made possible by the space of the page” (1). This dissertation provides an interpretative framework for close-reading non-authorial paratexts and for understanding the value of print agents to editing and teaching early modern texts.

The scope of this project is by necessity relatively narrow, focusing solely on early to mid-sixteenth to late seventeenth-century England (app. 1515–1680). Before this time, medieval printers and publishers (most notably Caxton and his apprentice Wynkyn De Worde) had made important progress in editing printed texts, but their publications did not yet reveal a serious investment in developing paratextual materials—what little material was available, was mostly for cataloguing purposes, and was not used for framing a work, influencing readers, or informing meaning.<sup>9</sup> Additionally, England underwent a slightly different print revolution than its continental neighbors: whereas print culture quickly came to replace manuscript on the continent, in England both manuscript and print culture existed simultaneously.<sup>10</sup> This meant that print culture both borrowed from and evolved alongside manuscript practices. My project will show, however, that English print agents and their collaborators in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries worked to define printed texts as a unique commodity, with qualities unlike any manuscript. The texts on which I base my

<sup>9</sup> According to Marcy L. North, “the first known title page, a simple descriptive paragraph, was printed in 1463 in Mainz. In London around 1480, the printed William de Machlinia introduced the ‘label’ title page to English books. Neither of these publications established the title page as a convention, however. (...) William Caxton, one might note, never adopted the title page even though he was a contemporary of Machlinia” (62).

<sup>10</sup> Arthur Marotti has noted that England was one of the last European countries to adhere to printing courtly lyrics—the stigma of print and distinctions of status securing most authors in the manuscript circulation. See also McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order 1450-1830* (2003).

analysis show that English print agents were interested in teaching readers to understand printed texts as an active part of their culture and their nation.

David McKitterick offers a helpful distinction between an early sixteenth century, which experienced a “a period of innovation, experiment and compromise,” and the period from the mid-sixteenth through the seventeenth century, which was characterized by “anxiety [at] the inaccuracy in the printed book ... with [its] tendency for ill as well as for religious and scholarly good” (8). This “in-between” period— flanked by a transition between the print trade’s thirst for experimentation on the one hand, and readers’ anxiety about the medium’s break with social/cultural control on the other hand— is ideal for understanding the crucial role played by print agents in the process of defining taste and establishing genres. The eighteenth century offers a good cutoff date, since after the Queen Anne Act of 1709, the development of intellectual property laws led to an increasing focus on the author as the central, liable figure of texts. This act, and its subsequent copyright laws, certainly contributed to a change in the ways publishers and booksellers approached book production. This significant change would require a separate study that considered authorial rights and developing new markers such as “Grub Street,” and is thus beyond the scope of this project.<sup>11</sup>

This dissertation begins by discussing broader examples of the variety of marketing strategies available to early modern print agents. Chapter 1, “Profit, News, and Religion: Print Agents and the Social Currency of Print,” establishes the value of print agents to the development of cultural capital by offering three case studies. This chapter demonstrates that print agents adapted their marketing strategies to present books as unique commodities, capable of providing social and cultural capital. I examine the careers of three popular print

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<sup>11</sup> Of course, as I discuss above, many of our period cutoff dates and distinctions are arbitrary at best, and there is much to be gained from studies that investigate texts as they move through centuries of readership and production. Although this research focuses exclusively on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, scholars may be interested in tracing some of the marketing strategies outlined here across later periods. Such an approach could help us form a better picture of how dynamic and responsive print agents really were to cultural and social changes.



agents, Richard Jones (f. 1564), John Day (1521-1584), and Thomas Archer (f. 1603), arguing that their paratexts instructed readers to use books of lyric poetry, religious works, or even bawdy, city plays like *The Roaring Girl* (1611) to improve their social status respectively as aspiring gentlemen, pious Protestants, or well-informed citizens. Richard Jones and John Day were among the most prolific preface writers in the early modern period.<sup>12</sup> Day also designed numerous tables of contents and indexes that structured printed devotional texts as distinct from manuscripts. Thomas Archer was a key influence in the gender debates (also known as the “querelle des femmes”), but his interest in newsbooks and corantos can be traced through many of his publishing and editorial choices. Further, all their careers span a wide length of time and a broad variety of genres, allowing for an interesting picture of the versatility of popular print agents who thrived in the book trade.

Richard Jones published some of the most popular miscellanies of the period, but he also printed pamphlets, household manuals, and travel and political accounts. His work on title-pages and front matter (as well as his self-fashioning in prefaces and dedications) varies according to the genre and assumed audiences of his texts. While Day published mostly religious tracts, he also dabbled in printing household guides and pamphlets. Unlike Jones, who associated his name most often with literary works, Day was an active religious commentator, but not so involved in his other publications. He did, however, arrange interesting title-pages and procured detailed woodcuts for the works he chose to print. Thomas Archer published several editions of Swetnam’s *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women* (1615) as well as Rachel Speght’s response, titled *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (1617). Archer’s literary interests, however, are only a facet of his catalogue, and his popularity is worth a closer look. Their work is particularly interesting

<sup>12</sup> See Franklin B. Williams’ *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books Before 1641* (1962) and Kirk Melnikoff’s illuminating article “Jones’s Pen and Marlowe’s Socks: Richard Jones, Print Culture, and the Beginnings of English Dramatic Literature,” in *Studies in Philology* 102.2 (2005).

because their interventions, though deliberate, were often subtle. My analysis demonstrates that print agents helped define literary categories (i.e. anthologies, household titles, courtly literature, and current events), using keywords like “profitable” and “worthy” to establish printed books as valuable purveyors of cultural capital.

The first chapter introduces a broad context for the presence and participation of the press in the public sphere. The three chapters that follow trace individual texts over time to understand context-specific marketing strategies. I present case studies as evidence of the range of my study, and hope to reposition some key early modern texts as the products of print agents’ careful intervention and framing. Chapter 2, “Counterfeits, Generics, and (New and Improved) Copies: Thomas More’s *Utopia* as Cultural Brand,” reveals that genre categories could be shaped through paratextual choices. Thomas More’s *Utopia* (1516) saw a total of ten editions between 1551 and 1685 and continued to be reprinted through the end of the eighteenth century. The *Utopia*’s obvious popularity attracted printers, publishers, and translators eager to have their names (and markets) associated with the publication. This chapter will provide a focused study of all the surviving English editions of *Utopia* to illuminate the process that framed “utopia” as an iconic new genre. Utilizing marketing theory on iconic brands, I show that each print agent’s changes to the *Utopia*’s title-pages helped develop a recognizably English brand-name. At different points, *Utopia* was marketed as a historical account (like Thomas Creede’s *A Most Pleasant, Fruitful, and Wittie Work*, 1597); as a travel narrative (Bernard Alsop’s *The Commonwealth of Utopia*, 1639); and as a classical text (Richard Chiswell’s *Utopia*, 1684). The narrative eventually became such a popular brand that pamphlets and political tracts began to be advertised as coming from Utopia or having been printed in Utopia. I identify these texts as “brand generics,” since they capitalized on the *Utopia*’s popularity by using textual references to the island to attract readers. Drawing a connection between the versatile editions of More’s text and the rapidly

developing genre of utopian fiction, I shed light on the ways the press both reacted to and played a role in creating popular taste.

Chapter 3, “Reading Women and Women Readers: Devotional Reading as Religious and Emotional Capital in Queen Elizabeth’s *A Godly Meditation of the Soul*,” shifts our focus from textual narratives and branding to consider how print agents handled a well-known woman writer like Queen Elizabeth. Recent work from Janel Mueller and Jaime Goodrich has offered groundbreaking interventions in the study of devotional writing and translation as key to women writers’ self-fashioning. However, not much attention has been given to how early modern print agents participated in this process. *The Glass of the Sinful Soul*, a translation of Marguerite de Navarre’s *Le Miroir de L’âme Pécheresse*, was first published at Catherine Parr’s orders by John Bale, a well-known religious controversialist and clergyman, as *A Godly Meditation of the Soul* in 1548. The popularity of this publication is attested by its surviving editions, which circulated well into the 1590s. Print agents like Bale, Thomas Bentley, and James Cancellor all capitalized on the publication by adding their own editorial interventions. *The Glass* was the only literary text by Elizabeth circulating in print during her reign; as such, this work is particularly interesting for its presentation of the Queen at various stages of her life (as princess, young Queen, and virgin icon).<sup>13</sup> In addition to investigating editorial roles in political and ideological conversations, this chapter deals with questions about the role of women in religious debates and their place in the growing economy of print. In the process of using political and ideological controversy to market Elizabeth’s *Glass*, print agents also managed to create a space where women could contribute to religious and social life through the act of buying, reading, and disseminating information from printed books. A careful analysis of the prefaces and paratextual material in these editions

<sup>13</sup> Although some of her prayers were also available in print, the longstanding popularity of this text seems to have held the public’s interest as a literary genre in unique ways that are worth singling out.

exemplifies the wide influence of early modern print agents in the formation of English ideology and national identity.

In Chapter 4, “Marketing Literary Authority: Edmund Spenser’s Branding Strategies for *The Shepheardes Calender*,” I argue that Spenser’s choice of printers early in his career was key in helping him represent himself as a literary icon. This chapter aims to understand how influential publishers came to shape an author’s choices for publication. The *Shepheardes Calender* (1579) was the only work of Edmund Spenser’s that was never published by popular print agent William Ponsonby. The text was first printed by Hugh Singleton as “*The Shepheardes Calender Conteyning Twelue Aeglogues Proportionable to the Twelue Monethes*” and was later reprinted by John Wolfe, Bernard Alsop, Thomas Creede, and Thomas East, among others. *The Shepheardes Calender* saw nine editions (five of these during Spenser’s lifetime) as a stand-alone text and two more as part of a “complete works” collection printed for Matthew Lownes. This chapter’s analysis of the careers of Spenser’s first print agents will determine that Spenser, in collaboration with Hugh Singleton, Henry Bynneman, and William Ponsonby, sought to establish a literary trajectory for himself as an iconic (printed) English author. For Spenser, this choice of print agents would ideally place him as a popular author worthy of someone like Ponsonby, whose imprint came with a specific market. Spenser would have recognized Ponsonby as a print agent who was invested in authors with an established, English literary history. Establishing Spenser as an author who understood, and ultimately manipulated, the name and market value of print agents, I show how authority in the print marketplace gradually shifted so as to situate print agents as editors and curators, and authors as independent geniuses.

The three central chapters from this dissertation offer close readings of early modern print agents and their editorial practices. Chapter 5, “Virtual Readings: Digital Environments, New Technologies, and the New Print Agents,” suggests that digital humanists represent a

new type of print agent with the power to shape and influence digital representations of early modern texts. Looking at resources that include digital images, like *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) and *English Broadside Ballad Archive* (EBBA); and finding-aid databases like the *Database of Early English Plays* (DEEP) and the *British Book Trade Index* (BBTI), I evaluate how current projects display paratextual material and represent printing histories. By singling out specific examples of how each resource structures its metadata, I demonstrate that these choices, which are often invisible and uncredited, determine the kinds of research questions and topics available to users. Ultimately, many of these projects continue to privilege canonical literature and male authors and print agents, making research on the book trade in general and paratexts in particular very difficult. Through a consideration of the editorial choices for digital projects, I argue that digital humanists have a responsibility to present their work as openly and transparently as possible. In light of these conclusions, I propose a new database, *Printed Paratexts Online*, which will make information about non-authorial paratexts readily available for scholars. As I critique and evaluate different existing projects, I hope to make more deliberate and careful decisions in structuring my own database.

My research points out the degree to which early modern editorial practices have influenced our approaches to reading, teaching, and digitizing early modern texts. Early modern printed books became cultural icons largely as a result of print agents' marketing techniques. My project contributes to research that on the early modern book trade by demonstrating that the work of printers, publishers, and booksellers (and sometimes authors) effectively encouraged middle-class readers to see printed books as a valuable social commodity. By introducing modern marketing theory into my literary analyses, I challenge common misconceptions about profit and pleasure, literary and non-literary, and canonic and ephemeral. My readings consider each printed book as part of a broader market of readers

and other texts. I argue that we cannot analyze or teach texts as single, self-contained objects, but must place them within a larger context: one that often involved pre-existing markets as well as returning and loyal readers. Further, I contend that digital humanities projects should more accurately represent the role print agents played in the production and reception of printed books. The reach of this study extends beyond the aims of the current project; by encouraging conversations about genre, taste, and biographical research on individual print agents, this project offers a new angle through which to discuss the history of the book, new bibliography, and modern editing practices.

## CHAPTER 1 Profit, News, and Religion: Richard Jones, Thomas Archer, John Day and the Social Currency of Print

*But as it is now (for the most part abused), the bookseller hath not onely made the Printer, the Binder, and the Clasp-maker a slave to him: but hath brought Authors, yea the whole Commonwealth, and all the Liberal Sciences into bondage. For he makes all professors of art, labour for his profit, at his own price, and utters it to the commonwealth in such fashion, and at those rates, which please himself.*

George Wither, *The Schollers Purgatory* (1624)

Having just been denied the publication of his psalms due to patent disputes, George Wither was, no doubt, bitter about the power held by the Stationer's Company. *The Schollers Purgatory* spares no complaints against booksellers who, Wither claims, always privilege profit over quality and content. This apparent conflict between profit and literary production or, as he sees it, between booksellers and "all professors of art," is still a point of contention for modern critics.<sup>14</sup> Laurie Ellinghausen, for example, argues that Isabella Whitney's *Will and Testament* is evidence of a conflict between the author and her printer (Richard Jones) in which "the printer's profit underscores the rift between the author as outsider and the text as circulating commodity within a marketplace society" (33). Conversely, Kirk Melnikoff suggests that Jones used publications such as the *Will and Testament* to distinguish himself as a publisher who was personally involved in the literary quality of the texts he printed, unlike "his publishing peers [who moved towards] capitalization and anonymity" (188). What both sides of the Whitney/Jones discussion have in common is that they assume a strict dichotomy between monetary profit and aesthetic production. The goal of this chapter is to understand how profit, taste, and literary genre came to represent intrinsic, not dichotomous, parts of the business of print; toward this end, I will consider the roles that print agents—the individuals responsible for the production and distribution of printed books—played in redefining profit

<sup>14</sup> Although Wither likely considers as "artists" professionals like binders or stitchers in the sense that they professed "a practical pursuit or trade of a skilled nature, a craft" (OED, "art")<sup>14</sup>, his concern with the negative influence of profit on the production of art is clear.

and taste for their burgeoning market.<sup>15</sup> My analysis will show how three print agents used paratextual material such as title-pages, prefaces, notes to the reader, and even indexes or tables of content to create niche markets. Through their manipulation of paratext, print agents influenced readers and helped define printed books as social commodities, that is: materials whose monetary value came to represent social capital or increased cultural gains for the reader. Through these three examples, I will demonstrate the ways that print agents and readers participated in a shared social connection of investment and profit. As a commodity, a printed book was both the product of an agent's art and invested labor, as well as the product of the reader's financial and emotional investment (his or her trust and loyalty). Incorporating the work of social theorists Pierre Bourdieu and Nan Lin, I argue that the potential profits promised by the book as cultural capital depended inherently on the ties between reader and print agent.

The business of producing and selling books in the early modern period was expensive, and few print agents deliberately got involved with a work if it was not guaranteed to sell. The cost of paper was astronomical, and competition was rapidly increasing.<sup>16</sup> Collaboration was one way to stay in business: a publisher like Thomas Archer, for instance, partnered with printer Nathaniel Butter in order to gain better access to printed news and sell at lower costs. But print agents also hoped to corner and generate specific markets as part of their strategy. As many contemporary complaints indicate, John Day actively pursued patents and rights to be the exclusive printer for some of the most important Protestant writers of his

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<sup>15</sup> As I discuss in the Introduction, this term helps assign agency to the work of print tradesman without specifying specific workers as primarily responsible for the production of printed books. I also use print agents when my discussion applies broadly to interventions any participant could (and felt compelled to) make, which is distinct from the strategies identified in each individual case study. I only refer to an agent as a specific job function (printer, publisher) when he has introduced or defined his persona as such. As we will see, the agents in this chapter often authored prefaces to the reader identifying themselves not by name, but as "the printer" or "the publisher," and I believe this identification was deliberate, and an important way to build a textual persona.

<sup>16</sup> In *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640*, Tessa Watt claims that "paper was the largest expense that went into making a book; about 75% of the total in the sixteenth century" (262). Building on Watt, Jane Write Stamer concludes that "for many early modern printing houses, the profits from pamphlets and other quick turnaround publications like ballads and news-books were essential for survival" (130).



day (Evenden 156). In order to secure a loyal market and invest in their own longevity, print agents like Day used a variety of strategies to define a specific persona (and output) in print that readers could learn to identify. In this chapter I discuss these three print agents (John Day, Thomas Archer, and Richard Jones) as test cases for the ways that agents could manufacture and improve supply and demand by engineering a relationship with readers.

A print agent's persona did not always correspond with his real-life interests; in the case of John Day, for instance, his personal Protestant leanings must have helped determine the works he chose to print, but it would be naive to assume that his faith alone governed all his business choices. Although some biographical information might be necessary for the discussion of a print agent's career, I avoid the assumption that a print agent's personal taste or ideology always corresponds with the constructed textual persona who signs prefaces to the reader. A recognizable style (however artificial or constructed), attitude (real or performed), or genre could mean returning customers. Further, by using the printed page as their personal missives, agents authored paratextual material to provide reading cues for their audience. These cues, which Roger Chartier calls "protocols for readers," help place printed books into recognizable categories for prospective buyers.<sup>17</sup> In the case of the examples in this chapter, a print agent's intentional use of specific, recurring words like "very profitable," "fit to be read," or "a true account" could lead readers to identify whether a bookstall could supply them with conduct books, lyric poetry, newsbooks, or devotional material. My analysis demonstrates that word protocols, illustrations, prefaces, and tables of content helped corner specific markets and define relationships between an individual print agent and his potential market. I argue that the development of particular protocols can help contextualize

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<sup>17</sup> Discussing the *Bibliothèque Bleue*, Chartier outlines the need to inscribe titles as recognizable cultural products. In light of that, the "techniques of the most formal and material kind can by themselves inscribe indications of cultural differentiation in published works... [which] was governed by the way that book publishers thought that their target clientele read. ... such visible signals as anticipatory headings, recapitulative summaries, or woodcuts that functioned as reading protocols" (13).

how the interplay between profit, taste and market demands established print as a culturally significant technology.

**Social Capital, Cultural Capital and the Myth of Supply and Demand** By discussing how print agents utilized paratextual material as protocols for readers, I argue that protocols helped define printed books as unique products, capable of providing readers with pleasure or profit and increased social capital.<sup>18</sup> I suggest that print agents deliberately linked monetary profit and literary taste, so that print became a special kind of social currency: a reader could invest in purchasing a book and obtain, in return, trendy literary works that guaranteed entrance to exclusive social circles, a broad knowledge of current affairs, or pious religious instruction. In order to discuss literature as cultural capital, I draw on Pierre Bourdieu's influential analysis of the formation of taste and culture in *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984), as well as on the work of social capital theorist Nan Lin in *Social Capital: a Theory of Social Structure and Action* (2002).

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu describes how class differences and cultural values participate in the formation of taste and aesthetic sensibilities. According to this theory, the acquisition of cultural capital through education, family, and social class grants individuals an elevated social power, and this acquisition makes them uniquely equipped with the necessary tools to understand the culture around them. For Bourdieu, social capital is thus determined by class hierarchies, since access to things like education and formal training is more readily available to the higher classes. Social capital is related to monetary capital but not always determined by it; for example, although the nobility lost much of its economic power in the

<sup>18</sup> As Robert Matz discusses in *Defending Literature in Early Modern England* (2000), early modern concepts of profit and pleasure depended, among other social influences, on the changing roles of the aristocracy. Matz argues that as chivalric practices and war training became less popular, literature and scholarship rose in relevance and importance. His reading of "profit" as a form of civil service through industry and learning is elucidating and productive, but it focuses largely on early modern authors' participation. Here, I suggest that considering print agents as part of this culture of profit adds a new perspective, which asks that we also consider profit to mean social and cultural advantage.

early modern period and beyond, this did not immediately cause a loss of social or cultural superiority.

The value of one's social standing and their knowledge of the "secret" identifiers of that position (taste for good literature, proper dress and speech) may keep one in a superior position simply because the culture's habit has pre-determined it.<sup>19</sup> Cultural capital, therefore, is connected to one's social position and one's access to social resources. As I will discuss later, this is a valuable perspective from which to consider how and why print agents promised middle-class readers that they could increase their social value by purchasing books. Even though on a financial or social level print culture may not be actively responsible for determining class parameters, many early modern print agents offered their products as having precisely such a power: if you purchase my book, a print agent seems to imply, you will get access to the necessary resources to become a respectful, well-learned Protestant; a knowledgeable gentleman; or an up-to-date, savvy reader of news.<sup>20</sup>

Print agents could market books as social resources by promising two different kinds of capital: "human capital" and "cultural capital." Nan Lin describes social capital as a set of interdependent relationships. Bourdieu (according to Lin) believes that social capital is the "collective asset endowing members with credits," and therefore always self-contained within a group or community (23). Lin suggests instead that social capital is a set of resources that can be borrowed by the individual in a group and utilized to take action for his own benefit (instead of depending on the group to take action). Starting from the basic definition of social capital as an "investment in social relations with expected returns in the marketplace," Lin offers further distinction that social capital is embedded in group relationships and thus is a

<sup>19</sup> The cultural habits, tastes, and behaviors inherited by individuals in a certain social class and reinforced by social relations and positions are Bourdieu classifies as "habitus." Though central for Bourdieu's definition of "distinction" and taste, this discussion is beyond the scope of my current analysis.

<sup>20</sup> In this sense, I believe it fair to refer to print as having a "democratizing" effect, not because it levels the classes, but because it allows for better access to resources like literature, theology, and news to the lower and middle classes.

“social asset by virtue of actors’ connections and access to resources in the network of which they are members” (19). This means that, in order to gain better social value, it is necessary that resources be embedded in the individuals themselves (what he calls human capital, or a particular knowledge or training) as well as in social, trustworthy relationships.

The possible returns for investing in social relationships can be used to obtain one of two forms of resources: first, personal resources, which are “possessed by an individual and may include ownership of material as well as symbolic goods” (21). Secondly, social resources can be “accessed through an individual’s social connections” (43). Thus, an individual could activate social ties to accomplish a goal— for example, John Day might reach out to the Protestant community and people like John Foxe to help fund and support his publications. For my purposes, this is particularly interesting because it illuminates the ways print agents manufacture social connections by outlining associations between themselves as (trusted) individuals, their print materials as commodities, and their readers/customers, all as part of a system of mutual investment and trust. In outlining this network of capital, I follow Lin’s theory that social capital is embedded in social relations, but I also accept Bourdieu’s caveat that cultural (and to an extent, certain levels of social) capital is determined by hierarchical class structures.

In this model, we may see two types of capital at play for the print marketplace: the print agent invests his resources hoping that his readers will return to buy more books; in return, the reader places in the bookstall a financial investment (buying the book) as well as a personal investment (trusting the print agent or relying on his products). This implied relationship between readers and print agents occurs through paratextual materials.<sup>21</sup> Printer

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<sup>21</sup> In order to avoid oversimplifying how much honesty and actual trust went into the business transactions, I acknowledge that there are always two relationships at play: the “real,” historical relationships readers had with books and print agents, which cannot be measured outside of a small amount of residual evidence left in annotated books or journals, and the culturally constructed relationship located in title-pages, prefaces, and other paratext. Though I cannot presume to know how readers reacted to these forged relationships, the careers of the

Richard Jones was particularly attuned to the different kinds of returns his business demanded: in order to obtain monetary gain, Jones realized he needed to be perceived as a print agent capable of locating the best literary works, and of using his connections and resources to provide his readers with social capital. Social capital functions on a concrete level for the printer, who gets a profitable business, and on an abstract level for the reader, who owns a book that can help him impress his superiors.<sup>22</sup>

Nan Lin's articulations of social capital provide an important addition to Bourdieu's theory by specifying the role that profit (both monetary and personal) plays in the social and material rewards an individual can obtain through social capital. According to Lin, social capital resources (whether abstract or concrete) can be used to gain several kinds of profits such as "economic, political, and social ... in terms of wealth... hierarchical positions ... and reputation" (244). Further, individuals who possess social capital can obtain "physical health, mental health, and life satisfaction" (ibid). For the purpose of this chapter, I apply this distinction to the different kinds of services and resources print agents claimed to provide and embody. Each of the print agents discussed in this chapter associates monetary investment with social returns to influence his potential readers. Day, Archer, and Jones build unique and popular markets by providing reliable, specific services—namely, religious instruction, news and gossip, and social behavior instruction. Print agents made use of the growing technology of printed books to develop and expand new social groups (like Protestants, merchants, and aspiring gentlemen). As print agents, John Day, Thomas Archer, and Richard Jones each used paratexts as marketing strategies to market cultural capital to a specific book-buying demographic.

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three print agents in this chapter are popular enough to suggest that their strategies were successful in attracting and keeping their reading market.

<sup>22</sup> Lin qualifies social capital as a tool that can provide "instrumental resources," which are concrete (like money, land, a personal library), or "expressive resources," which are abstract (like trust, friendship, or love).

The printers represented in this chapter are not the only examples of the strategies I discuss. Rather, I focus on them because each agent offers a compelling example of a specific kind of strategy that could be deployed to attract and maintain readers. Together they demonstrate the varying relationships formed with readers through paratext, textual production, and circulation. These three are particularly helpful examples because they all had productive, consistent output through a long span of time— Day (f.1539–1584), Archer (f.1603–1628), and Jones (f.1564–1613) — not to mention lucrative businesses. Further, they each focused on a specific niche that reflects central issues surrounding and impacting English culture in general, as well as the English citizen in particular: 1) the Reformation; 2) political unrest and developing city lifestyles; and 3) the rise of popular, vernacular literature.<sup>23</sup> I begin with John Day, who was one of the most influential and active printers for the dissemination of Protestant doctrine and published over three hundred titles in his career.

**John Day and the Social Currency of Religious Instruction** Print agents, even those who were devoted to spreading the Protestant Reformation were by no means exempt from seeking profit and popularity. John Day was no exception: he’s known to modern book history critics as the “master printer of the English Reformation” (King 80), but even his contemporaries recognized him as a driving force behind Protestant printed works. In addition to being Printer to the City of London throughout nearly his entire career,<sup>24</sup> Day actively pursued patents and royal licenses to be the exclusive printer of the Metrical Psalms, as well as well the *ABC* and the *Catechism*, texts which were “crucial in providing the basics for a godly education” (Evenden 53). The earliest print agent examined in this chapter, Day is

<sup>23</sup> As I discuss in the introduction, I define popular works as those publications that merited multiple reprints over a long period of time. By popular literature I also mean works produced and circulated outside of aristocratic circles. My discussions throughout this dissertation focus almost exclusively on middle-class readers—the kinds of readers that provided the majority of sales and profits for print agents.

<sup>24</sup> According to King, Day served as Printed to the City from 1564 until his death (80). Andrew Pettegree’s biography of John Day defines his career as a “ruthless pursuit of pious opportunity” (Oxford DNB).

unique from Archer and Jones due to his pursuit and maintenance of royal and courtly patrons, who provided him with a steady monetary source and, through it, the opportunity to employ the best available resources for his publications. As such, it is worth investigating how he chose to balance his fierce business pursuits<sup>25</sup> with the humble, yet morally superior, persona he constructs in his paratexts.<sup>26</sup> I discuss three specific marketing strategies for printed devotional texts. In order to sell his books as unique resources, Day designed paratexts that highlighted his religious capital. Through his connections to patrons and Protestant writers, his ability to design detailed tables and indexes, and his supposed Protestant calling as a religious printer, Day presented his books as priceless social commodities.

My analysis of Day's career focuses on paratexts ranging from dedications and epistles, to instructions on title-pages, to indexes. Further, I demonstrate how these elements worked to elevate Day as an ideal Protestant model. Day managed to present his work as that of modest public servant at the same time as he highlighted his unique resources and social connections. In addition to his more direct addresses, Day also constructed numerous indexes, tables, and lists, and frequently called attention to those appendices on his title-pages. Although indexing and cataloguing were not a feature pioneered by print, Day's printed books demonstrate the ways in which print culture incited new uses for these bibliographic tools.<sup>27</sup> His careful, sometimes overwhelming, catalogues are evidence of a printer's drive to shape, control and instruct his market of readers. Since contemporary

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<sup>25</sup> In *Patents, Pictures and Patronage* (2008), Elizabeth Evenden discusses in great detail how actively Day pursued royal patents, including the many times he was taken to court by his fellow printers to defend such monopolies. As my interest here is to look at Day's persona on the printed page, I touch on his real life business matters only when they serve as contrast for the way he presents himself in print.

<sup>26</sup> Although a certain degree of fake humility was also to be expected in the patronage system, Day rarely acknowledges his patents and aristocratic support in his prefaces to the reader. The persona Day constructs for the reader simultaneously builds him as a humble Protestant (in his dedication to sparing no resources in divulging Protestant works) and a superior, better Christian (who is better equipped to instruct his readers and who offers a modern powerful human resource than other printers in the marketplace).

<sup>27</sup> As early as the fourteenth century, Biblical manuscripts already contained early forms of alphabetical ordering and reference tables.

scholars have focused so much on the control aspect of paratextual materials,<sup>28</sup> my interest lies in how print agents and readers responded and adapted to new uses for books. For John Day, facilitating Biblical study and improving the usability of his books contributed to shape his persona in print, serving as advertisement for the quality of his work and his professed dedication to his projects.

Day used his title-pages to help define his doctrinal books as unique from other printed and manuscript works. An avid believer in the importance of proper Protestant instruction, Day insisted that a religious book should not be read and put away, but that his reader should “read it daily, study it earnestly, remember it continually, and do it thorowly” (*Preparatio ad Orandum* title-page). As the first advertisement for his books, Day’s paratexts serve as a double-marketing tool: they single out Day’s printed books as useful objects, helping the reader understand and make the best use of the new technology; at the same time, they contribute to Day’s print agent persona, expressing his careful work in setting notes, tables, and prefaces for the benefit of his reader. His title-pages generally included long, highly descriptive titles meant to highlight both the content and new additions to reprints. Some title-pages advertised an important preface (as in Coverdale’s tract on the sacrament, *A Faythful and most godlye treatyse concerning the most sacred sacrament of the blessed body and bloude of our savior Chryst... he hath set before this lytle booke an epistle to the reader much more effectious then in the first edition*);<sup>29</sup> others offered “a profitable table or index for the better finding” of the matters contained in the book; while others yet called attention to

<sup>28</sup> Heidi Brayman Hackel, for instance, argues that paratextual material was a way for authors and other agents to make “sustained attempts at physical and, later, textual control of books” and to impose their desired interpretation of the text onto readers (70). Similarly, Stephen Dobranski claims that “because prefaces and dedications so often suggest how readers ought to respond to a text, we may infer that authors and stationers were concerned about the interpretative liberty that their audiences might take” (36). Although I do not mean to disprove these arguments, I argue that paratexts function on another level: they help construct relationships between the print agent and his potential reader/buyer.

<sup>29</sup> Although the addition of new material can certainly be counted as a marketing ploy, Day’s efforts to include specific detail about added paratexts (and not just added content) highlights the instructional tone he uses elsewhere throughout his publications.



the margins, pointing to “certain notes of [the author’s] ...placed in the margent, with a short description.” These directives were meant to connect the reader to Biblical study and improve his reading habits. Titles and descriptions indicated the usefulness of certain books as a resource for understanding passages or lessons from the Bible. They also helped create connections between works such as complaints against ballads, refutations against the papists, and liturgical commentaries, making them fit in as part of the same niche market.

In conjunction with prefaces to the reader and instructional tables, these title-pages are evidence of Day’s constant presence on the page: his voice resonates in the opening of the book, in its format, and it makes the book’s capacity for social capital clearer to readers. Personal addresses on title-pages constructed a hierarchical relationship between the printer as religious mentor and the reader as student. Day might direct his reader to books where “thou maiste learne al thinges necessarie to be beleued” (*A verie familiare [and] fruiteful exposition*) or where to find further instructions: “in the nexte page shalt thou finde the contentes of thys little boke” (*The confutation of the. xiii. Articles*). Reworking typical advertising tropes for new editions,<sup>30</sup> Day sometimes also chose to elaborate on the content of the work and its usefulness: “thargument, wurthines, commoditie, and use of this worke, thou shalt fynd in the preface: after which thou hast a most exact table to leade thee into all the principal matters conteyned therein” (*Most Learned and Fruitful Commentaries*).

As Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio remark, the word “technology” suggests a new development that has changed the way we perceive material objects. Once the reader becomes familiar with the technology, certain aspects of the page like pagination, indexing, or marginal commentary, become matter-of-fact, and as such “a technology that works, that orients cognition in a way that proves consistently useful, comes of course to look familiar or

<sup>30</sup> Henry Bennett argues that “to help sell the new editions the title-pages frequently advertised that they were amended, enlarged, digested, revised, etc.” as part of a marketing strategy and cites as an example STC 4212, which advertises an “alphabetical table, not formerly published” (214).

natural and not so like a technology at all” (15). For many readers in this period, perusing a table of contents could be a challenging process. However, this difficulty contributed to making the printed book stand out as a tool for learning and acquiring knowledge. Day took advantage of this by positioning himself as instructor and mediator, allowing the organizing aspects of his book to serve as concrete evidence of his active participation in the Protestant project. These same paratexts also functioned as prime advertisement for the unique value of his publications.<sup>31</sup> Once the title-page drew in the curious reader, indexes and dedications place the power back with the printer, where he could condition readership, and highlight the unique Protestant instruction his resources could provide.

The protocols that Day set for his readers direct them towards valuing paratext (and therefore its author, the print agent) as the starting (and returning) place for successful study of the book’s contents. In *Most Fruitful and Learned Commentaries* (1564), for example, Day highlights that he has “also added and contained two most ample tables, aswel of the matter, as of the words: with an index of the places in the Holy Scripture.”<sup>32</sup> This index is a carefully organized catalogue that serves as an accurate study aid, and not just a navigational tool. A primary ESTC search for the word “table” (representing a table of contents) as part of the a work’s title-page indicates that although some print agents did point to the inclusion of a table in their book, John Day is one of earliest in the period to call direct attention to the instructional aspects of catalogues and indexes and to use them as a marketing strategy. He is the first English printer to advertise an index on the title-page, suggesting that he thought the inclusion of an index would make a book more attractive to readers. Day’s construction of indexes illuminates how he catered to different kinds of readers and different forms of

<sup>31</sup> I use Day as a case study for these particular strategies, but I imagine there are other print agents who have employed similar maneuvers to market their books. Day, however, does apply an interesting combination of strategies, using title pages, dedications, and indexes to establish his moral superiority and call attention to his unique personal resources.

<sup>32</sup> As far as my research has indicated, most sixteenth century authors still used “tables” when referring to “indexes,” and though many wrote lists and catalogues for their works they were clearly not a typical feature on title-page advertisements.

Biblical study. His lists contain indexing innovations still very new to print, and that no doubt both attracted readers and taught them new methods of textual reference. Unlike many alphabetical indexes of the time, which organized topics according to the first word of the line and not by the central topic of the passage,<sup>33</sup> this index reorganizes references according to their hierarchical, thematic importance. For instance, on folio 29v the marginal note indicates the author is addressing “what is chiefly to be observed in peregrination”; this item gets listed in the index not under W, but under P as “peregrinations causes,” outlining the central topic the reader might wish to consult. Other thematic choices assume the reader of the *Commentaries* would not be interested in broad topics like “marriage,” but on more specific aspects of these topics such as “marriage of maid against the wil of her parents” (under M) or “consent of the children is requisite in marriage” (under C). The same page might also serve different interests, whether it be to learn about “dreams corporal spiritual and intellectual,” whether the “Devil moveth dreams,” or even if “beanes make troublesome dreames” (all listings for folio 137b, but each under different letter headings). The fact that this book does not include a table of contents suggests that Day saw indexes as better, more effective protocols for readers. A detailed, overworked index could serve to separate and distinguish different types of readers.

The cultural capital of Day’s indexes and tables can be gleaned from the ways Day markets his books to different kinds of readers. A work with a variety of reference tools might easily attract a studious reader while also promising to the layman reader that he will be able to manipulate the text correctly. Roger Hutchinson’s *The Image of God* (1573) is a great example of this double move. The text contains four different tables for consulting on

<sup>33</sup> Christopher Grose, for example, discusses the potential “failure” of the index in Burton’s *Anatomy of Melancholy*, which indexes “all beautiful parts attractive in love” under A and “best site of an house” under B, thus overlooking central topics such as “love” and “house” in favor of the alphabetical order (287). Cormack and Mazziio note that alphabetization, which was a new feature in the period, means that an index is “arbitrary and as such neither determines a hierarchy of meaning nor provides conceptual criteria for its own subject headings” (14).

different aspects of the text: the first table concerns “the contents and chapters,” enumerating chapter titles and subtitles and their corresponding folio; this index is followed by the “heresies confuted in this booke,” which lists heretical beliefs alphabetically and by folio; after Hutchinson’s dedicatory epistle, yet another table follows: “an exact table of all the principal matters conteyned in this booke,” this time set index-style, alphabetically by title and corresponding folio. Finally, the tables conclude with a list “to find hard texts, and such as have beene abused for evill purposes, playnely and truely expounded,” where specific references from the Bible are placed alongside corresponding folio numbers. *The Image of God*, then, offers a unique value to the committed, studious Protestant: it multiplies the kinds of readings and purposes of the book, which can now be easily re-read with different interpretations. For example, a less cultured Protestant may be taught how to maneuver a religious text looking for heresies, for specific topics, or for references to other books he or she must read. The instructional value of Day’s books is apparent as a recognizable protocol in the ways Day chooses to title and organize his tables and indexes. Day’s paratexts offer instructions for Protestant practice, advertising the print agent’s unique cultural and religious capital in the market for devotional texts.

Day’s printed works therefore market his instructional persona to different audiences: some texts are full of instructions and dedications to guide a less experienced reader, while others clearly leave the reader free to make his own choices about how to use the book as a resource. The amount of reference tools in *The Image of God* work could be overwhelming to an unpracticed reader. A new reader unfamiliar with memory aids or other reference technologies might be unable or unwilling to use all the tables; this would suggest that Hutchinson’s audience was likely a well-educated group.<sup>34</sup> However, Day balanced these

<sup>34</sup> In “The Impact of the Early Printed Page,” Paul Saenger explains the mnemonic system taught to fifteenth century readers wherein “each chapter was divided mentally either *a* to *d* for short chapters or *a* to *g* for longer chapters.” This system was eventually mimicked in indexes for printed Bibles, and meant to serve as memory

more ambitious works with publications directly aimed at lay readers. The 1551 edition of Tyndale's Bible explicitly outlines that "a gathering of certayne harde wordes in the new testament, with their exposition" is there so that the "rude and ignorant may knowe what they signifie, and not to be troubled in the readinge" (c2). In a similar move, Day argues that his investment in making smaller editions of the Bible will help "the poore, to whose chiefe comforte and consolacyon, the holye goste hathe caused [the sermons] to be wrytten, are not able to bye" (A1v). He therefore claims to feel compelled to print the Bible in shorter, more affordable pieces.

Many of Day's publications rely on the assumption of discontinuous, selective reading and Day provides reading protocols that specifically encourage this kind of reading. In the first edition of *Ptochomouseion* (1565) Day's errata asks the "gentle reader to correct the same in thy book, *before* thou begynneth to read this worcke, which shall helpe thee much in the understanding of those places" (no sig, emphasis mine). As Seth Lerer has demonstrated, errata lists were another way to influence readership, and they often came with invitations for the reader to act as editor, not simply correcting errors found by the printer but also undertaking the task of finding other, uncatalogued, mistakes.<sup>35</sup> Here, Day assumes this will be the reader's first task and, further, he expects that the wondering eyes (and hands) of his reader will peruse last pages for reference lists, indices, or other reading tools. Although tables and lists were a successful advertising strategy, they also function to define and distinguish readers: those readers who buy Day's books, he implies, are invested in using the book as tool, as not just in reading it as a continuous narrative.

The value of John Day's publications as social currency goes beyond their immediate religious purpose. By setting title-pages, indexes, and prefaces that highlighted and framed

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aids for educated readers already familiar with this method. It was only later that foliation and regular alphabetical tables began to be introduced for the benefit of lay readers (33-4).

<sup>35</sup> See "Errata: print, politics, and poetry in early modern England" in *Reading, Society, and Politics in Early Modern England* (2003).

the material value of his books as well as his own unique personal value, John Day presented religious instruction as a special kind of product only he (as a special kind of agent) could provide. It is hard to say whether Protestant values for reading and religious practice created a demand for books that aided the perusal of specific topics, or whether the organization of printed books strengthened Protestant practice. Peter Stallybrass offers compelling evidence that Protestants supplanted the Catholic habit of discontinuous reading and firmly supported a sequential reading of the Bible. However, Stallybrass also admits there is evidence of single readers creating their own indexes to consult individual sections (50). Similarly, I.M. Green states that before the early seventeenth century “[reading] aids were published in reasonable quantities, but their use was not seen as crucial” (102). If we recall Bourdieu, the production of supply and demand is simultaneous, since a “cultural product” exists as the result of social tastes, and those same tastes are reflected in the production of social agents.<sup>36</sup> In other words, the sense of taste, or demand for a product, is only recognized after it has been fulfilled: though there is a need for Protestant texts, it is likely that Protestant readers did not realize they needed indexes and tables of contents for proper devotional practice.

Presenting Protestant literature as instructional—something to be studied and reflected upon, and not simply heard and believed—is the perfect strategy for Day, who wants to portray himself as having unique personal resources to provide the ultimate social and religious commodity. Personal resources, according to Lin, “are in the possession of the individual actors who, as their owner, can use, transfer, and dispose of them” (42). Day’s real-life personal resources included his exclusive patents and patrons, who provided him with the financial support; his privileged access to authors and publications; and, most

<sup>36</sup> Bourdieu posits that “the supply always exerts an effect of symbolic imposition ... thus the tastes actually realized depend on the state of the system of goods offered; every change in the system of goods induces a change in tastes. But conversely, every change in tastes resulting from a transformation of the conditions of existence and of the corresponding dispositions will tend to induce, directly or indirectly, a transformation of the field of production” (231).

importantly, his dedication to the Protestant cause.<sup>37</sup> Although he does not often refer to patronage in his addresses to readers, Day nonetheless constantly alludes to his ability to procure books and secure authors. His addresses remind readers that he has access to resources that other printers may not have. Because human capital cannot be “sold” or transferred, the only way for readers to obtain their religious learning or social status is through their relationship with Day—a relationship that is implied in their investment in his business, as opposed to another printer’s, and in his promise to continue printing texts for this particular audience.

Although his title-pages and indexes offer the instructional side of Day’s persona, his prefaces to the reader promote Day as a superior Protestant model. Day’s prefaces showcase his personal resources through his connections to authors and his tireless initiative in procuring texts. Roger Hutchinson’s *A faithful declaration of Christes Holy Supper* (1560), for instance, offers a death-bed account of the author’s dying wish to see all his works put to print (by Day). According to Day (or at least according to Day’s textual persona), Hutchinson bequeathed to him the responsibility of printing his works and making them available to the Protestant reader. Day outlines a crucial difference between studious Christians and those who only pray in the church. The study of scripture is a constant duty, and one

...in whiche all men ought to delight and exercise both day and night, to the amendement of their owne lyves, and to the edifying of their neighbours. And considering also that there are many in these latter daies (God amend them and sende them better grade) the which only study with hand and fote, toth and nayle (and yet would be counted good Christians, when in very deade thei ar nothing lesse) ... I have therefore taken it upon me (through Gods helpe) to set forth and bring to light these sermons which were geven unto me by maister Roger Hutchinson, to put into print, and that a little before the death of the most Godly king, King Edward the first, and because immediatly after his death Gods true religion was overthrowen and trodden most shamefully under fote by the bloody papists. I was enforced and compelled, not only to sucesse from printing of these sermons but also of divers others Godly mens

<sup>37</sup> According to Evenden, Day started to “establish himself not only as printer to the regime, but also as an active party in the collection of material to proffer its cause.” The print agent used his patronage to produce high quality books with the likes of John Foxe, who helped him research and put together the complete works of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes in 1572 (145).

workes. The author of these semons liyng on his death bed, whome (the lord toke to his mercy) sent to me in my trouble, desiring me, that whensoever almighty God of his own mere mercy & goddness, wold loke no more upon our wretchedness ... that I would not only oyt these sermons of his in print: but also his other boke, called the Image of God, the which he himselfe had newly corrected, declaring, that although God should take him unto his mercy, yet he would leave behind him som litle monument of his good heart, mind, & will ... Therefore as the authors good wil was (through the help of God) in setting forth the boke for thy profit... (A4r)

The preface subtly constructs a system of mutual flattery between the printer and the reader: Day's reader is a special kind of Christian, is willing to study and profess his faith by selecting book set up "for thy profit." Day further implies that book only ever made it to print due to his unique personal resources. Day is not simply "the printer," but a valuable Protestant resource, to whom authors implicitly trust their dying wishes. Additionally, he reminds readers of the risk and consequences involved in making such important works available in print. By reference Edward's death and the immediate overthrow of the Protestant faith by the "bloody Papists," Day deliberately calls attention to the troubles he may have gone through as a Protestant during Mary's reign; here he again links his experience with that of his readers, since they in turn did not receive new publications during that period.<sup>38</sup> Although Hutchinson certainly had a hand in getting the work to print, Day claims to be who risking his life and his career, and taking it "upon me" continue working even after he "was enforced and compelled" to stop printing Protestant works.

Hutchinson's death-bed request is also a blatant advertisement: it tells readers that the new, upcoming edition of *Image of God* was "newly corrected" by the author himself before his death. Perhaps the ultimate good Protestant author, Hutchinson's dying wish was ensure that his works would circulate in print and that his readers got one last new and improved edition. Much as many other print agents, Day's protocols often advertise upcoming books or

<sup>38</sup> According to Evenden, Day was indeed imprisoned during Mary's reign, but was released shortly before the release of the Hutchinson's book, around June 1555 (37).



new editions. Day, however, used these protocols to reinforce his social capital.<sup>39</sup> Amongst other Protestant printers, he distinguishes himself by his pursuit of important religious works and his lifelong connections to authors. By investing in his shop, readers obtain social capital in that they have access to the best, most popular Protestant works. Furthermore, their social capital is increased by their direct connection to Day, whose devoted example can make them feel like they are better Christians by association.

John Day's only dedication addressing a patron, Robert Dudley, highlights the print agent's moral superiority. In the dedicatory epistle to *Most learned and Fruitful Commentaries* (1568), Day skillfully justifies his business acumen as evidence of his Protestant devotion to his readers and to the State. Using a common metaphor to allude to religious dissent,<sup>40</sup> Day criticizes those false Christians who do not use their faith to the good of others and "like a drone in a bee hive, shrowded there for his owne sucke [sic], not for the common wealth of Bees, whom therefore [other bees] suffer not among them, but kill and cast out, as an unkinde member, unnatural, and not to be endured in their state." His choice of words in this critique is not accidental; while the jab is most obviously aimed at Catholics, I suggest that Day is also criticizing his fellow printers. The preface makes clear that Day's publications are the consequence of a combination of royal patents, aristocratic patrons, access to godly authors, and (most importantly) his own enterprising initiative. Unlike other printers, Day "can not endure the plow of my profession to stand unoccupied"—implying that his pursuit of patents and printing monopolies and marketing strategies are evidence of good Protestant values: his business is ultimately devoted to serving the commonwealth.

<sup>39</sup> In doing this, Day targets specific readers more directly than he could in title-pages, which must be more general so that they can attract a variety of potential buyers. Print agents will later make a similar move by including a list of other works published by the same author at the beginning or ending of books. Day, however, uses his persona to make the advertisement appear as a personal suggestion: his direct relationship with his readers allows him to imply that the new edition is not just a matter of profit, but a matter of providing his readers improvements on works they have perhaps already purchased.

<sup>40</sup> Kristen Poole's elucidating essay "Dissecting Sectarianism: Swarms, Forms, and Thomas Edwards's *Gangraena*" addresses the history of this trope across different Reformation texts. See *Form and Reform in Renaissance England: Essays in Honor of Barbara Keifer Lewalski* (2000).

As was the case with Hutchinson's *Holy Supper*, Day makes clear that there is a line to be drawn between productive Protestants (and printers) and lazy drones. Even as Day praises his patron or incites his reader, Day's textual persona brings the praise back to himself: his efforts as a printer go beyond a duty, and depend on his resourcefulness. Unlike the drone, whose job does not benefit the hive, Day claims it "hath pleased God, to geve me leave (by your lordships meane, under the lisenice of my most dread sovereigne Lady and Prince) to publish" religious matters. Although the print license may have been an external allowance, Day reminds his critics that the book acquired additional value through his Protestant enterprise:

as I have taken it upon me to plant and put foorth (lyke such a husbände, as cannot endure the plowe of my profession to stande unoccupied) this notable and right excellent woorke ... being turned, at the request of the learned, out of that tounge, wherein he wrote it, into our English phrase, in which it is most meete for us. As who shoulde saye, what he published into one tounge privately, he ment (as I take it) shoulde be delivered to all men generally (Christians or other) to whom it maye doo good (A3r)

As the productive husband, Day is able to offer Dudley and other readers a fruitful tree that will grow new resources for the English public. The planting analogy is especially apt here, as Day claims to have procured and arranged for the book to be translated into English, therefore bringing the seed from another country to be planted in the English soil. This brings the argument full circle: Day has served his role in the commonwealth by bringing into the "hive" a work that would be otherwise inaccessible to English-speaking buyer. The potential buyer of this book can obtain social (and religious) capital by association: purchasing this book comes with instant Protestant cachet, through which the reader can contribute to the State, invest in Day's Protestant projects, and gain "exclusive" access to a text now translated to the mother tongue.

In each of these examples, Day carefully qualifies how indispensable his work as a print agent really is: his efforts go beyond mere duty and depend on his wide access to

authors and hard to find texts. In order for Day to market the value of his books as social resources, he must construct through paratext a persona that is, on the personal level, dedicated to the religious improvement of his readers, and who will always use his personal resources to improve the social capital of subjects in the commonwealth. We can observe an effective example of this double move in the printer's preface to the reader in *The Treasure of Eonymus* (1559). After establishing how religious instruction is very necessary "in the times of dangerous infirmities" (here referring to the plague, but likely also to Catholics), Day skillfully announces the publication of another book as further instruction for his reader. He claims that "the author [of *The Treasure of Eonymus*] ... do in many places of this his work, send the reader unto *Phillip Ulstadius and Brunswick*: therefore I will with expedition (if this my labour shall be thankfully accepted) also publish them, sparing neither labour, diligence, or charges" (sig +ii). Day describes himself as a humble Protestant servant—he will spare no resources in printing this necessary volume if it means the reader will profit from its instruction. However, Day adds a very pointed parenthetical: this service will only be possible *if* the reader accepts the current book that is up for sale ("this my labour"). Thus, Day is careful to remind readers that their abstract social connection is dependent upon tangible monetary capital: he has both the resources and the will to provide them with Phillip Ulstadius' work, but they must reciprocate and reinforce the social ties by first buying the *Treasure*. This guarantees mutual support and mutual returns: Day gets his reader's presumed loyalty and returning business, whereas the reader earns the instructions necessary (or so they are expected to believe) to build their own human capital.

John Day's textual interventions established his role as a recognizable Protestant voice, capable of procuring and printing religious works. They also helped define his persona as a necessary resource for a successful devotional reading. Day's persona in print, combined with his personal resources in the monopoly of the Protestant market, promised readers a

steady social capital in return for their investment in his books. Thomas Archer similarly recognized that he had cornered a specific market—that of printed news—and used his title-pages to engage news seekers in a variety of different genres.

**Thomas Archer and the Currency of News** In one of his rare prefaces to the reader, Archer promises that *The Spanish Pilgrim* (1625) is a versatile work that contains “a rich store-house and magazine full of precious speeches, true Histories, rare examples, lively reasons, and wholesome counsels” (sig B2). This preface identifies the variety of topics a returning buyer could expect to find at Archer’s stall: speeches, histories, rare or absurd stories, and even Protestant counsel. Each of these topics, however, relates to a unifying theme: Archer’s versatile ability to market different genres as news sources. Much like Day, Archer combined his own interests with the needs of his readers, providing a valuable type of social capital through his publications.

As a publisher who strived to keep up with current news and popular scandals, aiming to be the first to print the latest war relation or the latest plays to appear on stage, Archer worked with time-sensitive material. The early modern business of news was not always known for its accuracy, but its popularity rose from the fact that printed news—from news pamphlets, to corantos, to later newsbooks—provided an exclusive service for those who could not afford letter carriers or “intelligencers”.<sup>41</sup> Recent scholarship has made much of Archer’s participation in the *querelle des femmes* pamphlets, and especially of his decision to publish Joseph Swetnam’s misogynistic *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Forward, and Unconstant Women* (1615) alongside Rachel Speght’s response, *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (1617). However, Archer could best be described as a “pioneer of London-printed corantos,”

<sup>41</sup> For discussions of the business of news pamphlets and their development in early modern England, see Raymond, *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (1999), Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions and the Public Sphere* (2000) 184ff., and F.J. Levy, “Staging the News” in *Print Manuscript and Performance* (2000), 252-279.

or periodical news pamphlets (Raymond, *Pamphlets* 131). In fact, along with Nathaniel Butter, Archer was one of only five members of the Stationer's Company who were allowed by James I to print foreign news (132).

Archer's main sources of profit were news pamphlets and reprints of popular best-sellers. The works he sought to publish outside the periodical news genre are, comparatively, a very small number. The notable exception is the Swetnam pamphlet, which was reprinted six times throughout his career and thus falls both under the "best-seller" category and, more broadly, under "current events." Thus, it would be fair to imagine that, like John Day, Thomas Archer strived to develop and maintain a specific, well-established audience, seeing as "popular desire for news was a persistent and compelling force within the business of writing and selling pamphlets in early modern Britain" (99). My goal in examining Archer's career is to consider how his larger, thriving business of printing news pamphlets influenced his forays into drama, religious peregrination pamphlets, as well as his involvement in the gender controversy. Far from assuming that everything printed by Archer was produced in response to a blind commercial instinct to simply sell more books,<sup>42</sup> I argue that Archer recognized an opportunity to market a variety of pamphlets as local news, bypassing the ban on domestic accounts to keep his readers updated.

In the still-relevant *Some Forerunners of the English Newspaper* (1929), M.A. Shaaber identifies the kinds of pamphlets that early modern readers would have recognized as sources for news. Among these, he lists fantastical accounts of natural disasters (like Archer's *A Wonderful and Most Lamentable Declaration of the Great Hurt Done and Mighty Losse Sustained by Fire... 1613*), and crime and punishment tales (such as *The Arraignment of John*

<sup>42</sup> As I discuss below, scholarship on Archer has focused almost solely on his participation in the *Querelle Des Femmes* and the ways in which Archer fueled the controversy by printing opposing sides of the debate. Zachary Lesser attempted to complicate this argument by suggesting that broader themes such as gender issues and marriage can be traced through Archer's other publications. Here I go a step further to show that Archer's role in the growing business of printed news influenced his choices for publications, even (or especially) in the case of dramatic works or cheap print pamphlets.

*Selman*, 1612). Readers therefore already looked for news in print before the first official newspaper appeared. I will demonstrate that there is a larger structure to Archer's career, one which involves not only the printing of news but a broad interest in London city life, an attention to the growing curiosities of the merchant class, and a keen eye for finding the most popular debates. Archer's talent for providing and framing news is evidenced through protocols to readers in title-pages, including recurring words, references to real-life characters, and thematically-linked illustrations. His publication of plays, news prints, and gender pamphlets can all be understood as part of his interest to corner a specifically Londonite audience. By providing the growing (often Protestant) merchant class with topics that applied to their lives, work and domestic interests, Archer eventually found himself at the forefront of the early modern news industry.

As F.J Levy, Joad Raymond, and others have demonstrated, Renaissance audiences saw dramatic performances as sources of news and current events. There was no clear separation between fact and fiction in the reading of either news pamphlets or printed plays; readers often privileged popular gossip over accuracy.<sup>43</sup> The most famous example of the intersection between news and drama is Ben Jonson's *Staple of News* (1625), which criticizes the boom of news periodicals (then called corantos) and their questionable representations of truth. However, much before the official appearance of corantos, an early modern audience already would have already expected to hear the news on stage. Increasingly in the seventeenth century, London was "the chief producer and consumer of news" (Bellany 80). In a time when being "in the know" was increasingly a mark of social distinction, Archer provided for his readers the ultimate social resource: the chance to read about the most current topics and controversies, whether those happened abroad or at home. We can thus

<sup>43</sup> See Marta Straznicky, *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England* (2006); Joad Raymond, *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (1999); and Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair 1603-1660* (2007).

consider that Archer would only want use his resources to print drama and gender pamphlets if they also catered to his larger market of news prints. As a publisher, Archer was responsible for soliciting and commissioning material, and his choices were likely guided by a desire to strengthen his already well branded market of news and popular topics.

Before I can look at Archer's specific publications, it is necessary to establish some of the background about the development of printed news in England. By the 1620s, Archer was officially established in the market of corantos, or news periodicals. Joad Raymond makes an important historical distinction between news pamphlets, corantos, and newsbooks that are worth mentioning briefly. Part of the argument in *The Invention of the Newspaper* (1996) is that we cannot draw a straight historical evolution from these three types, although they certainly had many characteristics in common.<sup>44</sup> Instead, it is important to focus on the development of news as a commodity, since

conceptions of news cannot be reduced to the objects of its transmission: they are found at the intersection between objects and practices... [thus] it is not sufficient to consider a single function of the newsbook, such as its profit-making dimension or its communicative role; it is necessary to approach it from a series of parallel perspectives, as an object, as a text amongst others, as a product, as consumable. (17-18)

The most important aspect of the history of news is not just the growing popular need for information but why the printed periodical became the right technology to spread information. Towards that end, I hope to call attention to the ways in which Archer conditioned his readers to recognize his printed texts as ideal sources of news. A print agent was likely always looking for ways to expand his market. John Day, as I discussed above, supplied materials for highly educated readers with buying power, but he also reached out to

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<sup>44</sup> Raymond distinguishes news pamphlets as early predecessors of corantos, which surfaced in the 1620s and were mostly composed of translated news from the continent without much concern for seriality. The newsbooks that appeared in the 1640s better attended to the format and style of newspapers, including the intent to number publications sequentially and provide a variety of news on different topics. Although this distinction is not recognized by all scholars writing about the English newspaper, I find it helpful for understanding the variety of ways in which Archer participated in the market of printed news.

the lower classes by constructing helpful tables and detailed instructions. Archer's dramatic and pamphlet publications, which may not appear to be in direct connection with the Protestant news business, are evidence of the formation of early news-reading audiences. Archer's careful selection and framing of texts show how a print agent could adapt his production of printed books to reflect changing cultural interests.

The main sources of news came from the continent: Amsterdam in particular was at the forefront of the news business. Although there is no evidence of a specific ban on domestic (that is, English) news, the consensus was that political accounts and details about monarchical decisions were off limits.<sup>45</sup> Most domestic subjects would appear only as tabloid, sensational news, and "for domestic news, readers of newsbooks had to be satisfied with lurid, nonpolitical topics, mostly miracles, monsters, and murders" (Zaret 61). It should thus come as no surprise that English readers were eager consumers of any news coming from the continent. The advent of print made it possible for the lower and middle classes to have access to foreign (and later domestic) news like never before: if earlier the restricted manuscript culture permitted only those with enough connections or money to be privy to current events, the printing press allowed for a steady availability and quick spread of information.<sup>46</sup>

Of course, the category "news" did not carry the same meaning for an early modern reader as it does today. A book-buyer at Archer's stall could expect to find direct, unembellished pamphlets such as *Articles Made and Published by the King of France* (1612), and *News Out of Holland, of the East Indie Trade There* (1622); that same reader but would likely be equally satisfied with *A True Relation without all Exception, of Strange and Admirable Accidents* (1622) as a perfectly reputable news source. Some titles call into

<sup>45</sup> Raymond claims that there were no official bans on domestic news printing, but Dagmar Freist asserts that there was indeed a "Star Chamber ban on domestic reporting, which was in force until 1641" (8).

<sup>46</sup> See F.J. Levy, "How Information Spread Among the Gentry, 1550-1640," *Journal of British Studies*, xxi (1982), 20-4.



question level of accuracy of these publications. Archer's marketing choices and selection of texts to publish both indicate that readers may have been more attracted to content than to format. Archer's title-pages demonstrate how an agent could tailor protocols to help guide any reader interested in current events to find them even in the most unexpected sources.

The lack of printed political news from home fueled an avid interest in all kinds of foreign accounts.<sup>47</sup> Like John Day, Archer capitalized on his unique personal resources as an added value to his books.<sup>48</sup> As one of the few print agents with official allowances to print news items, Archer was likely able to provide news more quickly than other agents and promise more reliable and relevant stories to his readers. His steady and reliably quick prints, allied with his ability to track the most current and interesting stories, made him an ideal social connection for the news-seeking reader. Although news appeared in varying degrees of themes and veracity, most news pamphlets concerned foreign wars and battles, and Archer had that market covered, soliciting translators to bring news from Italy, Spain and even the Indies. War and conflict were guaranteed to sell on their own, but, as Archer and other printers realized, the English Reformation fueled the interest of English readers, since most of the battles abroad mirrored the domestic tension between Catholics and Protestants. Among works clearly outlined as foreign news, Archer included travel accounts, works of poetry and Protestant, devotional pieces; all these works, though appearing in a variety of genres, could still be marketed to fit with his niche in the supply of current news and popular topics.

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<sup>47</sup> Public and private social gatherings helped popularize the exchange of news, and being "in the know" would no doubt increase one's cultural cachet. The proliferations of coffee and ale houses invited even the lowliest of citizens to participate in news debates (Martin 37). It became important for the middle class to demonstrate their social worth through their ability to converse about popular topics. Getting the proper access to the right social resources would go a long way for the middle-class buyer. The business of popularity was thus a two-way street, in which Archer, as publisher, gained notoriety and steady profits by supplying publications about recent and talked-about events, whereas his reader could rely on a single bookshop for all his local and foreign updates.

<sup>48</sup> As in my analysis of Day above, I borrow Lin's term "personal resources" to refer to the resources available to an individual to take action in the world. Money, connections, patronage or, in Archer's case, royal authorization to print news, are all considered personal resources.

Archer's primary audience was composed of middle-class merchants and traders, as evidenced by his most popular best-seller, Henry Timberlake's *A True and Strange Discourse of the trauailes of two English pilgrimes what admirable accidents befell them in their journey to Ierusalem, Gaza, Grand Cayro, Alexandria, and other places* (1603). The publication, which seems to have been an immediate hit, catered to a growing interest in the English trades with the Turks and Ottomans, and came on the heels of a number of other similar texts. Narrated by one of the said "pilgrims," the story hopes to supplant the Catholic Jesuit movement by offering a positive account of Protestant influence abroad. The sixteenth century marked a steady growth of commercial trades between England and Turkey, which inaugurated a strong English presence not just in the Mediterranean but also influenced New World explorations.<sup>49</sup> The exploration of the New World and alternate trading routes encouraged reports that highlighted the English Protestant influence on new lands.

Archer could recognize a growing interest in particular topics or issues and quickly supply for it. As Matthew Dimmock explains, this particular interest in the Turkish trade led to the production of "Protestant pilgrimage" accounts that highlighted Protestant feats abroad and obfuscated the Jesuit missions. The obvious popularity of the topic amongst merchants and other middle-class readers led to a boost in narratives that "sought to satisfy a commercial market that required English Protestant accounts written specifically for an English Protestant audience" (5-7). The appearance of these accounts points to a specific shift in the tastes of readers corresponding with agents' access to and interests in such texts. Just as a merchant audience would pay attention to changes in trades in the international market, Archer would likely find himself on the lookout for current stories reflecting such changes. However, at the same rate that Archer seeks to influence his readers, cultural changes are also

<sup>49</sup> For more information, see *English merchants in seventeenth-century Italy* (1997); *British Atlantic, American frontier: spaces of power in early modern British* (2005) and "Trafficking with the Turk: English Travelers in the Ottoman Empire During the Early Seventeenth Century," in *Travel Knowledge: European 'discoveries' in the Early Modern Period* (2001). 35-52.

responsible for creating a perceived demand for new topics. Bourdieu's concept of supply and demand applies to this momentous appearance of Turkish texts, and allows for a more complex understanding of the process. The social capital embedded in the relationship between reader and agent is thus only possible when both their interests and their investments coincide. A more careful analysis of Archer's career can offer an alternate explanation for editorial decisions such as marketing both sides of the gender debate.

Social ties between the publisher and his buyer solidify printed news as a specific commodity apart from written news reports. While the aristocracy and high class citizens might have to hire individual intelligencers or pay expensive subscriptions to get frequent updates from abroad, they were burdened with having to procure specific individuals in order to keep up with new developments. The buyer who went to Archer's shop, however, could trust Archer to locate and provide the most important news at all times without the expensive middle man; the reader only had to invest his returning business in order to be sure to always have insider details about the most current debates. As Lin argues, the resources embedded in social connections can be utilized at any time as long as the social ties are maintained. As such, the reader who supported Archer's business could expect to feel socially superior due to his ongoing relationship with his print agent, because he was gaining access to the same kinds of news usually exclusive to the aristocracy. Further, this reader could expect to be constantly updated, taking advantage of Archer's personal resources in procuring the right kind of news and making them readily available.

Timberlake's *Strange Discourse* is not the only work where we see Archer capitalizing on popular topics from abroad. Earlier in that same year, Archer published *A True and Perfect Relation of the News Sent from Amsterdam, the 21 February, 1603*. The pamphlet is in fact just a published letter from a Dutch shipman relating the contents and direction of five ships sailing to the East Indies. Although modern critics might not qualify

this work as news, since it narrates only one event,<sup>50</sup> *News Sent from Amsterdam* bears many features that might attract a typical news-seeking reader. Accounts of travels abroad certainly must have peaked the interest of English merchants and other middle-class Londoners who had little, if any, contact with travelers or soldiers bringing news from abroad. This pamphlet might be particularly attractive to readers who knew Amsterdam as one of the most popular sources for news from Continent. At this point in his career, Archer's most profitable business was seeking out travel narratives and trading accounts that would fit his readers' interests. Timberlake's *A True and Strange Discourse* no doubt fit that criterion, as it was reprinted at least seven times as late as 1616. Archer continued to procure other books with similar best-seller potential, such as Robert Covert's *A True and Almost Incredible report of an Englishman, that ... travelled by land through many unknown Kingdoms, and Great Cities* (1612, 1614), a providential account of an English traveler shipwrecked in the Indies and his miraculous salvation.

These works, which provided profit and popularity for Archer's business, demonstrate his special talent for procuring books that were guaranteed to sell, and to attend to whatever topic was most in demand. A very similar process can be observed in the publishing of Joseph Swetnam's *The arraignment of leuud, idle, froward, and vnconstant women* (1615). Although Timberlake's *True and Strange Discourse* and Swetnam's *Araingmnet* are entirely disparate in subject, they share a very similar background: much as Timberlake's book, the *Arraignment* was a best-seller—the only other title, in fact, to merit seven reprints over the course of almost ten years. Further, they both demonstrate how in-tune Archer was with the competing trends in other print agents' stalls. Swetnam's pamphlet offers a prime combination of news, popularity, and middle-class interest. By 1615, when the text first came

<sup>50</sup> According to Raymond, Shaaber, Sommerville, et.al., what distinguishes the formal newsbooks that appeared later in the 1640s from earlier predecessors is "seriality and periodicity" (Raymond 101), that is, they contain a variety of news items and appear at a somewhat regular basis (or at least demonstrate the intent of periodical production).

out, Archer was once more catching on to a growing debate. *The Schoolhouse of Women* (1541) and Jane Anger's *Her Protection for Women* (1589) might have become old news by then, but perhaps Archer saw in Swetnam's pamphlet the opportunity to reignite the controversy. Zachary Lesser's analysis of Archer's "dialogic publishing" has encouraged scholars to perform more careful research on early modern publishers. As he convincingly proves, the choice to print two texts on opposite sides of a very polarizing argument on the gender debate only appears puzzling if considered separately from the rest of Archer's publications. Archer's dramatic publications, according to Lesser, follow an apparent interest in gender issues and, more specifically, Protestant theories on marriage and social life. Thus, Lesser argues, a reader who had purchased other works at Archer's stall would notice that his dramatic publications, like the Swetnam pamphlet, carried a similar theme.

If we accept this argument, the side-by-side publication with Speght's response would not be surprising at all, as it was likely that Archer's reader may also be more interested in the topic than in a particular argument in favor of or against women. I argue, further, that a side-to-side analysis of Archer's use of title-page illustrations will show his investment in providing visual protocols for readers to identify different works as part of the same topical collection. As I demonstrate below, this interest in gender and marriage issues can be seen as one facet of the variety of popular domestic topics Archer sought to provide for his readers. If we consider that Archer was publishing works on broader subjects like the ailments of London life, we can connect together the similar woodcuts in the Swetnam publication with other pamphlets. This approach is more in line with Archer's specific investment in supplying London middle-class readers with topics relevant to their lives and interests.

Of course, these same marriage debates in and of themselves would no doubt be an attractive topic for Archer's Protestant, merchant audience, who may have been interested in works like Swetnam's pamphlet for their discussion of religious themes or, more generally,

for their participation in a current, local topics worth knowing about. Archer is at once responding to an increasingly popular debate and providing interesting talking points for his reader. Though some of his publication choices in drama do indeed point to the female question (*The Insatiate Countess*, for instance, printed in 1613 and again in 1616) the topic itself is only one facet of Archer's broader business: the supply of local news. For the merchant class, being in the know was part of the demands of the profession, and it is likely that class debates like marriage and gender rights attracted their interest. Instead of assuming that Archer was catering to a smaller group of readers invested in gender issues, it makes sense that he would take advantage of the topic to market the popular controversy to a variety of readers.

Archer's investment in the debate might prompt him to offer his reader all the talking topics on the issue. Barbara Lewalski and Lisa J. Schnell have already reasonably argued that Archer's interest in publishing both sides would certainly be a matter of profit.<sup>51</sup> However, he was also responding to a development in the pamphlet marketplace as whole, as other print agents were also trying to publish the woman's side of the debate.<sup>52</sup> Archer's tendency to jump on popular topics illustrates how attuned he was to not only his readers' interests but also to what other print agents were putting out in their stalls. In fact, the publication of his other major best-seller, Timberlake's *A True and Strange Discourse*, also featured a momentous appearance in direct competition with other publications on the topic of Protestant encounters with the Ottoman empire.<sup>53</sup> Archer had an eye for texts and topics with

<sup>51</sup> Schnell argues that "a few printers and one bookseller in particular [Archer] manufactured and choreographed the entire Swetnam controversy" (64). Similarly, Lewalski supposes that "[Rachael Speght] was solicited by Archer to write [*A Mouzell for Melastomus*] in an effort to reawaken the controversy two years later and sell more books" (xv).

<sup>52</sup> Esther Sowernam's tract *Esther Hath Hanged Haman*, printed for Nicholas Bourne, and Constantia Munda's *The Worming of a Mad Dogge*, printed for Laurence Hayes, both came out in the same year as Speght's pamphlet, 1617.

<sup>53</sup> Edward Webbe's *The Rare and Most Wonderful Things Edw. Webbe an Englishman Bourne* had come out in 1590 and Ralph Carr's *The Mahumetane or Turkish History* was printed some ten years later, among quite a number of other popular, influential works.

the potential for popularity; he could recognize a growing interest in particular topics or issues and quickly supply for it.

As Bourdieu argues, supply and demand are a market construct, and thus not always connected as cause and effect; instead, they are simultaneous effects of changing cultural values. On the one hand, a change in the production of information (for instance, from manuscript to print, though the two are of course not naturally opposed)<sup>54</sup> will require readers to learn to identify how the new technology will serve their interests. At the same token, however, the agents responsible for printing and publishing books will likely attend to the new reading market by predicting or preemptively responding to its interests (for instance, by attending to a growing interest in Turkish trades, Thomas Archer at once supplies and fuels curiosity for news from the Indies). In that sense, demand informs supply at the same rate as supply informs demand, and socio-cultural tastes are produced by the interactions between the two. This approach to the idea of supply and demand is particularly productive because it avoids a strictly teleological account of changes in editorial practices. Thomas Archer published many works that represented changing definitions of “news” before he officially came to print corantos and newsbooks. Though I identify a connection between his investment in popular news and the later development of news periodicals, I can hardly suggest that he had foresight into how quickly newspapers would supplant corantos, or how profitable they would eventually become. Bourdieu’s description of how “goods production” and “taste production” both emerge from changes in culture and behavior help explain that we need not prove causality between a print agent’s first publication and his last in order to demonstrate that a his entire career can show developments in broader social practices and the social capital embedded in print.

<sup>54</sup> For an account on the ways in which manuscript and print co-existed seamlessly, and for differing purposes and readers, through much of the early modern period in England, see David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order 1450-1830* (2003).

From the plague, to royal edicts, to travels to the new world, Archer's early catalogue is an excellent representation of the hot topics circulating London in the early seventeenth century. Archer's investment in reporting on London stories guided many of his publications in this period, and it provides a good context from which to understand the gender debate as just one part of larger conversations about city life and behavior. The plague was one major topic that drew scared and curious readers to the bookstalls. Thomas Dekker's satirical *Newes from Graves-End Sent to Nobody* (published by Archer in 1604), for instance, takes up the subject as a background for discussing social injustices. The pamphlet, though satirical in tone, is a serious indictment of the aristocracy's undue privileges, which in this case allowed them to flee London during the plague, leaving the poor in the city to suffer. This work demonstrates the influence that the printed news market had in popular culture in general and London life in particular. Dekker highlights the social divide between aristocrats and London middle-class workers, and recognizes in the labor of those workers the potential for a new social and cultural system.

In his epistle to "nobody," Dekker praises the London workers, since "one London-occupier (dealing upright with all men) put us more in weeks, than seven Bachilers of Art (that every day goe barely a wooing to them) do in a yeare," (A4v) and proposes a new system where aristocrats will no longer get dedications and instead "rhymesters, play-patchers, Jig-makers, Ballad-Mongers, and Pamphlet-stichers" will have the upper hand (B1r). Dekker bitterly mocks the abandoned bookstalls and its desperate booksellers, claiming that "I know the stationers will wish me and my papers burnt ... it would fret them to see thee at their stalls reading my *News*" and advises Nobody to ignore their cries of "What new books do you lack?...and listen to what news the post that's come from Winchester Term winds out of his horn" (B3r). At the same time as he criticizes the aristocracy, Dekker also seems bitter about news-mongers, critiquing booksellers who took advantage of the plague to



sell more books. The *News from Graves-End* announces the death of the news business itself, left to tell the news to (literal) dead ears.

Archer's decision to publish this work suggests that he was also aware of how volatile the print marketplace could be: the print agent depended on readers to buy his material, but his bookstall's profit depended on taking advantage of popular topics, even if those topics were as destructive as the plague. As I discuss below, Richard Jones also realized that the plague was as much a threat to businesses as it was to human life: the plague disrupted the business of print by emptying out London of its buyers. The implication that London was abandoned to nobody but the plague rings out in the empty bookstalls and echoes in the news from Winchester (the city where aristocrats hid from the disease) that arrives for Nobody to hear. This is a particularly biting class attack, and in line with many of Archer's other publications, which point to his general investment in works that reported on the troubles of city life.<sup>55</sup>

Seeking perhaps to offer variety, or merely to supply readers with everything he found on a particular topic, Archer does not seem to privilege satire over serious arguments. For instance, *Diogenes Lanthorne: Athens I seke for honest men; But I shal finde them God knows where* (1607) is a satirical pamphlet with faux-moralizing poems. Five years later, Archer returns to the same topic with a more sincere complaint, Richard Jonson's *Look on Me London: I am an Honest English-man, ripping up the bowels of mischiefe, lurking in thy Sub-urbs and Precints* (1613), a pamphlet against illegal activities in London. The same popular topic could thus be marketed to entertain different readers (interested in satire or in straightforward politics) but it could also cater to a reader with the more general goal of keeping up with all sides of the conversation. As such, a reader of *Look on Me London* and

<sup>55</sup> The plague would continue to haunt Dekker's (and no doubt Londoner's minds), as exemplified by Archer decision to publish Dekker's satirical *The Ravens Almanacke* (1609) predicting a future outbreak and offering possible medications for those afflicted with the disease.

*News from Graves-end* would be equally (and naturally) interested in the publication of Middleton and Dekker's *The Roaring Girl* (1611), since the play also deals with ailments of London life and its middle-class dwellers. These three texts are evidence of the ways in which Archer's publication choices can be seen as the same kind marketing strategy: they provide different aspects of the same topic, and lead a reader less interested in particular genre to find the news he craves in a variety of texts.

The play unites stage, text, and reality, promising theatergoers the possible attendance of the real Mary Frith, and promoting, in the author's preface, that the text is suitable for "both gallery room at the playhouse, and chamber room in your lodging" (A3r). The plot follows the story of a real life character, cross-dressing pickpocket Mary Frith, or "Moll Cutpurse." The title-page of the play includes a detailed woodcut of Mary Firth in costume, wearing a combination of men's and women's clothes, and the colophon "my case is altered, I must work for my living" on the left of the image (see figure 1).<sup>56</sup> The preface addressing "the comicke play-readers" begins with a comparison between changing clothing trends and play-making, both which must attend to changing tastes as well as to the season. Middleton and Dekker playfully encourage the reader to use the printed book to "keep you in an afternoon from dice," perhaps living vicariously through the vices represented in the play and its locations, which may or may not account for real London locations but that "we rather wishe in such discoveries, where reputation lies bleeding, a slackness of truth, then fullness of slander" (A3r-v). This dubious treatment of vices is thus an ongoing theme in publications involving domestic news or characters, and it sets an important background for Archer's thematic choices: in his aim to provide readers with current issues involving local events, people, or crimes, Archer appears to have a preference for sensational and satirical stories.

<sup>56</sup> This illustration is a recurring format for some of Archer's title pages, and I will return to its importance later.

In contrast with the comedy of *The Roaring Girl*, we can see another facet of the London underworld portrayed in another text printed by Archer, *The Arraignment of John Selman* (1612), which narrates the downfall of infamous pickpocket John Selman. Selman had managed to sneak into the royal chapel disguised as a nobleman and but was later caught while lifting a man's wallet. The event was a hot topic around London, eliciting ballads, pamphlets, and likely much gossip about town for years to follow. The account goes beyond the general category of "crime news," because it has a potentially subversive undertone: Selman had made it past royal guards who never thought to question him simply because he looked like an aristocrat. The story shares with *Roaring Girl* a common trope of misrepresentation and misrecognition: characters such as Selman and Moll are potential threats because they can successfully pass for a superior class or a more privileged gender. Similarly, the title-page of *The Arraignment of John Selman* (figure 2) also highlights this social threat: while Moll appears in her theatrical costume on the title-page of *Roaring Girl*, here John Selman is pictured in his aristocratic disguise wearing a cape, cap, vest and socks, and most importantly, with the stolen purse in his hand.<sup>57</sup> In selecting the illustrations and arranging their layout, Archer was able to expand his market, attracting even readers unfamiliar with the contents of both publications to see the connections between the two works.

Although Archer also thematically linked his publications through the use of word protocols like "news," "accounts," or "history," and by highlighting the inclusion of popular individuals and known events, his work with title-page illustrations offer the most compelling evidence for Archer's efforts to brand his market. At least four of his most popular publications share similar choices in illustration. These woodcuts likely functioned to attract

<sup>57</sup> This account gained long-standing popularity, eventually crossing from news into fiction: Ben Jonson used Selman as inspiration for his "Christmas-pickpocket" in *Love Restored* and again for Ezekiel Edgworth in *Bartholomew Fair* (MacIntyre).

readers and help them make visual and mental associations between different, seemingly unrelated, books. Along the lines of *The Roaring Girl* and *John Selman*, both which have title-pages with large woodcuts depicting their most scandalous and disruptive characters, Archer commissioned two other works that carry thematic woodcuts: Robert Armin's *The History of the Two Maids of More-Clacke* (1609) and Swetnam's *Araignment* (1615). Archer arranges the title-page of the play *The Two Maids* (figure 3) to include, at the center, an image of Robert Armin as the fool John of the Hospital, dressed in the long-skirted robe commonly associated with natural fools (Carnegie n87). Archer includes, following the title-page, Armin's preface "to the friendly peruser." In this preface, Armin describes the play as a "historical discourse" once acted by the boys at the Revels. Armin states that, since he is sick, he can no longer act the part of John of the Hospital, though he has received multiple invitations to reenact the play. The publication, according to him, is an answer to the requests he received "both of Court and Citty, to shew [the character] in private, I have therefore printed him in publicke." The preface advertises to the "peruser" that the play and its author have seen much success on the stage thus attesting, if not the quality, certainly the popularity of the work. Armin places the play as part of the history of "both court and city" and worth buying as the record of a performance never to be repeated. Further, as Armin's preface outlines, this publication (and arguably others in Archer's repertoire) connects the private world of history and memory to the public world of the print marketplace. The record of the play on stage can never be experienced twice, even by those who attended a performance. The printed play-script is the next best thing—perhaps, as Armin suggests, it is the *best* thing, because it makes the knowledge of the work public, and connects "both court and city" with equal access to the printed book.

The fool of the play was based on a real man who had died shortly before 1600, and whom Armin "had known and studied" (Bethell). This title-page woodcut, then, is

thematically connected to *The Roaring Girl* and *The Arraignment of John Selman* because they all represent specific characters within the narrative but also allude to real, popularly known individuals that were part of London gossip. One of the specific functions of reading protocols, according to Chartier, is to help readers make associations between texts. As such, “the repetition of motifs that return from one work to another, and by reuse of the same illustrations, an acquaintance with texts that the reader had already encountered was mobilized into serving for the comprehension of unfamiliar reading matter” (14). By connecting the three works with similar, evocative title-page illustrations, Archer teaches his reader to recognize them as the same type of social resource: these texts give the reader access to knowledge of popular performances and scandals at court supplying them with the necessary information about “both court and city,” both private and public. In his efforts to not only procure but also edit and produce the visual elements of his publications, Archer is able to turn his market into a recognizable brand, connecting together works from a variety of genres without overlooking his news-seeking audience.

These thematic illustrations offer an alternate context for Swetnam’s *Araignment*, a text that also responds to popular controversial debates. In the title-page, Archer features an illustration of well-dressed woman on the center of the page, immediately underneath the (also centralized) title, much like the setting of the previously mentioned works (figure 4). This woman appears to be a noble, or is passing for one: her dress is intricately detailed, her hair is made up, and she is holding a large fan in her hand. Although Swetnam’s pamphlet does not describe or indict a specific woman, the treatise does in fact deal with London issues, and addresses them in a possibly satirical tone.<sup>58</sup> I do not wish to argue that Archer commissioned this specific woodcut exclusively for this particular publication (the woman depicted in the title-page appears in other ballads and plays of the time and thus was, or

<sup>58</sup> As I discuss above, Archer did not seem to bother printing only satirical or sincere works, as he was likely more interested in providing multiple viewpoints on popular issues like vice, gambling, or the plague.

would become, a stock illustration),<sup>59</sup> I hardly think that the visual connection is coincidental.<sup>60</sup> Archer was attuned to popular stories and controversies surrounding the city, and he was quick to present them to his reader in a similar, easily recognizable format. If readers commonly picked up the news by glancing at hanging title-pages in book-stalls, this immediate link to other popular items would certainly be attractive.<sup>61</sup> Further, since the illustrated figure in the woodcut appears to be an aristocrat, this could further connect Swetnam's pamphlet with earlier pamphlets that complained about courtly corruption and behaviors, at least to the extent to which Archer means to market it to his news-reading buyer. Unlike John Day, who made his interventions very clear in his prefaces and instructions for indexes (and always took credit for the work), Archer's protocols are far subtler. Archer's persona is not outlined (like John Day's) in his authorial interventions through prefaces or dedications. Instead, his persona is defined by his cutting-edge, news publications, which are designed to look like they all belong as part of the same collection. Archer marketed his books as social resources by linking them visually and thematically through their title-pages. As we will see in Chapter 2, title-pages were a powerful signal for readers, helping define familiar topics and connect texts across genres in the same bookstall.

Regardless of their specific genre as dramatic literature or cheap print, Archer's title-pages demonstrate that his publications were a source for the kinds of popular domestic affairs his audience would want to read about. Joad Raymond claims that "when the first

<sup>59</sup> See, for instance, *The Araignement of Iohn Flodder and his wife* (1615), *A new Song of a Young mans opinion, of the difference betweene good and bad Women* (1618), *A Quip for a scornfull Lasse, Or, Three slips for a Tester* (1627), *Jone is as good as my Lady* (1620), *The faythfull Lovers resolution, being forsaken of a coy and faythles Dame* (1618), just to name a few from the period around Swetnam's pamphlet. It may be worth noting that all these titles deal involve women either mistreating or causing the downfall of men. However, I have not performed a wide enough search to be able to claim that has been the only use of this woodcut.

<sup>60</sup> Take, for instance, the reprints of Swetnam by other printers, where the illustrating woodcut attempts to represent some kind of arraignment, with a group of women surrounding a table and a man presiding over the debate (STC 23544).

<sup>61</sup> I am not the first to observe or attempt to link images together. These woodcuts in particular, especially the "Elizabethan lady" in Swetnam, feature in R. A. Foakes' *Illustrations of the English Stage* (1985) where he claims that by 1631 the illustration had acquired meaning as a specific reference to the stage. John Astington resists this conclusion in "Rereading Illustrations of the English Stage" (1997) and insists on the stock quality of the woodcut to simply represent "woman."

newsbook appeared their readers did not recognize them” as a new genre, because early newsbooks mimicked pamphlets formats in order to make readers familiar with the presentation of news. I would further add that by the time the first newsbook came out (1640s) readers were already familiar with individual publishers and their shops, and knew the kind of commodity they could acquire from someone like Archer. Archer’s move from pamphlets, to corantos, to newsbooks, was a natural progression based in his drive to provide the most up-to-date conversations. This practice led him to look for new formats and make alliances with like-minded print agents. His readers, if they were returning customers, would similarly not be confused by the change in formats if the commodity being offered was the same. Archer need not have had any magical foresight into the future development of newsbooks in order for there to be a thematic line between his early investment in popular topics and his partnership with Nathaniel Butter some twenty years later to make the first coranto. The process happens more or less seamlessly: as a publisher attuned to social and political developments, Archer would be quick to procure a text that reflected the interests of his readers, especially if doing so allowed him to maintain his persona as an expert in news procurement. Archer, much like his readers, was likely not aware of the business of news “evolving” from these early pamphlets. Nonetheless, the more connections he acquired from home and abroad, the more steadily he could provide readers with current events; at the same time, the more readers realized the availability and constancy of these publications, the more engaged they became in looking for news in bookstalls. Like John Day, Archer was able to build a niche for himself by making sure readers recognized his books as a specific kind of commodity and, further, recognized in their print agents a unique social resource.

Thomas Archer’s publications offered a good variety of dramatic, historical and news tracts, through which he defined a persona as the exclusive provider of all matters of current debate. Realizing (as Day certainly did, and as Jones will make obvious) that the print

medium was a form of social currency, Archer's business shaped printed news as a unique commodity suited to a specific developing market. For the merchant class, cultural capital could be earned through knowledge of social and political debates. Archer provided protocols like flashy title-pages and recurring cultural themes to help his readers find the news in a variety of formats: through direct accounts or letters, in popular gossip, but also in plays and pamphlets.

**Richard Jones's Books as Social Capital for an Emerging Class** Richard Jones opens *Britons Bower of Delights* (1591) with a dedication "to the gentlemen readers" that explains that his preface means to introduce the reader to different types of poetry in the work, which includes enough variety to please any taste. Jones defines his publication as having two specific goals: "chiefly to please you, and partly to profit myself" (ns). It is no accident that these two motives are tied together in the same sentence. In at least one occasion (in *The Treasurie of Euonymus*, discussed above), John Day similarly reminded his readers of the investments (personal and monetary) necessary for the social ties between agent and reader to produce valuable social capital. Much in the same way, Jones establishes that the success of his business is contingent on the pleasure derived from his books: "if they prove to your liking [there is profit], if otherwise, my hope is frustrate, my labor lost, and all my cost is cast away" (ns). In the reader's pleasure, Jones recognizes a potential investment wherein he will gain a both costumer and a supporter of his business. The reader who provides returning business is a potential ally that can then help protect the printer from "findfaults" who "never like of anything that they see printed." This new relationship between printer and market



replaces the traditional system of patronage, privileging the buyer over any aristocrat to whom the book could be dedicated.<sup>62</sup>

The printer-reader relationship is described by Jones as something unique, and separate from the author's connection to the reader; since it is Jones's job as a printer (or so he presents it) to select which books will make it to print, and in what shape, form and category. Jones presents himself as the risk-taker who will incur the "labor lost" and the attack of the "findfaults" should the reader choose not to buy and enjoy his publications. Of the three case studies considered here, Richard Jones is the most concrete example of a print agent who used the material construction of books to shape them into social commodities. Jones goes beyond implying that his product is unique (as Day does), and that it provides his reader with a cultural, as well as social service (as Archer does). Day calls attention to his patents and literary connections, while Archer focuses on supplying opposing viewpoints and showing his versatility and speedy output. But where Day places himself as superior to his readers, Jones presents himself as an ally dependent on his reader's buying power. In his prefaces and addresses to the reader, Jones imposes a contract of *mutual* profit, wherein monetary and personal returns (to bring back Lin's terms) are interconnected, and the printer cannot perform his duty if the reader does not provide his support not simply in buying his books, but in agreeing to recognize the printer's good taste.<sup>63</sup>

Richard Jones is explicit about the fact that profit and pleasure are equal parts of the print business. As Kirk Melnikoff highlights, "Jones is often forthright about his own critical agency in his choice of texts" (190). While this agency may represent Jones's persona as an

<sup>62</sup> The fact that the system of patronage did not accurately fit print culture was already something Dekker complains about in *News from Graves-end*, as discussed above.

<sup>63</sup> It is important to keep in mind here that neither the printer's "good taste" nor the reader's loyalty represent accurate representations of Jones's real tastes, or his real readers. My analysis does not account for evidence of real individuals who bought Jones's books or the specific reception these publications may have had. Instead, what I hope to demonstrate is that the prefaces and addresses to the reader show an attempt to define his market as a specific type of commodity, and one of the strategies Jones uses is to assume a persona that is intimately invested in his reader's success.

“authority and defender of literary convention” (ibid), Jones’s prefaces to the reader and his setting of title-pages also imply a shared experience between the printer and the reader. Titles such as *The Treasurie of Commodious Conceits...mete and necessarie for the profitable use of all estates both men and women* (1573), *The Courte of Civil Courtesie...to purchase worthy prayse of their inferiours and estimation and credite amonge thyr betters* (1577), and *The first part of the eighth liberall science: entituled, Ars Adulandi, the arte of flatterie with the confutation thereof, both very pleasaunt and profitable* (1579), indicate Jones’s fondness for the using “profit” as a protocol that does not singularly mean “monetary gain” on the one hand and “cultural/social gain” on the other, but unites the two in the same purpose, offering both tangible and intangible financial and social gains to his readers. In the *Civil Court of Civil Courtesie*, for instance, the reader will use the book to “purchase praise,” implying that the contents have value as social currency. As I discuss below, Jones’s title-pages and prefaces show how a print agent could repurpose the quality, affluence, and privilege established by manuscript coteries through the new profit-based business of print. By involving his reader in the popularity and success of his market, Jones reminds those who purchase his books that by learning about their own tastes (and by making purchases that reflect those tastes), they can actively participate in the social exchange of knowledge.

In *The Arbor of Amorous Devices* (1597), another book dedicated to “gentlemen readers,” Jones refers to a vacation period he and his readers have recently taken from each other and which has “hindered my poore presse from publishing any pleasing pamphlet, to recreate your minds” (A2r). This publication is meant to be a rekindling of his relationship with his familiar audience of “gentlemen” (or, as we’ll see later, more likely to be “aspiring” gentlemen) readers. Introducing a selection of good, quality poetry, Jones complains that a “phoenix” kept him from “the best stuffe” he meant to include, possibly alluding to *The*

*Phoenix's Nest* (1593), another poetic miscellany published around the same time (Bergeron 34).

There are a number of possibilities for the context of this piece: the year of publication (1597) could mean that Jones's readers had taken a forced vacation out of London during the plague in 1594; Jones could simply be referring to the regular vacation time at the Inns of Court, which deprived him from his frequent audience; or Jones is subtly complaining about readers who have abandoned him for the competition. I'm partial to this third reading, even and especially if it functions in conjunction with the other two. After all, regardless of what has kept readers, the central issue of this preface is not the concern for the young gentlemen and where they went, but the suffering of Jones's press. Jones concludes with a prayer for "such as are in the countrey, God send them, a happy and speedy returne to London, to the pleasure of God, their harts content...and *specially to the comfort of all poore men of Trades*" (A2v, emphasis mine). His playful, not-so-veiled complaint reminds the reader of their mutually supportive relationship: if Jones is to continue to supply quality, socially profitable material, the reader must similarly continue to supply him with monetary profit and keep him in business.

In *The Imprint of Gender* (1993), Wendy Wall claims that prefaces to poetic miscellanies often build on an invitation of class camaraderie, wherein the audience is invited to join an exclusive group. In this way, she shows, print agents remove the original, courtly-exclusive context of manuscripts and thus "courted readers to become directing members within this circle of 'friends'" (105-6). Jones appears to take this invitation further, including readers as part of his business circle as well as his literary one. Although Jones knew that poetic works often catered to an audience aspiring to courtly status (or, at least, to feel closer to the aristocratic class), his publications were not actually limited towards gentlemen. In fact, like Day and Archer, my analysis of Jones's prose publications shows that he was an

expert in customizing “circles” for different readerships. Jones’s paratextual writing produces a wide range of reading positions for a variety of classes and genders.

Kirk Melnikoff adds depth to Jones’s biography by analyzing his “interest in aristocratic culture” in the context of the publication of plays and cheap print. However, his argument that in “marketing for gentlemen, Jones ... veils his profit-making motives” assumes that Jones is mimicking manuscript culture by claiming disinterest in the monetary aspects of the print marketplace. While this persona worked for John Day, who had access to patents and patrons, I think that Jones is more interested in redefining reader and agent positions more appropriate to the new technology and its market interests. While Day’s persona allows him to appear as a superior Protestant model, Jones’s persona helps define him as ally to his ambitious readers. As I demonstrate above, Jones was very open about the need for profit on both sides, and his approach to discussing it does not depend on veiling the monetary aspects of the business. Instead, by creating a conspiratorial and collegial persona, Jones in fact repurposes those interests so that they also involve the reader’s participation and include the reader in the project of building Jones’s market. This contractual and mutual relationship between print agent and customer, as Jones defines it, assures profit for the seller but also promises the reader that, through this profit, there will be assured returns in the form of more publications in the same subject and quality.

Although Jones printed a number of books on courtly behavior, his output demonstrates that he tried to supply books on a broad variety of social customs. In courtesy manuals like the one discussed above, as well as in *Civil and Uncivill Life* (1579), *The Wellspring of Wittie Conceits* (1584), *The Court of Civil Courtesy* (1577) and *The Art of Flattery* (1579), Jones’s definitions of profit and purchase indicates that the class purchasing these books is not a lower class attracted to the attitudes of the aristocracy but a new, emerging class of merchants looking to improve their social behaviors so as to match their

new monetary importance. The *Wellspring*, for instance, is a collection of pithy phrases meant to be emulated in speech or letters, “profitable to be practiced” (title-page). This description, in addition to Jones’s inclusion of the author’s title as a “student” seems to direct this publication towards young men seeking to appear well read and studied. Similarly, in *The Court of Civil Courtesie*, the title-page claims the book is printed for “young gentlemen *and others*” who seek to impress their inferiors and receive favor from their superiors. The book, a collection of instructions on how to act in specific social situations, can supposedly help young men “frame their behavior” so as to appear to be a member of the higher classes.

There is an interesting tone of social leveling to these publications that has yet to be discussed by scholars. Though one might claim that they are still evidence of Jones’s aristocratic inclinations, his use of the words “purchase,” “profit,” and “frame” has a potentially subversive implication: that by purchasing these books, any young man (or perhaps even woman) can also purchase social status. These books insist that, in most social contexts, proper behavior is a stand-in for class and such behavior can be easily learned if properly practiced and obtained from the right sources.<sup>64</sup> Thus, for Jones, to purchase a publication, be it a ballad, a book of poetry, recipes or etiquette lessons, meant to become an active investor in social or cultural currency. The specific commodity he offers his readers is the combination of profit and pleasure working together on multiple levels. For Jones’s readers, buying a book of poetry does not imply one just wants to be entertained by aesthetic value, but that poetry also has a specific function in the world of social interactions. If indeed “literature, art, and their respective producers do not exist independently of a complex institutional framework which authorizes, enables, empowers and legitimizes them” (Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production* 10), Jones both creates and acknowledges this connection. Positioning himself as a mediator, or interpreter, between the tastes and needs of

<sup>64</sup> To a certain extent, the performative aspect of class is also present in some of Archer’s publications, like *The Arraignment of John Selman*.

the audience and the product provided by the author, Jones outlines his business with the reader as one of simultaneous supply and demand, profit and pleasure.

In the opening to the second edition of *The Treasurie of Commodious Conceites, and hidden secrets*,<sup>65</sup> Jones adds a poetic dedication to “all that covet the practice of good huswifery, allwell wives as maides” in which he entices women perusing the book to realize its immense value for the small cost of four pence. The community of readers imagined through the book’s paratext includes women of all estates. Although Jones appears to be restricting women to the private space of the home, his poem acknowledges that women have monetary power and a selective taste as purchasers of this book. As Allison Kavey has pointed, this genre of books had so far been a very exclusively male and aristocratic type of publication, and “Richard Jones was the first printer to direct a book of secrets, rather than a cookery book or conduct manual, to a female audience” (17).

Jones’s inclusion of female readers undermines the dedication that follows, where John Partridge addresses Richard Wistow, a gentleman, and claims that his book is meant for the “publike benefit of all men” (A2r). This noun seems particularly deliberate as it follows Partridge explaining to Wistow that the book was commissioned by “a certain gentlewoman.” But, while Partridge’s dedication restricts its readership, and keeps the community of the book within a specifically courtly audience (protected by a gentleman and shared for the utility of all men), Jones’s poem, placed immediately next to it, adds a different tone to the publication by once again seeking female participation in the text. Jones keeps the author’s dedication, which adds a sense of notoriety to the contents, but invites housewives and maids to not only peek through these secrets but to also see themselves as their original audience and future owner. Jones assures women readers that even if the author did not mean the book for them, the contents are open to all who “thinke not much of four pence for the price” and

<sup>65</sup> This book, written and compiled by John Partridge, was first printed in 1573 and later reprinted in 1584 and 1591.

“practice here to purchase health” (A1v)—the book is the commodity of the buyer, and Jones is aware of that as he places his preface immediately next to Partridge’s dedication. The poetic preface at once expands the market, empowers the reader’s choices, and still keeps the courtly precedence of the contents intact.<sup>66</sup>

Interestingly, of the three editions of the *Treasurie*, only two contain Jones’s opening poetic preface. These variations between editions show Jones tinkering with his print materials to target and select more than one market with the same text. The original 1573 printing contains an extra “To His Book” poem by Partridge, a slightly different dedication, two commendatory letters from gentlemen, and a table of contents outlining all the chapters in the book with their corresponding pages. This edition is perhaps framed to a more elite audience that has learned to expect not only prefaces and dedications, but also commendatory verses and well organized contents. Although the title-pages still contend that the book is meant “for all estates both men and women,” the absence of Jones’s prefatory poem (and the added paratextual material) places the publication within a strictly higher class, male community. The verso page next to the title-page contains a woodcut of a man in aristocratic garb sitting in what looks like a library as he copies from a book into a large bound manuscript (figure 5). This man might represent Partridge as he completes all the recipes in the book, and it certainly adds to the presentation of the text as the result of a solitary man’s work, obfuscating the original gentlewoman who commissioned the work and ignoring any potential female readers. The changes in the subsequent editions suggest that Jones was trying to broaden his reading public with an already popular publication. It further demonstrates the printer’s cunning in realizing the potential for attracting a new type of reader to his market (or adapting to market demand) without investing extra money or time.

<sup>66</sup> I discuss a similar strategy in Chapter 3, where my analysis focuses specifically on women readers and how print agents framed and advertised a woman writer like Queen Elizabeth.

The presence of these two different publications put forth by the same printer is clear evidence that the same text could be presented towards different audiences with the simple addition or removal of textual material (a practice that, as the next chapters will show, was very common). In the case of Jones, it helps broaden our understanding of his interests as a print agent: he was not simply invested in aristocratic or literary interests, but was constantly attempting to broaden his market and cater to individual tastes and demands. As was the case with Archer, it is not enough to assume that Jones's decisions are based on an interest in the topic, (in this case privileging women readers). Profit and marketability play a role in the ways the print agent chooses to present and frame each work, especially if a particular work had the potential to be framed to a variety of readers. As I have argued above, the print market was being shaped by its readers, as well as helping shape and define new readers. The notion of taste as a unique set of standards may have already existed implicitly in the ways people selected reading material, but it was up to print agents to make those tastes easily recognizable across a variety of publications. Through their persona in print, agents could help readers identify the products of their press or bookstall with a specific taste and quality.

The examples in this chapter outline the types of strategies used by print agents to define printed books as social commodities for their markets. John Day carefully separated his ideological, "godly" persona from the business value of his publications, reminding readers that his work depended on financial backing as well as religious goodwill. Day's personal resources in the form of patents and patronage allowed him to provide a unique, high-quality service. He used his persona as instructor to help readers realize the market (social) value of tables and indexes. Thomas Archer framed his genres as part of the same business of popularity, investing his fame as news printer to make money off other kinds of publications. As such, he showed readers that his shop can supply domestic as well as foreign affairs with the most current debates, whether they appeared as drama, pamphlets or personal



accounts. Jones took this social commodity further by outlining the terms of the agreement between reader and printer very directly in his addresses. In doing this, he determined that the social value of a book was not simply in its contents, but in the way the book could be framed and presented by the print agent.

Print agents helped define printed books as social currency by manipulating protocols for readers and developing personas that presented the print agent as a trustworthy expert. This currency, as demonstrated by Day, Archer, and Jones, depended on both personal and material resources. Further, they circulated in a market that relied upon investments and returns from both buyers and sellers. Paratexts, in this case especially title-pages and dedications/prefaces, are an important tool in re-conceptualizing genre and audience. The analyses in this chapter offer a way to understand print agents as social agents who responded to and took advantage of a changing culture and the private interests of an emerging class by creating a specific commodity that reflected and catered to those interests. As my analysis of Jones demonstrates, however, texts and tastes were far from static, and a good print agent knew that a successful market was always expanding. Chapter 2 builds on Jones's model of adapting and responding to these changes by offering an analysis of the printing history of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516). The malleability of *Utopia*'s narrative allowed print agents to market it as different genres (travel narrative; satire; or historical document) to a variety of potential readers. The growing popularity of the text, fueled by savvy print agents, eventually led to the formation of a whole new genre, and ensured *Utopia* became a recognizable brand.

**TABLE 1: WORKS PUBLISHED BY DAY, ARCHER, AND JONES** (in order of appearance)

Year of Publication	Short Title	Publisher	Author
1571/1564	Ptochomouseion: The Poore Man's Library	John Day	William Alley
1560	<i>A faithful declaration of Christes Holy Supper</i>	John Day	Roger Hutchinson
1560/1573/1580/1550/1560/	<i>Image of God</i>	John Day	Roger Hutchinson
1562, 1564	<i>Most learned and Fruitful Commentaries</i>	John Day	Pietro Vermigli
1548	A Verie Familiar and Fruiteful Exposition	John Day	Pierre Viret
1548	The Confutation of the xii. Articles	John Day	Robert Crowley
1559	<i>The Treasurie of Eonymus</i>	John Day	Konrad Gesner
1548	<i>A Faythful and most godlye treatyse</i>	John Day	Jean Calvin
1569?	Tyndale's Bible	John Day	William Tyndale
1548	Tyndale's New Testament	John Day	William Tyndale
1548	Preparatio ad Orandum	John Day	Anon
1591, 1597	<i>Britons Bower of Delights</i>	Richard Jones	Nicholas Breton
1584/1573/1591	<i>The Treasurie of Commodious Conceits</i>	Richard Jones	John Partridge
1591/1586/1577	<i>The Courte of Civil Courtesie</i>	Richard Jones	S-R-
?/1579	<i>The first part of the eighth liberall science</i>	Richard Jones	Ulpian Fulwell
1597	<i>The Arbor of Amorous Devices</i>	Richard Jones	Richard J (comp)
1579	<i>Civil and Uncivill Life</i>	Richard Jones	Anon
1584	<i>The Wellspring of Wittie Conceits</i>	Richard Jones	William Phiston
1625	<i>The Spanish Pilgrim</i>	Thomas Archer	Anon.

1615, 1616, 1617, 1622	<i>The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Forward, and Unconstant Women</i>	Thomas Archer	Joseph Swetman
1617	<i>A Mouzell for Melastomous</i>	Thomas Archer	Rachel Speght
1613	<i>A wonderfull and most lamentable declaration of the great hurt done</i>	Thomas Archer	Anon.
1611, 1612	<i>The Arraignment of John Selman</i>	Thomas Archer	Anon.
1612	<i>Articles Made and Published by the King of France</i>	Thomas Archer	Anon.
1622	<i>News Out of Holland, of the East Indie Trade There</i>	Thomas Archer	Anon.
1622	<i>A True Relation without all Exception, of Strange and Admirable Accidents</i>	Thomas Archer	Anon.
1603, 1611, 1612, 1616, 1620	<i>A true and strange discourse of the trauailes of two English pilgrimes</i>	Thomas Archer	Henry Timberlake
1603	<i>A True and Perfect Relation of the News Sent from Amsterdam, the 21 February, 1603</i>	Thomas Archer	Anon.
1612, 1614	<i>A True and Almost Incredible report of an Englishman, that ... travelled by land through many unknown Kingdoms, and Great Cities</i>	Thomas Archer	Robert Covert
1613	<i>The Insatiate Countess</i>	Thomas Archer	John Marston
1604	<i>News from Gravesend</i>	Thomas Archer	Thomas Dekker
1608	<i>Diogenes Lanthorne: Athens I seke for honest</i>	Thomas Archer	

	<i>men; But I shal finde them God knows where</i>		
1613	<i>Looke on me London: I am an honest English-man, ripping vp the bowels of mischiefe, luring in thy sub-vrbs and precincts</i>	Thomas Archer	Richard Johnson
1611	<i>The Roaring Girle</i>	Thomas Archer	Thomas Dekker and John Middleton
1609	<i>The history of the tvvo maids of More-clacke</i>	Thomas Archer	Robert Armin

CHAPTER 1 FIGURES

**The Roaring Girl.**  
OR  
*Moll Cut-Purse.*

As it hath lately beene Acted on the Fortune-stage by  
*the Prince his Players.*

Written by *T. Middleton* and *T. Dekker.*

My case is alter'd, I must worke for my living.



For  
This single Play  
I gave  
Three Pounds,  
and  
five Shillings,  
at  
D. Wright's sale.  
London May 2. 1707.

Printed at London for *Thomas Archer*, and are to be sold at his  
shop in Popes head-pallace, neere the Royall  
Exchange. 1611.  
*First Edition.*

Figure 1 The Roaring Girl. 1611.

**THE ARRAIGNMENT**  
of *John Selman*, who was executed  
neere Charing-Crosse the 7. of January, 1611. for  
a Felony by him committed in the Kings Chappell  
at *White-Hall* upon *Christmas* day last, in presence  
of th: King and diuers of the Nobility.



LONDON,  
Printed by *W.H.* for *Thomas Archer*, and are to be  
sold at his shop in *Popes-head* Pallace, 1611.

Figure 2 The Arraignment of John Selman, 1612.

THE  
History of the two Maids of More-clacke,

With the life and simple maner of I O H N  
*in the Hospitall.*

Played by the Children of the Kings  
Maiesties Reuels.

Written by ROBERT ARMIN, seruant to the Kings  
*most excellent Maiestie.*



LONDON,  
Printed by N.O. for Thomas Archer, and is to be sold at his  
shop in Popes-head Pallace, 1609.

Figure 3. The History of the Two Maids of More-Clacke, 1609

THE  
**ARaignment**  
 OF LEVVD, IDLE, FRO-  
 ward, and vnconstant women: Or  
*the vanitie of them, choose you whether.*

With a Commendation of wife, vertuous and  
*honest women.*

Pleasant for married Men, profitable for young Men, and  
*hurtfull to none.*



*Swetnam*  
 K

LONDON

Printed by *George Purflowe* for *Thomas Archer*, and are to be solde  
 at his shop in Popes-head Pallace, neere the Royall  
 Exchange. 1615.

Figure 4. The araignmentof lewd, idle, froward, and unconstant women, 1615.



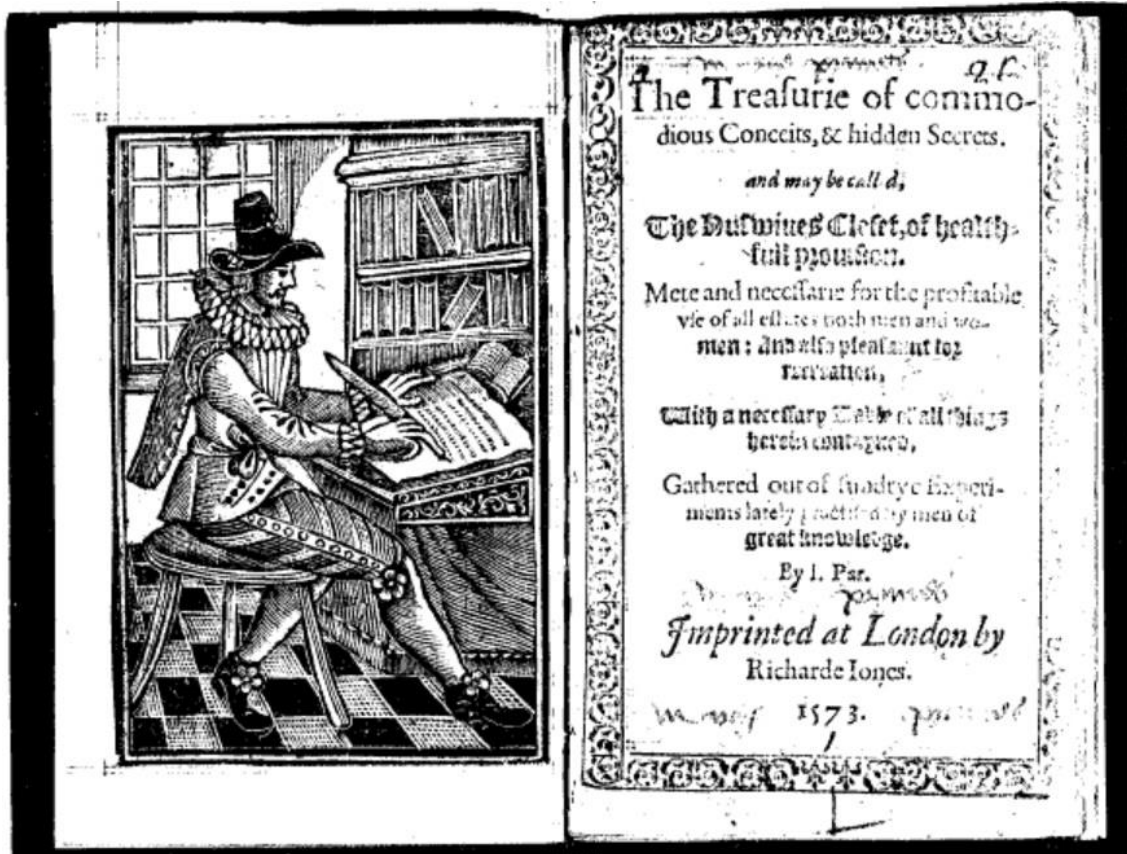


Figure 5. The Treasurie of Commodious Conceits, and Hidden Secrets, 1573.

## CHAPTER 2 Counterfeits, Generics, and (New and Improved) Copies: Thomas More's

### *Utopia* as Cultural Brand

*As soon as Sir John had spoke the Word, there comes into the Court a Book-seller, a reputed very honest man indeed, and of a Gentile Profession; asson as ever the judg perceived who he was, he commanded he should be one of the Jury: with all my heart, said the prisoner at the bar; for I know he is one that will act honestly (without fraud or deceit) and he is one that hath a good report in Utopia; and so he was admitted a jury man.*

John Dunton, *The Informers Doom*, 1683.

Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) remains a text that defies straight-forward interpretations. Although there is still controversy about what properly qualifies a "utopia," modern critics acknowledge that the term refers to a specific genre that usually mixes travel narrative, political ideology, and fiction.<sup>67</sup> Scholars like Gary Saul Morson and J. C. Davis have laid important groundwork for tracing the literary history of *Utopia* during and following More's time. However, many continue to insist that the utopian genre can only be analyzed retroactively, arguing that the early modern reader did not recognize the genre in his own time. Critics have so far focused on understanding the literary influences of More's *Utopia* on other authors as a part of contemporary genre studies. No work has yet fully considered early modern print agents' role in shaping *Utopia*'s reception. In this chapter, I demonstrate the specific ways through which print agents helped define *Utopia* as a recognizable, attractive genre for a variety of potential reading markets; eventually branding the word "utopia" itself as representative of More's challenging narrative.

Literary analyses of Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) have persuasively argued that More invented a new genre of literature, influencing early modern readers as well as writers.

<sup>67</sup> More may not have invented the political fiction genre, but he has been credited with inventing the word "utopia" to label it. More's *Utopia* includes unique characteristics that distinguish it from earlier works. Although modern critics have outlined a variety of criteria to define the Utopian genre, most scholars agree that "More's *Utopia* seems to have been interpreted in the early seventeenth century not so much as a particular kind of prose fiction as a particular kind of concept ... [as opposed to] a genre" (Saltzman 29). Amy Boesky similarly argues that early readers did not recognize *Utopia* as a genre, and that "with the exception of two dialogues ... *Utopia* was not imitated in England until Francis Bacon wrote *New Atlantis* in the 1620s" (11).

In his study of utopian thought as a literary form, J. C. Davis's seminal work *Utopia and the Ideal Society* (1983) argues that the sixteenth century was ripe for re-conceptualizing the classical genre (which started with Plato's *Republic*). Davis demonstrates that More was only one of many European authors who used ideal government fictions to critique contemporary political anxieties. Attempting an authoritative definition of the genre, Gary Saul Morson suggests that to be considered utopian "the work must be presumed to have been designed to be interpreted in the tradition of previous utopian literary works, especially the exemplars of the genre, Plato's *Republic* and More's *Utopia*" (74).<sup>68</sup> Here, I suggest that the Utopia genre was only partially invented by More; although his narrative and framing are unique from other contemporary texts, it was the work of print agents that introduced it to the English reader as a new literary form and a text with national values. The genre eventually evolved into a cultural brand around which readers, authors, and translators shaped their interactions with political and social problems.

At the time of the Latin publications, Thomas More was a well-known scholar and politician. By 1516, More had been appointed justice of the peace, sheriff of London, and had twice taken a seat in Parliament. By the second edition in 1518, More had been made royal councilor to Henry VIII. He was a prominent and avid supporter of humanist learning, corresponding and collaborating with Erasmus, amongst other humanist authors. According to E. M. G. Routh, More's original intention was to circulate the *Utopia* only among his friends.<sup>69</sup> More's vehement defense of the Catholic doctrine put him at odds with Henry VIII, until finally his refusal to swear to the Act of Succession led to his execution in 1535.

Following his execution, More's reputation alternates between political traitor and Catholic

<sup>68</sup> The term "utopian" in this case retroactively applies to foundational works believed to have influenced More and other authors of political fictions. Morson later expands on this assertion by discussing the role of non-literary Utopias in shaping their literary counterpart. I will return to his definition of "traction utopias" below, when I discuss generic allusions to More's work.

<sup>69</sup> The first three editions of *Utopia* were printed in Latin and meant to circulate on the continent—although many English readers (in particular book-buyers) would not be familiar with Latin, the choice not to publish in English may indicate that More was aiming at a broader, continental audience.

martyr. Although it is hard to know how much of this history impacted the reception of the *Utopia* in England, it is possible that the fear of censorship played a part in some later editorial choices. Further, that many readers likely knew enough about More to be at least curious about a work associated with his name. Nevertheless, it is worth acknowledging that “the stereotypes relayed by the vernacular paratexts of *Utopia* only occasionally merge with the hagiographic biographies of More ... [and] the story of the More family in exile is largely distinct from the story of *Utopia* itself” (Cave 8).

More’s *Utopia* was published in English seven times and translated twice between 1551-1639 (Ralph Robinson’s translation, which was printed in 1551, 1553, 1597, 1624, and 1639; and Gilbert Burnet’s anonymous translation printed in 1684 and 1685). A careful analysis of all the English editions of *Utopia* along with works that used the word “utopia” to market other texts will illuminate the strategies print agents applied to shape the book into a recognizable genre. In keeping with More’s complex textual history, this chapter is organized into several sections. The section, “Marketing Theory, Cultural Branding, and *Utopia*,” outlines the theoretical methodology that grounds my analysis of *Utopia* as an iconic brand name. The next section, “Creating a National Brand,” offers a background on the production of the first Latin editions, as well as close-reading discussions of each of the English editions of *Utopia*. In it I trace the marketing strategies that shaped the work as an iconic brand. The final section, “Generic Cultural Branding,” lists and analyzes several pamphlets that take advantage of the popular name “utopia” to market other publications. I deliberately avoid texts modeled after More’s narrative structure (particularly fictional travel narratives), looking instead at cheap-print works that use *Utopia* not as a literary form but as a generic reference.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Many faux narratives populated the print marketplace before and after Bacon’s attempt at replicating More, including Thomas Lupton’s *Siuqila Too Good to Be True... The Wonderful Manners of the People of Mauqsun* (1584), Francis Goodwin’s groundbreaking science fiction, *The Man in the Moon* (1638), and Samuel Harlib’s *A*

*Utopia*'s narrative structure relies heavily on Plato and Lucian. Presented in the title as the description of an ideal commonwealth, the text is divided into two books: book I opens with a dialogue between Thomas More, the narrator (sometimes identified in modern editions as Morus), and Raphael Hythloday, a fellow humanist and seasoned traveler. They argue about a variety of political issues, from executions to enclosures, but their central discussion hinges on the problems involved in being councilor to the King— which was More's real-life job from 1518 until his execution. Although book I may suggest that More is contemplating his own political future, in the second half Hythloday takes over the narrative to begin describing the superior government of Utopia. Book II appears to resolve the problems pointed by Hythloday throughout Book I, but this assumption is undercut by More's closing remarks: "I can not agree and consent to all thinges that [Hythloday] said, being els without dowte a man singularly well learned" (sig. S4r). Warren W. Wooden claims that the text is an "intellectual satire," mocking scholasticism and its tendency to focus on larger philosophical problems and failure to offer practical solutions to contemporary problems (30).<sup>71</sup> However, the satirical form is only one aspect of the central characteristics that shape *Utopia*. As I argue below, the work is unique in reconciling the possible with the impossible, blending an impetus to make a perfect society with the realization that such a society would not be desirable. As Morson remarks, "Utopias are in general agreement about the proper social function of literature – and about the failure of all existing literature, as the corrupt product of a corrupt world, to fulfill it" (81). Indeed, the most important aspect of *Utopia* as brand is that the ideal it represents is not in fact ideal: it fails just as it appears to succeed.

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*Description of the Famous Kingdom of Macaria* (1641). Although these works (in varying degrees of quality) reproduce the popularity of the *Utopia* by creating satirical travel narratives, they appear less concerned with political or ideological critique, a feature many may argue is what sets More's work apart from previous utopias.

<sup>71</sup> See Wooden, "Anti-Scholastic Satire in Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 8.2 (1977): 29-45.

My goal in this chapter is to demonstrate the ways in which *Utopia* changed across time and contexts, arguing that a proper understanding of the genre requires multiple readings of multiple editions. Print agents took advantage of the *Utopia*'s malleability by shaping the book's paratexts to attract their own pre-established markets, and ultimately made the book the starting point for a new genre. As I demonstrated in Chapter 1, print agents designed title-pages, organized paratexts, and wrote prefaces to attract and instruct readers towards new publications. These marketing strategies, however, did not simply result in profitable markets; they were instrumental to the ways early modern readers understood the printed text as a cultural phenomenon. To demonstrate how these strategies functioned to give *Utopia* its market and cultural value, I use marketing theory on iconic brands, as outlined by Douglas B. Holt in *How Brands Become Icons* (2004). His concept of "cultural branding" is a valuable perspective from which to analyze the *Utopia*'s printing history because it helps explain why More's work became such an enduring success and why, unlike previous works of the kind, it launched a new genre, branding the word "utopia" as its label.

As it moves across the seventeenth century, *Utopia* becomes a recognizable brand name that stands in for conflicts between past, present, and future England; for social conflicts and resolutions; for "no place" and "any place"; and particularly for representing a safe space for political critique. Because of the work of print agents and the proliferation of cheap-print Utopian pamphlets designed to build on the popularity of More's text, the word "utopia" grew to become an iconic brand for the early modern reader—one which he/she was taught could represent (and also disrupt) socio-political unrest and challenge the reader to re-interpret literary texts as well as social interactions.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>72</sup> According to Holt, modern brands like Coke have had such a power on popular culture. Even people who do not consume the product could identify with its message of social equality and peace –best exemplified by the "Mean" Joe Green ad of the 80s, where the famous, African-American basketball player receives a Coke from a small, Caucasian child. Modern literature has seen similar effects: the novel 1984, for instance, produced the term "Big Brother," which now has become a synonym for political oppression and surveillance. The term even

**Marketing Theory, Cultural Branding, and Utopia** In Chapter 1, I discussed the importance of understanding printed texts as social commodities. Printed books, like manuscripts, do not exist without a network of readers, agents, and promoters to circulate materials. Unlike manuscripts, however, a printed book depends on a market of monetary exchange and fabricated relationships between (often) anonymous readers and their print agent. Richard Jones, for instance, took advantage of these relationships to build a market predicated on mutual profits—both social as well as financial. As Thomas Archer understood, the print agent had to make his publications attractive to buyers even as they encountered new genres or unfamiliar contexts.

When More's *Utopia* entered the English market in 1551, it already carried with it a long history from the continent, and complicated associations with its executed author. As such, print agents faced the challenge of not only marketing a text by a controversial author, but also of teaching their readers how to encounter, understand, and enjoy a new kind of text. The clearest way to understand the strategies applied by print agents to make More's *Utopia* a recognizable (English) genre, is through modern marketing theories on product branding and market popularity. Modern marketing can help uncover the deliberate, thoughtful strategies print agents used to define their markets. Understanding these strategies as marketing (and, conversely, utilizing modern terms to identify and describe them) is an important first step in creating a critical apparatus for analyses of non-authorial paratexts. For the purposes of this chapter, Douglas B. Holt's concept of "cultural branding" is particularly helpful in explaining how and why print agents managed to make the *Utopia* such a pervasive and long-lasting influence in early modern culture and politics.

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branded a reality show based on a 24-hour home surveillance narrative concept, driving the brand so far away from its origin that most viewers likely never saw it as a specific reference. This kind of brand longevity is something I discuss with the appearance of *Utopia* in cheap print.

Contemporary marketing theorists have worked to trace the influences popular culture and personal lifestyles have had on the public perception of brands. Successful brands must be able to participate in pre-established cultural meanings—for instance, authors and booksellers marketed eighteenth-century novels like Anne Radcliffe’s *Romance of the Forest* (1791) to cater to an appetite for domestic literature and female protagonists. A well-known brand also attends to the user’s personal values; as I discuss in Chapter 1, the merchant class was interested in purchasing tracts on marriage and social structure due to their own changing values and changes in class mobility. In other words, in order to buy a product, consumers must recognize its value for their own lifestyle. At the same time, however, new brands need to also prove they have something new and unique that the consumer needs. In the case of printed books, print agents had to convince readers that their purchase would have social value (either because of its content, or because of how it will look on their shelf).

In order to become recognizable by its contemporary culture, a brand must participate with, but also move against cultural trends. Market theorist F. J. Levy argues that marketing is first and foremost a symbolic value, through which marketing strategies both reflect and impact culture. Building on this, Douglas B. Holt suggests that brands engage in social change by offering idealized solutions for the most current social anxieties. As I shall argue, this is a key factor for understanding how print agents marketed the *Utopia* and the ways the text lent itself to new kinds of packaging and interpretations.

Holt conceptualizes “iconic brands” as those that are able to transcend fleeting popularity and become embedded as part of the consumer’s broader sense of culture. His case-studies include Coke, Budweiser, and Harley Davidson—American brands that have been a solid part of popular culture across different generations and historical contexts. Holt argues that these iconic brands have reached a level of cultural branding that even those who never owned their products can still recognize what each brand stands for and what social



groups it represents. Successful cultural branding therefore goes beyond simply selling a particular product; instead, it offers a unique story or identity that adapts to the consumer's social, ideological, and historical needs. According to Holt, a brand can acquire the status of cultural icon by having the following features:

- 1) a reliable story, or "identity myth," that addresses current social anxieties (39 ff.)
- 2) a versatile historical awareness, becoming "a historical entity whose desirability comes from myths that address the most important social tensions of the nation" (38)
- 3) "cultural and political authority," or the credibility to interact with social and political conversations (95 ff.)

When these elements combine, the brand becomes an active, recognizable part of the culture, and consumers learn to place their trust and agree to invest in its longevity. Identity myths combine the brand's material elements and identity values: while each product will have specific qualities that distinguish it from other competitors, these elements, or "markers" only mean something to an audience when they can be used to tell a story.<sup>73</sup> A brand needs its own unique story that will allow consumers to associate its name or logo with a specific identity. More, then, effectively began to brand his work once he took the travel narrative genre and turned it on its head, inventing a fake island with deliberately fake evidence to support its fiction. *Utopia's* story, or identity myth, is also unique: the island is not simply the representation of ideal government; it mirrors contemporary political conflicts, highlights the threat of alienation, and provides a kind of satirical escape valve. Thus, when readers see the word "utopia" after the publication of More's text, it begins to represent more than a new, witty narrative: thanks to the marketing work of print agents, it eventually morphs into a unique yet highly malleable fictional reality with the ability to intervene in real-life problems. Eventually, these characteristics brand *Utopia* as a recognizable set of associations that exists independently of More or his original narrative.

<sup>73</sup> Hold defines material markers as the brand's physical identifiers: a name, a logo, and a unique design (3).

As Amy Boesky argues, one of the ways More makes his work unique is to design “an authorless text” (48). The fiction of the island Utopia exists on a variety of literary and real levels, and these levels are constantly questioned and challenged in each edition of the text. The narrative relies on its real characters (the humanist circle) as much as it does on its fictional ones (not just Hythloday but also the fictional narrator, Morus, and the fictional Peter Giles).<sup>74</sup> The story further expects that the reader will understand the satire and participate in its creation. To support its identity myth, More’s *Utopia* makes collaboration part of the narrative, calling attention to the ways in which a book is composed, circulated, and organized. The act of reading (or misreading) is at the heart of the narrative and, as such, the reader and/as the editor is openly part of the textual production. Each level of collaboration between readers, print agents, and author deepens the iconic quality (and proposed veracity) of the work.

*Utopia*’s fiction depends on making the textual production transparent, making it unique from other, more typical collaborative works. The island of Utopia exists in the exchange between More, his humanist circle, and his printer – it comes to life only if a fair share of (real or imaginary) readers believe in its fictional reality.<sup>75</sup> In this sense – and this is key to the ways *Utopia* appears in cheap-print references – the island is located exclusively in the text, through and by the textual production. Each new edition (and generic Utopian reference) establishes the Utopian identity myth, giving readers and potential buyers a

<sup>74</sup> Stephen Greenblatt addresses this issue in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (2005) by showing how More is able to negotiate his own dissatisfactions and conflicts through the figure of Morus. Although that reading adds an interesting perspective to More’s biography, here I concern myself mostly with print agents’ interpretation and presentation of More as both a fictional and a historical character.

<sup>75</sup> In the second Latin edition (1517), for instance, More praises the critique of a “very sharp man” who complains about the ambiguity of the narrative of *Utopia*, claiming that “if the story as put forth is true, I see a number of absurdities in it; but if it’s a fable, then it seems to me that in various respects More’s usual good judgment is at fault” (124). For the history of the production of *Utopia* and some of its contemporary responses, see Terence Cave’s *Thomas More’s Utopia in Early Modern Europe: Paratexts and Contexts* (2008); David Weil Baker, *Divulging Utopia: Radical Humanism in Sixteenth-Century England* (1999); and Andrew D. Weiner, “Taking More Seriously: Humanism, Cultural Criticism, and the Possibility of a Past” (*Challenging Humanism: Essays in Honor of Dominic Baker-Smith*, 2005).

recognizable story (the fake travel narrative that becomes a criticism for contemporary government) and a safe space from which to rehearse social and political discontent.<sup>76</sup>

According to Holt, the ability to open up spaces for dialogue and dissent is the mark of a cultural icon. Budweiser, for instance, targeted the working-class American by arguing that hard work demanded constant reward (like a beer after work). When the economy became unstable and many Americans lost their job, the brand had to revise its myth to avoid demoralizing its consumers. This reworking opens up dialogues about labor, personal capital, and suggests that the Budweiser product represents American resilience. Iconic brands stand out by their populist appeal; they do not represent the ruling class or prevailing ideologies but instead “are usually set in populist worlds: places separated not only from everyday life but from the realms of commerce and elite control” (9). Though it may seem contradictory for a brand remove itself from the commercial world, the story told by the brand represents a faraway ideal that the consumer can only achieve through purchase of the product.

If the marketing strategy works, the ideal becomes the product itself; the identity myth can promise release from real-world pressures without admitting to the product’s true (that is, profit-based) market value. As I demonstrate below, the political appeal of *Utopia* led to many royalists using the Utopia brand in their writing, because *Utopia*’s story easily lends itself to the politically frustrated reader. *Utopia*’s identity myth offers a (no) place to challenge current policy (whatever that happens to be at the time), to rewrite the past, and rethink changes. This is reinforced by More’s closing statement that he cannot fully support Hythloday’s account, which in turn challenges the reader to re-examine the narrative. The brand becomes a cultural icon because it is able to fabricate an ideal, a story that is believable enough to attract the consumer, but unlikely enough to be the spark for social change. The

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<sup>76</sup> According to Holt, “a brand emerges as various ‘authors’ tell stories that involve the brand ... companies, the culture industries, intermediaries (such as critics and salespeople), and costumers (particularly when they form communities) ... a brand emerges when these collective understandings become firmly established in society” (3).

*Utopia*'s fiction allows readers to “address cultural anxieties from afar, from imaginary worlds rather than from the worlds that [they] regularly encounter in their everyday lives” (8), and it does this with respect to their own specific historical context.

Because of this shape-shifting ability, print agents are able to take the narrative out of its immediate context, building a brand that will remain relevant even after its original author or context has been forgotten. Thus, when More is considered a political traitor, print agents are able to downplay his character in favor of the importance of the story; later, when More is reclaimed as Catholic martyr, his authority is promoted on title-pages – the brand can be molded according to the conditions of the moment and what print agents feel will best resonate with their readers. The more established the brand becomes, the more it moves away from its Latin, original title (*A Fruitful and Pleasant Work*) and towards the immediately recognized cultural icon (*Utopia*).

As Peter R. Allen has convincingly argued, paratexts (and their constant changes) are crucial to reading the Utopian narrative. As such, a proper understanding of *Utopia* as a brand must consider each edition in its original context and also pay careful attention to the historical interactions between each edition. The experience of reading *Utopia* is not (and should not) be a unified one: the disruption the text is part of its allure, and certainly what makes it an iconic brand.

### **Creating a National Brand: Abraham Vele, Thomas Creede, and Bernard Alsop's**

**Editions** The first Latin edition of the *Utopia* was printed in 1516 by Dirk Martens and, as indicated by the numerous prefatory letters, emerged from collaboration between Thomas More, Peter Giles, and Erasmus. Three more editions appeared in 1517 and 1518 (in that year Johannes Froben printed two consecutive editions) overseen by More and Erasmus. The *Utopia* was a puzzle of several moving parts: More and his friends added, removed, and

reorganized paratexts in each edition.<sup>77</sup> In addition to the two books that compose the body of the text, the first edition includes letters from More to Giles, from Giles to Jerome Busleiden, from Busleiden to More, and from Johannes Paludanus to Giles. Routh argues that these letters indicate the limited audience of the original printing to those who would know the aforementioned authors and take their name as a commendation for the work. This first edition additionally contains a meter in the “original” Utopian tongue; verses by the supposed poet laureate of Utopia; a verse from humanist Cornelius Grapheus to the reader; a Utopian alphabet (presented by Peter Giles); and a map depicting the island.<sup>78</sup> In the second edition, printed in 1517 in Paris, More adds two more letters: one from Jerome Budé to Thomas Lupset and a second letter from More to Giles (in which More mocks readers who took the narrative too literally), and removes the Utopian poem and alphabet.<sup>79</sup> One more letter is added to the 1518 edition, where Erasmus addresses Froben, their new printer.

The abundance and variety of prefatory letters offer an invitation for future print agents to act as editors. No Latin edition contains quite the same materials in quite the same order; More appears to imply that *Utopia* is a kind of open-source text: although the basic script must stay the same (that is, Book I and II must remain intact), a print agent’s addition

<sup>77</sup> Given the level of playfulness in Giles’s letter to Gerome Busleiden, in which he insists on the veracity of the island and produces a Utopian alphabet as evidence, the addition and removal of paratexts was an important part of the satire. In a letter in the second edition, More mocks a fellow Humanist who took his work too seriously, sarcastically referring to imaginary places in the work: “if I had put nothing but the names of prince, river, city and island such as might suggest to the learned that the island was nowhere, the city a phantom, the river without water, and the prince without a people, this would not have been hard to do, and would have been much wittier than what I did; for if the faithfulness of an historian had not been binding on me, I am not so stupid as to have preferred to use those barbarous and meaningless names, Utopia, Anyder, Amaurot and Ademus” (167). As this letter appears only in the second edition, it is possible that More and his collaborators felt that the satire lost some of its power with such an explicit comment.

<sup>78</sup> Although these features were intended to enhance the irony of the fake island of Utopia, as I mention above More’s letter in the second edition points to his concern that some Humanists were not following the joke. For the complicated and fascinating history of the maps in the Latin editions, see G. P. Marc’hadour, “M’ for Map: Maps of Utopia,” in *Moreana* (1982); Lorainne Stobbart, *Utopia, fact or fiction?* (1992); and M. Bishop, “Ambrosius Holbein’s *memento mori* map for Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia*: The meanings of a masterpiece of early sixteenth century graphic art” in the *British Dental Journal*.

<sup>79</sup> Terrance Cave traces all the changes across Latin, European, and English editions in *Paratexts and Contexts*.

removal of paratextual elements can completely restructure the work.<sup>80</sup> This malleability allowed for the text to travel successfully across a variety of countries and historical contexts, building on and creating new utopias as it went. Although scholars have discussed at length the significance of the original paratexts in particular, and *Utopia*'s literary contributions in general, no one has focused on the influence print agents had on marketing the text to middle-class buyers and readers. As I discuss below, print agents' marketing strategies led the *Utopia*'s popularity to trickle down to cheap print, where it became source material for political pamphlets and satires during and after the Civil War.

The first English edition of More's *Utopia* was printed in 1551 by Abraham Vele and translated by Ralph Robinson. It is likely that the popularity of the book in the continent had spread to England, especially in the learned circles where More and the humanist project were still highly regarded (Robinson would certainly have read More and Erasmus at school).<sup>81</sup> But how or why did the popular reader become attracted to this text? One possible answer is that the controversial figure of More was a draw: the first English edition surfaces long enough after his execution in 1535 to avoid censorship, but More's status as a religious and political traitor could have been an element that inspired in readers fear, curiosity, and even a sense of danger.<sup>82</sup> While none of the English editions include all of the original letters from the Latin editions, they each offer a selective variety of paratext in combination with the printers' and/or the translator's own introduction or commentary. These paratextual materials

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<sup>80</sup> There is ample evidence that More and Erasmus were highly involved in the production of the work, down to their choice of printers. Dirk Martens, the printer to the first edition, had been working with Erasmus for over twelve years (Tournoy 220), and the third edition contains a letter from Erasmus to the printer, Johan Froben, assuring the quality of More as an author and his work, "for the authority of your firm is such that a book is sure of pleasing the learned as soon as it is known to issue from the house of Froben" (Logan et. al 7).

<sup>81</sup> For a history of the influence of Robinson's education on his choice to translate the *Utopia*, see Cave, 87-104.

<sup>82</sup> The Edwardian period saw a decrease in censorship, in which many acts prohibiting supposedly heretical works were revoked. Before 1547, the censorship acts established that the press, especially printers and booksellers, were directly responsible for charges on heretical books. Licensing laws were also in flux in this period, and books containing religious and political ideologies had a brief respite during Edward's reign (Lowenstein 58). See also D. Loades, "The Theory and Practice of Censorship in Sixteenth Century England" in *Politics, Censorship, and the English Reformation* (1991).

help adapt and repurpose the work to new audiences. By shaping the text's reception, early modern print agents actively participated in branding *Utopia* as a cultural icon.

Abraham Vele's first two editions build up the text's popular culture appeal on the title-page and use the translator's dedication to highlight the work's literary value. The 1551 edition (fig. 6) contains only one of the original, Latin paratexts. Ralph Robinson chose to translate only More's letter to Giles, adding instead his own patron dedication to precede it. Whether Robinson commissioned Vele to print the work or Vele personally procured the translation, the two seem to have had different plans for how *Utopia* should be presented (and to whom).<sup>83</sup> Robinson set up the work as an academic exercise, framing it according to high-brow literary commonplaces: first, he targeted an aristocratic patron with important ties to the printing press, William Cecil.<sup>84</sup> In the dedication, Robinson apologizes for his "rudeness and ignorance in our England tongue," and makes a point to include a classical reference to a favorite author of More's, Lucian, by paraphrasing an anecdote about Diogenes (+i-iii). These choices suggest that Robinson intended to mark the text as academic and elite. However, Robinson's target audience for the dedicatory epistle is slightly more complex. His stylistic and content choices reveal that Robinson attempted to elevate himself as an insider in the humanist project.

According to Holt, insiders are consumers of a brand who believe that they have a special connection to the product's story or what it represents. For a literary work to become an iconic brand, influential consumers and tastemakers need to publically support its story. As a marketplace product, the work depends on the print agent's savvy to draw in his already established market, and on readers who will accept and disperse the story told by the identity

<sup>83</sup> In both editions printed by Vele, Robinson claims that although he translated the work at the request of a friend he was unwilling to see it published. However, Robinson might have been reproducing an authorship commonplace and embellishing the conditions of textual production. It is likely that the decision to print a second edition was Vele's, in efforts to maintain or reignite the popularity of the first run.

<sup>84</sup> Davil Weil Baker notes that "Cecil was an important patron of Protestant Printers and writers during the Edwardian period" (107). Joshua Phillips posits that Robinson's choice of patron might have been influenced by the fact that "Cecil still retained a great deal of influence over what was permitted to be printed" (67).

myth. In discussing how the channel ESPN became an icon for sports television, Holt defines three categories of consumers that support the brand's myth: followers, insiders, and feeders. The smallest but most important category of consumers, the insiders, helps lend credibility to the brand. Insiders feel like they are professionals in the field and hold authority to evaluate the brand as "people who either inhabit the populist world or at least hang out on its periphery" (146). In Holt's ESPN model, insiders are former athletes of all levels (professional or amateur) who experience a personal connection with the real athletes broadcasted on the network. In the case of the *Utopia*, translator and print agent Ralph Robinson saw himself as an insider to More's humanist circle and used his dedication to William Cecil to demonstrate and emphasize this status. By using this term from Holt, I hope to call attention to the subtle yet powerful ways in which Robinson constructs himself as someone who has intimate knowledge of the Utopia brand without having to claim that he knew or had any connection to More himself.

In choosing not simply to translate and circulate the *Utopia* but also to dedicate it to a patron and see it through publication it (regardless of his claims to the contrary), Robinson positions himself as a like-minded scholar and new collaborator to More and his circle. On the one hand, he insists that it was his friend George Tadlowe and "hys authority that persuaded me" to print the work. On the other hand, Robinson also wants to take credit for his initiative, which he sees as a public service. He translated the work

to the accomplishment therefore, and fulfilling of this my mynde, and purpose: I toke it upon me to tourne, and translate out of Latine into our Englishe tongue the frutefull, and profitable boke, which sir Thomas more knyght compiled, and made of the new yle Utopia... (+iv)

Robinson describes his translation as a civic duty and not just an academic exercise.<sup>85</sup> Joshua Phillips makes a compelling case that "the textual traces that Robinson provides suggest the

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<sup>85</sup> For an analysis of Robinson's use of nationalism in this dedication, as well as how the English *Utopia* helps establish notions of Englishness, see Boesky, *Founding Fictions*, pp. 23-56.



role that affective ties – a sense of belonging – coupled with the longing for an investment in civil discourse continued to play in England’s print communities” (65).<sup>86</sup> However, Phillips argues that the translator ultimately abandons this sense of community in order to protect his reputation. By placing all the responsibility of printing the book on his friend Tadolwe, says Phillips, Robinson “tries to name Tadolwe as the authorized agent ... presenting himself as a mere conduit of the communal enterprise” and thus clear himself off any legal trouble (66). Robinson’s singling out Tadolwe in the dedication is indeed a confusing choice (after all, his friend had no special rank or literary authority), but I believe that there is a rhetorical and symbolic reason for Robison’s decision, and that Robinson had no interest in disrupting the community represented in the dedication. Traditionally, dedicatees are represented as the protectors of the text; the author can ask his patron to keep the text from censors or negative judgments. Robinson implies that Cecil has this role by simply dedicating the book to him, but by mentioning Tadolwe, he is also expanding his own literary circle. Cecil is not the only person appropriate to protect the work; Tadolwe, like More himself, is “an honest citizen of London, and in the same citie well accepted, and of good reputation” (+iv-v), and he is learned enough to know that the *Utopia* is an important text that should be more widely read. Thus, along with Cecil, Tadolwe is placed as part of the academic community that can help protect and authorize the book’s publication.

Robinson’s apparent reluctance to print his translation also mirrors More’s epistle to Giles, which was printed along with the Latin editions. Wary of uneducated readers misunderstanding his work, More claims that “I am not yet fully determined with meselfe, whether I wyll put forth my booke or no” (A5r) but at last concludes that “I wyll as touching the edition or publishing of the booke, followe the counsell and as advise of my friends, and

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<sup>86</sup> This notion of belonging attached to civil discourse is akin to my analysis of social capital in Chapter 1. While Phillips argues generally towards communities constructed by authors, my analysis focuses on the ways print agents participated in this construction by offering printed books as social commodities.

especially yours” (A4). Robinson’s decision to publish his translation is in line with More’s own approach to his text. Robinson sees himself as a scholar who is contributing to More’s humanist project (thus participating in the project himself) by bringing it to the English-speaking public and, like More, by consulting with his own literary circle of friends about the publication. He reinforces his position in relation to the text by opening the dedication with a story about the philosopher Diogenes, taken from Lucian, “which is in fact a variant of the topos of the modest author ... [and who] was also one of the favorite authors of Erasmus and More” (Cave 90). In Holt’s ESPN model, he defines as “followers” the general consumers who are usually the brand’s target market: “customers who identify strongly with the brand’s myth ... for the desires and anxieties they experience in everyday lives” (140). By making an allusion to a classical author, and a favorite of More’s, Robinson means to show his patron and his Corpus Christi colleagues that he is not simply a “follower” who feels connected to the Utopia as literary model, but instead he is a crucial part of the text’s early history in English markets, adding and editing in the spirit of the original collaborators.

These complex literary references and false-humility moves, however, are aimed at Robinson’s learned circle. The actual consumer of the translation, the middle-class buyer at Vele’s stall, would not be expected to be familiar with Lucian or with any of the *Utopia*’s history across the continent. As a profitable and savvy printer, Vele knew to re-package the work to make it appealing to a broader variety of tastes, since most potential followers might be more interested in the new world travel narrative. *Utopia* was one of Vele’s first publications (in fact, he did not receive his license from the Stationer’s Company until 1558), and it is likely that he was counting on its popularity.<sup>87</sup> His first few years as a print agent demonstrate an interest in Protestant works by known figures like Heinrich Bullinger, Miles

<sup>87</sup> Joseph Ames notes that “the first mention I find of him in [the Stationers’ Company’s] books, is on the 20<sup>th</sup> of May 1558 ... probably it might be for his admission as a brother, the preceding article for making one free” (358).

Coverdale, and Erasmus. But while some works are traditional religious publications (like *The pa[n]dectes of the euangelycall lawe Comprisynge the whole historye of Christes Gospell*, 1553), others are more interested in responding to popular, middle-class debates (like *The deceyte of women, to the instruction and ensample of all men yonge and olde, newly corrected*, 1557, possibly printed to accompany Erasmus's *A mery dialogue, declaryng the properties of shrowde shrewes & honest wyues: not onely very pleasaunt, but also not a litle profitable*, 1557).

Certainly Vele was still experimenting with the best works to draw in readers, and the *Utopia* could be an attempt to continue printing well-known writers. His editing of the *Utopia*'s title page indicates an interest in broadening the work's popular appeal. Vele sets the full title of the *Utopia* to function with and against Robinson's dedication, disrupting and reframing his high-literature persona. The title maintains a linguistic semblance to the original Latin title, and was likely submitted by the translator: *A fruteful, and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Vtopia*. The attribution that follows advertises Thomas More as simply a "knyght," while Robinson is a "citizen and goldsmyth of London," and his friend Tadlowe a "citizen haberdasher of the same cittie." Since the Latin title refers to More as "the distinguished and eloquent author Thomas More citizen and sheriff of the Famous City of London" (Kinney 34), the choice of personal titles does not seem to come from Robinson's translation. Vele appears to be making a conscious decision to help his readers identify with the author and translator. At once contradicting and reinforcing Robinson's self-presentation as an insider, this title-page targets specific followers: the aspiring readers who would want the association to trendy, popular literature and at the same time wants to feel that this access is within their reach, produced by citizens who, like them, aspire to aristocratic contacts.

As I demonstrated in my analysis of Thomas Archer's career in Chapter 1, advertising that publications were about or from London served as a marketing strategy to entice city dwellers to buy particular books. Highlighting Robinson's and Tadolwe's status as London workers makes the *Utopia* more relatable to a middle-class reader, and appeals directly to Londoners interested finding out the current local fashions. Vele's later selection of publications indicates that this became his niche: he had an interest in building a London, middle-class market by printing conduct and household manuals, treatises on marriage and women, and local, political pamphlets. Since *Utopia* is a new kind of text, Vele uses the title to provide a variety of helpful protocols for readers unfamiliar with the new genre: it connects the text to the genre of travel narratives; calls attention to its literary value as "a fruitful and pleasant work;" and advertises the discovery of "the newe yle called Utopia." If Robinson meant *Utopia* as a clever and socially relevant Humanist production (and himself a prime insider in the humanist project), Vele takes the work and makes it immediately accessible to the marketplace consumer. In seeking maximum appeal and accessibility for his publication, Vele begins to make the *Utopia* recognizable product.

In this context, Robinson's dedication to William Cecil can be read from two separate perspectives: Robinson's fellow insiders (Cecil, Tadolwe, and Robinson's other colleagues) are expected to identify the classical references and see the value the translator brings to the original work. But it is not likely that the average reader would recognize the reference to Lucian, or even see the parallels between More's letter to Giles and Robinson's dedicatory epistle. For the general reader (or "follower"), the majority of Vele's intended market, the story that opens the dedication could lead to a different conclusion. In the anecdote, Diogenes takes to rolling his tub up and down a hill while the citizens of Corinth get ready for battle. When asked by his friend why he is doing this, Diogenes claims that it is

my bound duty to God and to my country... to occupy and exercise myself ... as I being at the beck and commandment of others...though no commodity of my labor, the travail to the public weal should arise, yet it might by this appear, that my endeavour and good will hereunto was not lacking. (+iir)

In the dedication, Robinson likens this act to his own act of translation: as a scholar, his literary exercise may seem futile in the face of larger political problems, but it is nonetheless the only contribution he is able to make. Even to a reader unfamiliar with the classical reference, however, this story makes reading the text the same kind of exercise: the reader can imagine that the act of purchasing and reading this work is similarly an act of “barrel rolling,” either as practice towards political action or simply towards becoming more knowledgeable.<sup>88</sup>

Because the *Utopia* challenges readers to see through the ruse, and decode the island as a representation of English political problems (and, most importantly, as an exposure of problems or issues that cannot be solved), More seems to indicate that the next step after reading is to take action (or at least to readjust one’s perspective). Further, this dedication targets the middle-class reader by showing Robinson as a citizen in need of financial support: Robinson hopes that the dedication will “revive ... the old acquaintance, that was between you and me.” The translator is thus introduced as someone who, like his readers, is trying to improve his social standing. By highlighting Robinson’s status as a goldsmith, Vele invites book-buyers to participate in this elite circle. Just by purchasing the book, the reader gets to participate in this same circle of textual production, rhetorical exercise, and social patronage. Because Robinson refuses to join in or enhance the satirical elements of the work (he translates the text solely for its “good, and wholesome lessons”), the *Utopia* becomes an invitation for London citizens to feel that they are at the same literary level as the readers who had access to and knowledge of the Latin editions. Thus, Vele’s strategy to market the

<sup>88</sup> As I will demonstrate in Chapter 3, print agents often used paratexts to show how the act of reading and buying books was a form of social and political engagement.

author and translator as citizens and workers of London in the title-page takes advantage of Robinson's status as an insider and markets the *Utopia* as an accessible text with a valuable social message.

The popularity of the first printed edition, coupled with the ascension of a Catholic ruler in 1553, must have encouraged Vele to produce a new edition of the *Utopia*. The title-page for the 1556 edition advertises the *Utopia* as a literary, cultural product more explicitly. Under Queen Mary, now-Catholic martyr More could be praised as “*the right worthy and famous Sir Thomas More knight*” (emphasis mine), while Robinson earned the distinction of a “fellow of Corpus Christi College in Oxford.” In addition to being “newly perused and corrected,” the second edition now boasts of “divers notes in the margins,” most of which are translated from the Latin and some which were added by Robinson himself (fig. 6). This second edition includes More's letter from Giles and adds the letter from Peter Giles to Busledein; the meter of four verses in the Utopian tongue; “a shorte meter of Utopia, written by Anemolius poete laureate, and nephew to Hythlogdaye;” a poem from Gerard Noviomagus; the verse “Cornelius Grapheus to the Reader;” and an original address from Vele, labeled “the printer to the reader.”

Cave and Baker believe that these additions are evidence of Robinson's initiative to make the work appear more scholarly and to “cut Robinson's citizen ties” (Baker 108).<sup>89</sup> Indeed, the title-page changes work to elevate the text's social status. However, to ascribe these changes merely to Robinson is to forget the key role played by the print agent in

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<sup>89</sup> Cave says that the additions show “a willingness to enter into the more playful aspects of More's text, especially as the verse translation of the economical Latin version both expands the text considerably and makes it less transparent, as if Robinson wanted to ‘foreignize’ it” (95). David Weil Baker similarly omits the print agent's participation when he suggests that “the conspicuous identification of Robinson as a London citizen [on the title page of the 1551 edition] suggests that such citizens might be the target audience of the translation” (107) and continues to discuss editorial changes made to the 1556 edition as solely the product of Robinson's choices. While this is certainly a possibility, neither of Robinson's prefaces (his dedication to Cecil or his note to the reader) demonstrate any investment in the work's satirical aspects – Robinson appears more concerned with marking his textual authority as an insider to the humanist circle. The inclusion of Vele's note, on the other hand, participates deliberately in the farce and shows the print agent's sense of humor towards the paratext.

framing the publication. Vele's afterword indicates that he had at least some influence in these additions, if he did not in fact request them himself. In order to fully understand how the print agent participated in changing the publication's status, we must look more closely at what we can glean from Robinson's own purposes for the new edition.

In place of a dedication, in this edition Robinson adds a note to "The Gentle Reader," restating his claim that "was it never my minde nor intente, that it shoulde ever have bene Imprinted at all" (A2). Tadlowe, now a nameless friend, is described as the reason why the translation was first published lacking quality, since "though I knew [him] to be a man in dede, both very wittie and also skilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the Latin tongue, he was not so well sene ... to the meanness of whose learning I thoughte it my part to submit, and attemper my stile" (ibid.). Quoting Terrance, Robinson promises his reader that this edition has given him the chance to treat the work as if he always meant to publish it, and thus "taken about it such paines, that verye fewe great faultes and notable errors are in it to be founde" (A3v). Unlike his dedication in the first edition, Robinson here assumes from the start that he has insider status, now situating himself as part of the *Utopia*'s official history and thus one of its contributing authors.

Phillips argues that Robinson and Vele were both responsible for making the English *Utopia* "an admitted fiction" (73) by removing the paratext and separating it from the narrative itself. Indeed, by failing to include the Utopian alphabet or any of the poems in the first English edition, Vele and Robinson eliminate some of the ambiguity about the island's existence. If the satire relies on the pull between reality and fiction, then the English edition is, as Phillips argues, more a fictional narrative than a political or intellectual work. However, Vele's second edition of *Utopia* is a remarkably different text, and it demonstrates the print agent's efforts in attracting new readerships and enhancing the fictional reality of the

narrative. By including new materials and promising to acquire the Utopian alphabet in the next edition, Vele shows new and returning readers how dynamic his book production can be.

It is likely that the initiative to reprint came from Vele, and not Robinson, since the print agent would be the one to profit most from the endeavor. Even if Robinson meant to include the Latin paratext in the first edition but could not finish it in time for printing (which, if we believe that he never meant to print it, is unlikely), he does not mention the letters or Utopian verses in either of his prefaces. Further, as I show above, he is not invested in the satirical aspects of the work, but only in its academic and literary value.<sup>90</sup> It is possible that Vele contacted Robinson about a second edition, and requested extra material to make it more attractive and marketable to a new public.<sup>91</sup> With the added material, the text becomes more complex, inviting readers to participate in questioning and understanding the meaning of *Utopia*. Further, Vele's note to the reader, which closes the work, enhances the open-source quality of text.

In his closing notes, "the Printer to the Reader," Vele apologizes for not including the Utopian alphabet to which Giles refers in his letter to Busledein (which immediately precedes the note in this edition). Vele claims that "I have not as yet the true characters or fourmes of the Utopiane letters ... seying it is a tongue to us mucche straunger then the Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian ... etc" (ns). By adding this note, Vele is consciously participating in the *Utopia*'s joke, promising the appearance of something

<sup>90</sup> Amy Boesky and Benedict Anderson support this interpretation, asserting that Robinson's translation gives the Utopia a national identity by establishing "languages-of-power" for "print-capitalism" (Boeski 10 n14).

<sup>91</sup> Most print agents were heavily involved in the production of their books, and it would not be unlikely that Vele would similarly be hoping to improve his market for a new edition of *Utopia*. Lisa Maruca emphasizes that booksellers were active participants in the print production, and "many conceptualized projects themselves, merely hiring or commissioning writers to work as directed ... several constructed editions of collected works whose right they owned (or not) or served as the editors of newspapers or periodicals, the content of which they often controlled" (66). John N. King similarly points that John Day supported his business and "enhanced book sales by commissioning, revising, and expanding landmark editions of writings by Protestant luminaries in such a way as to supply an incentive for purchasers to acquire new editions" (83). Most print agents were heavily involved in the production of their books, and it would not be unlikely that Vele would similarly be hoping to improve his market for a new edition of *Utopia*.



he knew to be fake. Furthermore, Vele shows himself to be a better insider than Robinson. While the translator attempted to join More's scholarly circle through literary references, Vele was the one to recognize the collaborative aspect of the work and join the ongoing textual production of the Utopia island. Even if Vele had seen a Latin or continental edition containing the printed alphabet, his note deliberately compares the Utopian tongue with other real languages and joins in the dialogue of the letters by referring specifically to Giles's letter appended before the poems.

This note further works to make a marketing move towards a possible third edition, and serves as playful was to prove that Vele is a print agent who is engaged in using his personal resources to improve and enhance his publications. Vele's participation in the ruse, and not simply his note promising more paratext, helps reinforce the *Utopia's* market value as satire. In order to solidify the unique story this text presents and thus give it an identity myth, Vele lends his own credibility to the fiction. A reader who had become a follower of *Utopia* (or its cultural capital status) would eventually learn to recognize, through the paratextual materials, what distinguishes *Utopia* from other available travel narratives: depending on its framing devices, the work has ability of open up new stories, new social circles, and new social critiques.

The *Utopia's* popularity for both printers and readers appears to die out for over forty years, but interest in More and his ideal commonwealth must have remained strong. The text resurfaces in 1597, published by independent printer Thomas Creede (fig. 8).<sup>92</sup> Creede's career was then only just starting, and like Vele it is possible that he wanted to attract readers by printing a work that was guaranteed to sell. His output from 1593 until 1600 was mostly comprised of historical, political works, with an occasional interest in well-known authors

<sup>92</sup> Cave offers evidence of continued interest in the work during this downtime by showing that famous contemporary authors were still referencing the text: Sir Phillip Sidney uses the *Utopia* as 'a feigned image of poetry' better than traditional philosophy; and Thomas Nashe cites it in his *Unfortunate Traveller*. Interest in More himself was also still in vogue, as evidenced by Anthony Munday's biographical play (97-8).

like Shakespeare and Sidney. As Elizabeth's reign drew to an end, the political instability associated with More's began to dissipate. As a result, the work's identity myth accordingly began to lose its direct associations with the humanist project in general, and More's politics in particular. In the three editions printed at the start of the seventeenth century, we may see *Utopia* acquiring a new historical context. The Utopia brand begins to solidify in the popular imagination by becoming a constant amongst political and social changes in England. As a new generation of readers became invested in such changes, print agents adjusted the text's identity myth to meet the needs of their growing market. Thomas Creede's edition is a simple yet powerful evidence that *Utopia*'s popularity continued to justify new editions. Creede, who often financed his own publications (Yamada), published a reprint in 1597 without modifying much from Vele's 1556 edition—he chooses to leave out only Vele's and Robinson's notes to the reader.<sup>93</sup>

This edition is an important turning point. As the House of Stuart takes the throne, English citizens begin to experience increasing political instabilities. The constant clashes between the Privy Council and the king would eventually lead to Civil War. Amidst this political mine field, print agents' marketing strategies expand the context of *Utopia* beyond a topical, popular critique of Henrician politics, making it more appropriate to their current political climate. Ultimately, these repackaging strategies build up *Utopia* status as an iconic cultural brand.

Bernard Alsop, Creede's former apprentice, is responsible for the next edition of *Utopia*, in 1624 (fig. 9). He makes the crucial decision to change the title of his edition, effectively using the text's most iconic marker to create a simple, recognizable brand name: "Sir Thomas More's Utopia" appears atop the title-page, highlighting the word UTOPIA in

<sup>93</sup> It is possible that Creede inherited the rights to the edition and did not have to spend much money to publish it. Nonetheless, his decision to put out a reprint suggests there was still a market for *Utopia* even forty years after Vele.

capital letters. Alsop reframes the text to call attention to its recognizable literary inheritance – an important element for the brand’s value – by including a frontispiece with a large engraving of More and, below it, an inscription in Latin. This title-page describes More as “right honorable and worthy of all fame” and “lord Chancellor of England,” in line with Alsop’s clear interest in rescuing the author’s historical importance and political authority. Further, the Latin inscription helps readers associate More with the classical tradition. Even for a reader unable to read what the inscription says (it praises More’s sacrifice as a Catholic martyr), Alsop’s choice of Latin immediately inscribes the work as a valuable literary commodity.

Although Alsop, like Vele and Creede before him, begins with the commonplace announcement of a new edition “newly corrected and purged of all errors happened in the former editions,” the print agent is much more invested in reinventing the “Utopia brand.” As Holt explains, “brands that author a successful myth earn the right to come back later with new myths that touch on the same cultural concerns” (125). Alsop clearly realizes that *Utopia* is by now a recognizable brand name, easily identified as a protocol for readers. It therefore merits a new history. The repackaging begins with the brand-name “Utopia” and the engraving of More on the title-page, as is further reinforced by Alsop’s dedicatory epistle to Cresacre More, Thomas More’s great-grandson, who was at the time working on a biography of More.<sup>94</sup>

In order to effectively turn *Utopia* into a new brand, Alsop uses his dedication to present himself as a new kind of insider: the marketplace print agent who not only has the authority and the creativity to reprint and repackage a classic work, but who sees himself as part of the work’s literary inheritance. Robinson’s dedication in the first edition served to

<sup>94</sup> *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore* was published some time between 1626 and 1631 (Hapsfield). Given Alsop’s choice of Cresacre More for the dedication, he must have known of his involvement in the biography. It is possible that this dedication was also a play for Cresacre’s business or future associations with the More family.

place the translator as a humanist insider, defining the work as a scholarly, literary project. Alsop uses his dedication to authorize his branding efforts and historicize the text. Further, the print agent outlines a persona that has access to aristocratic supporters and intimate knowledge of the works he publishes. As I demonstrated in Chapter 1, one way for print agents to distinguish themselves in the marketplace was to call attention to their unique personal resources. While it is not likely that Alsop knew Cresacre More personally, his dedication implies a degree of intimacy and comfort with More's remaining heir as well as his inheritance—the *Utopia*. In the epistle, Alsop distinguishes Cresacre's noble line, tracing it to “the auncient familie of the Cresacres, sometime Lords of the Manor of Bamborough” (A2r).

Inheritance is an important theme for Alsop, and his dedication highlights both lineage and literary status as essential qualities of the More family. The print agent defines his motives as “noble,” and purely in the interest of preserving the text as Cresacre's birth right. Alsop attaches the “honorable pedigree” carried by the More family to the book's own virtues, which as a genre is “yet unparalleled in that nature” and thus deserves to be shared with a new generation of readers (A2). In Ralph Ronbinson's dedication to the first edition, he established that translating the *Utopia* was a civic duty—bringing a great, important work by an English author back into the mother tongue. To reignite interest for a book whose popularity was already established, Alsop builds up its historical value as an English landmark. In a surprisingly elitist move, Alsop claims that failing to dedicate the work to Cresacre would be “a theft of the worst nature ... and I might as well take from you the Lands of the Honorable and auncient Family of Cresacre (with which God and your right hath endowed you) as bestow upon a stranger this glorious Commonwealth” (A2v).

By elevating the book to the value of an inheritable commodity, the print agent highlights *Utopia*'s material and social attributes. The reader who owns this copy can feel

like he is part of this cultural inheritance (even if he does not own lands and cannot claim any rights to the work itself). This in turn makes the book simultaneously old and new: reclaiming More's lineage and history is an innovative strategy that only works because the work is so far removed from More's reputation as traitor and his problematic Catholic identity. Abraham Vele had to devise specific marketing strategies to frame the work as accessible to the middle-class buyer; Alsop moves somewhat in the opposite direction, building an established, aristocratic lineage for the book and its author and making his edition worthy of a personal library. At the same time, however, Alsop also makes the work highly attractive to what Holt calls "feeders:" the kinds of readers who see books as status symbols. While both print agents highlighted the social capital of *Utopia*, each context expands the amount and variety of readers, always inviting new groups to empathize with the brand's identity myth.

Like Richard Jones, Alsop liked to categorize and label his products; however, while Jones used dedications and epistles to the reader to stress the potential profit and social capital of his books to aspiring "gentle readers," Alsop seems to have a preoccupation with lineage, rank, and parenting. In his dedication "to the courteous reader" of *The Lawyers Light: or, a due direction for the study of the law* (1629), Alsop asks his reader to take on "two children, the one whereof hath an author unknown, the other a Father deceased," adopting and using them according to the reader's own social preferences: "case them in what fashion you please: and put them in what livories you like best" (¶3r-v). By presenting books as lost children, Alsop places in the reader the responsibility to care for them. Further, the print agent reminds his reader that he holds the power of interpretation, putting the book to whichever use the reader sees fit. Alsop sees *Utopia* as the right inheritance of the More family, much as later he will present *The Lawyers Light* as the rightful inheritance of law students: "not as proximiores sanguinis [next in blood] or proper executors of the will of the

diseased, but as creditors to whom the administration of their good intentions for the publicke is committed” (¶4r).

In *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England* (2005), Margreta de Grazia argues that early modern print saw a proliferation of allusions to parenting, linking book production to child bearing and bringing up issues of “generation, copying, duplication, multiplying, engraving, and gravidity” (35). For Alsop, dedicating *Utopia* to Cresacre More (and framing it with a new title and the author’s bust) authorizes his edition as More’s true heirloom, the only version worthy of the More family—and thus an entirely new version worthy of having in one’s library. By purchasing the book, the reader also buys into the rebranded status of More as literary, cultural, and English inheritance. In many ways, this is the edition that truly brands *Utopia* (and, in turn, More) as the text (and author) we know and edit today. As Holt has argued, the power of the brand resides not simply in its product, but in the product’s ability to renew itself according to new consumers, new identities, and new contexts. It is not until 1624 that *Utopia* can emerge as a canonical text, with a praised author and a long, honorable history.

As the iconic brand becomes stabilized, “the brand performs its myth, [and] the audience eventually perceives that the myth resides in the brand’s markers (e.g. its name, logo, and design elements) ... [and so] the brand becomes a symbol, a material embodiment of the myth” (8). Alsop is responsible for branding the text as “Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia*,” thus aligning the work’s most easily identifiable marker, “utopia,” with its symbolic, cultural representations. Eventually, the brand, “utopia,” will function independently from its author or its history. Once *Utopia* becomes established as genre, representative of satirical criticisms of government,<sup>95</sup> the association with More fades into the background, leaving only a brand

<sup>95</sup> Of course, *Utopia*’s narrative is much more complex and paradoxical, as Manuel and Manuel, Cave, Boesky, et. al have demonstrated. However, for the purposes of this analysis, I mean to argue that *Utopia* as an iconic

reference or genre that authors and print agents can apply to a variety of literary and marketing contexts.<sup>96</sup>

Political and social discontent had grown exponentially during the time between 1624, when Alsop first reprinted and rebranded the *Utopia*, and 1639, when he decided to put out his second edition of *Utopia*. England was facing increasing poverty, loss in international trades, and out-of-control population growths.<sup>97</sup> The growing conflicts between Parliament and Charles I brought on popular dissatisfaction and domestic unrest, while the Bishops' War of 1639 ominously foretold an imminent Civil War. If the controversial figure of Thomas More sometimes clouded *Utopia's* the true message, Alsop's rebranding in 1624 allowed the author's history to fade away from the book's new packaging. By his second edition, new social conflicts encouraged Alsop to bring to the foreground the political connotations of the work.

By re-focusing the new edition on its central narrative, and not so much on patronage or authorship, Alsop was able to remind English readers that the story (or identity myth) told by *Utopia* provides a space to rehearse their political and social anxieties. The island of Utopia, after all, held a government that on the surface appeared to work perfectly, but that hid under its "ideal commonwealth" a harsh control of its citizens, closed borders, and non-existent property laws. Evidence of the print agent's constant negotiation of his brand, Alsop's 1639 edition once more changes the title to highlight the island's political

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brand entered the popular imagination as a signifier for political critique, satire, and irony —especially as it applied to Cromwell's commonwealth.

<sup>96</sup> This kind of abstract product marketing is a technique still used by modern marketing theorists and ad men. The theory dictates that in order to enter a recognizable niche, new products must highlight the abstract qualities that make up that group (i.e. a fabric detergent must remove stains, clean, and be gentle on fabric; a literary printed book must have a dedication and a renown author). The problem with this approach, according to Holt, is that it makes it hard to distinguish among products, failing to create personal connections with the consumer. In the case of *Utopia*, as I will demonstrate below, the word "utopia" becomes a generic brand, of sorts, that bears only a distant relation (and must less popularity or brand loyalty) to More's original work.

<sup>97</sup> See Jack Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (1993); Peter Lawson, "Property Crime and Hard Times in England 1559-1624" in *Law and History Review* 4; and Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Trade 1550-1653* (2003).

organization, calling it *The Commonwealth of Utopia* (fig. 10). Although he addresses the same patron, Alsop's new dedication to Cresacre More is much more subdued and appears less invested in reinforcing the text's aristocratic values. This edition is trimmed of its paratext as well, omitting More's letter to Giles and all the poems that close the work after Book II. Alsop likely felt that a more politically-focused *Utopia* would better cater to his reader's interests, and thus reworked the edition to step away from the text's more ironic and playful aspects and focus instead on its political relevance.

Holt argues that the most iconic brands help its consumers imagine resolutions for the anxieties brought on by "tensions between ideology and individual experience" (57), that is, tensions between what the national, English ideal is meant to represent (lawfulness, monarchy, economic superiority) and what the citizens are experiencing (injustice, poverty, an overbearing government). *Utopia*, even as it fails to resolve any of these conflicts, provides room for conversation, criticism, and hope for reform.<sup>98</sup> By removing the additional paratext and changing the title once more, Alsop shifts *Utopia*'s themes to attend to the interests of his market. The new title signals a different the marketing approach that helps potential readers recognize the political capital of Alsop's new edition.

The last English edition published in the seventeenth century was a new translation by Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, titled simply *UTOPIA: Written in Latin by Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of England* (1684) and printed by Richard Chiswell (fig. 11). Though not much is known of Chiswell, accounts from his own time classify him as a well-respected bookseller, whose "name at the bottom of a title page does sufficiently recommend the book" (John Dunton qt. in Bentley 610). Gilbert Burnet had made a name for himself with his

<sup>98</sup> By suggesting that the island of Utopia represents the ideal commonwealth, the title indicates that the conflicts presented in Book I will be resolved in Book II. However, the organization and behavior of the Utopians proves to be less than ideal. For a discussion of the ways that More sets up this failure both rhetorically and thematically, see Arthur F. Kinney, "Encomium Sapientiae: Thomas More and Utopia," in *Humanist Poetics: Thought, Rhetoric, and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century England* (1986).



*History of the English Reformation* (1679). His influence in Scottish, ecclesiastical issues and his ups and downs with the English monarchy had made him a well-known author and orator in England.<sup>99</sup> At the time of *Utopia*'s publication, Burnet was already a popular (if not always admired) author of religious works and historical tracts, which may explain why Richard Chiswell decided to take on publishing a new translation despite the long-standing success of Robinson's translation.

Having lost favor with the king and lost his posts as preacher in 1683, Burnet might have felt a certain kinship with More, identifying with More's own complicated political history and misfortunes. Whether or not that was the case, Burnet does not offer many of his personal reasons for translating *Utopia* (which he published anonymously) other than claiming that Robinson's translation was inadequate: "I was once apt to think it might have been done by More himself ... so the translator has taken a liberty that seems too great for any but the Author himself" (A3). In his preface to the reader, Burnet describes himself (not unlike Robinson) as a historical literary insider, familiar with the changing trends in the English language and its literature, which, he intimates, makes him ideal for the role of translator of *Utopia*. Complaining about how convoluted and overly complicated the English language used to be in More's time, Burnet claims that new audiences need a version of *Utopia* that is more in tune with their own modernized vernacular.

This drive toward modernization is also noticeable in the text's visual arrangement. Unlike Alsop, Chiswell does not adorn his title-page, and he does not seem preoccupied with More's literary capital. The straight-forward title is framed in simple, black lines and states that the text "translated into English." Similarly, unlike Robinson's and Alsop's dedications, which have elaborate openings and a specific choice of dedicatee, Chiswell labels Burnet's

<sup>99</sup> For the complete history of Burnet's literary and religious career see *Bishop Burnet's History of his own time* (1724); M. Greig, "Gilbert Burnet and the problem of nonconformity in Restoration Scotland and England," in *Canadian Journal of History* 32.1 (1997); and G. Holmes, *Politics, religion and society in England, 1679–1742* (1986).

letter to the reader simply “the preface.” More’s epistle to Giles is similarly simplified as “the author’s epistle to Peter Giles” instead of “Thomas More to Peter Giles sendeth greeting.” It is possible that this choice responds to new trends in setting and printing books; certainly one can imagine that Chiswell did not feel like much embellishment was necessary to sell an already popular book.

Aside from More’s epistle to Giles, the translation contains none of the original paratexts, and it is clear from the conclusion of his preface that Burnet’s interest in *Utopia* rests in its invitation to political criticism and not in its faux-fiction qualities. Burnet praises More’s daring choice to openly criticize his monarch, amazed that

he ventured to write so freely of the Father in the Son’s reign, and to give such an idea of government under the haughtiest prince, and the most impatient of uneasy restraints that ever reigned in England, who was yet so far from being displeased with him for it, that as he made him long his particular friend, so he employed him in all his affairs afterwards, and raised him to be L. Chancellor, I thought I might venture to put it in more modern English... (ns)

Conveniently neglecting More’s tragic fate after Henry VIII no longer wanted him as “his particular friend,” Burnet uses his praise of More as a way to contemplate his own political situation. He hopes, perhaps, that his loss of favor is temporary, and that he will (as indeed he did) find his way back at the king’s side despite any criticism he may have offered to the government or to his religious superiors in the past. Of course, this personal connection is lost for the book buyer, who did not (at least not immediately) know the author of this translation, or his personal conflicts. As it stands, then, Burnet’s comment highlights *Utopia*’s political capital, showing an author unafraid of criticizing his government and who was supposedly rewarded for his courage.

As the author function of the *Utopia* brand, More becomes an English model worthy of respect and emulation. The literary figure “Thomas More” gathers accolades across editions, which help reinforce his political (and cultural) ties to England and erase the less

attractive parts of his history: More is first described as a knight; lord chancellor of England; sheriff; citizen of London; later he is “right worthy and honorable” and “worthy of all fame,” becoming as much a brand commodity as the text itself. Chiswell’s decision to name it *Utopia* without any further title clarification demonstrates that the brand was, by then, fully established and recognized by readers.

*Utopia* became an iconic brand by combining unique production conditions, a polarizing author, and an ideal world full of contradictions and conflicts. Taking on anxieties about More as historical and political figure; the expansion of the new world; and English politics, the print agents responsible for More’s *Utopia* created a unique identity myth that could be easily recognizable and yet could easily lend itself to new interpretations. A thorough look at the history of *Utopia*’s English editions can demonstrate this brand-making process. Vele and Robinson at first attempted to legitimize the work while still making it appeal to a middle-class public; Alsop repackaged More and his text as English, literary landmarks; finally, Chiswell’s simple reproduction of the popular text shows that the brand became a guaranteed sell. In the next section, I will discuss how this popular name became such a marketable reference that it began to appear in a variety of cheap-print pamphlets. By the end of the seventeenth century, the word “utopia” could be used to label anything that referred to a remote location, an ideal society, or a political complaint.

**Generic Cultural Branding** This section considers works outside of traditional versions of *Utopia*, discussing instead pamphlets that banked on its popularity to sell more copies. The print agents responsible for these pamphlets used the word “utopia” as an advertising strategy and eventually helped solidify More’s work as a cultural icon. If we are to fully understand the staying power of utopia as a name-brand, we must broaden our definitions of the kinds of popular texts *Utopia* eventually influenced. In the first half of this chapter I discussed how

print agents and readers of the *Utopia* contributed to branding the text as an iconic brand. In this second half, I move to what I am calling “brand generics”— publications take advantage of a popular name or reference to attract readers already familiar with the original work. In the case of the Utopia brand, this includes pamphlets that had little or no larger literary aspirations, but that instead hoped to participate in ongoing social and political debates, using the reference to *Utopia* (both the island and the work) as a general marker for satire and political criticism.

While Gary Saul Morson acknowledges the impact of pamphlets and tracts in the genre history of utopias, he argues that a distinction must be made between ideology and fiction, since the latter does not need to provide supporting evidence or historical groundwork for its claims. His distinction relies on the understanding that political pamphlets cannot also be fictional works, and that the spreading of social doctrines does not belong in the same genre category as other utopias. Nonetheless, he admits that “nonliterary (tractarian) utopias have been important in establishing the conventions according to which utopian literary works have been interpreted, and so have helped constitute the generic tradition” (78). This distinction between fiction and nonfiction, however, is blurred in the case of ephemeral pamphlets, which were produced to address specific historical moments and yet often did so under the guise of a fantastical story. The pamphlets discussed below take on pre-established reading protocols from *Utopia*, building on readers’ previous knowledge to construct new stories. In doing so, they manage to extract *Utopia*’s most abstract markers and apply them generically to vague (often ironic) concepts of justice, religion, and lawfulness. This generic type of marketing approach, which relies on the “reduction of the brand to a handful of abstract concepts” (Holt 20) is meant to attract feeders: book-buyers who are looking for protocols to guide them toward buying books that can increase their social capital. Even if

they have no direct link with More's original work, these generics help connect readers with the growing genre and further the English identity myth created by its previous print agents.

Although I will reference and discuss a variety of texts, the best case-study, and the core of my discussion, is the anonymous *The King of Utopia his letter to the Citizens of Cosmopolis, the Metropolitan City of Utopia* (1647), a text that features the most direct and creative uses of the utopian brand. *The King of Utopia* marks the first appearance of any work I have traced thus far that markets a "Utopia generic:" it takes up the brand created by the print agents who printed More's *Utopia* and uses it to advertise a different text. Arguably, one of the features that distinguish More's work from other fictional ideal worlds (and thus makes it a cultural icon) is its political relevance. The narrative depends on the constant production and denial of expectations: More is the voice of the preface, but he is not the Morus that becomes the narrator; Giles and his fellow humanist collaborators testify to the fictional island's existence only to make it absurdly unreal; Morus describes the ideal commonwealth only to reject it at the end, and so on. This assertion and denial process forces the reader to question not just where or what *Utopia* is, but what is "ideal" (and whether that ideal is even desirable). This quality separates More's narrative from other contemporary English works that represent more straightforward ideologies or imaginary voyages. It is precisely this characteristic that helps market these brand generics and gives print agents, writers, and readers a place to confront the political instabilities of the Civil War.

*The King of Utopia* uses the word "utopia" both in the paratext and as part of the story, introducing a fictionalized political argument (and thus imitating the utopian genre) without any interest in recreating More's narrative or furthering the fiction of the island of Utopia. The fact that the first reference to *Utopia* as a form of branding does not appear before the mid-sixteenth century supports my argument that Bernard Alsop's 1624 edition was the one most responsible for officially branding the work with its single, most

recognizable marker. The name “utopia,” at first a direct reference to the island of Utopia, becomes a generic reference that could be used to market and describe texts that tackled political ideology by creating fictional worlds. That this text is written after the beginning of the Civil War is also an important marker, since the island Utopia will serve as an imaginary location for resolutions on both sides.<sup>100</sup>

*The King of Utopia*'s anonymous author and fictional translator claims to have found two letters, both written originally in the Utopian tongue: in the first, the King justifies to his citizens his absence from Cosmopolis and reveals the situations (and individuals) that have kept him from returning to the city. In the Citizens' response, the citizens urge their king to return, promising him a loyal and supportive people await him in Cosmopolis. In the pamphlet's sub-title (fig. 12), the print agent links together England and Utopia with a sarcastic explanation as to why the translation is in “broken English”: “why Broken English? O Sir! What here's spoken, imports that England is by the English broken.”<sup>101</sup>

The majority of the pamphlet is overtaken by obscure references and metaphors. The King never directly explains who or what has “so puzzled my pentarquie” (A1) or what events could actually bring him back to the throne. The King's mention of his pentarquy should clue in the reader that this is an “every king,” meant to be a universal figure that applies to any and all Christian kingdoms. Further, the King asserts his own fictional quality and his particularly English identity, citing a maxim of state “observed ever since that beautifull English *Moore* made *Utopia* a Monarchy” (A1v). Utopia here is both a fictional

<sup>100</sup> Although the Manuel and Manuel and Robert Appelbaum have argued that Utopias were mostly used by Parliamentarians hoping to defend the idea of a commonwealth, most of the pamphlets I found and discuss here focus on the royalist appeal of the work and More's own reservations against the idea that a republic could actually work.

<sup>101</sup> This remark seems to work as both a political and a rhetorical criticism. Language has been a part of the history of the English *Utopia* since its first edition. For example, Ralph Robinson insists in his dedication that his English is not good enough to capture the quality of More's writing. By 1684, Bishop Burnet is still preoccupied with the way the text works *in English for* the English reader. Here, of course, the faux-translator finds that England itself is broken by its actions against the monarch. It is interesting to note, further, the direct correlation: a broken political state leads to a break in language and communication.

and a real place — it is real to its characters, the king and his citizens, but even they are self-aware about the fictional reality they inhabit. The generic branding-reference to More functions to indicate that Utopia is not simply an ideal “no place;” instead, it is an in-between space where the reader can resolve his anxieties about the return of monarchy. The contradictions inherent to the Utopia brand make it the perfect reference for this pamphlet, where the anonymous author/translator can place Utopia with multiple realities: present-time England, with its displaced king; past England under a righteous monarchy; both within a text that exists while and after More creates it.<sup>102</sup>

The King’s letter urges his citizens to hope for his return, but also to understand the extreme strain under which he finds himself both physically and mentally: “I am retarded, anticipated and restrain’d from my intentions... my thoughts are as Civil War within my breast, like evil members in a good commonwealth” (f.2). The absent monarch becomes the land itself under a domestic conflict that he cannot resolve without his citizens. Reality and fiction coexist in this generic Utopia: the author, masked as translator, uses a fictional location to give voice to English conflicts. In this imagined scenario, the nostalgic reader can share with the King a longing for his return, and read his feelings reproduced in the citizens’ letter. Of course, part of *Utopia*’s identity myth is that it challenges a straight reading. Its contradictions force the reader to question the government being portrayed and to look for a solution to the problem of interpreting the text. The author of *The King of Utopia* attempts a similar double-move, obscuring the King’s true meaning behind metaphors and a faux-

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<sup>102</sup> The representation of time in Utopia is still a point of contention among scholars. Harry Berger observes that time and physical space serve the fiction, so that “in the garden of More’s temporary lodgings—the dimension of space subserves the movement of words and the play of minds which shape and reshape themselves in time” (35). Berger, however, sees a static space in the “green world” of Book 2 that is separate from the reality of Book 1. Marina Leslie challenges this separation by suggesting that *Utopia* “belongs not to the world of ‘might have been’ or ‘could be,’ so much as to the excesses of the historic present and the pressing humanist problem of what to be done *now* with the lessons of history” (55). For other interpretations of past and present in *Utopia*, see Elizabeth McKutcheon, “Time in More’s Utopia,” in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensis* (1980); Quentin Skinner, “More’s Utopia,” in *Past and Present* 38; and Louis Marin, “Frontiers of Utopia: Past and Present,” in *Critical Inquiry* 19.3 (1993).

translator's deliberately poor interpretations. The two letters appear to be intentionally convoluted, often absurd and overly symbolic, making it almost impossible to extract anything beyond the fact that the King wants back in and that the citizens are ready to receive him.<sup>103</sup>

The citizens' answer reinforces this circular language by expressing their loss in a series of paradoxes:

we mourne without sorrow, starve with satiety, weep and laugh, move yet sit still, fast and feast...be not then (as our most pious physitian) negligent, but speedily yield thy royall remedy to our unstable (and infirme) condition... regulate our libertie, and captivate our senses in the service of thy vertues: let the memory of our learned Licurgus, that unparalel'd mirror of his time, the glory of his nation, make us more Lovers of Moor for this institute of our Utopian commonwealth... briefly he in our monarchy drew the picture of al happy governments, and our ingrateful hands have disfigured the figure... (f. 5-6)

The repetitive references to More and his work insist on reminding the reader that More's island in *Utopia* was an ideal monarchy and not a commonwealth: the citizens long for a return to its original "picture of al happy governments." *The King of Utopia* works precisely because it is so vague; by hindering a straight interpretation, the paradoxes force the reader to add his own personal experience in order to create any meaning. The brand Utopia is only a promise of resolution, a hope for addressing anxieties; it does not need to offer an actual fix. As Richard Halpern observes, the function of the genre is to create tension: "the island itself is constructed as the representation of desires it cannot locate and of which it cannot take account" (149). This in turn leads the reader to challenge dangerous, revolutionary desires. As such, "Utopian negation is not ... always neutralizing [but] can function as a barrier or a dam" that contains potentially disruptive impulses (ibid).

Although *the King of Utopia* pretends to discuss political ideals in a fictional context, it concludes by forcing the reader back into reality. The text switches from paradoxical

<sup>103</sup> The author hints at the intentionally bad language by admitting to the "broken English" of the translation. As I discuss below, he comes back to this problem in "The Postscript from the Translator to the Reader."



metaphors to sharp irony as the reader transitions from the fictional world of Utopia back to the real author of the text. The “Postscript from the Translator to the Reader” offers a sarcastic apology for the bad translation, claiming the translator “is not wel vers’d in the Utopian tongue” but is nonetheless supposed to be the best reader of Utopian in England (f.5). However, since “these letters being of such consequence, [they are] well worthy to be read by English-men” (ibid.). Once more, the issue of language and communication is a key element for the genre, as gives the narrative a national English identity. Taking the fictional reality even further, the translator suggests that Utopia has now been colonized by the reader and the translator, as it “learn’d to speake English (by an English quill).” The pamphlet never claims to offer an answer to the reader’s frustrations, focusing instead on highlighting the ways that England is “broken” in a way only England’s king and its citizens can fix. Because the reader is invited to identify with the citizens in the letter, he is encouraged to act like them and demand real change.

Manuel and Manuel argue that the Utopian thought became popular during the Civil War because writers could use it to demand action from others: “Utopians, often people without political weight or authority, cling to the hope that men of great power will put into practice and make real the ‘idea’ that they, the superior creators, have invented” (332). This notion applies to the generic brand as well. The Utopia in *The King of Utopia* serves as a point of reference for “symbolic resolutions” (Holt 58). This is one of the important ways in which, according to Holt, a brand can be recognized as a cultural icon: it serves to tell a story that gives voice to, and thus helps placate, social anxiety. The author of this pamphlet makes use of More’s identity myth of irony, paradox, and political reform to expose the incoherencies caused by the Civil War.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Boesky observes that “by the 1640s in England the term *utopia* was increasingly associated with real-life reform” (84). Her analysis focuses on Utopian texts that meant to produce ideal societies that should be mimicked in real life. Although these kinds of Utopias show “a clear shift from monarch to the republic as a

The author follows More's model by supporting his narrative with his own satirical paratext.<sup>105</sup> A false errata list, which "the translator and printers amends [sic] for mistaking," offers made-up page numbers and critical corrections for controversial terms:

page 103. Line 50. For a good thing read *a true subject*. Page 883. Line 75. For Tyranny, read *Taxations*. Page 68. Line 15 for Burglary read *Plunder*, Page 94. Line 101. For Common-wealth read *Committee*. Page 115 for Service read *Sacriledge*. Page 40. line 100. For Bishop read *Presbyter*. Page 56 line 80 for Pulpit read *Tub*. Page 37. Line 64 for Preaching read *Prating* (f.5v)

These errata allow the text to speak more explicitly about the print agent's complaints against Parliament by singling out specific groups ("committees" like the Committee of Examinations, and "Presbyterians," who sought to overthrow the Episcopalian bishops and, with them, the king) and social abuses (like excessive "Taxations" and the "Plundering" of lands from those who did not support Parliament). While the language of the fictional letters is cloudy and twisted with metaphors, the printer and the author/translator (who might well be the same person) stand out as the true, real authors of the text.

By calling attention to the errata, the print agents grant textual production a central role: the peripheral details (the colophon, note from the translator, errata lists) in fact contain the true message. Further, by virtue of being paratextual, these additions can escape the fictional world and speak directly to the reader. Despite the satirical tone, the pamphlet delivers its message is on the title-page ("England is by th' English broken") and in the closing errata. Citing a number of texts that use errata lists and admissions of errors as symbolic metaphors for the reading process, Michael Saenger points out that the idea of error

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model utopian government" (90), the pamphlets making use of the utopia brand name nearly all focus on the preservation of monarchy and traditional values. For other analyses of Utopian texts written during the Civil War, see "Topsy-Turvy in the English Civil War," in *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (2009); Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (1975); Marie Louise Berneri, *Journey Through Utopia* (1950); and George Claeys, *Restoration and Augustan British Utopias* (2000).

<sup>105</sup> It is hard to know why the false paratexts, which only appear in the earlier versions of *Utopia* and become less frequent once the brand is established, would become a distinguishing feature for this generic version. The author could be more familiar with an edition the contained the paratext and felt compelled to add one to his text. In this case, the self-aware aspect of these additions helped expose the true message of the text.

“is usually used as a means of asking the reader to see beyond the printed page, and to search for the original that the page strives to represent” (205). Using the errata to contrast specific, political terms with their “corrections,” the print agents describe the Civil War and the Parliament as a poorly written text in dire need of correction. The press must call on its “true subjects,” the middle-class readers by the bookstalls, to correct and amend the country’s mistakes. The author enacts real-world reform through the notion textual reform, using the Utopia brand to emphasize the status of the text as political intervention.

Reinforcing the world-upside-down metaphor, the imprint claims the pamphlet was first printed in Cosmopolis in “the year 7461” and then “reprinted at London an. Dom. 1647.” Utopia is not then just a literary reference to More’s description of the ideal government, but the memory of a time when England could still count on a king and his citizens to keep their land and their religion intact. The iconic brand becomes attached to a new story, a new government, and new and pressing anxieties. As a brand generic, *The King of Utopia* utilizes the iconic name to attract potential readers and create an immediate thematic connection (or protocol) for understanding the author’s political criticism.

Although other authors are much less explicit about making use of their generic Utopia brand, it is possible to see a growing trend among texts: locating in the Utopia the place not for the ideal government, but for idealized, fair trials. The political critique becomes more specific, tackling issues of religious persecution and social injustice. In *The examination of Tilenus before the Triers; in order to his intended settlement in the office of a publick preacher in the commonwealth of Utopia* (1658), for instance, Bishop Laurence Womock takes on the pseudonym Tilenus to narrate a fictional dialogue. Tilenus he gets questioned by Triers (all with names such as Dr. Absolute and Dr. Dam-Man) for a preaching position in Utopia. Womock’s pamphlet aims to criticize a commission of Triers created during the commonwealth to examine whether appointed preachers were following

sanctioned Calvinist doctrines.<sup>106</sup> By placing a specific, contemporary event within the island of Utopia and assigning caricatures to represent the Triers, Womock argues that the questioning process is absurd and nonsensical. Satire is already an embedded marker of the Utopian brand, so Womock can use the central narrative to present his arguments against the Triers and refute the Tenents of the Remonstrants through a traditional rhetorical dialogue. In other words, the mention of Utopia automatically brands the text, so that readers understand the absurdity and irony of the situation, allowing the rest of Womock's pamphlet to argue his ideological assertions with straight-forward rhetoric.

Branding a text with the word utopia creates the opportunity for authors to discuss controversial topics in a now-commonplace fictional safe space, while still questioning what is "ideal" (and therefore righteous) and investigating how to recuperate this ideal back into the real world. The brand could function as part of the narrative, as is the case of Womock's pamphlet, or it could serve as advertisement to attract more followers. In *A Letter Found in Utopia* (1675), for example, an anonymous author praises Peter Starry's *Discourse of the Freedom of the Will* ()and argues for religious acceptance. Although the work has no mention of Utopia or More in the narrative, the print agent clearly used the title to make the work attractive and draw in feeders interested in any work with the brand utopia on its title-page. Here, the brand name alone appears to be a sufficient marketing strategy.

Through and after the Civil War, authors continued to brand their works by using *Utopia* to create a new kind of identity myth. The use of the generic brand could serve to represent a "no place," or "any place," as in *Passes Granted, by the Free-born People of England to severall of the most eminent perjur'd rebels assembled in Junto at Webminster. Who are now desirous to transport themselves into New England, to Amsterdam, or Utopia* (1648), which cites parliamentary traitors and condemns them to exile. Similarly, *A Copie of*

<sup>106</sup> For a commentary on how this text participates in Calvinist Othodoxy debates, see Peter Thuesen, *Predestination: The American Career of a Contentious Doctrine* (2009), 75-80.

*the Quaeries, or, A Comment upon the Life, and Actions of the Great Tyrant and his Complices; OLIVER the first and last of that name, not unfit, not unworthy of thy perusal* (1659) advertises having been “printed in Utopia,” referencing other queries and petitions printed against Parliament.<sup>107</sup> The queries vary from more serious questions like “whether (like that of most weddings) the first joyfull day of this present Parliament, will not be the fore-runner of a great many years of sorrowes” (A2), to mocking ones like “whether Cromwell and Henry [the VIII] when they have compared their notes in the other world, will not be good company in hell together” (A3v). The print agent uses the label “printed in Utopia” to brand the petition as political criticism and remind readers of that real queries and petitions that should be made against the Commonwealth.

While the Utopia brand can represent stories of righteous judgment, its most important marker is that it allows citizens to have a voice, and participate actively in public debates. The authors of *The Loyal City of Bristol, vindicated from Amsterdammism, or Devil’s Borough* (1681, printed for J. Davies) argue at the start that their pamphlet has a clear social function, stating in the epistle to the reader that “the description was design’d only to turn the fanatick zeal here into ridicule” (A2). The only reference to *Utopia* appears at the heading of the text, “A Letter from the Bishop of Utopia,” and seems to be a device for defending the city of Bristol as a just and law-abiding place. Bristol coffee houses were at the time considered “meeting places of factitious persons, and centers of false, scandalous news, libels and pamphlets” (Tapsell 109). The bishop’s letter denies reports that the city is harboring Presbyterians and supporting religious dissent. The author relates the persecution and apprehension of dissenters and guarantees that the city itself is still loyal to the king. Here, the brand name utopia is designed to attract the reader to purchase a politico-religious tract,

<sup>107</sup> Bernard Alsop was among many print agents who were accused of printing seditious pamphlets announcing fake news from Parliament and fake royalist petitions, most famously the Hertfordshire petition (1641), which caused him to be sent for by the House of Commons. He and his partners were later imprisoned in 1643 for printing *His Majesty’s Propositions to Sir John Hotham and the Inhabitants of Hell* (Plomer 4).

placing Utopia as the location for righteous monarchical support. Like Womack, the authors of this tract use the brand to avoid having to set up an intricate or misleading satire. Because the Utopia brand already represents the ironies and paradoxes of political structures, the author can deliver his message from under the protection of claiming to speak from Utopia, and not from or against England.

The final, and latest, example of seventeenth-century Utopia generics to be discussed here deals with this literary paradox by using the playfulness of the genre to address social flaws inherent to the middle-class marketplace. This text is worth a closer look because it uses a variety of strategies discussed above in order to create an elaborate new narrative. While it seems to draw the furthest away from More's original text, this pamphlet attempts to use the brand's political and social significance as the starting point for complaints against middle-class workers. Whether taken seriously or as a playful reflection on the English marketplace, John Dunton's reference to *Utopia* demonstrates that the brand continued to influence printed texts even before the appearance of Bishop Gilbert Burnet's translation in 1684. Thus, what at first glance appears to be a long, forty-five year gap between Alsop's second edition and Burnet's translation is merely a matter of perspective— *The King of Utopia* was published less than ten years after Alsop's second printing and, as I have demonstrated, Utopia as cultural brand remained alive in the print marketplace through political, social, and religious pamphlets (and even ballads) throughout the length of the seventeenth century.

John Dunton's *The Informer's Doom: or, an Amazing Seasonable Letter from Utopia, Directed at the Man in the Moon* (1683) narrates a mock-trial of English characters and tradesmen. Dunton uses references to two utopian texts to advertise his pamphlet: *Utopia* and Domingo Gonzalez's faux-narrative *The Man in the Moon*. Although the narrative is supposed to take place in the Utopian island, Dunton does not disguise the fact that his

characters are meant to represent English values: Conscience the Judge, Mr. Sincerity, and Mr. Protestant. The Utopian judge indicts a list of personages that Dunton believes to be “grand and bitter enemies that disturb and molest all kingdoms and states” (as stated in the title-page), including Pope Innocent XI, Justice Implacable, Mr. Violence, A Witch, and Sir John Fraud. Because this is Utopia, all the trials will automatically dispense rightful justice (as Dunton sees it). Similarly, all the characters can only earn their final punishment after hearing the testimony of good citizens, good Christians, and honorable tradesmen. However, the pamphlet’s accusations expose (perhaps unwittingly) a social paradox: the “cheats” attributed to each profession are the inevitable results of the capitalist system.<sup>108</sup> The problem of reading Dunton’s text is much like that of reading More’s *Utopia*: how seriously is the reader expected to take this? In pointing out largely irresolvable problems and an impossible solution to dishonest behaviors in the trading and selling of goods, Dunton (un)intentionally satirizes his own narrative: if one were to judge every act of dishonesty done in the city, there would be no one left to serve in the jury.

The most interesting section of the dialogue is the trial of Sir John Fraud, whose request for a jury demands the appearance and subsequent vetting of a variety of London workers. Sir Fraud is described as “an upstart, come out of Italy, begot of Pride ... a raiser of rents, and enemy to the kingdom, and hast insinuated thyself into all trades, estates, and professions” (f.81-2) and his judgment gives Dunton an excuse to complain about the dishonesty of London tradesmen, most of whom are not qualified to join the jury due to their own misdeeds. Most of the “cheats” result from workers attempting to improve their social standing or their financial profits. The tanner, for instance, is accused of unbecoming class

<sup>108</sup> Dunton was a wise capitalist himself, using popular stories or literary trends to boost his publishing career. Michael Mascuch calls him “the maven of (re)invention [who] catered to the public’s growing hunger from the start” (146). For analyses of how More’s *Utopia* participates in the contradictions between capitalism and socialism, see Richard Halpern “Rational Kernel, Mystical Shelf: Reification and Desire in Thomas More’s *Utopia*” in *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital* (1991); and Fredric Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (2005).

ambition (“hoping to make the proud Princox your son the upstart gentleman ...[and] marry your daughter at the least to an esquire, that she may, if possible, be a gentlewoman” f.110); the merchant is said to undercut the “poor gentlemen” who cannot resell products bought from the merchant at equal or higher prices; the weavers are accused of cheating “poor cuntry huswives” with poorly constructed knits (f.141) in order to sell more products. Amongst the few who make it past the judge are higher born men (a knight, a gentleman, and an esquire), a priest, as well as professions that Dunton considers to be non-speculative and therefore cannot lead to excessive profits or class leverage (the waterman, the grocer, a husbandman, and even a poet).

Not surprisingly, the printer and the bookseller also get the judge’s seal of approval, even though the printer scrapes by on a technicality, since “he cheats the bookseller sometimes in working on half an impression for himself, when the bookseller hath had his number he is to pay for; but because the printer only doth thus to those booksellers that he thinks will never pay him, he shall pass on the jury as an indifferent honest man” (f.125). The bookseller, on the other hand, is a utopian model “of a gentile profession,” with “a good report in Utopia” (f.152), who gets as quickly accepted as he is dismissed from the narrative. Dunton’s praise of the bookseller is surely meant to reflect back to his own character, but it is worth recalling that print is the only trade in the island Utopia that had been imported from the continent. Further, in vetting the printer and the bookseller as honest men, Dunton authorizes the two professionals as honorable citizens and the best sources for truthful, politically important news, therefore reinforcing printed books as one of the few marketplace commodities worth consumer’s trust.

Dunton’s generic Utopia gathers a few of the *Utopia*’s more abstract markers and turns them into exaggerated caricatures. Taking advantage of other sub-brands’ own reading of Utopia as a place for fair judgments, he portrays a court where everyone is punished and



every tradesman is a knave for having capitalist instincts. Although Gregory Claeys sees this kind of adaptation as showing a “concern to bound human desires and ambitions by institutional restraints aiming at regularity and orderliness rather than a desire for moral perfection” (xii), there is no question that *The Informers Doom* is evidence of the trickle-down effect of the Utopia brand, which by now has been dissociated from any specific political context and shows no attempts on the part of the print agents in challenging the reader to face real-life social conflicts. On the other hand, the absurdity of the text calls into question the social complaint genre. Without a certain degree of capitalist enterprise, no profession (especially not printers or booksellers) would be able to survive, nor would it be able to compete in an increasingly speculative society. Dunton, in particular, could not have lived by the model he describes in this pamphlet and still have managed to print over 200 books (Parks).

The Utopia brand makes its way across genres and markets, crossing from a humanist work with market-appeal, to a popular satirico-political fiction, to a canonic text with historical value, to an iconic, immediately recognizable brand. The brand’s versatility allows readers to confront issues of politics, religion, class, and ideology, accepting the fictional reality just long enough to see through their own anxieties and England’s complicated history. After the Civil War, the anxiety about a lost Utopia in the new world dissolves into more generic representations and timely concerns, appearing in the form of playful criticism (as in Dunton’s *Informers Doom*), or as half-hearted appeals for social reform (as in the late-seventeenth century ballad *The New Courtier*, 1678, where a young courtier “from the Utopian Court” celebrates his carefree lifestyle free from wars, religious pressures, and poverty).

The *Utopia*’s enduring influence on theories of genre, literature, and economy has made it a timeless text. As I have demonstrated, however, critics have yet to fully consider

how this work became a cultural icon as a result of print agents' marketing techniques. In their attempt to make the text relevant to English markets, print agents helped shape *Utopia* as a brand name that could be recognized and used to label a variety of new texts throughout the sixteenth century.

Marketing theorists have only recently started to understand the marketing value of More's *Utopia*. Benoit Heilbrunn's cultural branding analysis in "Brave new brands: Cultural branding between Utopia and A-topia," argues that contemporary marketing relies primarily on utopian ideals established by More's work. Describing More's creation of the island as a series of paradoxes, Heilbrunn compares the Utopian model to the double-move of advertising new products, which must fit in with pre-existing markets at the same time as they prove their individuality. Memorable brands present the consumer with ideal universes— or fictional realities— just within reach, managing a "conjunction of the very distant with the here and now" (115) that mimics *Utopia*'s multiple realities between a faraway island and its English counterpart. Amy Boesky's remarkable analysis of the physical and literary construction of *Utopia* demonstrates how the text's marketability makes it unique from other genres by relying on embedded contradictions to disrupt the reader's expectations. Boesky points out that the title itself works to promote these differences: "the word *new* in More's subtitle is placed in opposition to the word *best*, heralding the emergence of a new form" that is neither just a critique of government nor simply a description of a new world (46). Because "in Utopia the real and the fictional displace and destabilize each other" (ibid.), the island creates an in-between place where conflict and resolution, past and present meet in the reader's reception of the text.

Utopia comes to represent, for modern readers and consumers, something between the ideal and the possible; a viable way to discuss ideology and to think of "the possibility of a world upside down and at the same time to cast a shadow over the legitimacy of an upright

world” (104). It is impossible to know now if satire, political argument, or humanist criticism was More’s primary goal in creating his *Utopia*. If we are to judge by the moving parts of the first Latin editions, More and his circle of friends appreciated the text for its playful structure: add a letter, and you support the fantasy, remove a map and you highlight the invisible nowhere that is *Utopia*. Similarly, as *Utopia* moved across print agents, translators, and markets, the iconic brand emerged as “a magical device of transformation” (Heilbrunn 113) in which repetition, familiarity and disconnect helped shape a recognizable commodity. The narrative and the framing of *Utopia* work together to shape the text as a marketable, cultural product, teaching the reader to identify features that make it at once unique and yet reproducible.

As I have argued in this chapter, understanding the printing history of More’s *Utopia* as part of a cultural branding development allows us to consider the ways in which More’s narrative (and More himself) became such a cultural icon in England. Print agents read and interpreted the work to make it appeal to their unique markets and to respond to timely historical contexts. However, while doing that, each agent helped define recognizable aspects of the text that could be repeated, copied, and reproduced in generic form. Considering *Utopia* as an iconic brand, one which survives precisely for its ability to tell different stories and create new identity myths following historical changes, offers readers and scholars of More a new way to understand the multiplicity of narratives that refuse to fit in a single book. While it is not likely that the average reader encountered or even read more than one or two versions of the text (possibly most readers may not have ever read it), my analysis of brand generics proves that the *Utopia* was a culturally pervasive text across social and class distinctions. The variety of pamphlets and tracts making use of the word *Utopia* to brand their product is evidence of this text’s unusual history, filling in the gaps between each edition of More’s text and the bigger picture of *Utopia* in the English imagination.

**TABLE 2: EDITIONS OF UTOPIA AND ITS GENERICS**

Year of Publication	Short Title	Publisher	Printer
1516			
1553	<i>A frutefull, and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Vtopia</i>	Abraham Vele	S. Mierdman
1556	<i>A frutefull pleasaunt, [and] wittie worke, of the beste state of a publique weale, and of the newe yle, called Vtopia</i>	Abraham Vele	Richard Tottel
1597	<i>A most pleasant, fruitfull, and vvittie vvorke, of the best state of a publique weale, and of the new yle called Vtopia</i>		Thomas Creede
1624	<i>Sir Thomas Moore's Vtopia containing, an excellent, learned, wittie, and pleasant discourse of the best state of a publike weale, as it is found in the gouernment of the new ile called Vtopia</i>		Bernard Alsop
1624	<i>The common-vvealth of Vtopia containing a learned and pleasant discourse of the best state of a publike weale</i>		Bernard Alsop
1684	<i>Utopia written in Latin by Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of England ;</i>	Richard Chiswell	

	<i>translated into English</i>		
1647	<i>The king of Vtopia his letter to the citizens of Cosmopolis, the metropolitan city of Vtopia</i>	Anon.	Anon.
1648	<i>Passes granted, by the free-born people of England.</i>	Anon.	Anon.
1657	<i>The examination of Tilenus before the triers</i>	R. Royston	
1675	<i>A Letter Found in Utopia</i>		<i>By one that pities th'inscription upon th'Athenian altar</i>
1683	<i>The informer's doom</i>	John Dunton	

## CHAPTER 2 FIGURES

**A fruteful/**

**and pleasaunt worke of the  
beste state of a publpque weale, and  
of the newe ple called Utopia: witten  
in Latine by Spz Thomas More  
knyght, and translated into Englyshe  
by Raphe Robynson CITIZEIN and  
Woldsmythe of London, at the  
procurement, and earnest re-  
quest of George Tadlowe  
CITIZEIN & Haberdassher  
of the same Citie.**

(. .)

**Printed at London**

**by Abraham Vele, dwelling in Pauls  
churchparke at the sygne of  
the Lambe. Anno.**

**1551.**



Figure 6. A Fruteful and Pleasaunt worke of the best state of a public weal, and of the new yle called Utopia, 1551.

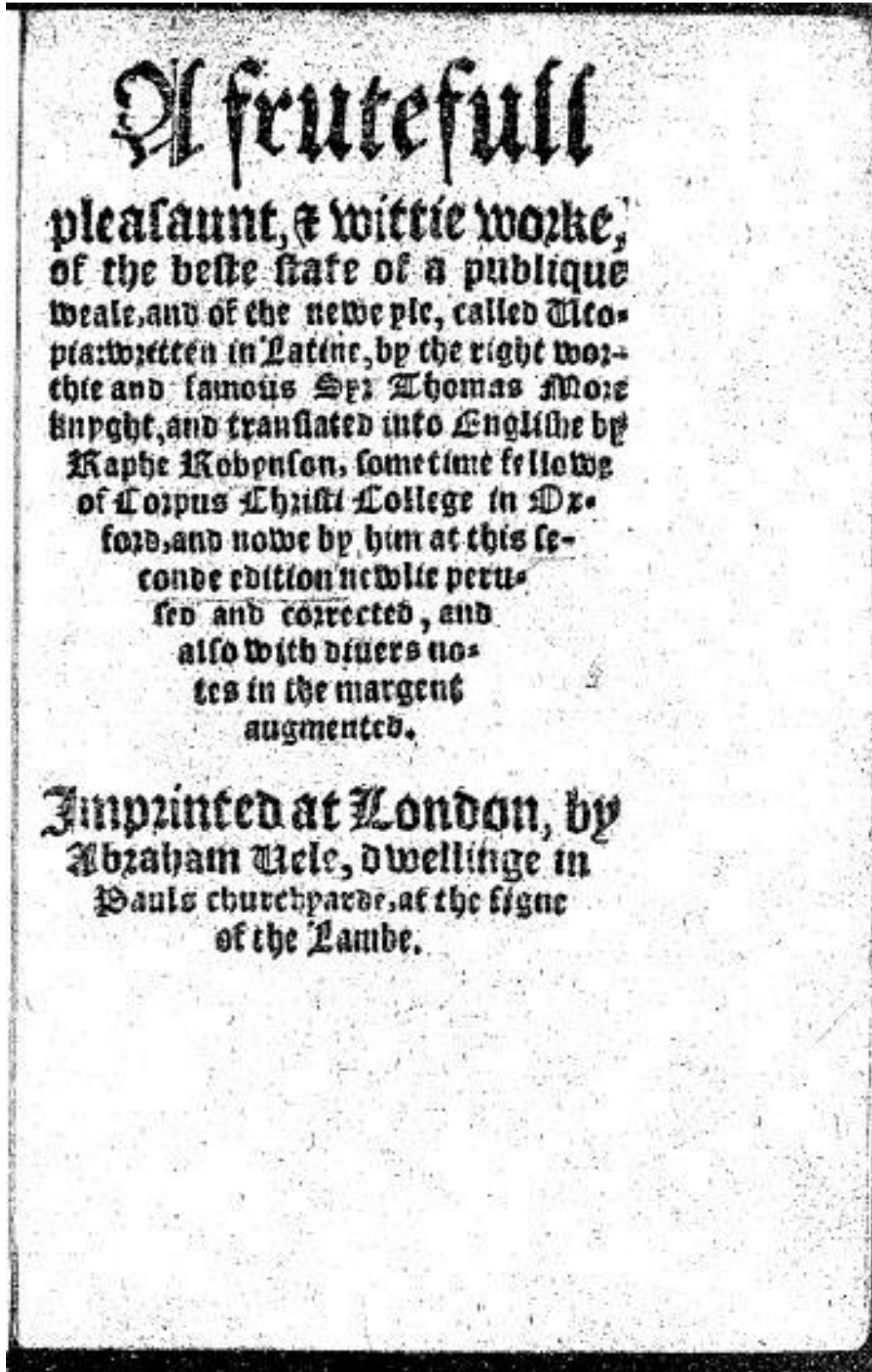


Figure 7.. A Fruitful, Pleasaunt, and Witte Worke, 1556.

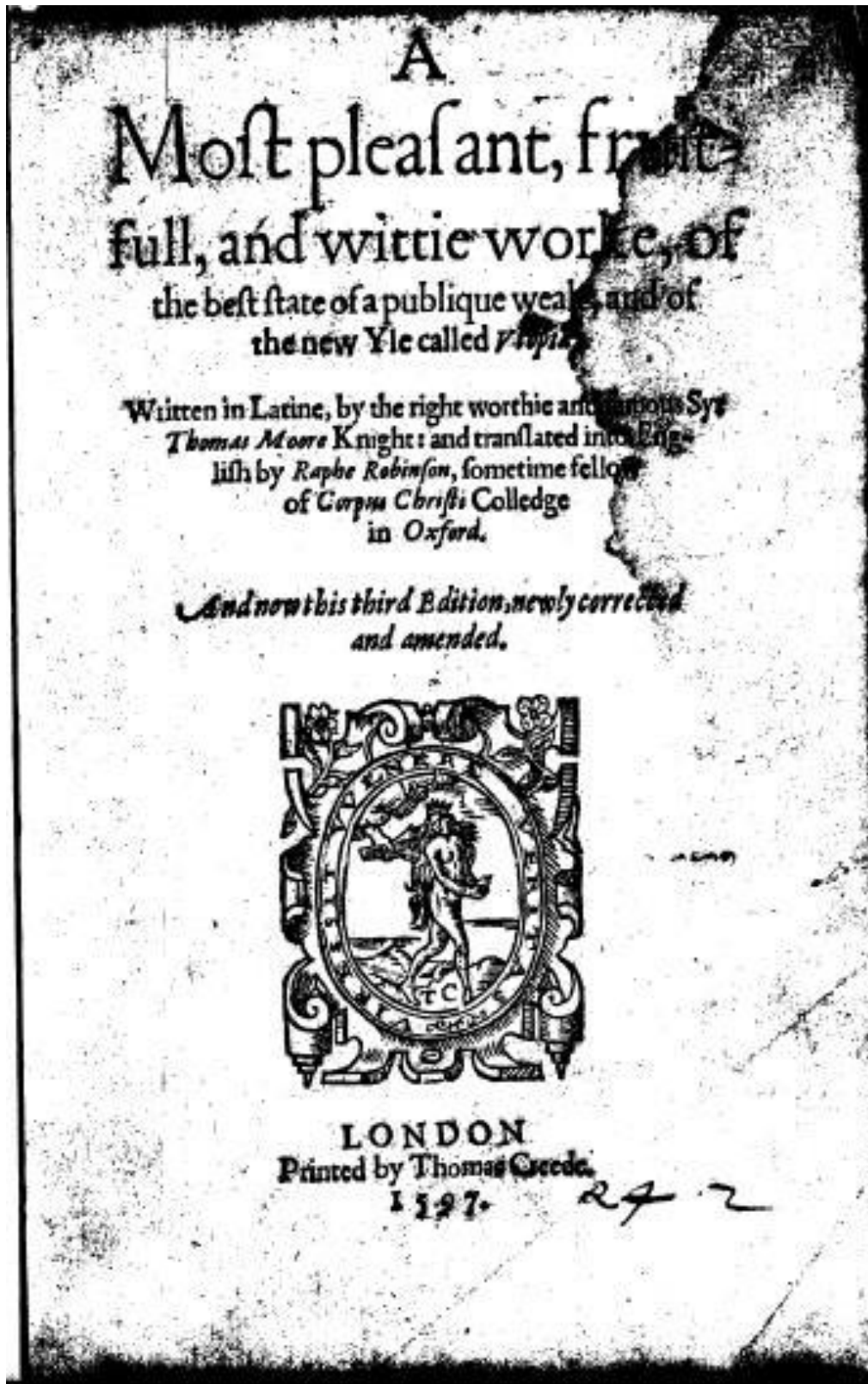


Figure 8. A Most Pleasant, Fruitful, and Wittie Worke, 1597.



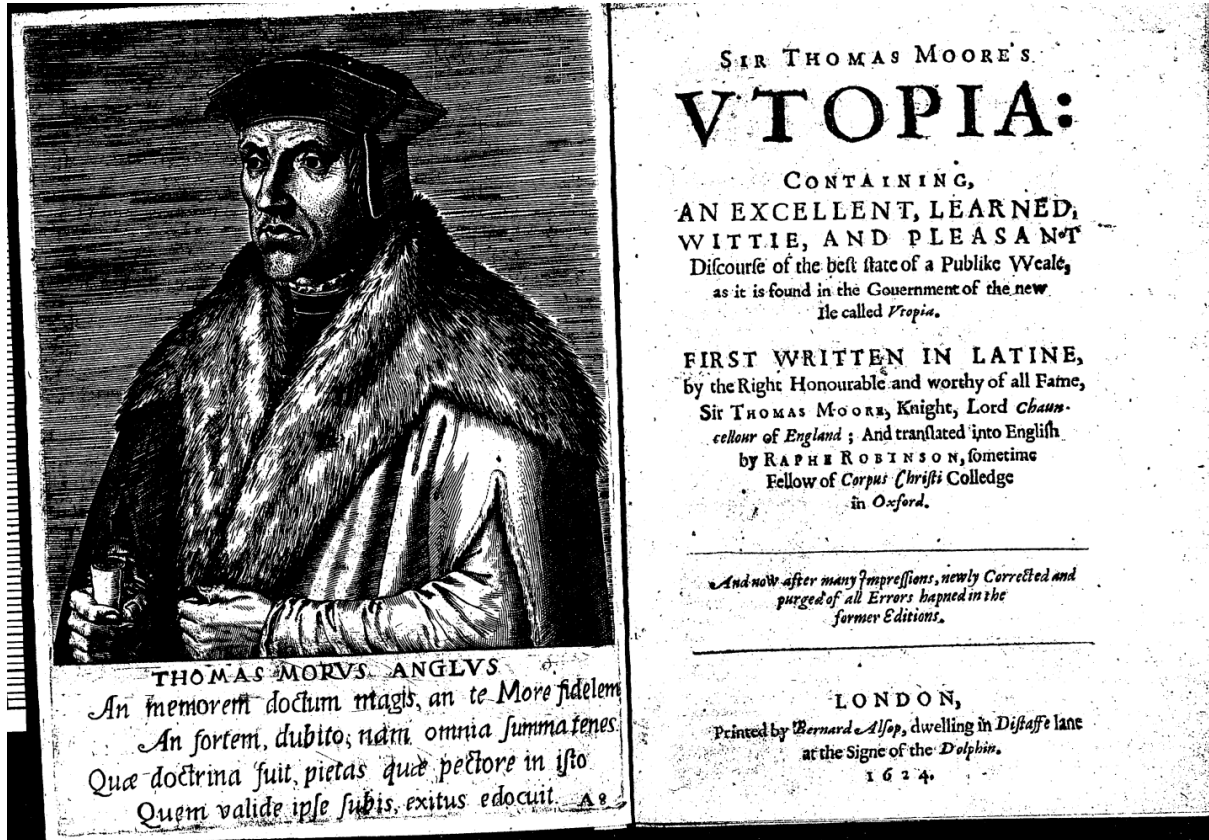


Figure 9. Sir Thomas Moore's Utopia, 1624.

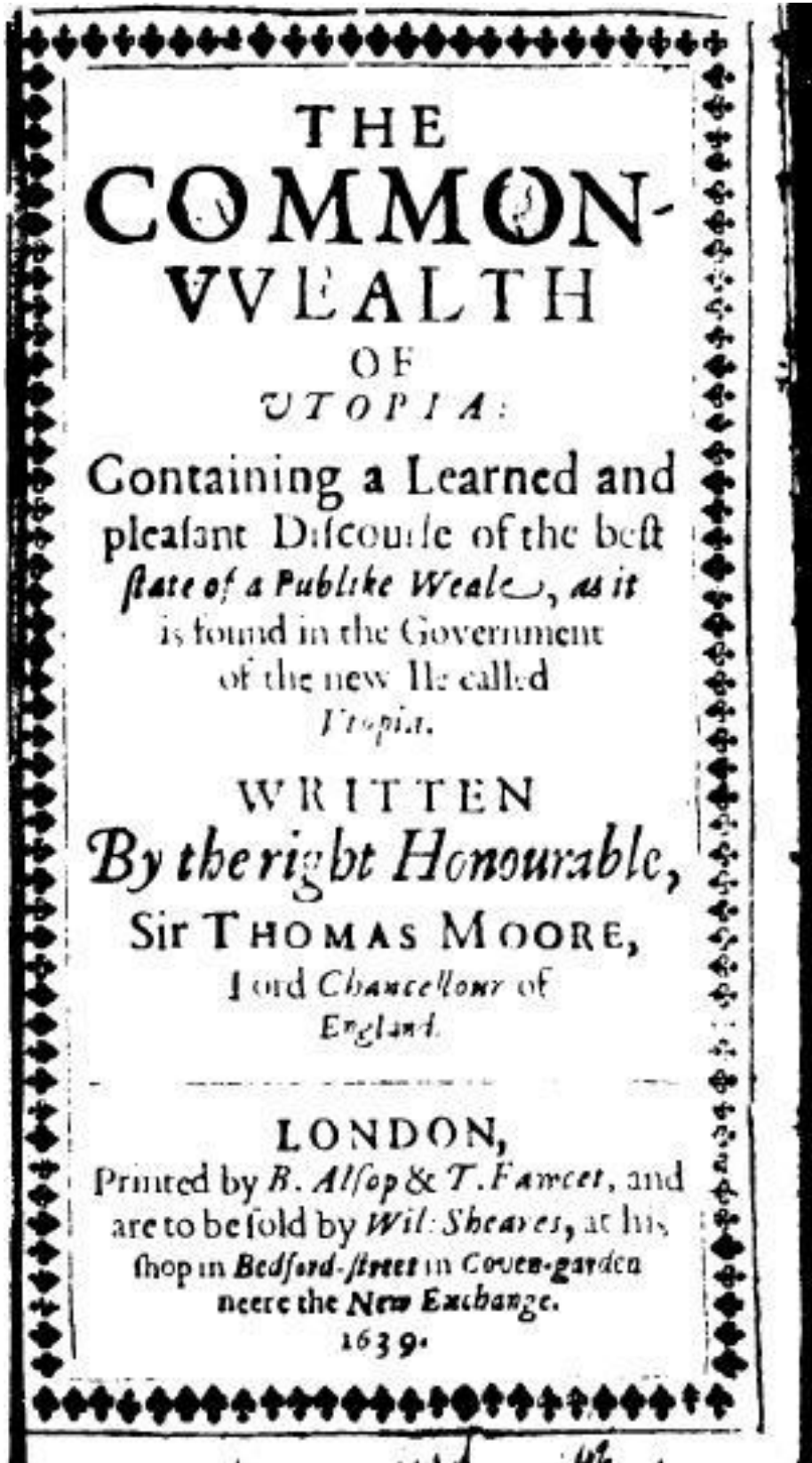


Figure 10. The Commonwealth of Utopia, 1639.

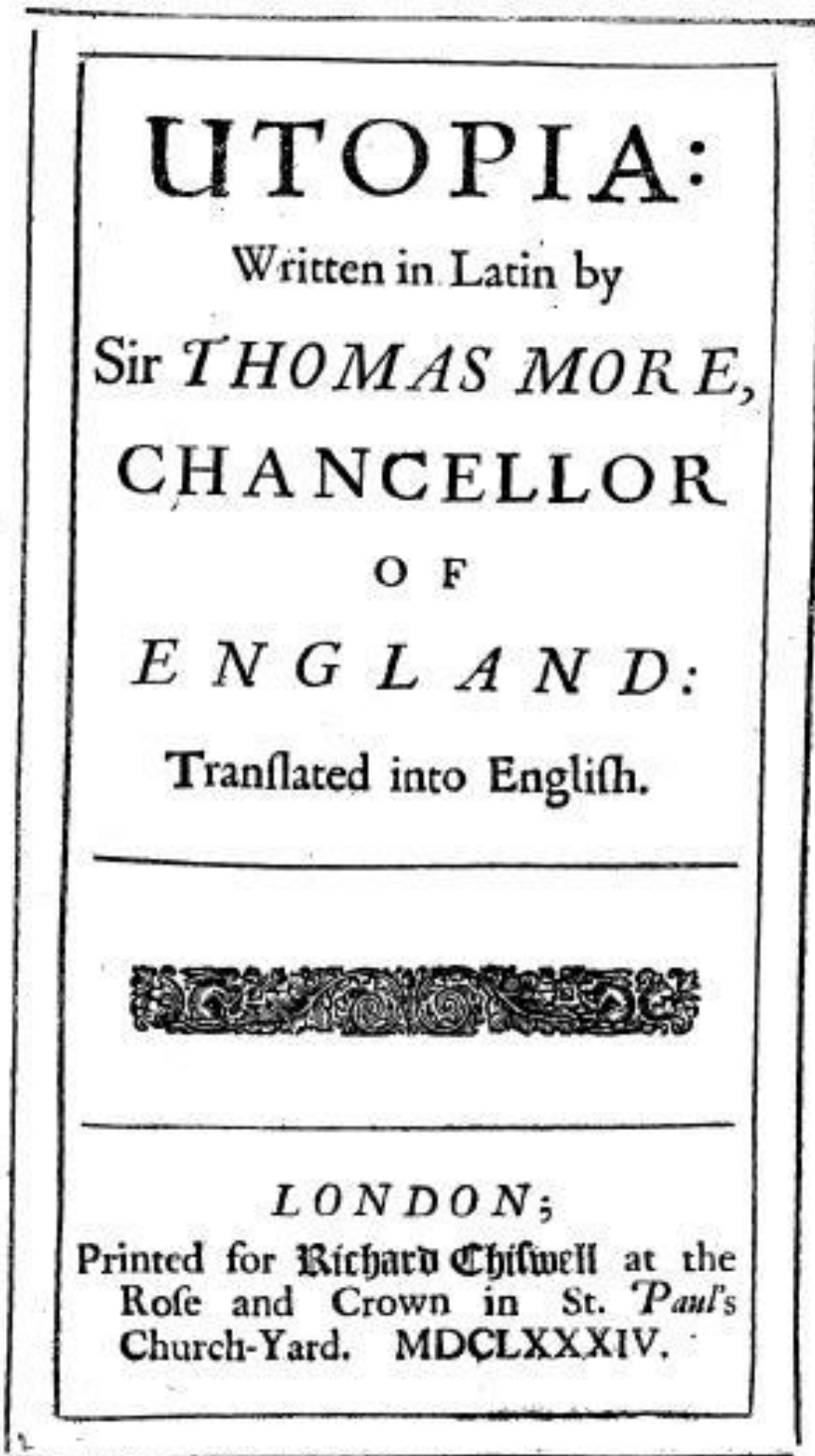


Figure 11. Utopia, 1694.

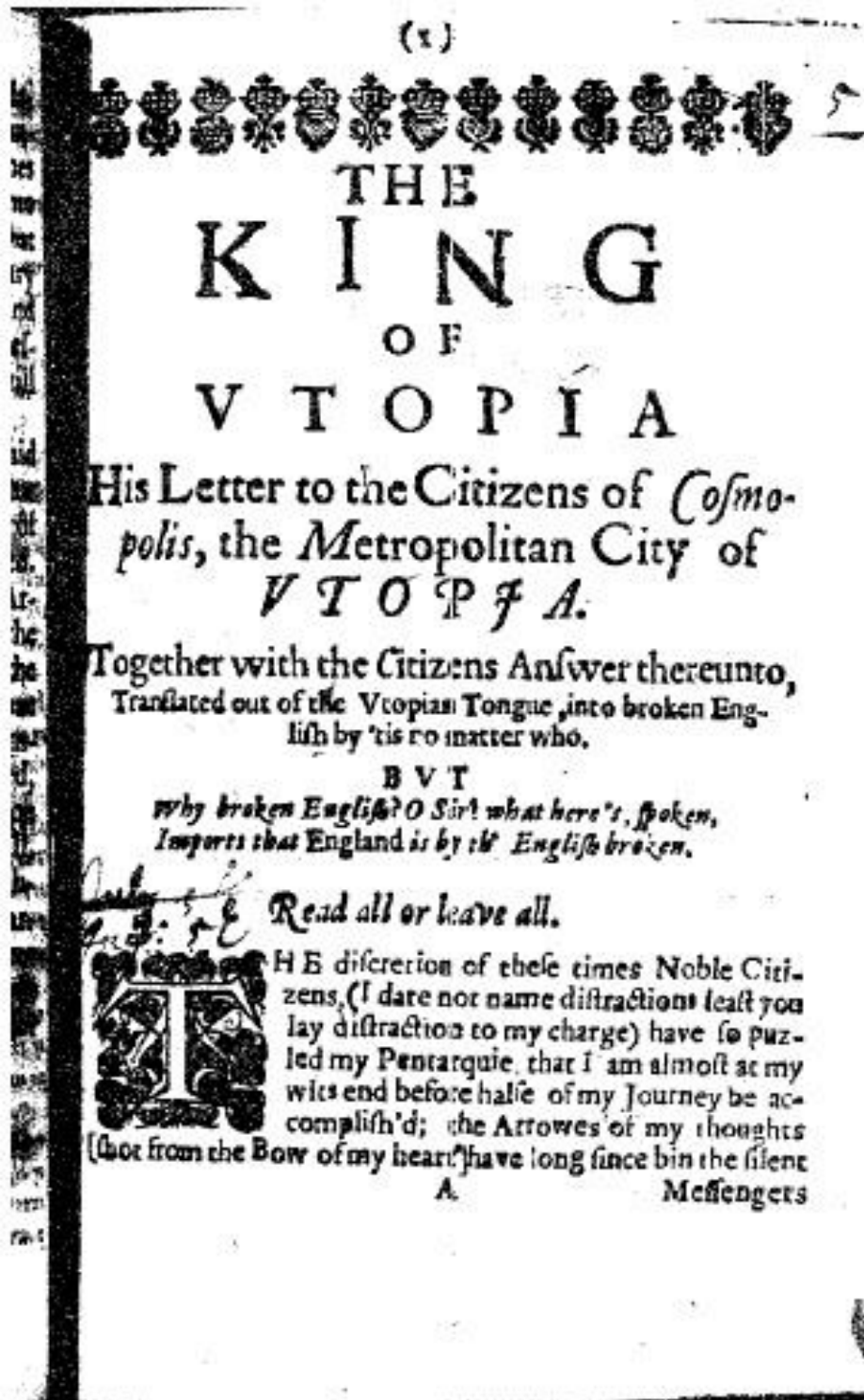


Figure 12. The King of Utopia, 1647.

### CHAPTER 3 Reading Women and Women Readers: Devotional Reading as Religious and Emotional Capital in Queen Elizabeth's *A Godly Meditation of the Soul*

"...knowing also that pusillanimity and idleness are most repugnant unto a reasonable creature and that (as the philosopher saith) even as an instrument of iron or of other metal waxeth soon rusty unless it be continually occupied, even so shall the wit of a man or woman wax dull and unapt to do or understand anything perfect unless it be always occupied upon some manner of study, which things considered hath moved so small a portion as God hath lent me to prove what I could do."

Elizabeth Tudor, *The Mirror or Glass of the Sinful Soul*, sig.2r-v.

Princess Elizabeth's dedication to her stepmother Catherine Parr, which opens the manuscript of *The Glass of the Sinful Soul* (1544), presents her translation as an active engagement of both mind and body: without the conscious practice and display of one's learning and devotion, the spirit cannot properly serve God. The manuscript, which included an intricate hand-embroidered cover, was a translation of Marguerite de Navarre's *Le Miroir de L'Âme Pecheresse* (1531) designed to be presented as New-Year's gift to Catherine Parr. The gift represented then-twelve-year-old princess' religious devotion and prodigious education; further, it proved that Elizabeth was an important asset to the royal family and a promising potential ruler. Marguerite de Navarre's treatment of familial relations made translating the text an apt political message: "lady Elizabeth" (at the time still an illegitimate heir) might have identified with the author's unrest at being "subordinate, apparently forever, to a brother who was her inferior in age and natural powers" (Snyder 454). Translating the *Miroir* further allowed Elizabeth to articulate a spiritual and literary connection with the women in her family, following in her stepmother's Protestant interests and honoring her mother, Anne Boleyn, by translating a copy of a book she once owned and presumably cherished.<sup>109</sup> Given that Protestant polemicist John Bale would print the *Glass* only four years

<sup>109</sup> Marc Shell agrees with Percy Ames's argument that Marguerite de Navarre had sent Boleyn a copy of the book in 1533. Shell further suggests that Elizabeth may have found the book among her mother's things or that, as Anne Lake Prescott has argued, Parr took the initiative to suggest it to the princess.

later in 1548, it is possible that Parr herself commissioned the work to be published.<sup>110</sup> As he claims in his preface to the printed edition, Bale hoped the translation would eventually connect the princess and future queen directly with her potential subjects, calling on them to read, study, and write about their Protestant devotion. Thus, although the original manuscript belonged to an exclusively female and aristocratic circle (in its author, translator, and dedicatee), Bale's printed edition and all subsequent reprints by other print agents<sup>111</sup> effectively expanded the audience of the *Glass* to a wider variety of men and women of all classes.

The intersections of class, gender, and religion, especially with regards to popular print culture, are the focus of this chapter. While the two previous chapters were concerned with the formation of reading markets and the developments of a new genre, here I focus on a single reading market and a very specific genre: women readers of devotional texts. Although this subject has received wide critical attention in the recent years, I am interested in the intentional, accidental, and collaborative ways through which print agents, in publishing and promoting such texts, represented reading as a valuable contribution to the English nation and a productive alternative (and sometimes contributor) to traditional domestic roles. My case-study centers on an analysis of three editions of Queen Elizabeth's *A Godly Meditation of the Christian Soul* (1548).<sup>112</sup> The *Godly Meditation* was reprinted and re-edited by three different male print agents: John Bale who, as mentioned above, may have been commissioned for the job by Catherine Parr; James Cancellor, a reformed Catholic printer who entered Elizabeth's pardon roll in 1559; and Thomas Bentley, the author and compiler responsible for the largest

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<sup>110</sup> While Shell suggests that Bale's text includes enough editorial interventions to suggest Parr's own hand in the publication, Mueller more carefully points out that "Bale had access to some manuscript version of Elizabeth's translation other than the one she presented to Queen Katherine," which may indicate that he happened upon the text on his own (34).

collection of women's writing at the time.<sup>113</sup> Each edition reflects a different facet of Elizabeth's changing political identity, from illegitimate heir, to crowned queen and Protestant model, to Virgin icon: evidence of the undying appeal the queen held over her subjects as well as of the text's historical malleability.

Although Marguerite de Navarre was well known in the English court, Elizabeth's was the first English translation of the *Miroir*. The manuscript opens with Elizabeth's dedication to Catherine Parr, followed by Marguerite de Navarre's (unattributed) preface "to the reader." In the preface, Marguerite apologizes for the simple language of the text as "the work of a woman which hath in her neither science nor knowledge but a desire that each one might see what gift of God doth when it pleaseth Him to justify the heart of a man" (5r). Bale's 1548 edition replaces Elizabeth's preface with his own, adding a conclusion where he offers a "history of women" both Biblical and historical, sentences from Psalm 14:1 in Italian, Latin, and French (supposedly added to the manuscript by Elizabeth herself), one clause in Greek, possibly composed by Elizabeth, and "four clauses of sacred scripture," taken from chapters of Ecclesiasticus (Mueller and Scodel 35). Cancellor's 1568 edition, as far as we know, eliminates all the prefatory materials with the exception of the multi-lingual sentences, and adds a version of his own "meditations" in the form of acrostic verses set to Elizabeth's name.<sup>114</sup> His second edition, published in 1580, includes a new preface, Marguerite's "to the reader," and the four clauses added in before his acrostic. In 1582, Bentley includes Elizabeth's translation in Book Two of his collection, *The Monument of Matrons*, along with the sentences from scripture, and edits the text to include chapter breaks. Bentley also leaves the four clauses from scripture at the end of the *Meditations*, followed by

<sup>113</sup> One more edition appeared in 1590, printed by R. Ward. He, however, only reprinted Bale's edition without additions or revisions. Nonetheless, the edition is proof that the *Godly Meditation* was an enduring success throughout Queen Elizabeth's reign.

<sup>114</sup> Cancellor's 1568 edition seems to be incomplete; the ESTC records indicate the original title-page is missing and it is possible that there was a preface or other kinds of front matter in the edition.

three prayers written by Elizabeth as Queen. A holistic look at all the *Godly Meditation's* editorial changes across time and print agents can reveal new perspectives on readership and the genre of devotional reading.

Contemporary scholars of Elizabeth's *Glass* usually discuss the translation as an example of the ways women authorized their writings through religion. In his introduction to *Elizabeth's Glass* (1993), Marc Shell argues that the text offers a model of "universal siblinghood," using holy incestuous relationships to present Elizabeth as sister, bride, and daughter of Christ (34). Building on this, Maureen Quilligan demonstrates that the spiritual incest trope functioned to authorize women's writing because it eschewed patriarchy in favor of a unique relationship between the speaker and God. Jennifer Summit similarly claims that women writers used elements from the Reformation to place their devotion to God above any responsibilities towards (male) authority figures. While each of these interpretations adds greatly to our understanding of women as writers, they fail to discuss the *Glass* in regards to its marketplace readers, particularly overlooking how such a readership may have influenced print agents attempting to sell the book. For example, despite acknowledging that "Elizabeth's editors may have made 'changes' in the various editions for political reasons," Shell's modern edition nonetheless seems to suggest that Bale's paratext is the most historically significant of the three publications (107-8).<sup>115</sup> Because these editions required the male print agent to balance between praising a female (future) monarch while simultaneously regulating women's conduct, they offer particularly interesting case studies. My analysis of Bale's, Cancellor's, and Bentley's editions attempts to address the following questions: how did print agents engage with the presentation (and representation) of female

<sup>115</sup> Shell includes Bale's complete preface and conclusion from the 1548 edition, but claims that offering a collated version that included any of other editions would force an incorrect and "misleading" assumption that Elizabeth's manuscript is the most authoritative of the texts. While his facsimile of the manuscript has been incredibly useful to scholars, I argue that we can obtain a broader perspective on the reception of the text by looking at its editorial variations.



literacy? What were some of the strategies employed to attract women book buyers, or to present a text as particularly relevant to women readers? Finally, how much were print agents willing to (or even able to) frame texts to be read from a primarily female perspective?

By analyzing a text written by an author who began as a marginalized, disempowered figure and eventually grew to be a popular and powerful queen, I seek to investigate the ways print agents negotiated questions of authority, gender, and market consumption. As such, the theoretical structure of this chapter relies on two forms of cultural capital not discussed in chapter one: religious capital and emotional capital, both of which are inextricable from questions of class and gender. After establishing some of the marketing background for these theories, I show how each print agent constructed a different representation of religious and emotional capital for his readers.<sup>116</sup> While each of these agents had his own personal goals in editing and publishing the *Godly Meditation*, all of them made use of popular tropes of female virginity and piety to reinforce the text's cultural capital and, through it, their own. John Bale, for instance, used the *Meditation* to assert himself as the (future) Queen's "daily orator" and as a central figure in Protestant history; James Cancellor takes advantage of the popularity of his second edition to secure his royal pardon and present himself as a newly reformed Protestant; and Thomas Bentley uses Elizabeth's translation to reinforce his bid for the Queen's patronage and market his *Monument of Matrons* as an essential text in any woman's (and her family's) devotional library. A detailed look at the editorial changes in each edition demonstrates that Bale made creative use of Elizabeth's manuscript dedication to

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<sup>116</sup> In many ways, this chapter both returns to and advances some of the concerns discussed in Chapter One. While this dissertation's initial set of case-studies in Chapter One considered how print agents intentionally designed books to appear as sources of cultural capital, here I suggest that social capital emerged out of the convergence of the interests of, on the one hand, female readers and writers and, on the other hand, print agents' editorial engendering of reading practices. Heidi Brackman Hackel offers compelling historical evidence that women did indeed consume and engage with books but, because their education reinforced values of silence and obedience, often did not leave any marks or annotations behind. Contemporary critics such as Helen Smith and Edith Snook have approached this problem by tackling specific examples of real-life women, analyses of women writers as readers and learners, and literary representations of female behavior. As a whole, these new approaches help form a more cohesive (though by no means complete) perspective on the kinds of literature women were engaged in reading, writing, and producing.

shape his presentation of the text as a printed commodity and, in turn, Cancellor and Bentley also relied heavily on Bale's preface and ideas to build their own paratexts. Through a comparative reading of all the paratextual materials, I hope to reveal early modern print agents' rich co-authoring, collaborative, and borrowing processes, as well as their unique assumptions about the kinds of readers who consumed their books.

In order to fully discuss how print agents intentionally marketed devotional books towards middle-class women, we must first understand the function of two alternate forms of capital: emotional and religious. It was difficult for women (especially lower-class women) to obtain access to social capital in a male-dominated world, particularly because early modern women operated within the very specific cultural imperative to remain silent, chaste, and obedient. However, both writers and readers saw an opportunity to obtain equally strong forms of capital through their devotion to God and to their families. In the following section, I break down some of the ways in which these forms of capital can become especially significant for women's consumer choices.

**Gendered Commodities: Religious and Emotional Capital** The *Godly Meditation's* print agents framed reading as an important form of female devotion, suggesting that in purchasing and reading devotional books women could earn cultural capital both for their home (through the education of children) and for the State (strengthening the Protestant cause and adding new devotees). In order to discuss how these perspectives can be established through marketing strategies, we must first understand how religious capital and emotional capital can play a part in marketplace choices.

Much like cultural or social capital, religious capital allows an individual to use education, personal connections, and material objects as expressions of his or her social class, since religious affiliations tend to bond people and communities together. For example,

someone who read and studied the Bible (or other devotional texts) could use his knowledge to gain a sense of belonging to a larger social unit. Religious unity, thus, has the potential to cross class and educational lines by preaching inclusion. For many Protestant citizens, the acquisition of texts that taught them how to practice their faith was a crucial investment, ensuring that their religious knowledge was up-to-date and that their family was equally well informed and educated. This perspective still holds true for modern economists like Larry Whitman and Laurence Iannaccone, who have posited that family investments in religious learning are informed by class: the more money a family makes, the more they believe their financial and daily dedication to the church is justified by household production—that is, the proper upbringing of children, marital interests, and spousal relationships. As Whitman describes, “if the Bible is learned and its precepts practiced in a home, then the parents and children must have a degree of skill in producing and consuming that experience” (42).<sup>117</sup> As such, economic and religious practices are tied together in the consumption of religious material to support both public and private devotion. As I discuss below, this interplay is the background for Bale’s framing of Elizabeth’s translation, where he equates child-bearing with literary production and in turn suggests that religious practice can make women “nourishing mothers” of the commonwealth.

As Kevin Sharpe notes, print culture in general and the Protestant Reformation in particular played a crucial role in spreading the English vernacular, developing “what we might call the beginnings of a reading nation” (4).<sup>118</sup> Additionally, because religious expression was a subject of debate in Reformation and Post-Reformation England, the

<sup>117</sup> Thus, although many lower-income families can and do contribute to their church, the appearance of contribution through public consumption (donations, buying books, owning expensive Bibles) is particularly important for upper-class families seeking to marry their children into like-minded families.

<sup>118</sup> As I mention in chapter 1, for example, access to news had been restricted to those who could afford couriers or subscriptions to pamphlets, or who were in contact with individuals rich enough to travel abroad. Similarly, religious Catholic manuscripts circulated mostly in Latin around the clergy, whereas Protestants highlighted the importance of accessible Bible readings and helped ignite the popularity of vernacular texts both in print and in manuscript.

production and distribution of religious books offered citizens an opportunity to feel included in such debates.<sup>119</sup> Printed religious translations or household books of prayer suggested that women, in particular, could find in religious devotion a form of political participation, using the books they read, copied, and translated as expressions of identity.<sup>120</sup> However, as Erica Longfellow has argued, “a woman’s experience of ‘patriarchy’ and her relation to writing in particular was always a result of economics, geography, social status, and religious affiliation” (7). Although the Humanist project expanded access to education for upper-class women, who were not only writers, collaborators, but also patrons of literature, printed books reveal conflicting approaches to marketing and selling texts for women, particularly middle-class women. The majority of texts advertised to women were either conduct books or Biblical examples of “good and bad” women.<sup>121</sup> The initial production of *A Godly Meditation* involved a particularly elite group (the original author, its recipient and potential commissioner, as well as its translator all current or future queens). Nonetheless, its enduring popularity in print attests to a growing interest in broadening the market for female consumers. By aligning book consumption with the production of religious capital, Bale, Cancellor, and Bentley strengthened a position for women as viable (and highly desirable) consumers, defining devotional reading as a form of civic participation and a way for middle-class readers to increase not just their own social capital, but that of their children and families.

<sup>119</sup> As David Zaret claims, print culture allowed for the development of “patterns of dissent” that created spaces for political participation. In effect, the Reformation “favored popular intellectual initiatives in religious life” by connecting the concerns of Parliament and the monarch with the interests of the middle-class (220).

<sup>120</sup> Despite the kind of control or social separation that authors of religious conduct manuals may have attempted to impose on women, there is ample evidence of female social and political agency, particularly when authorized through religious devotional practices. For instance, in her analysis of Lady Anne Clifford’s diaries and paintings, Julie Crawford suggests that reading and collecting religious texts could be put to “parareligious uses, particularly as they pertained to negotiations of political power” (102). Her work demonstrates that even private studies or the collection of books in one’s library could be used as an expression of independent thought. Lady Anne Clifford’s use of reading as a “political practice” was not exclusive to elite women. Evidence of signatures in surviving manuscript collections and records of book purchases suggests that women of varying class-levels were reading and buying books for their own personal interests.

<sup>121</sup> One popular example is Jean Luis Vives’ *Instruction of a Christian Woman* (1529), which was reprinted nine times in the sixteenth century alone.

Questions about marketplace consumption are always connected to class interests, as consumers will inevitably base marketplace choices on products that provide the most cultural and financial profit. However, marketing to women can be especially complicated: because the majority of contemporary ad makers and producers are male, they cannot presume to know how women will read texts, people, or situations. According to marketing critic Barbara Stern, cultural practices have established a hegemonic “male reading” that is ingrained in marketing to either sex. While women can and are educated to “read as men,” men are not as likely to read “as women” (that is, to fully identify with the female perspective). Tellingly, feminist scholars have engaged in similar discussions, questioning the limitations of Bourdieu’s cultural capital theory as it applies to women’s ability to acquire and negotiate social capital. In her opening chapter for *Feminism after Bourdieu* (2004), Beverly Skeggs acknowledges that Bourdieu’s work helps complicate analyses of gender by connecting it to several other binary positions (high/low, dominant/dominated, educated/not-educated, etc). In other words: the cultural values an aristocratic woman learns at home are inevitably distinct from those learned by a female servant, but both positions are ultimately non-dominant, since men are the ones to determine social and cultural norms.<sup>122</sup> Bourdieu’s system, femininity, by virtue of being a non-dominant position, cannot generate social capital on its own. Skeggs suggests, instead, that “gender can be a form of cultural capital but only if it is symbolically *legitimated* (historically, for instance, via class, as a particular version of middle-class moral femininity)” (24, emphasis in original). In the early modern period, a woman’s public and social identity was very much linked to her perceived morality and piety.

<sup>122</sup> Although some cultural imperatives apply to nearly all early modern women (marriage and children, for instance), even those values depend on class distinctions, and are generally determined by the dominant gender. This is particularly important for my analysis, as it shows that even texts authored and translated by women are often mediated by male print agents. Even when print agents strive to present a female perspective, they can only present a male interpretation of the ways they expect women to read and write (as Stern puts it, men can only read “as men,” even when advertising to women). Such positions can be challenged or rejected by the reader, of course, and alternate forms of capital such as religious and emotional capital can provide alternative positions for the woman reader to obtain cultural value through book consumption.

As I will discuss below, Bale makes use of this assumption by presenting good wives, daughters, and mothers as a crucial cultural commodity for the Protestant Church. Their devotion assures the circulation of Protestant values and the acquisition of new members through their children and husbands.

Such investment in family advancement is evidence of what Helga Nowotny has termed “emotional capital.”<sup>123</sup> Women use emotional capital to improve their family’s status whenever they invest their time and money in their children’s education, purchase products for the home, or make household decisions. For working-class women, emotional capital can be a strong motivational and bargaining tool, influencing their consumer choices to find products that provide their family with an improved social standing. According to Elizabeth Silva, gender and class contribute to household production as “units of consumption,” participating in individual and group decisions for the home, helping develop not only an improved sense of self, but also improved perceptions of the family as a social unit. The family hierarchy determines that “emotional responses are valued as resources,” since each individual’s investment in the family’s wellbeing is an expression of human capital. Emotional resources, Silva argues, “are assets that can be cashed in in specific markets and linked to specific strategies of advancement” (144). While Silva’s case study addresses how the consumption of kitchen supplies can be used to visually identify one working-class family as middle-class, her analysis offers important perspectives on the ways gender and class influence market choices. Especially in the case of women, who were both “the single largest category of new readers during the [early modern] period, and ... overwhelmingly the subjects of contemporary polemics about literacy” (Hackel 11), a close study of the ways

<sup>123</sup> Nowotny’s emotional capital theory, first introduced in “Women in Public Life in Austria” (*Access to Power*, 1981), has been the starting point for much of feminist theory on cultural and social capital. Although Nowotny suggests that emotional capital is only available in the private sphere, scholars like Diane Reay and Elizabeth Silva have demonstrated how such capital can be used to improve the family’s overall social status and be exchanged for social capital through the education of children or the acquisition of fashionable household goods.

print agents represented and attempted to attract female readers to the marketplace can illuminate devotional reading as a particularly strong expression of emotional and cultural capital.

**Bale's 1548 edition: Commodifying the Religious Experience** Whether it was Elizabeth, Parr, or one of Elizabeth's tutors who decided the young princess should translate Marguerite de Navarre's *Miroir* in 1544, the text undoubtedly connects Elizabeth to her family's female legacy. As I argue above, the work put Elizabeth in dialogue not only with her stepmother, Catherine Parr, but with her mother, Anne Boleyn, who was a fervent Protestant, and her great-grandmother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, whose own translation, *The Mirror of Gold for the Sinful Soul*, is echoed in the title of Elizabeth's manuscript. Parr in particular hoped that her influence would help reestablish Elizabeth as a legitimate heir, which likely informed her decision to have the work printed and circulated in court. Parr's involvement in Elizabeth's education and her efforts to reconnect Elizabeth to her father demonstrate the amount of emotional capital invested in producing this translation. As Susan Fry notes, Elizabeth's choice in "translating Marguerite de Navarre for Catherine Parr meant asserting their bond through religion, female kinship, and authorship" (168). From its original production conditions, then, this work was designed as a political and emotional expression between its female author and intended readers. While Bale's eventual interference in this chain of female connections may at first appear to erase the gendered agency the manuscript so proudly represents, his paratextual additions in fact open a broader perspective for women readers, constructing devotional reading as political representation.<sup>124</sup> As a religious and scholarly exercise, the preface presents Elizabeth as a promising young model for English

<sup>124</sup> It is difficult to know how much Parr herself contributed to Bale's edition. David Kastan notes that although Bale attributes the translation of a psalm included in the printed work to Elizabeth, the translation was probably his own work (404). Following Salminen, Marc Shell suggests that Parr "may have amended the manuscript ... and probably added some new material of her own" (3).

families and their children (including daughters); as a devotional piece, it introduces England's future ruler as a Protestant model for public piety and obedience.<sup>125</sup>

Parr's choice of editor reveals much about her plans for *A Godly Meditation*. Well known for his Protestant morality plays and extensive corpus of religious controversy, John Bale's name immediately labeled the publication as an important addition to the Protestant cannon. Most notably, his printing of *The Examinations of Anne Askew* (1546) demonstrates the degree to which Bale saw himself as a key author of Protestant history: his extensive commentary on the text threatens to overwhelm the account itself, asserting Bale as, if not central author, then certainly a powerful co-author in Askew's narrative. His interventions in both Askew's and Elizabeth's texts have drawn mixed critical attention; Elaine Beilin and John N. King, for example, claim that Bale's "tendentious commentary" replaces Askew's self-representation as a strong, female voice, with the more traditional gender roles of silence, chastity, and obedience (King 17). Freeman and Wall, however, rightly point out that the paratext cannot be so easily dissociated from the central narrative, since early modern concepts of authorship and collaboration make it difficult to establish authorial intention. Addressing Bale's involvement in *The Examinations*, Edith Snook suggests that "Bale relies on the very model of reading which Askew herself produces" in her account (41). This assertion is equally important for Bale's edition of *A Godly Meditation*. On the one hand, male editors do indeed bring their own agendas into texts and, to a large degree, patriarchy is embedded in the culture itself, regardless of whether we can prove a conscious intention to "appropriate" women's voices. On the other hand, however, we must remind ourselves that in the early modern period collaboration and editorial intervention would likely not be perceived

<sup>125</sup> Of course, as Susan Snyder points out, "Elizabeth would eventually reign as queen in her own right [but] no one in 1544 expected such an outcome" (443). Since my intention here is to examine the progression of the text, its readers, and its print agents, I agree with Shell that Bale edited the text with the hope that it would paint Elizabeth as an ideal potential ruler. However, I do not mean to imply a teleological reading wherein the text helped or caused a progression of events which would eventually lead to Elizabeth becoming queen.



as textual intrusions.<sup>126</sup> As an aspiring historian of English Protestantism, Bale composed paratexts to *A Godly Meditation* in an attempt to relay some of the original production of the work to a broader public. While he may erase Katherine Parr's involvement and downplay Elizabeth's intentionally political statements in gifting the translation, Bale's preface utilizes some of those strategies as broader representatives of the value of reading, female devotion, and literary production.

While Elizabeth's manuscript translated the title as "The Glass of the Sinful Soul," Bale's preface claims responsibility for renaming the work *A Godly Medytacyon of the Christen Sowle, concerninge a loue towardes God and his Christe* (fig. 13). As Shell observes, this may have been at Parr's suggestion). Bale's (or Parr's) editorial change helps link the text with Parr's other publications, like 1545's *Prayers and Meditations* and 1547's *Lamentation of Sinner*, creating a thematic connection between these printed works and providing readers with a better understanding of the contents. Further, the woodcut of a young Elizabeth receiving a book (presumably the Bible) from Jesus connects the text visually not only to the *Examinations of Anne Askew* but also to other popular devotional books depicting women's personal connection with Christ.<sup>127</sup> The title page, which was likely designed by Bale in collaboration with his printer, Dirik Van Der Straten, indicates the two

<sup>126</sup> In this particular case, the degree of collaboration between Parr and Bale is hazy at best (see my note above). However, what I hope to suggest here is that print agents, especially editors like Bale, did see themselves as collaborators and co-authors, not as intruders in someone else's text. Although these interventions are complicated by issues of gender and especially, as I argue above, by Bale's ultimate inability to read a text "as a woman," it is important to acknowledge that Bale's contributions are not automatically constricting by virtue of being a male invention on a woman's authority (and authorship). The myth of the author as an independent genius is arguably a construction of eighteenth century culture, particularly through and after the development of copyright. In particular, romantic poets reinforced this model by depicting the act of writing as the work of inspiration and unique talent. See Stilligan, *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius* (1991); Flint, *The Appearance of Print in Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (2011); and Powel, *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth Century English Periodicals* (2012).

<sup>127</sup> In medieval and early modern texts, women writers often described their devotion as a private, direct relationship with Christ, which sometimes served to market their books as "vehicles of visionary and contemplative practices," or to authorize their work in print (Summit 116). In either case, such representations offered "a model of textual exchange in which women's writing served as an important form of currency, spent in the effort to advance political religious agendas or social ambitions" (Longfellow 8). Here, I argue that some of these ambitions could be extended to the reading experience, particularly in the ways that print agents marketed such positions to women readers through paratexts.

print agents' interest in circulating the book to a wider audience familiar with the visual designs of devotional printed books. However, as the page does not contain any publication details about the printer's name or the location of his store, Van Der Straten apparently had no designs to post it as advertisement for the work.

Underneath the woodcut, a Latin inscription praises Elizabeth as the gracious and learned daughter of Henry VIII, echoing similar wording in the full title. The woodcut, coupled with this inscription, suggests that Elizabeth's position as legitimate heir to the throne is due to both birth and divine appointment, both issues that Bale will revisit more carefully in his preface. Bale's choice of printer further supports his intention to circulate the book to a wider (but nevertheless limited) audience. Dirik Van Der Straten kept a store at Wesel, and had been Bale's printer for several works, including many of his Protestant plays and Askew's *Examinations*. His name, however, does not appear on this or most any other of Bale's publications: this connection has only been recovered through their use of specific types and woodcuts.<sup>128</sup> Those close to Bale and familiar with his works would likely have access to this publication, and certainly his works circulated in England either as smuggled copies during Henry VIII's reign or legally under Edward.<sup>129</sup> Such connections are an important background for an analysis of Bale's preface, because they establish Bale's careful attempt to increase his religious capital through the publication of a royal text. As Ernst Gerhardt has argued, Bale's investment in print culture and in widening the circulation of books was part of a larger Protestant project to provide "educative access that generates profit

<sup>128</sup> For more on the identification of Straten as Bale's printer, See Elaine Beilin, ed. *Examinations of Anne Askew* (1996), Michael O'Connell, *The Idolatrous Eye: Iconoclasm and Theater in Early-Modern England* (2000), R. Steele, "Notes on English Books Printed Abroad, 1525-1548," in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 11 (1911), and Honor C McCusker, "Some Ornamental Initials Used by Plateanus of Wesel," *Library* 4<sup>th</sup> ser. (1936).

<sup>129</sup> There is not much information available about the circulation of Bale's 1548 edition, so it is difficult to assume that it was intended for a broad, public consumption. However, the subsequent editions by Cancellor and Bentley suggest that the work was indeed popular and worth the investment of a reprint. Especially in the years following Elizabeth's coronation, the Godly Meditation must have increased its cultural commodity value exponentially.

for the commonwealth” (417). While scholars have so far focused on Bale’s strategies to frame Elizabeth as Tudor role model, his paratexts also reveal an interest in shaping Protestant models of reading and writing as a profitable contribution to the state (and, through it, enhancing his own status as a Protestant historian). By presenting Elizabeth as a religious and educational ideal, Bale not only helps establish her strengths as worthy of her nobility and aristocratic titles but encourages women readers and book-buyers to see their own devotion as a contribution to the commonwealth.

Bale opens his dedication with a discussion on the nature of nobility. Throughout history, Bale claims, Catholics have erroneously defined nobility as a material, earthly quality, attributing it to

the renowned birth or succession of blood, some to the abundance of pleasure worldly, some to the maintenance of great families, some to the sumptuousnes of notable buildings, some to high stomack and stature of person, some to valiantness in martial feates, some to seemly maners of courtesie, some to liberality of rewards and gifts, some to the ancientness of long continuance, some to the wisdome, learning and study for a commonwealth... (sig A3r)

Without necessarily negating the value of inherited nobility, Bale suggests these qualities can eclipse a nobility of spirit. In contrast, Elizabeth’s true nobility supersedes even the right of birth, because it is based on God’s gift.<sup>130</sup> In particular, such nobility is materialized through her devoted exercise, as well as her initiative to read and translate Protestant works, which both excuses and authorizes her position as a woman worthy of veneration, respect and potential political power. As we may recall, Bale borrows from Elizabeth’s own dedication by placing an emphasis on active devotion as a civic duty. Here, however, the contrast between spiritual and material nobility established in the paratext suggests that aspects of Elizabeth’s elevated position are also available for the work’s female readers. Even without

<sup>130</sup> As Snyder points out, “though Elizabeth would eventually reign as queen in her own right, no one in 1544 expected such an outcome” (n.p). Following King Henry VIII’s death in 1547, Elizabeth’s brother Edward had ascended to the throne and the need to legitimize Elizabeth became even more urgent, as her Catholic sister Mary stood to inherit the crown should the young Edward die without issue.

the nobility provided by “martial feates” or “ancientness,” readers can obtain religious capital similar to Elizabeth’s by reading her translation and through their reading practices more generally.

While scholars have acknowledged that the preface to *A Godly Meditation* successfully establishes the political role of godly women in the Protestant state, by and large the critical focus remains only on how this position is gendered but ignores how heavily class-based it is. Krista Kesselring rightly observes that Bale’s “historical writing ... participated in the broader cultural production of sexualized identities and gendered discourse” that helped create stronger, more visible positions for women (43). She is reluctant, however, to ponder what effect this may have had on middle-class readers. Offering as evidence the relatively low price and large number of copies for his publications, Kesselring assumes “many women could thus have come in contact with Bale’s ideas,” but ultimately admits that “how they as individuals would appropriate and receive these ideas is, unfortunately, difficult to recapture” (54). Indeed, we do not have enough hard evidence as to how actual women read this text. However, Bale’s preface suggests a potentially subversive class-based reading that is worth a closer look.

Warning his readers against the dangers of the “monstrous nobility” of the Catholic clergy, Bale rants against the kind of hierarchy that creates “pontifical lords, spiritual sirs, and ghostly fathers” (A3v) and indicts several authors who support these “blasphemous belly beasts.” The act of reading, writing, and practicing religion becomes embedded in the class system, disallowing the empty titles granted to Catholics and claiming instead that nobility is *earned* through “a famous renown obtained by long exercised virtue... godly endeavour of Christianity... [and] a gentle heart” (A5r). In effect, this is a kind of nobility (“gentle[ness]” of heart) that can be practiced, and that therefore can be taught to children much as it was taught to the young Elizabeth. The New Year’s gift helped the young Elizabeth show off her

elite education and her ability to follow in her stepmother's spiritual and political footsteps. Despite omitting this context, Bale's dedication indicates that the female reader can achieve a similar effect in her own household through her devotional practice. The translation's emotional capital, designed to present Elizabeth as the ideal heir on the basis of both birth and accomplishment, transfers from author to reader: possession of the text (and a willingness to disseminate the Protestant faith) can grant entry into the religious (if not political) nobility. Thus, the middle-class reader, who otherwise would not get access to Elizabeth's education, riches, or political importance, can feel closer to the royal family through her religious practice.

Building on Bourdieu's model of class distinction, Beverly Skeggs argues that public constructions of social value are made possible through resources usually not available to the working-class, like education and culture, which produce "knowledge of the [social] game and how to play it" (85). Skeggs suggests that affect (from anger and dissatisfaction to defiance and humor) can produce "alternate use-values" that construct socially-accepted identities. Therefore, instead of perceiving the middle-class through negation (the middle-class cannot/will not achieve the cultural capital of dominant classes), emotions allow for an assertion of alternate values such as morality, devotion, loyalty, and caring. The readers of *A Godly Meditation* cannot (and perhaps do not) aspire to the elevated position that Elizabeth occupies; thus, although Bale and Parr share an interest in grooming Elizabeth to be queen, Bale's cultural and financial investments also extend to his wider public (both as potential buyers and potential Protestants). Bale's reconstruction of nobility provides an immediate cultural capital for Elizabeth as future queen while also demonstrating an alternate use-value for the middle-class reader, who can see her devotion as a form of nobility. By placing femininity and religious devotion above masculinity and aristocratic titles, Bale's preface encourages his female readers to see devotional reading as an alternate form of social capital.

This construction of an alternate form of nobility is already present in Elizabeth's manuscript dedication, but in adding his own paratext Bale makes the position available to all readers of the printed text. In both Navarre's original and Elizabeth's dedication, the speaker inhabits the positions of sister, mother, and bride of Christ to demonstrate the strength of women's spiritual expression. Bale takes this even further, supplanting biological reproduction with literary production. Here, it is not Elizabeth's capacity to produce (male) heirs but her learning and writing that become proof of God's approval of her status:

Of this nobility I have no doubt (Lady most faithfully studious) but that you are, with many other noble women and maidens more in this blessed age. If question were to ask me how I know it, my answer would be this. By your godly fruite, as the fertile tree is no otherwise known. I received your noble booke, right fruitfully translated out of the French toge into English. I received also your noble sentences out of the sacred scriptures, with no lesse grace than learning ... wonderfully ioyous were the learned men of our city, Murseus, Buscoducious, Bomelius, Lithodius, and Imanus, as I shewed unto them said sentences, in beholding (as they have reported) so much vertue, faith, science, and experience of languages and letters, specially in noble youth and femininity. (fol.7)

Bale quotes a verse from scripture to define Elizabeth's nobility "by your godly fruite, as the fertile tree is no otherwise than thereby knowen." The original verse places a high value in the female ability to not only produce offspring but to properly educate them in the Christian way. As it applies to Elizabeth, however, we learn that her fruit is "your noble booke, right frutefully by you translated"—her children already projected in her future subjects and the potential readers of the book, who will learn about Christ by mimicking her own practice (more on this later). As author, translator, mother, daughter, and bride, Elizabeth multiplies the positions the reader can occupy.<sup>131</sup> Building on this, Bale

<sup>131</sup> While parenting metaphors for book production are abundant in the period, Michael Saenger argues that they serve a special kind of "paratextual induction" in the front matter of books by teaching readers how to engage with texts (197). Using examples from Johnson and Beaumont, Saenger demonstrates that authors and publishers often presented their text as a newborn, conceived by the author and brought forth by the publisher. In such metaphors, the reader is implicated in properly raising the child, or correctly reading the text. For the readers of *A Godly Meditation*, authorship as parenting presents an acceptable form of feminine authority: as nurturing mothers, women can justify writing and buying texts that will help "raise" their country and their families.

commodifies the experience of religious reading by making it a public text (through print circulation as well as through a broader interpretation of Elizabeth's spiritual nobility) and removing it from its exclusively elite production history. As I will discuss below, Cancellor and Bentley both appropriate this construction of Protestant femininity to market their own religious and cultural capital.

One of Bale's central projects in publishing Elizabeth's translation, as John N. King has argued, is to present himself as a key Protestant historiographer; this edition certainly demonstrates his persona as a collaborator and curator of key Protestant texts. However, Bale's role as editor and interpreter of Elizabeth's work sometimes conflicts with his paratextual support of women writers and readers. Praising the four multilingual clauses that close the work, Bale offers his own interpretation of Elizabeth's authorial intent, suggesting that "by thys [first sentence] do your grace unto us sygnyfye that the baren doctrine & good workes without fayth of the hypocrytes, whyce in their uncommaunded latyne ceremonyes serve their bellyes and not Christ" (fol.7v). Although the sentence addresses Elizabeth directly, Bale's interpretation reminds all readers of their responsibility to denounce Catholic rites and hypocrisies. Bale uses the plural "us" to include himself among the readers and learners about to engage with the book, suggesting the text's message is seen as a public service, not as private devotion.

While the first half of the preface firmly establishes the value of female education and Elizabeth's superior learning and nobility, in the second half Bale consistently frames the text within the realm of male authority. Although his own editorial work should serve to authorize the work for public consumption, Bale intentionally asserts it also has the approval of the "learned men of our city" with whom he shared her "golden sentences" (A7v); credits her tutors and teachers with her knowledge (A8r); and suggests that the "godly wise men" of the country should "conferre this learning of yours, and of other noble women in these dayes,

with the doctrine of Robert Kylwarby, Archbisshoppe of Canterbury” (A8v). This betrays some of Bale’s uneasiness in granting all women the same status as Elizabeth and further distinguishes the quality of her education from that of her readers. Further, Bale’s omits Marguerite de Navarre’s name from the preface that follows his dedication, conflating author and translator in the excuse for the potentially poor quality of the writing: this “homelie speech... [is] the studie of a woman, which has in her neither cunning nor science” (fol.10).

By allowing the authorship to remain ambiguous, Bale implies that Elizabeth, not Navarre, is the author of this self-effacing argument. The preface, then, helps reestablish the status quo that Bale’s own dedication disrupted, re-inscribing Elizabeth and Navarre as women who know how to perform traditional gender roles, as evidenced by the modest preface. Nevertheless, as Edith Snook has demonstrated, women writers effectively used humility tropes to connect with lower-class readers, “with whom they identify themselves through the performance of their femininity as ‘simple,’ even though the very ability to craft this identity in language already distinguishes them from most truly ‘simple’ folk” (34). Thus, the humility of the preface is a clearly recognizable performance (and common practice in women’s writing during the period) that does not necessarily downplay the value of the gendered positions created in Bale’s dedication.

Since Bale’s dedication is built upon Elizabeth’s own careful constructions of identity evident in her 1544 dedication to Parr, one need not claim that Bale’s male voice dominates the text. Instead, it can be more valuable to think of the piece as a successful collaboration between author and editor.<sup>132</sup> This collaboration is most visible in Bale’s change of the title, which he feels best represents the central topic of the book, and his dedication in bringing the text to other readers:

<sup>132</sup> This is especially true here, since Parr participated in editing and amending the text, and we cannot know to which degree she or Elizabeth influenced Bale’s decisions.



by your noble grace most dylygently and exactly translated into Englysh, fynde I the most precyouse treasure concernynge the sowle. Wherefore I have added thereunto the tyle of a Godly medytacyon of the sowle, concerning a love towardes God and his Christ ... This one coppye of yours have I brought into a nombre to t'intent that many hungry sowles by the by the inestimable treasure contained therein, maye be sweetly refreshed. (fol.9v)

The explanation shows off Bale's qualities as a historiographer and his value as a source for Protestant writing, but it also presents Bale as one of the "hungry sowles" that benefit from reading the book, thanks to Elizabeth's efforts in translating it. Further, the distribution and circulation of the text becomes part of Elizabeth's "godly frute" of literary production, helping her "become a nourishing mother to [God's] deere congregation." As the material embodiment of Elizabeth's nurturing council, the publication connects her to a variety of readers and consumers of all classes. The reconstruction of feminine production and reproduction casts the publication as a source of emotional capital. Through Bale, the female reader is granted access to a spiritual nobility that she can extend to her family by inciting them towards godly learning. Additionally, the closing sentences from the scripture allow Elizabeth's emotional capital to be extended to all female readers (and to other socially or politically disempowered readers as well). The lines contrast a "wycked wife" with a "virtuous woman," who is "an helpe and pyller" unto her household and whose husband is warned to "depart not from a dyscrete and good woman, that is fallen unto thy porcyon in the feare of the lorde, for the gifte of her honestie, is above golde" (fol.38v). If any woman who chooses to read and own this text can think of herself as one of these noble, godly women through the transformative power of the preface, these "golden sentences" ensure that the reader's emotional capital is also transferred to her family.

As an alternate (though by no means less valuable) form of commodity, emotional capital can be used to build relations inside and outside the home. If "material objects convey emotions as they are used in connections with representations of self and desire" (Silva 142),

the gendered experience of religion, when put in print, becomes a valuable commodity that can provide readers with a social purpose and a key role in family relations. Like Elizabeth herself, the reader of Elizabeth's text is allowed to inhabit multiple positions at once: as mother, daughter, teacher, producer, and consumer, the reader contributes to the Protestant cause and the English commonwealth by enacting each position through her religious devotion.

**Religious Identity and Self-Marketing: James Cancellor's 1580 Edition** Although Elizabeth's ascension to the throne in 1558 must have proved a welcome relief to Bale and the rest of the Protestant community, it was certainly disturbing news for Catholic printer James Cancellor. Under the patronage of Queen Mary, Cancellor had published a series of anti-Protestant propaganda, and was especially antagonistic towards Bale, whom he saw as a "heretic apostate" and a "mad, frantic friar,"<sup>133</sup> and whose works he attacked for their refusal to acknowledge the Church of Rome and Queen Mary's authority as a religious and political leader. It is thus fitting that Cancellor would use his 1568 edition of *A Godly Meditation* as evidence of his public, however reluctant, conversion. Although the text may appear inadequate for a queen, presenting the humble work of a young princess, Elizabeth seems to have encouraged its reprinting and circulation.<sup>134</sup> Cancellor's decision to reprint this work suggests the translation either remained popular in the print marketplace or that there was renewed interest in it now that Elizabeth was queen. Either way, the publication represented a very public declaration from Cancellor to his market of readers. In fact, along with the highly

<sup>133</sup> In *The Path of Obedience* (1553), dedicated to Queen Mary, Cancellor offered a direct response to Bale's *Vocation* and advocated for citizens to obey the Catholic Church and Mary as its representative. In 1554's *A Treatise*, Cancellor once more attacked Bale and other Protestant writers for their "pernitious opinions."

<sup>134</sup> The very fact that this reprint was not banned in England suggests that Elizabeth approved of the edition: Elizabeth and her councilors carefully manipulated her public image through pageants, visits to local residences and official announcements in print. For in-depth discussions of such forms of representation, see Schulte, *The Body of the Queen: Gender And Rule in the Courtly World, 1500 – 2000* (2006); Phillippy, "Colors and Essence" in *Painting Women: Cosmetics, Canvases, and Early Modern Culture* (2006); and Archer, *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (2007).

popular *Alphabet of Prayers* (1565), the *Meditation* is Cancellor's only surviving output after Elizabeth's coronation.<sup>135</sup> We do not know enough about the 1568 edition to judge how much work Cancellor had put into it, but it possible that its lack of paratext is, as Maureen Quilligan argues, indication of Cancellor's reluctant, if somewhat adversarial support of the queen.<sup>136</sup> In his 1580 edition, however, the printer deliberately presents himself as Elizabeth's new "daily orator" and supporter. Unlike Bale, Cancellor is not interested in highlighting women's political participation or their role in furthering the Protestant cause. Revising Bale's dedication and conclusion, Cancellor repurposes the work as a model of proper femininity, using the example of Elizabeth's virginity to locate women's devotional work as a private pastime and reinforce devotional reading as a contribution meant for the household, not the commonwealth.

Although Bale's original preface may have intended to show Elizabeth's qualities as a potential, future Queen, Cancellor would not have found many challenges in redesigning Bale's dedication to his own purposes (fig. 14). By 1580, marriage arguments had all but subsided, and Elizabeth was in the process of establishing herself as the virgin queen, married to the state and devoted to her country. It was thus an apt moment for Cancellor to bring forward praises of the Queen's prodigious youth as a model of proper, feminine behavior, taking advantage of the growing Cult of Virginity embraced by popular poets like Spenser and Raleigh. As John N. King argues, changing representations of the queen in print and manuscript are evidence of how "the royal image was fashioned dynamically by Elizabeth and her government from above, and by her apologists and suppliants from below" (36). I would add that the public perception of Elizabeth was also shaped by print agents like Bale,

<sup>135</sup> We have no evidence of whether Cancellor went out of business shortly after this or simply stopped working. Considering his ardent dedication to printing Catholic texts during Mary's reign, he may have gone underground or simply quit working altogether.

<sup>136</sup> For more on this first edition, see Quilligan, *Incest and Agency in Elizabeth's England*, 56-63.

Cancellor and, later, Bentley, who felt comfortable enough to not only edit and circulate the queen's translation for profit, but to see themselves as collaborators with her Protestant agenda.

The title page of Cancellor's 1580 edition highlights the instructional value of his printed works, which he advertises as a household commodity. The colophon mimics the verses added by Elizabeth in Bale's edition, praising the value of a good wife who "upholdeth hir householde, and who so feareth the lord, walketh in the right path."<sup>137</sup> The title page further advertises that Cancellor's second edition of the *Godly Meditation* contains "godly meditations set forth after the alphabet of the Queenes Maiesties name." The addition is surely meant to let his customers know that a portion of his very popular *Alphabet of Praiers very fruitful to be exercised and used of everie Christian Man* (1564) has been included in this edition. Cancellor's phrasing specifically links him to Elizabeth, suggesting his own godly meditations increase the translation's commodity value. The addition gives the book an added value, inviting the reader to purchase two popular works for the price of one.<sup>138</sup> The title-page changes demonstrate Cancellor's attempt to make the publication more attractive as a marketplace product, capable of attracting readers familiar with the printer's output as well as those interested in purchasing a text authored by the Queen.

Although Cancellor's dedication heavily borrows from Bale, his changes reveal a printer much less interested in the Protestant project than in framing (and sometimes controlling) his readership. Eliminating Bale's extensive discussion of the nature of religious nobility, Cancellor opens with a praise of learned women, who "are now not onely given to the studie of humane sciences, and of straunge tongues; as also in translating out of the Latine, Grecke, Italian, and French, good and godly books, to the great profit and commoditie

<sup>137</sup> Recall Bale's edition, where the two positive clauses on women praise wives for being "an help and a pyller" and advise husbands to "depart not from a dyscrete and good woman, that is fallen unto the for thy porcyon in the feare of the lorde" (fol. 38v).

<sup>138</sup> The duodecimo format further implies that the book must have been sold at an affordable, if not cheap price.

of such as are ignoraunt of sayde tongues” (A2r-v). Although this praise is directed at Elizabeth, mentioning the four clauses she translates later in the book, Cancellor also highlights the “profit” and “commoditie” inherent to translations. Cancellor implies that the translation provides a unique cultural capital by making available texts from other cultures. Further, “profit” is placed in relation to “ignorant,” explicitly separating the lower class readers from those who can produce such profitable commodities. Bale’s preface (directly or indirectly) implies any woman learning or practicing her devotion can offer a contribution to the commonwealth and attain religious capital through spiritual nobility. Cancellor, on the other hand, constructs his readers as passive receivers of the monarch’s contribution, thankful that the “countrie and people, for whose behoofe and edifying, Queens and Princes spare not, nor ceasse not, with all earnest indeavour and sedulitie to spende their tyme, their wits, their substance, and also their bodyes in the studies of noble sciences” (A3). Here, class and gender are not malleable concepts, like nobility was to Bale, but are instead clearly marked: the aristocratic woman has exclusive access to education, and thus the power to distribute that knowledge; the middle-class (female) reader can only access such knowledge through the benevolence of her superior and the mediation of a print agent.

Jaime Goodrich has demonstrated that Cancellor borrowed not only from Bale but also from Nicholas Udall’s preface to Queen Mary’s translation of Erasmus *Paraphrases*. Her analyses shows that Bale’s and Udall’s editorial interventions helped establish Elizabeth and Mary’s political agency and unwittingly helped shape women’s translations as a public and valuable social contribution.<sup>139</sup> As I have argued, Bale’s preface helps open this position to women readers and book-buyers. Even as he copies Bale’s and Udall’s sentences, Cancellor nonetheless manages to impose a passive role onto his reader in order to foreground his own work and loyalty to the Queen. By choosing to focus on her royal status, Cancellor

<sup>139</sup> See Goodrich, *Faithful Translators: Authorship, Gender, and Religion in Early Modern England* (2013).

elides a reading position from which women can join in the praise that Queen Elizabeth receives, or read the text “as women” (to recall O’Donnahue and Stern) through the religious experience. Instead, seeking to foreground his own social capital as editor and publisher of the text, Cancellor limits the reading positions available in it. Of course, this by no means determines how women will actually read the text, and it is possible that women resisted this interpretation or even preferred it to the more active performance required in Bale’s paratext. A woman interested only in how the *Godly Meditation* improves her private devotion may have easily identified with Cancellor’s preface. Any of these reading positions is made available through (or in spite of) the paratextual material, which is especially interesting since Cancellor himself manages to reinterpret Bale’s original preface and apply it to a very different social and economic agenda.<sup>140</sup>

Through his editing of Bale’s preface, Cancellor recreates the context of the translation as exclusively aristocratic, the result of a monarch’s dedication “to the comfort of the famous learned of your realme” and evidence of her focused mind amidst “courtly delices, and amidde the inticement of worldly vanities” (A3v). Without the praise of nobility and devotional literary production, Elizabeth’s translation figures as a youthful exercise, a worthy distraction for a young princess, but not necessarily an act other women should or could attempt to reproduce. As such, Cancellor replaces the value of the work as a product of Protestant devotion with a more superficial, marketplace value: the “loving subjects” will purchase the book because of its association with the Queen and because the added materials that make it “so precious a jewell.” Tellingly, Cancellor’s only mention of the work as a model for literary production identifies its readers as male, asking:

<sup>140</sup> Of course, this by no means determines how women will actually read the text, and it is possible that women resisted this interpretation or even preferred it to the more active performance required by Bale’s paratext. A woman interested only in how the *Godly Meditation* improves her private devotion may have easily identified with Cancellor’s preface.

Who hath not the cause and occasion, setting before him your paine and travayle, to shake of all sluggishness, and to yeelde to his country some condigne fruite of his studies? To what persons (be never so ignorant or unlearned) may not this most earnest zeale of a most mightie Princesse of high estate, be an effectual provocation and encouraging to have good minde and will to reade, heare, and embrace this devout and fruitfull meditation, so playnely and sensibly translated, and so graciously by your highness offered. And (as ye would say) put into all folkes handes, to be made familier unto them? (A4v)

Cancellor reinforces the class distinction between the work's readers and its author by contrasting the Queen's "high estate" with the "ignorant and unlearned" readers, who can hope to profit from her example by proxy, because they were smart enough to purchase this edition or at least to "heare and embrace" it through others. Chancellor defines Elizabeth's translation as the work of a uniquely talented author, whose aristocratic upbringing (and not her religious devotion) makes her worthy of admiration. Thus, the print agent eliminates the space created in Bale's preface where female readers could participate in the process of literary production. Even if in theory Chancellor appears to accept the country's Protestant values, in practice his preface strips much of the religious capital of the book, suggesting that its most attractive, marketable feature is the cultural capital of owning something authored by the Queen, rather than the possibility of religious meditation aided by her translation.

Through his self-presentation as a Protestant historian, Bale reinforced his appreciation of female devotion. His preface encouraged Elizabeth and other women like her to consider their religious practice as a contribution to the commonwealth: part of a special, spiritual kind of nobility. In contrast, Chancellor chooses to distance himself and his readers from the text. His dedication distinguishes Elizabeth from other women by both her social and her authorial status, and presents him as a print agent in need of patronage. His "preface to the reader" blends portions of Bale's conclusion with Marguerite de Navarre's preface, justifying that the work of a woman, which Navarre/Elizabeth apologized for, is worth

reading because she is “none other woman, than was both godly minded, and bourne of Noble parentage” (A6). The class distinction, which is Cancellor’s own addition, supersedes the gendered and religious identity of the text.<sup>141</sup> Skeggs argues that “femininity can be [appropriated for] a range of things: it can be a resource, a form of regulation, an embodied disposition, and/or a symbolically legitimate form of cultural capital” which men can “turn” to their own advantage (24). In other words, men can (and do) embody the female position when such a position offers them a form of cultural or symbolic capital. Highlighting women’s experience of devotional writing and reading as a unique form of religious practice helped Bale further his Protestant project and his own self-presentation as a historiographer. Cancellor’s interests lie, instead, in making the book as marketable as possible while still making a bid for the queen’s support. To avoid inciting female readers to Protestant literary production, Cancellor omits the sections from Bale that lend themselves to those readings. Although it is likely that Cancellor succeeded in ensuring that his edition saw a larger, more diversified readership than Bale’s, Cancellor’s preface constructs a very different identity for the text, using class and gender to distance the author from her readers, and place the editor as a (male) mediating voice.

**Religion in the Household: Thomas Bentley’s Monument of Matrons** Thomas Bentley’s *A Monument of Matrons* (1582) was a widely popular collection of women’s writings intended to revive works that had supposedly gone out of print. One of the largest publications of the time (over 1500 quarto pages), this ambitious work was designed to attract more religious readers, particularly women, to the print marketplace.<sup>142</sup> In addition to

<sup>141</sup> In Bale’s edition, the text reads: “if the homely speche here do to moche offende consydre it to be the worke of a woman, as she in the begynnyng thereof have most metely desyred. And yet of none other woman, than was most godly minded” (fol.39).

<sup>142</sup> According to Atkinson and Atkinson, the publication was “part of a Church of England endeavor to increase the place of women in the devotional life of the late sixteenth century” (330).



Elizabeth's translation, the work includes Katherine Parr's *Lamentations of a Sinner*, prayers by Lady Jane Grey, prayers for and by Queen Elizabeth, morning and evening prayers by Lady Elizabeth Tyrwhit, a variety of examples of women from the Bible, and countless anonymous texts. Without a doubt, this text is "a massive demonstration of widespread articulate female piety and learning that reaches across classes and speaks from multiple standpoints of the many different social roles women play" (Quilligan 67). For the purposes of this analysis, I want to focus on Bentley's preface to Elizabeth's work and his editorial choices in advertising the *Godly Meditation* as part of (and at times unique from) the opening title page designed to introduce the smaller books, or "lamps of virginity," that make up the complete collection. Scholars like John King and Jo and Colin Atkinson have effectively demonstrated that this publication greatly advanced the English Reformation and increased the visibility of female devotion. Here, I want to connect Bentley's attempts back to Bale's preface, investigating how the previous editions of Elizabeth's translation set some of the grounds for what Bentley accomplishes (granted, in a much larger scale) in his *Monument*. Further, I will interpret Bentley's editorial interventions through Diane Reay's and Elizabeth Silva's concept of emotional capital. Although I touch on this theory briefly in my discussion of Bale's edition, Bentley's work, in more ways than one, extends Bale's original project. In effect, Bentley articulates a broad spectrum of female positions in relation to the text, showing that devotion is at once private and public. For Bentley, reading enacts a performance of emotional capital that contributes to English cultural and religious life by nurturing the state. Further, this text encourages women to identify the words "feminine" and "virginity" with positive representations of female behavior dissociated from the imperative to remain silent and obedient.

It is likely that Henry Denham had a working copy of the text at the ready, since he also worked on Cancellor's editions. By 1582, Denham had four presses across London, from

which he printed a variety of religious material thanks mostly to patents inherited from William Seres. He would later become involved in financing and printing editions of Holinshed's *Chronicles* along with several fellow printers. Denham was a popular and wealthy printer, who must have been immediately attracted to Bentley's ambitious undertaking and had the funds to make it possible. Although Bentley repeatedly insists that the collection will benefit the unpracticed and unlearned, the size and quality of the publication would have made it affordable only to readers with a sizeable disposable income. Bentley justifies the high cost as a spiritual investment, telling his readers that although the content, paper quality, and "unusuall letter" increase the monetary value of the collection, the "goodness of the content" makes it a must-have commodity: "so no doubt shall the pleasure and profit of the one at the least countervaille, if not far surmount, the paine and charges of the other" (B4v). The *Monument's* print agents (both Bentley as well as his printer, Henry Denham) remind savvy readers that the religious experience is affected by material commodities because "purchased goods, household time, and human capital affect a family's capacity to 'produce' religious satisfaction" (Iannaccone 175). Bentley assumes that families with money to spend will likely be more (financially) devout, willing to invest both time and money in their religious practice. As King observes, Bentley's preface to the reader often betrays an interest in elite women whose "all-encompassing pursuit should occupy every hour of 'day and night continually and incessantly'" (225). Indeed, Bentley's compilation, both in size and quality, appears to represent a higher-class audience almost exclusively. However, a close analysis of his preface shows a detailed construction of the book as religious commodity and a purveyor of emotional capital. Stressing the book's value as profitable "both for private and public use," Bentley markets the collection as a source of emotional capital for a wide variety of women. Through reading and sharing the lessons from the

Lamps, Bentley's readers can contribute to their household production of religious capital and prove their social value to the country's spiritual strength.

Each of the *Monument's* seven books, or "Lamps of Virginitie," opens with its own title page, and many close with an index or errata list. These title pages are not merely textual markers: they all bear the 1582 date of publication and most include information about the printer, Henry Denham, and the location of his stall (fig. 15). Given the publication details and the highly ornate and unique illustrations of each, it is very likely that most of the *Monument* was designed to be sold in sections.<sup>143</sup> Each title page, especially in the first volume, is designed to illustrate the central authors or themes of the Lamp, foregrounding popular works Denham feels might be most attractive to browsing readers. The opening title-page functions, then, to market the collection as a unique commodity. The title-page introduces the work as: *The Monument of Matrons: conteining seven severall lamps of virginitie, or distinct treatises; whereof the first five concern praier and meditation: the other two last, precepts and examples, as the worthie works partlie of men, partlie of women; complied for the necessarie use of both sexes out of the sacred scriptures, and other approved authors, by Thomas Bentley of Graies Inne student.* Significantly, although women are the subject of the central title and its several lamps, Bentley (and possibly Denham) makes a point to note that the book contains works by and for both sexes. Following the same line, the woodcut illustrations feature the Biblical reference that inspired the book's title: "then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins, who took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom" (Mathew 25). Two other woodcuts depict key moments in women's Biblical history: on the upper left corner, Eve reaches for the forbidden fruit (Genesis 3); on

<sup>143</sup> The lamps were produced in at least three separate volumes: Lamps 1-4, Lamps 5-6, and Lamp 7 was printed separately. The production switched hands for final volume, when printer Thomas Dawson took over—a significant difference in quality, especially in the title-page illustration, is obvious in Lamp 7, and it is possible that that edition sold for a lower price than the previous volumes. For more details, see John N. King, "Thomas Bentley's *Monument of Matrons*: The Earliest Anthology of English Women's Texts" in *Strong Voices, Weak History: Early Women Writers and Canons in England, France, and Italy* (2005).

the upper right, Mary receives the Annunciation of Christ (Luke 1). Although specific to the female experience, the illustrations place the focus on the *Monument* as book of religious instruction, distinguishing it from popular “mirrors for women” texts, most of which catalogued examples of “good” and “bad” women throughout history but ultimately served to reinforce models of silence and obedience for women readers.<sup>144</sup> Further, this title-page indicates that Bentley and Denham were invested in attracting religious readers of both sexes towards the publication, particularly for its larger volumes. In fact, there is evidence of at least one male reader who owned the *Monument* and read selectively from it. Kate Narveson’s analysis of this male reader’s annotations demonstrates that “readers did not necessarily submit passively to the direction of prayer books but mined them for contents that spoke to their own preoccupations” (18). In this case, the male reader ignored the preface’s suggestion that book was targeted to women, choosing to read selectively from Biblical references he found interesting. Reception traces also remind us to consider that many readers resisted the models presented to them in prefaces, and that both women and men could (and likely did) subvert the interests of the print agent in their reading habits. This, however, does not harm the agent’s immediate concern, which is to find buyers for his book.<sup>145</sup> The opening title page thus reinforces Bentley’s overall project, revealing that he was not simply invested in attracting more women to buy printed books, but sought instead to make female literary contributions more visible in the marketplace as a whole. His belief that his book addressed a

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<sup>144</sup> For example, *A new co[m]modye in englysh in maner of an enterlude ryght elygant [and] full of craft of rethoryk, wherein is shewd [and] dyscrybyd as well the bewte [and] good propertes of women, as theyr vycys [and] euyll co[n]dicio[n]s, with a morall co[n]clusion [and] exhortacyon to vertew* (1525), the infamous *Schole house of women* (1541); or the anonymous *The deceyte of women, to the instruction and ensample of all men yonge and olde* (1557). Even texts praising or defending women rarely supported female literary production or social participation and, as I argue in chapter one, many of these publications were driven by a market demand for texts that contributed to the *querelle des femmes* debates.

<sup>145</sup> As I have argued, print agents often placed their monetary interests over their literary sensibilities; even in the case of religious printing, print agents needed to be cunning in order to stay afloat. While it can be illuminating to study individual readers and reception histories, it is equally valuable to consider the ways print agents designed books to be immediately attractive to a variety of readers.

largely ignored market of female readers makes the book more attractive to potential buyers interested in the latest, newest genres.

The Second Lamp's title page (book 2 of the collection, fig. 16) title-page also emphasizes the Lamp's market-value for both men and women. This time, however, Bentley and Denham choose to advertise), which includes Elizabeth's translation among other works, advertises almost exclusively the *Godly Meditation*. Although the title announces "divers godlie meditations, and Christian praier made by sundrie virtuous Queenes, and other devout and godlie women of our time," Denham devotes the focal point of the page to the full title of Elizabeth's translation. The illustrative woodcuts specifically depict the central authors of the Lamp (Queens Elizabeth, Hester, Katherine, and Margaret) all in kneeling, praying positions, gazing upwards to the inscription at the top of the page. If Bentley intended the collection as a bid for the Queen's patronage, reprinting her translation must have seemed like an obvious choice. The central placement of the title suggests that the *Godlie Meditation* was still capable of attracting new and returning readers to buy the *Second Lamp* solely (or primarily) because it contained Elizabeth's work.

Bentley's dedicatory epistle to Elizabeth contains the usual high praise of the Queen's exemplary religious devotion, justifying her refusal to marry as evidence of her dedication to her country. Embodying the Protestant Church, Elizabeth occupies all the domestic roles in England's spiritual family: at once Christ's "spiritual spouse" and a stand-in for Mary through her "perpetuall virginitie," she is the country's "most naturall mother and noble nurse" (A3v). As such, she is also the perfect model for English women to understand their devotional practice as an important facet of their civic duty, so that "manie may often looke and labour mightily for your Highness as they are bound, in fervent praier" (ibid). Literary scholars see this preface as a reinforcement of the growing cult of Elizabeth's virginity, connecting her religion to the duty she professes to ruling the country. John N. King argues

that Bentley's bid for patronage was vital in helping develop and sustain "a unique moment, when grandiose celebration of the perpetual virginity of a regnant English queen was coming into existence" (235). Building on this, Quilligan demonstrates that Bentley in fact used Elizabeth's own model of holy incest established in the original translation to reinforce the Queen's presentation as mother, wife, and sibling to her subjects. This articulation of femininity would become the pillar of the cult of virginity that Elizabeth and her supporters developed over the years to supplant marriage debates, and is no doubt an important context for Bentley's work. However, this epistle also works in another way: in conjunction with the preface to the reader, it helps establish a connection between Elizabeth's religio-political capital and the civil contribution of women readers across the nation. Bentley's construction of femininity allows women's devotional reading to assume a larger, more valuable social role in their private and public lives. As Corwin Smidt argues, "social capital forged through religion shapes civic engagement [and] contributes to a greater and richer democratic life" (3). Bale's preface presents religious practices as a source of nobility and a powerful religious capital resource. Bentley takes this a step further, creating a space where devotional reading fulfills social and familial obligations.

Bentley spends a considerable amount of his lengthy preface defining the wide variety of women represented in the collection, from mothers, to sisters, to housemaids, and widows. To Bentley, reading is a participatory and embodied experience, one which unites the private and the public in a single practice. Echoing Bale and Cancellor, the preface opens with a praise to women who "for the common benefit of their countrie have ...spend their time, their wits, their substance, and also their bodies" in studying and producing devotional literature (b1). For these kinds of women, religious and social capital are one "universal commoditie" that contributes to England's collective Protestant value. Further, this contribution is not limited to the elite, but represented textually across social classes and religious purposes.

Bentley explains that he has simplified some of the vocabulary and added explanations “for the simpler sort of women”; this, however, is not intended to restrict or patronize, but to make the religious capital available to a wider readership:

all godlie and devout women readers might have in some measure, wherewith to exercise their faith; stir up their devotion, and to satisfy their godlie desires; and also verie readily find without tediousness or distraction of the mind vertuouslie inclined, whatsoever they would either by praier aske, by meditation ponder, by precepts learne, or by examples imitate, or avoid to their comfort and edification I endeavoured for their sakes to cull and bring out ... tings both old and new... both for private and publike use, adding thereunto such plenty of heavenlie and spiritual helps, both for profit and pleasure, as the diversities of so divine matter, and varietie of so honorable inventions would afford. (B1r-v)

Bentley equates material practicality (the book is easy to consult) with religious productivity (the book “culls” together many opportunities for prayer), arguing that this coupling makes his collection a unique commodity. As he will repeat several times through the preface, the practice of religious devotion is not public *or* private, but both at once: even in the reader’s private chamber, the act of prayer connects her to the subjects of her prayers and to the Protestant Church’s principles. Thus, while he recommends that women keep the book “as to their homelie or domesticall librarie,” and suggests that the Fourth Lamp itself be used as “a domesticall librarie ... readie prepared to lie in your secret chamber or oratorie to use,” Bentley stresses that the private reading is supposed to “encourage others ... to take good opportunitie by this occasion offered even for the common benefit of Christs congregation, to publish the same abroad” (B2v). Bentley shapes the profit-value of the book through the act of not just reading but performing the text. His preface incites public action by inviting women to embody the examples of authors in the collection and “with our most gracious Sovereign Lady Queene Elizabeth to muse ... or with mistresse Dorcas Marten carefullie to instruct their whole familie in the principall points of Christian religion” (ibid). Furthermore, Bentley explicitly reminds his readers that their performance must not be just “silently in

heart with Hannah” but also “openly in mouth with Mary.” Thus, by adding other female authors and Biblical examples to the variety of positions available to readers, Bentley builds on Bale’s original preface. For Bale, active devotion is realized through the act of buying and reading Protestant literature. For Bentley, reading is a physical and oral performance that must be at once internalized and publically expressed. The woman’s role as a reader is not just to learn, but to teach.

Devotional reading implies an active role from the reader, especially for the female reader who will impart her knowledge onto her family and friends. Laurence Iannaccone argues that one of the reasons why marketing religious capital is an important way to maintain religious institutions is because “religious capital – familiarity with a religion’s doctrines, rituals, traditions, and members –enhances the satisfaction one receives from participation in that religion” (299). I would add here that, especially for middle-class women, religious capital also contributes to household satisfaction and a more fulfilled sense of self. As I have discussed, emotional capital and consumption of commodities for the household provide an entryway for middle-class women to express their identity; the marketplace choices made by the female consumer help define who she is in the simultaneous “public *and* private” space outlined by Bentley. Ownership of this book implies an elevated social and cultural capital: not just because the family could afford it, but because it had the good taste to select it in the first place. Further, religious practice through performance and repetition signifies a civic involvement, a commitment to “fight ... the good fight of faith courageously in the pure love of their country, and christian charity toward their neighbours” (B4).

Bentley outlines a specific social and familial role for each kind of woman, suggesting that the book provides different types of emotional capital. The daughter, for instance, can express her personal contributions to her family by mimicking Hester’s “dutiful obedience



towards [her] parents”; elite ladies can express their “christian behavior towards their handmaidens” and, in return, working-class women may follow Hagar, Abia, and Rhode by performing “fidelitie and obedient service towards their mistress” (B2). Bentley promises that his collection will serve for all religious occasions, but trusts his readers to make their own selective reading, feeling free to ignore the organization of the book and “to observe this or that order, method, forme, or directions, which he in his word doth allow of, or you knowe best will keepe you in the continuall faith” (B3). This acknowledgement is evidence that print agents knew and expected readers to peruse books out of order, or to read only sections of a given collection at will (and certainly the male reader that Kate Narveson describes can be a concrete example of that). However, this is also a strong call to action towards female readers, empowering them to take ownership of the text and accepting their capacity for making decisions on their private learning and their family’s interests. Further, Bentley asserts that printed books have practical, social functions—while manuscript circulation allowed for more clear collaborative and selective reading methods, the technology of print makes such active reading widely accessible to the public. For women in particular, Bentley’s preface is a call to become visible, selective consumers of a culturally influential technology.

Through each Lamp, the reader can intercede on behalf of her family, choosing to “praie that God would bless their children... to power out their harts before the Lord in teares for a sonne ... by praier to prevent the mischeefes that hang as well over their heads, as their families” and participate on the maintenance of the English faith by going “on their knees to praie for the good prosperitie and preservation of their gracious governour Queen Elizabeth” (B3v). By highlighting the various uses of his collection, Bentley outlines the social and even political roles that women can assume through their purchase and performance of devotional texts. Following Elizabeth’s own model, women readers can be spiritual teachers, mothers, and models of Protestant faith, contributing to the public life by increasing their families’ and

friends' religious capital. Bentley's (and Denham's) investment in making the collection marketable to a wide variety of readers makes their publication a valuable cultural commodity, representative of the myriad ways in which women became "a powerful cultural symbol" for the development of English literature and of a national Protestant identity (Summit 7).

While there are problematic issues surrounding the participation of male editors in shaping of women's writing, this reading demonstrates the ways marketing strategies could function to open up spaces for a broader variety of women's social and political engagements. Although I do not wish to imply that Bentley's project involved encouraging all classes of women to visibly or actively participate in public or political life, I hope I have demonstrated that his preface (whether he means it or not) helps construct such positions, and that he may have found a model for this approach in Bale's earlier edition, even as it was reframed by Cancellor. As feminist scholars of early modern literature have successfully argued, religious practice was not relegated to the private confines of the bedchamber, and women's participation in writing and circulating such texts is not evidence of marginalized, restricted agencies. Arguably, print agents' encouragement of certain kinds of readerships for women is a way of controlling and restricting their access to the marketplace: by encouraging women to find social capital in religious devotion, one could suggest that print agents effectively kept women from seeking out other forms of capital. Nonetheless, in contrast with the many texts and political acts that directly set out to control femininity, interventions such as Bale's, Cancellor's, and Bentley's can be seen as a positive force.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Although women both engaged and responded to such representations, works antagonizing women were highly popular in the period. On such works and some counterarguments for such readings, see Hannay, *Silent but for the word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works* (1985); Haselkorn and Travinsky, *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon* (1990); Malcolmson and Suzuki, *Debating Gender in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (2002); Luckyj, "A Moving Rhetoricke": *Gender and Silence in Early Modern England* (2002); and Lamb, *Oral Traditions and Gender in Early Modern Literary Texts* (2008).

Furthermore, as Helen Smith argues, it is more productive to consider these editorial practices “not as male- or female-authored but as the interface at which numerous agents coincide, in complex and varied ways” (4). The example of *A Godly Meditation* demonstrates that collaboration did not simply happen through print agents and authors, but among print agents as well: Cancellor and Bentley both work with and respond to Bale’s original edition, even as they remove some of his paratextual material. While Cancellor relies on a more nuanced, reflective reading, suggesting that women can gain religious capital by carefully studying the queen’s translation, Bentley allows for a wide variety of social classes of women to join in the history of women’s writing. The history of the manuscript’s production, though virtually invisible to the marketplace readers, informs and shapes the ways each agent defines his readership and, further, the ways they define their own identity as supporters of Queen Elizabeth and the Protestant Church. Elizabeth’s translation and decoration of the book allowed her to demonstrate the power of her religious capital through her knowledge of the scriptures and of various languages asserting, through it, her emotional capital as Henry VIII’s daughter and legitimate heir. This original setup allowed for each print agent to make such forms of capital available to other female readers. Seeking to establish their own devotion to the Queen, Bale, Cancellor, and Bentley replicate her rhetoric and praise her devotion as a symbol of English values. In doing so, the three print agents authorize and encourage female readers to embody Elizabeth’s performance, and find their own emotional and religious capital through their literary performances. As we will see in the next chapter, readership, authorship, and social space become more and more embedded in the interaction of author and/as reader. Print agents’ presentation of popular authors as an English icon contributes to the development of English literature and, even further, to the development of an English readership that understands the market value of reading as social practice.

## CHAPTER 3 FIGURES



Figure 13. A Godly Meditation of the Soul, 1548.

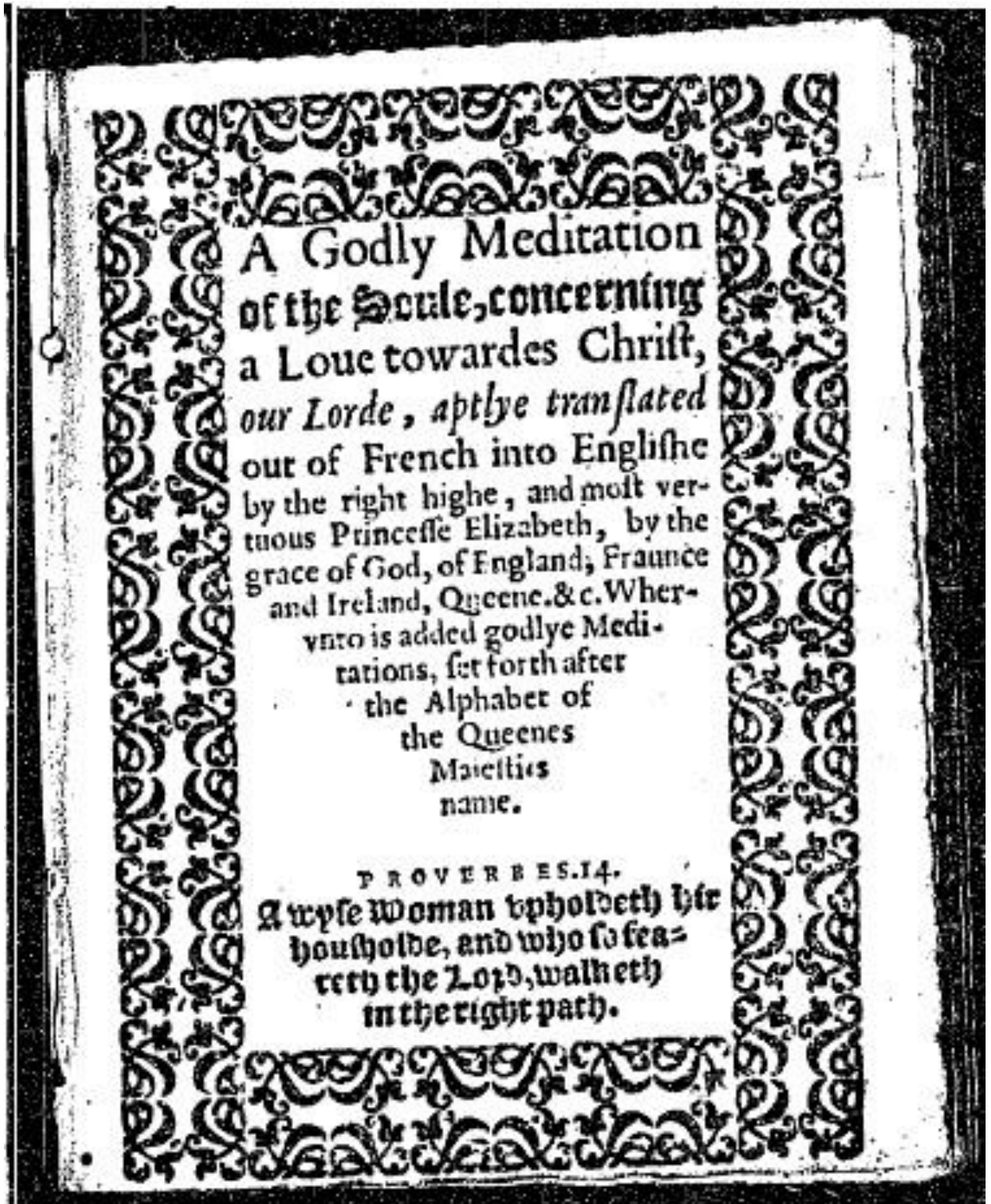


Figure 14. A Godly Meditation of the Soule, 1580.

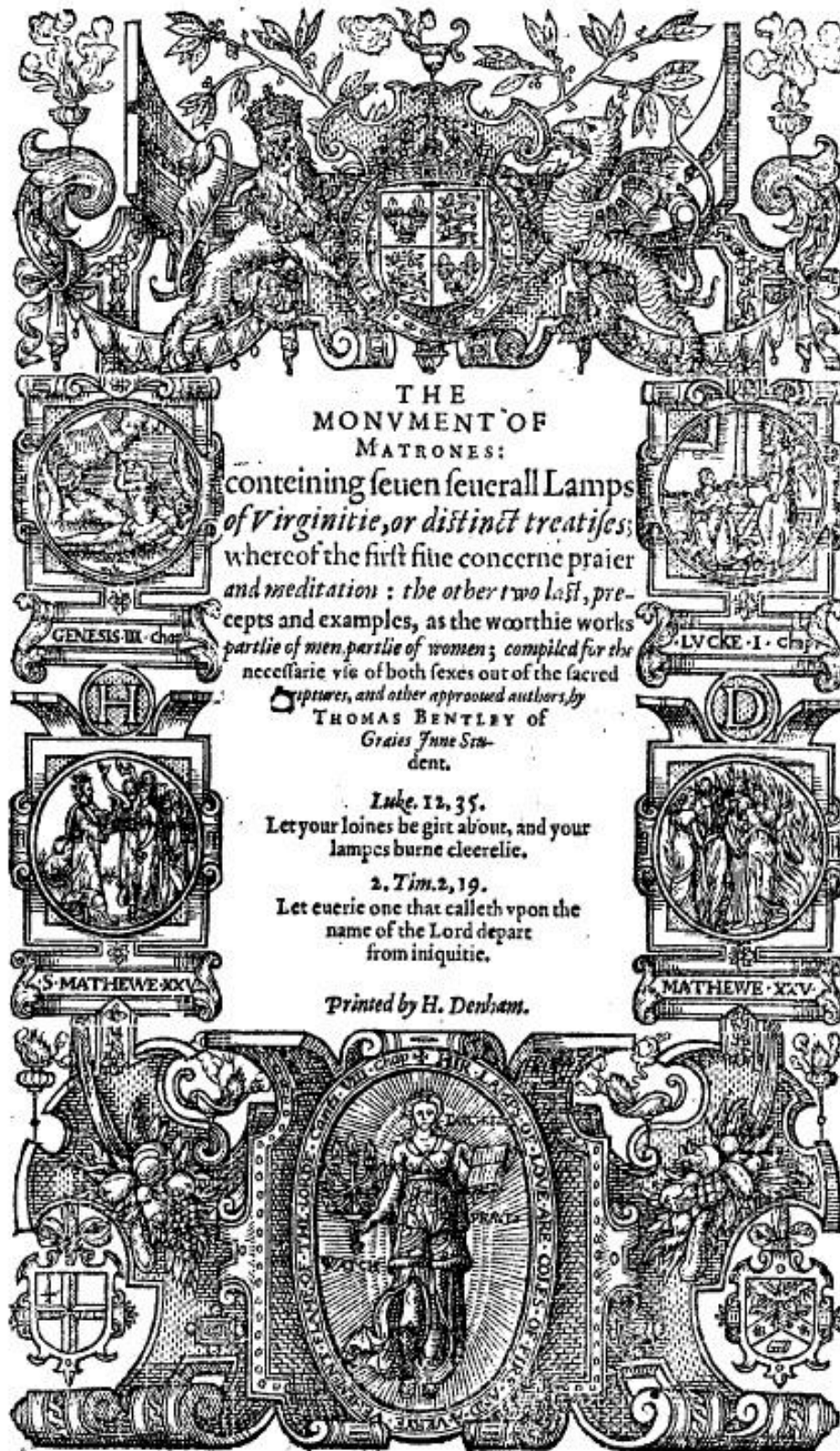


Figure 15. The Monument of Matrones. London: H. Denham, 1582.

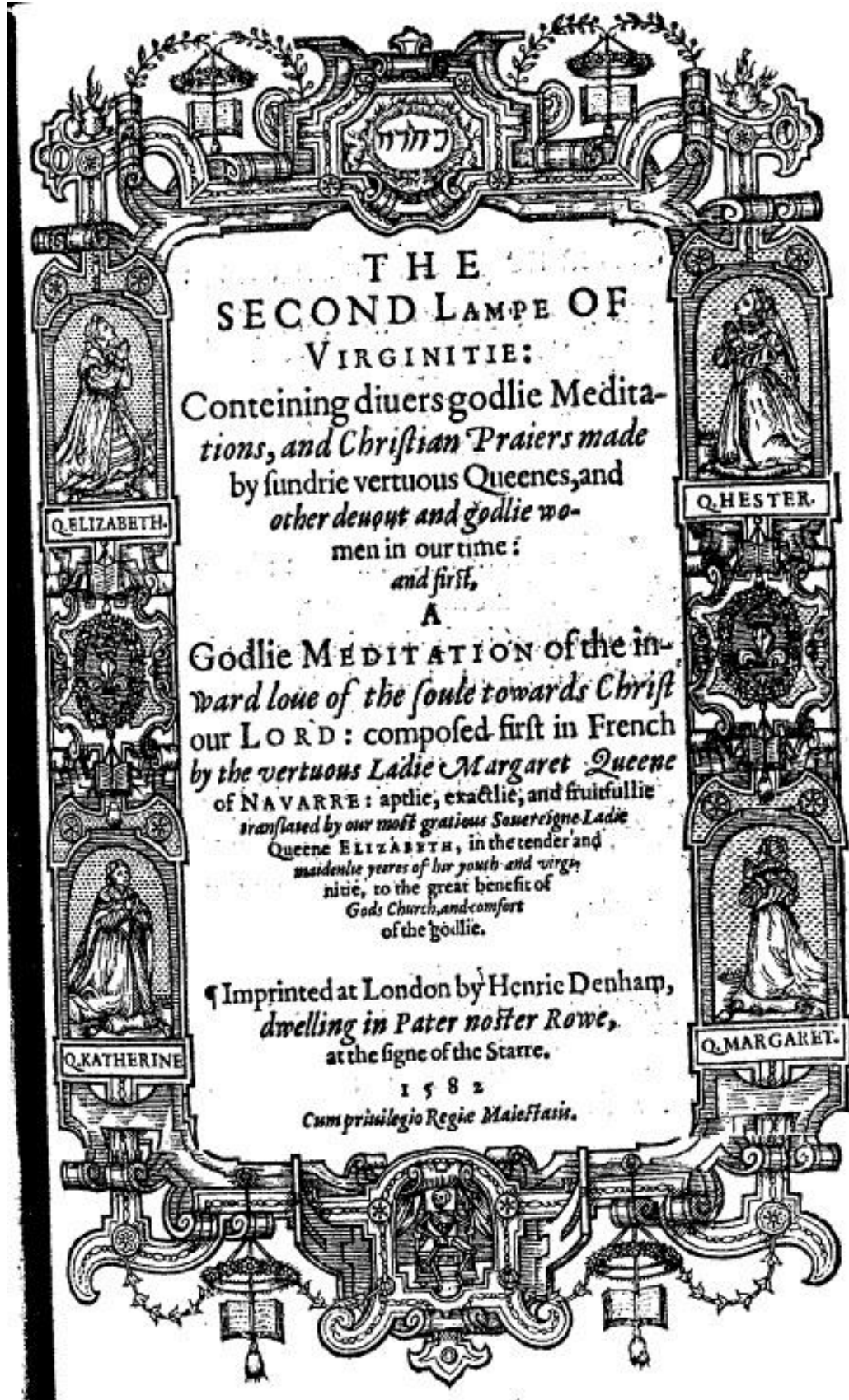


Figure 16. The Monument of Matrons: The Second Lampe of Virginitie, 1592.

## CHAPTER 4 Marketing Literary Authority: Edmund Spenser's Branding Strategies for The Shepheardes Calender

Thou hast here plainely discovered to publique view [...] lately risen up and now raigneing amongst us, by the name of Levellers; they were descryed long agoe in Queene Elizabeths dayes, and then graphically described by the Prince of English Poets Edmund Spenser, whose verses then propheticall are now become historicall in our dayes....

Anon, *The Faerie Leveller* (A2)

*The Faerie Leveller*, a short pamphlet printed anonymously in 1648, is undoubtedly a shameless marketing ploy: aside from the print agent's preface, the tract is strictly a word-by-word reproduction of *The Faerie Queene's* Book 5, Canto 2 (stanzas 29-54, to be precise). The title-page promises a prophetic tale: "a lively representation of our times" as predicted by "the poet Laureate Edmund Spenser in his unpareld poeme, entituled, The Faerie Queene." Much like the faux-Utopian pamphlets discussed in Chapter 2, the work takes advantage of a popular author and brand-name publication to encourage readers to read and buy what appears to be new material. In the "necessary preface opening the allegory," the anonymous publisher explains that the pamphlet contains sections "now revised, and newly published ... for the undeceiving of simple people," which have been helpfully glossed by replacing the names of characters like Artegal and The Giant with King Charles and Oliver Cromwell respectively. Spenser's enduring success was likely the reason the anonymous publisher of *The Faerie Leveller* decided to use Spenser's epic as a backdrop for his pamphlet attacking Levellers—a newly formed political faction. As such, the pamphlet is evidence of the cultural power Spenser's authorial brand had acquired in the print marketplace.

By the mid-seventeenth century, Spenser's name on a title-page represented a strong protocol for readers, suggesting the work being advertised might offer a desirable level of cultural capital to the book buyer. In the previous chapters, I have discussed the ways print agents allied profit, taste, and social capital to market printed books as unique commodities.



By investigating the marketing processes that led Spenser's name to become an authorial brand and popular protocol, this chapter demonstrates how a savvy author like Spenser could take advantage of the textual and material relationships between author, print agent, and readers to shape his own literary authority.

The 1579 publication of *The Shepheardes Calender*, Spenser's pastoral eclogues, marked the inauguration of the author's long and profitable career as an English cultural commodity. And yet, the work was published anonymously under the pseudonym "Immerito," and its twelve eclogues (set out to represent the twelve months) are framed by an equally mysterious editor: "E.K."<sup>147</sup> As many critics have suggested, Spenser's choice to omit his name from the work is evidence of a carefully crafted poetic narrative, whereby Spenser can emerge as "the new Poet" and eventually rise to the status of a renowned author in his national epic, *The Faerie Queene* (1590).<sup>148</sup> Spenser's construction of his career in the Virgilian model did not depend simply on the poet's own designs: Spenser had to rely on print agents to publish and market his books and, crucially, on a reading public willing to buy and read those books.

As Chapter 2 argues, Thomas More's narrative unwittingly allowed print agents to present the *Utopia* as a recognizable name brand; here I show the ways Spenser's intentional self-branding maneuvers helped him market himself as a canonical, versatile author.<sup>149</sup> I

<sup>147</sup> Critics such as Agnes D. Kuersteiner, Edward A. Stephenson and Louise Schleiner generally agree that Spenser seems to be the authorial voice behind the glosses, but a case has been made that E.K. may have been Edward Kirke, a clergyman from Suffulf (see Variorumm, VII). I follow Michael McCanles's argument that "it is part of the fiction of *The Shepheardes Calender* that E.K.'s glosses and commentary are not part of the fiction," that is: in the story told by the *Calender* the editor is an external voice and should be read as such (5).

<sup>148</sup> Most notably, Louis Montrose has claimed that Spenser was responsible for "a new Elizabethan author function," whereby he "not only professionalizes through print the subjectivity of a writer whose class position might otherwise have rendered him merely the anonymous functionary of his patron" (319). Critics like Helgerson suggests that Spenser's self-imposed Virgilian model (rising from humble pastoral to national epic) is in fact a complicated critique of poetic models of the time, "revealing that poetry written under such a guise [of a poetic persona] is sophistic, self-indulgent, and fruitless" (72).

<sup>149</sup> Trevor Ross argues in his excellent *The Making of the English Literary Canon* (2000) that although the kind of institutionalized, reverent canon-formation we have today may be rightly traced back to the eighteenth-century, as early as the 1520s we may be able to trace a canonic practice that praised literary production. Early modern authors, he claims, struggled to "reconcile this sense of absolute [canonic] value with an equally

analyze the careers of Spenser's print agents—Hugh Singleton, John Harrison, Henry Bynneman, William Ponsonby, and Cuthbert Burby—to demonstrate that Spenser relied on their broader marketing strategies and reading publics to shape his perception as an up-and-coming author. Each individual print agent's (and reader's) interpretation and reworking of Spenser's image ultimately contributed to making him an iconic English author-brand.

I posit that Spenser, in collaboration with Gabriel Harvey, deliberately chose Hugh Singleton for the publication of *The Shepheardes Calender* because Singleton's association with the Protestant literary market would have provided Spenser with a pre-established market of readers. Spenser's paratexts took advantage of recognizable formats and genres to teach his readers how to recognize and interact with innovative literature. The following year, Spenser and Harvey would publish their *Three Very Proper, and Wittie Familiar Letters* (1580) with Henry Bynneman, a move that both expanded and reinforced Immerito's cultural capital. Those two publications influenced subsequent print agents and their representation of Spenser's authorship as a recognizable English name brand. In addition to the *Calender's* pastoral poetry, I look at two additional genres: a collection of complaint poems entitled *Complaints, Containing Sundrie Small Poems of the Worlds Vanity* (1591) published by William Ponsonby; and Spenser's (presumed) translation of Plato's *Axiochus* printed for Cuthbert Burby in 1592.<sup>150</sup> My two final examples, the aforementioned pamphlet *The Faerie Leveller* (published anonymously in 1648), and a Latin edition of the *Calender* (1653's *Calendarium Pastorale*, printed by M.M.T.C. and C. Bedell) are evidence of the enduring

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compelling desire to acknowledge change and difference, whether in the distinctiveness of an English tradition, the renewing modernity of their own work, the alterity of older writings, or the vicissitudes of experience" (18-9). These issues are certainly at stake for Spenser, and I discuss some of them below with regards to the kind of iconic literature (and iconic English author) Spenser was trying to create in print.

<sup>150</sup> Although the work has been included in the *Variorum* edition, some critics argue that it may have been translated by Anthony Munday (who may more conclusively have been the author for the "sweet speech" advertised with the translation on the title-page. For more, see Frederick Morgan Padelford, *The 'Axiochus' of Plato Translated by Edmund Spenser* (1934); Erdman and Fogel, *Evidence for Authorship: Essays on Problems of Attribution* (1985), p. 423-7; Harold Weatherby, "Axiochus and the Bower of Bliss: Some Fresh Light on Sources and Authorship" *Spenser Studies* 6: 95-113, and Wright, "Anthony Mundy, 'Edward' Spenser, and E.K.," *PMLA* 76: 34-39.

popularity of Spenser's works and the marketing power of his author-brand even after his death.

While critics like Richard McCabe and Annabel Patterson have similarly argued that Spenser carefully and deliberately targeted specific print agents, this chapter takes this further by focusing on Spenser's printed literary history as a product of collaboration between Spenser, Gabriel Harvey, their print agents and, indirectly, each print agents' market of readers. The (perceived) evolution of Spenser's author-brand was the result of pre-established protocols for familiar genres, popular print agents, and Spenser's self-constructed literary history.<sup>151</sup> Spenser relied on different kinds of readers, from the cultured to the "unlearned," to shape and expand Immerito's persona as well as the *Calender's* identity myth—that is, the recognizable story consumers eventually associate with the brand.<sup>152</sup> In effect, Spenser manufactured his own symbolic myth for the rising (English) author not simply through Immerito but especially through his choices of printers, markets, and his creation of a persona that was at once exclusive and popular (what I will call "open exclusivity").

Seeking to brand his work as part of a modern-day canon, Spenser helped solidify print as a valuable resource for iconic literature. Further, his investment in having his works printed reveals a drive to shape authorship and literary success as a public, not exclusive or aristocratic, commodity. As Michelle O'Callaghan argues, *The Shepheardes Calender* manages to create "communal contexts of literary production" where readers, writers, editors,

<sup>151</sup> I do not deal with the idea of an author-function, as established by Michel Foucault, in this chapter, nor do I seek to suggest that Spenser's authorial brand represents a broader evolution of the status of the author in the marketplace. Instead, I wish to discuss the ways that the name "Spenser," much like the word "Utopia," came to represent a recognizable protocol for readers, and one that print agents found to be reliably profitable for advertising and selling new works.

<sup>152</sup> Identity myths, as I show in Chapter 2, are an important facet of successful iconic brands: memorable brands often bring forward a story that helps consumers engage with and resolve social or cultural conflicts. This discussion is related to the concept of "followers, insiders, and feeders" outlined by Douglas B. Holt in *How Brands Become Icons* (2004). In Chapter 3, I demonstrate how the narrative of *Utopia* depends on readers who lend credibility to the work, "the gatekeepers of the brand's claims to the populist world" (142) as well as on readers who will consume anything related to the brand because they "have only a superficial connection to the values propagated by the icon through its myth" (147). As I will argue, Spenser's *Calendar* also takes advantage of both types of readers to build a vast audience that can not only appreciate good literature, but recognize where to buy it and what it looks like as a printed book.

and printers collaborate to make-up textual meaning and to construct the figure of the author, filling in details about Immerito and E.K., but also deciphering the genre and intended purposes of the text (11). Spenser's maneuvers in selecting the right print agents to position his works demonstrate two powerful marketing strategies: retro branding and myth-making (or symbolic marketing). By creating the fictional figures of Immerito and E.K., Spenser ensured that the *Calender* represented both an inauguration of the author's Virgilian progress and a means of creating anticipation for his future unveiling as the work's true author. As I will demonstrate, Spenser takes advantage of existing markets for almanacs, epistolary writing, and Protestant literature to construct the myth of Immerito (and, later, to shape his author-brand) and to present the *Calender* as a new-yet-familiar text.

Retro-branding theory is particularly helpful in illuminating how and why this process worked for Spenser: as Brown et. al explain, nostalgia "provide[s] a sense of comfort and close-knit community" capable of generating a shared, communal longing for safe, familiar brands or stories and embedding historical events with an especially strong market value (20). By using recognizable stories, brand revivals are able to evoke "vivid yet relevant associations for particular consumers ... [and] inspire a solidarity and sense of belonging to a community" (30). The *Shepherd's Calender* enables nostalgic branding in two ways: for the "gentle" reader, capable of reading into the work's allegories and covert references, the *Calender* uses the pastoral genre to engage in political arguments about Protestant England, criticize Elizabeth's marriage negotiations, and reshape the role of the professional poet and the aristocratic patronage system.<sup>153</sup> However, for the middle-class, book-buying reader (who is the subject of this analysis), the *Calender* also offers familiar comfort: building on the

<sup>153</sup> Although I will touch on some of these topics, in particular the ways in which Spenser's work with Singleton automatically places him within Protestant and political debates, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to address the ways the poem itself (and not simply its paratext and related works) engages in such issues. For more, see *The Shepherd's Calender: An Introduction* (2008), *Spenser's Life and the Subject of Biography* (1996), *Enabling Engagements: Edmund Spenser and the Poetics of Patronage* (2002), *Cultural Semiotics, Spenser, and the Captive Woman* (1995), *Spenser's Secret Career* (1993), and *Radical Spenser: Pastoral, Politics, and the New Aestheticism* (2005) among others.

classical, idyllic context of the pastoral genre, the work also calls back to zodiac calendars and almanacs to reshape notions of popular culture and literary value. Further, the *Calender* offers a reliable source of social capital through its declared intentions of building an English canon in print and invites the reader to take part in shaping the author's historicity.

**Retro-Marketing, Myth-Making and Expanding Audiences** In order to manufacture himself as a rising national author, Spenser creates Immerito: an unnamed, new author who is nonetheless still worth discussing alongside Sidney and Chaucer. The identity myth of *The Shepherd's Calender* thus immediately depends on readers believing that Immerito represents someone they will come to admire and respect, and from whom they will want to see more work. But the *Calender* is not merely the product of a mysterious new author: it also incites memories from readers about pre-established genres and recent history. As Lynn Stanley Johnson sums up, "the form and appearance of the poem evoke earlier denizens of the literary marketplace ... the *Calender* in fact, seems intended to deceive" (202). The *Calender* both recycles and reshapes memories of reading and buying previous books in order to introduce something new: the next English author and the inauguration of original, canonical English literature in print.

The practice of brand revival has long been crucial to advertising: it can be an especially reliable strategy, since it builds on previously established stories and a ready-made audience. However, bringing back popular brands also runs a few risks: the brand's story may no longer be relevant to the new historical context; customers might feel that the new product is merely a copy, or a poor imitation of the original; and new customers might not be familiar with the old brand. As such, successful revivals depend not only on strong identity myths, but also on building new members through the promise of both authenticity and innovation. As I have discussed in Chapter 2, successful, iconic brands possess a recognizable identity,

something that the consumer can relate to both individually and as part of a community. For the *Utopia*, this identity myth depended on the island itself: its simultaneous possible and impossible existence helped readers see it as satire, political ideology, or travel narrative.

In “Teaching Old Brands New Tricks: Retro Branding and the Revival of Brand Meaning,”<sup>154</sup> Steven Brown et. al propose that there are four elements of a successful retro-branding strategy: “allegory,” which represents the brand’s symbolic story; “arcadia,” or a sense of an idealized community; “aura,” a sense of authenticity and reliability; and “antimony,” an inherent contradiction of old and new built into the brand’s myth (21). Each of these elements creates a connection with the consumer that leads him to recast past events (and brands) as at once ideal and not as good as the redesigned product. As such, it is important that consumers see the new product “not as reproductions ... but as radical redefinitions” of the old brands (23). Using the example of Volkswagen’s New Beetle, the authors demonstrate how the brand recalled notions of resistance and non-conformity from the car’s original 1960s ads while stressing technological advancements that made the new cars more desirable and innovative. Through the retro-branding process, consumers forged personal connections to their cars, weaving their own memories of first purchasing or seeing a Beetle with the identity myth created by the brand.

Such a marketing approach bears many similarities with the early process of canon-formation Spenser attempts to reproduce.<sup>155</sup> Although Spenser is hardly the first English writer to make it into print, his pre-formulated authorial debut promises readers that they will be at the forefront of a new literary revolution. The readers of the *Calender*, Spenser seems to argue, will eventually get to say they followed his career from the start. This, in turn, promotes a sense of exclusivity, inviting book buyers to participate in the discovery and

<sup>154</sup> *Journal of Marketing* 67 (2003), 19-33.

<sup>155</sup> Spenser is certainly not the only author who participated in this process, but as a case study he is of particular interest because of the deliberate ways he manipulated the print marketplace by withholding his identity and delaying his epic poem, *The Faerie Queene*.

promotion of the new poet. Through the “allegory” figure of Immerito, who serves to represent his poetic maturity,<sup>156</sup> Spenser constructs a community of readers, writers, and editors, inviting his book-buyers to engage with and deconstruct the perceived (literary and monetary) value of the text as calendar, as poem, as printed work. Further, as Wendy Wall has argued, Spenser’s mode of presentation mimics the privacy and exclusivity of the manuscript literary circles but turns that model on its head by including the book-buying reader as part of this community. In a similar move to print agents like Richard Jones, who showed readers that they, too, could profit from circulating and reading poetry, Spenser promises a different kind of cultural capital: his *Calender* invites readers to participate in the fashioning of the English canon, shaping cultural perceptions of the print marketplace according to his own interests. Furthermore, this invitation includes readers and book buyers as part of an elite group capable not only of recognizing and investing in quality literature but also in ensuring its cultural value by preferring such books over others available in the marketplace.

Jeffrey Todd Knight claims that the *Calender* calls on the reader to construct the text’s history based on what they know of the genre. As such, Immerito “puts forward an elevated classicized figure of the writer as it implicates an English reader figure who appeals to that model and ‘perfects’ it,” that is, calls upon the reader to help construct both the symbolic author and himself as the ideal reader of English literature (123). The *Shepherdess Calender* and the *Familiar Letters* rely on Hugh Singleton’s and Henry Bynneman’s cultural capital and unique niche markets to build on and expand Spenser/Immerito’s identity myth: as

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<sup>156</sup> Patricia Phillipy sees Immerito and Colin Clout as opposing forces inside Spenser himself: “the [Immerito] persona represents the relationship of the poet to two rival authoritative discourses within the pastoral world: one, the demands of the conventional Petrarchan love lyric, and the other the demands imposed upon the poet as spokesperson for the centripetal forces of Elizabethan ideology” (183). For earlier critical debates on Spenser’s poetic representations, see Louis Montrose, “The Perfect Pattern of a Poet: The Poetics of Courtship in *The Shepherdess Calender*” in *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 21 (1979); David Miller, “Authorship, Anonymity, and *The Shepherdess Calender*” in *MLQ* 40 (1979); and Richard Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates* (1983).

Spenser's market of readers expands and diversifies, his collaborations with different print agents increase Spenser's name as a recognizable commodity. As Spenser's career evolves from "new Poet" to "prince of English poets," book-buyers become further involved in the author's literary development, contributing to the author's brand as English cultural icon.

**Inaugurating the Myth: Hugh Singleton's 1579 Calender** If Spenser did indeed deliberately choose to have the *Calender* as his first printed work, his choice to publish the work through Hugh Singleton (d.1593) is, on the surface, an odd one. Little is known about the printer before 1548, and although he was well regarded among Protestant authors and readers, Singleton never made much profit from his works.<sup>157</sup> Despite finding himself in trouble for printing seditious or otherwise unauthorized books, Hugh Singleton remained a sought-after printer throughout his career. How he came to be personally acquainted with Protestant writers remains unknown; however, Singleton must have made an impression on John Foxe, who chose this then early-career printer for five of his theological tracts in 1548. From there, Singleton became naturally associated with the Protestant faction, going on to print the works of John Bale, Miles Coverdale, and (most notoriously) John Stubbes. At the time of *The Shepheardes Calender's* first printing, Singleton had become infamous for his involvement in printing Stubbes's *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf* (1579), which directly criticized Queen Elizabeth's marriage negotiations with the Duke of Anjou and for which Stubbes was eventually arrested and sentenced to have his right hand severed.<sup>158</sup> Singleton, however, managed to escape Stubbes's fate: either he was formally pardoned, or he managed to demonstrate that he had not known the gravity of the fault he had made in publishing the

<sup>157</sup> H. J. Byrom contends that "to the end of his days [Singleton] remained one of the poorest of London stationers" (121). Despite this fact, legal proceedings and the support of Protestant writers had made Singleton a recognizable name in the print marketplace. For a full biography of Singleton's career, see Byrom, "Edmund Spenser's First Printer, Hugh Singleton," *The Library* XIV.2 (1933).

<sup>158</sup> The full title of the work made no efforts to disguise the purpose of the pamphlet: *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf whereinto England is like to be swallowed by an other French marriage, if the Lord forbid not the banes, by letting her Maiestie see the sin and punishment thereof.*



pamphlet.<sup>159</sup> Either way, by December 1579, Singleton was not only a free man but was back to work entering *The Shepheardes Calender* in the Stationer's Register.

In light of these facts, which were not only public knowledge but must have been the subject of much gossip at the time (and, in turn, may have attracted many new readers to Singleton's shop), critics have long assumed that Spenser deliberately chose Singleton as his first printer to highlight the *Calender's* implicit criticism of Queen Elizabeth's marriage. According to Richard McCabe, Spenser's association with Singleton allowed him to "indicat[e] his opposition to both the foreign and domestic policies of the queen he claimed to be celebrating" (82). As McCabe goes on to argue, Spenser was likely heavily involved with every aspect of the *Calender's* publication, from selecting and commissioning the woodcuts for each eclogue to selecting his printer and overseeing the publication of the work.<sup>160</sup> H. J. Byrom admits that "the choice of Singleton ... was far from accidental" (156), but is reticent about the specific reasons why Spenser may have wanted to work with a print agent who "had never done any 'literary' printing" (152). He proposes instead that the work had already been in Singleton's hands (via Stubbes, or someone from his circle) before the trial, as "Spenser would not have dared to offer, nor Singleton to accept, a dangerous work such as the *Calender*" after the print agent had just been arrested for a similar act (151). In either case, Spenser's choice to begin or continue working with Singleton suggests an interest in his particular market of readers. I argue that Spenser's selection contributes to his symbolic marketing strategy by taking advantage of a ready-made audience (Protestant readers in

<sup>159</sup> Byrom notes that there are no official records indicating that Singleton received a formal pardon, but he was the only one of four accused to be released and back to work merely a month following the trial, and thus "something must have occurred at Westminster on 3 November [the day of the trial] that differentiated the treatment of Singleton from that of the other two and was, in a sense, the equivalent of a pardon" (143).

<sup>160</sup> Jean Brink opposes the notion that Spenser was present in the press correcting his publications, arguing that "from what we know about the Elizabethan printing house, it would be eminently sensible to question Spenser's involvement in the physical presentation of his work (3). Her argument, however, centers on William Ponsonby and the printing of the *Faerie Queene* (1590). Since Singleton was not used to publishing literary works, and may have been closely connected to Spenser's friends, I agree with McCabe and others' assumptions that, at least for his first book, Spenser was highly involved in the preparing the manuscript for print.

general and, in particular, curious readers attracted to Stubbes's scandal) and by using Protestant and almanac traditions to instruct readers to recognize and engage with vernacular literature.

By layering different kinds of references throughout the paratext, Spenser invites his reader to consider himself as part of a select group that can correctly identify its obscure words and names and interpret hidden meanings. As the text alternates between popular and classical references, it opens up its exclusive community in both directions. Shinn argues, for instance, that Spenser's choice to begin the year with January indicates a deliberate attempt to ensure that the work "marks itself apart from the classical eclogue and the pastoral mode and aligns itself to the contemporary debates surrounding calendrical reform" (147). While this may be true, one need not assume that the *Calender* must set one genre aside in order to engage with another: for one branch of readers, the *Shepherd's Calender* cleverly alludes to Virgil, evokes pastoral classics, and follows manuscript and annotation traditions; for the popular culture, browsing reader, the text associates itself with a familiar genre and book (almanacs in general and the *Kalendar* in particular), as well as a popular (and scandalous) printer. Since Spenser is seeking a broad audience that includes both savvy and unpracticed readers, he must not only refer to classical practices but also teach new readers what to make of his faux-classical text. Furthermore, by making E. K.'s work complicit with the reader's own approach to decoding protocols, Spenser invites his readership to become a key part of the construction of the narrative and, most importantly, Immerito's mythology.

The title-page of the 1579 edition is fairly simple and straight-forward; the top announces the title, *The Shepherd's Calender conteyning twelve aeglogues proportionable to the twelve monthes* and, instead of its author, promotes its dedicatee: "the noble and virtuous gentleman most worthy of all titles both of learning and chevalrie M. Philip Sidney" (fig. 17) The largest name on the title-page, however, is Singleton's, which appears at the

bottom imprint in the center of the line in a type at least twice as large as Sidney's. Sherri Geller claims that the lack of names on the title-page would have caused misinterpretation, confusing readers about the status of the work. However, I suggest that many readers would be more attracted by Singleton's name on the title-page, and were likely less interested in the author or the work's potential genre. The appearance of Singleton's name is particularly significant: although many other of his works bear his imprint, Stubbes's *Discovery of a Gaping Gulf* did not; it is possible that Singleton was aware of the dangers associated with the publication and did not want to be formally attached to it. Nonetheless, the fact that Spenser wants readers not only to know his printer but to regard him in a prominent position in the title-page indicates Spenser saw his relationship with the print agent as a key element of the *Calender's* reception.<sup>161</sup> David Norbrook claims that the choice of Singleton made clear that Spenser "symbolically linked himself with the Protestant satiric tradition" (63), assuring that the subtle critiques of the text could only be unlocked by those readers familiar with Singleton's output. Spenser's retro-marketing strategy thus begins by referring back to social and political events, and playfully aligning Immerito on one end to an English literary icon (Sidney) and, on the other end, an infamous print agent (Singleton).

The work's title further establishes the contradictions of Spenser's high-low brand by referring at once to ephemeral pamphlets and to classical eclogues. As critics such as Martha W. Driver, Anne Lake Prescott, and Abigail Shinn have established, the title of Spenser's first work mimics the popular almanac *The Kalendar of Shepherds* and thus "indicate[s] that Spenser was aware of the power of mimicry as a form of self-promotion" (Shinn 137). The

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<sup>161</sup> The editors of the Variorum edition assume Spenser was more involved than most authors, as the *Shepherd's Calender* indicates "an unusually close relationship between original manuscript and the printer's text," looking over the *Calender's* press run with unusual care (Hamilton 237). Critics like W.W. Greg and Francis A. Judson have similarly suggested that Spenser was highly involved in the production of his works, collaborating closely with William Ponsonby (who was responsible for printing the large majority of Spenser's work after 1590) to ensure each spelling and dedication matched the manuscript originals. In either case, as Byrom suggests, Singleton might have been reticent about adding his name to the title-page, and so it is likely that Spenser had at least some influence in the decision to include it (and to make it so prominent).

title-page is thus attractive to a wide range of readers: new readers, who were familiar with or curious about the Stubbes case; returning readers interested in Singleton's Protestant titles; erudite readers who recognize the classical tradition of eclogues and the invocation of Sidney's name as a mark of literary quality; and popular culture readers who had possibly bought and read the *Kalendar* (or at least knew of its popularity). In this way, Spenser's strategy not only multiplies his audiences, but covertly invests in different kinds of consumers, thereby amplifying his brand to include savvy and unpracticed readers while still maintaining a sense of exclusivity.

As Roland Greene observes, Spenser uses allusions to old almanacs and classical pastorals to highlight his innovations, using "conceits of newness in ways that tie his production to other debuts of the century... making the old new again, in the manner of a compendium that continually refreshes content within an established framework, that is often updated and yet always somehow the same" (242). Thus, what Brown et. al call "arcadia" is one of the defining characteristics of the *Sherpheardes Calender*: the work immediately calls back to past genres and points forward to the "new Poete," all the while relying on its readers to become "partners in the cocreation of brand essence and importers of meaning from beyond the marketplace" (Brown et. al. 30). In other words, Spenser's strategies would not be successful should his readers be unable to recognize, and feel familiar with, the marketplace texts and traditions the work purports to innovate.

Spenser's retro-brand does not depend only on his choice of genre, but also on subtler references to literary tradition such the poetic persona of the anonymous, self-effacing Immerito. The fictional Immerito and his (also fictional) editor E. K., Spenser recontextualizes the manuscript practice of textual annotation. In the figure of Immerito, Spenser builds himself an author function that serves as a textual "placeholder" of sorts—an empty signifier that will only be fully identifiable once Spenser has revealed himself as the

work's true author. As such, the dedicatory poem, "To his Booke," serves, at first, to introduce Immerito and offer the promise of more books yet to come:

Goe little booke: thy selfe present,  
 As child whose parent is vnkent:  
 To him that is the president  
 Of noblesse and of cheualree,  
 And if that Enuie barke at thee,  
 As sure it will, for succoure flee  
 Vnder the shadow of his wing,  
 And asked, who thee forth did bring,  
 A shepherds swaine saye did thee sing,  
 All as his straying flocke he fedd:  
 And when his honor has thee redde,  
 Crave pardon for my hardyhedde.  
 But if that any aske thy name,  
 Say thou wert base begot with blame:  
 For thy thereof thou takest shame.  
 And when thou art past ieopardee,  
 Come tell me, what was sayd of mee:  
 And I will send more after thee.

(¶iv)

The message of this opening poem depends specifically on its placement between the title-page (which names the dedicatee, Sidney, only referred to as "him"), and the dedication, which introduces this "new Poet" to Gabriel Harvey and, most importantly, to the reader. The poem's own internal contradictions seem to offer some clues about the author's status; Sidney, as most dedicatees, is tasked with protecting the book from "envie" and "ieopardee." The poet explicitly contrasts himself with Sidney, establishing not only a literary hierarchy but a (seemingly) clear class distinction: while Sidney is "the president of nobleness and chivalree," Immerito is "unkent," and "a shepherds swaine." The author's self-effacement is of course a literary and narrative device: it cleverly encourages readers familiar with manuscript and pastoral tradition to understand the narrative role of the "shepherds swaine" in the eclogues to follow. But even for readers unfamiliar with these references, the poem helps set up an important protocol: as E. K. will later make clear, the reader is supposed to

understand that Colin Cloute, the central character of the eclogues, represents the poet's voice.

The *Calender's* "antimony," or inherent contradiction, thus hinges on the book as both high literature and popular text; on Immerito as worth glossing but still "unkent, unlearnt"; on Singleton as disgraced yet popular. These seemingly contradictory relations invite the reader to make his own decisions about the book, and to consider himself smart enough to recognize and invest in the value of the work. By using familiar genres and a popular printer, Spenser takes advantage of the retro brand's greatest benefit: "uniqueness and exclusivity [combined] with oldness, familiarity, recognition, trust, and loyalty" (31).<sup>162</sup> Since Spenser depends on a broad audience that includes both savvy and unpracticed readers, he must not only refer to classical practices but also teach new readers what to make of his faux-classical text. His commercial myth therefore depends not only on the poem itself, but on the ways his readers will interpret his market choices, from printer, to title-page, to paratext, and even to other related works.

The poet's apparent modesty also opens up the space for E. K.'s dedication to Gabriel Harvey, wherein he follows Immerito's own claim of being "unkent" by comparing the poet to Chaucer: "uncouthe, unkiste, sayde the olde famous Poete Chaucer." The most direct opposition between Immerito's status and Sidney's, then, appears to be undone on the very next page, as E. K. promises that soon "this our new Poet ... shall not only be kiste, but also beloved of all, embraced of the most, and wondered at of the best" (¶ii). However, the poem itself suggests that Immerito is personally invested in this promise of success: the last stanza begins by evoking the possible "blame" and "shame" the book may suffer at the hands of critics, but it closes with the poet's self-assured expectations that those will eventually turn to praise: "And when thou art past jeoparddee, / come tell me, what was sayd of mee: / And I will

<sup>162</sup> In my analysis below I will demonstrate how this process is effected not simply through the *Calender* but also with the printing of *Three Proper, Wittie and Familiar Letters* (1580).

send more after thee.” Thus, although the poem seems at first to merely set up a lowly poet in sharp contrast to Sidney, on the title-page, and Chaucer, in the dedication, the conclusion undoes some of this modesty in using the word “when” (instead of “if”) and assuring his book (and the reader) that more books will soon follow.

Set in a different and much larger type from the dedication that follows on the next page, “to his book” demands the reader’s attention: this first encounter with the author’s voice prepares the reader for the E.K.’s (disruptive) dedication and promises the author’s future fame. Even before his future unveiling as the *Calender*’s author in the *Faerie Queene*,<sup>163</sup> here Spenser is careful to establish a cultural trail for his persona that spans popular, academic, aristocratic, and literary legacies. The reader who purchased the book because of Singleton’s fame or because of its references to almanacs should nonetheless be able to follow the protocols in the opening poem and the dedication, both telling him to approach this text as a canonical-in-the-making, high-literature piece. Spenser’s anonymity thus builds up excitement for the author’s true identity and pre-emptively promotes the *Faerie Queene*. Additionally, the announcement allows for a retroactive reading of the *Calender*, where the reader, now privy to Spenser’s authorship, may be included in the exclusive circle of “friends” who know Immerito’s identity.

Spenser mimics and improves on existing marketing strategies, first luring his readers with a variety of print and literary references in the title-page and then slowly instructing those readers in his paratextual materials. As E.K. himself warns, the poems have difficult, “olde and obsolete words” which, though they “affect antiquity” do in fact lend “auctoritie to the verse.”<sup>164</sup> The cultural capital of the book, then, is precisely its retro-innovative use of

<sup>163</sup> As WendyWall claims, “the *Calender* acts as a pre-text for a subsequent work: ‘I will send more after thee’ is a promise that the ‘new poet’ makes good with his later epic... Immerito identifies himself [in the *Faerie Queene*] thus retrospectively reclaiming his anonymous work and the role it devised” (240).

<sup>164</sup> On the *Calender*’s use of archaic language to establish tradition and innovation, see *Squitter-Wits and Muse-Haters: Spenser, Sidney, Milton, and Renaissance Antipoetic Sentiment* (1996), *The Poetics of Primitive*

archaic language to build a national poetics. The reader need not be practiced in scholarly studies to recognize this, because E.K. explicitly outlines the author's supposed intent:

I am of opinion, and eke the best learned are of the lyke, that those auncient solemne words are a great ornament both in the one and the in the other: the one laboring to set forth in his work the eternal image of antiquitie, and the other carefully discoursing matters of gravitie and importance ... for in my opinion it is one special praise, of many which are dew to this poete, that he hath labored to restore as to their rightfull heritage such good and natural English words, as have been long time out of use and almost clean disherited. Which is the onle cause, that our Mother tonge, which truely of it selfe is both full enough for prose and stately enough for verse, hath long time ben counted most bare and barren of both. (2v)

Seeming to forget that his dedication is directed at Harvey, E.K. sets out to convince the reader that this new poet offers a unique commodity: he will soon be acknowledged as the writer who elevated the English language to the same level as Latin, reviving it from a time where it was considered "most bare and barren." This promise of cultural capital will later serve as a justification for why the (perhaps misleading) title mimics a popular almanac. As E.K., explains the poet's intention is to be "applying an olde name to a new worke" (3r). Further, E. K. may be reflecting the reader's own expectations, suggesting that those who do not know Latin should not be deprived from quality literature: in fact, he suggests that archaic language is a detriment to good writing, and therefore the reader must excuse Immerito from its use—if anything, the new poet is due "special praise" for choosing to write in English verse.

Spenser's authorial mythmaking (or, as I have suggested above, his "author-brand") is especially powerful because it at once draws in and repels readers, embedding secret messages, allusions, and references into his work and thereby inserting himself as an ever-present part of popular culture. As Steven Brown explains, retro marketing techniques successfully tease readers with a reversal of supply and demand by relying on five strategies:

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*Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital* (1991), *Spenser's Ruins and the Art of Recollection* (2006), and "The loadstarre of the English language: Spenser's *Shepherd's Calender* and the Construction of Modernity," *Textual Cultures* 2.2 (2007).



exclusivity, secrecy, amplification, entertainment, and “tricksterism” (*Customers* 88). The first two practices rely on playful (never disingenuous) deception: allowing consumers to believe that they are “the discerning elite,” unique in their market choices and taste-level because they, alone, are able to interpret the brand’s mystery. Spenser’s early career is built upon a sense of open-secrecy, not simply through the figure of Immerito (whose “verie special and singular good friend” Harvey both legitimizes and lends exclusivity to the brand), but through the compounded references of classical and popular culture, manuscript and print, literary aspiration, and social critique—all of which depend on the reader/book-buyer to properly decode elements from the title-page and paratextual features.

The preface reveals E.K.’s playful and often teasing character, which will become even more apparent in the glosses: although he repeatedly promises a return investment for the unknown new poet, E.K. teases that the author’s name will soon be revealed—suggesting there is something to the covering and uncovering process of authorship that will make the book even more engaging after the reader has come to know Immerito’s name. As such, E.K. provides a crucial aspect of the retro-marketing technique: he holds the brand’s “secrecy” (as a “special friend” of the author’s) and is the gatekeeper for the special community of readers who will inaugurate Immerito/Spenser’s career.<sup>165</sup> The more careful, studied reader may also interpret E.K. as key to the work’s “tricksterism,” since his glosses often obscure the very meanings he intends to reveal. Additionally, even the less academic readers will eventually notice the absurdity of E.K.’s frequent interventions, which extend beyond the preface to the “generall argument of the whole booke,” individual arguments for each eclogue, and the detailed glosses following the emblem for each month.

<sup>165</sup> Michelle O’Callaghan draws a similar conclusion, comparing the *Calender*’s paratext to More’s *Utopia*, claiming that “there is a degree of openness to this print community [presented in the epistles] since its purpose is to introduce a new poet to its public. Yet his refusal to disclose the actual identity of the author and his ‘circle’ insists on exclusivity and gives the impression of the ‘inward-turned autonomy’ typically ascribed to manuscript publication” (104). As I have argued above, this sense of exclusivity helps make the *Calender* a more attractive commodity, particularly to those readers seeking to buy it for its potential as a cultural capital resource.

E.K.'s editorial voice is unavoidable: much like John Bale in Elizabeth's *Glass*, E.K. functions as the book's ad man, carefully setting out not only how and why book-buyers should be invested in purchasing the *Calender*, but also challenging the ways the text is meant to be interpreted. Furthermore, E. K. helps advertise and create anticipation for future writing, hoping not only that Immerito will take the book's popularity as an occasion to "put forth divers other excellent works of his" but also that the same will be true for Harvey, who also has "many excellent English poems ... which lie hid" (3v). As readers and patrons of the work, Harvey and E.K. perform symbolic and literary functions that affect the experience of reading the *Calender*. Marcy L. North argues that Spenser's anonymity works by "frustrating the reader's expectations" while E.K. "works to curtail the reader's critical power" (102). Thus, although the *Shepherd's Calender* is decidedly skeptical and forward-thinking in its critique of the poet as lover (and, more broadly, in its social and political critiques), the paratexts help Spenser construct a custom-made identity-myth: by erasing himself from the text, Spenser opens a space where he can become the "new Poete," whose literary support network includes an enthusiastic editor and a well-known academic writer. Gabriel Harvey, and E.K. function as textual insiders, helping resolve (or sometimes complicate) contradictions and providing readers with a key as to how they should interpret and respond to the text.

Spenser's opening bid to the print marketplace relies on retro-marketing strategies that go beyond the textual reinvention of the pastoral genre. Building on popular culture, his real and fictional print agents' social capital (who also work to challenge the consumer with the possibility of another scandalous publication), and the paratext's unique mix of exclusivity and entertainment, Spenser offers his readers a complete redesign of what it means to be an English author in print. Spenser's next publication would continue to rely on familiar genres,

this time seeking to expand Immerito's popularity by presenting him as part of a scholarly coterie.

**Amplifying the Brand: Henry Bynneman's Three Proper, Wittie and Familiar Letters and Two Other, Very Commendable Letters (1580)** Spenser's choice of Singleton as his first printer denotes an interest in shaping himself as both an emerging canonical author and a source of social capital for consumers of popular culture. As David Weil Baker argues, "Spenser repeatedly chose print over manuscript circulation of his poetry, and this choice enabled Spenser to see himself as addressing a potentially broad rather than necessarily circumscribed audience" (134). Whether or not he planned it that way, the epistolary collection of *Three Proper and Wittie, Familiar Letters* (printed by Henry Bynneman, 1542-1583) that follows the *Calender* helped Spenser's author-brand become part of a broad and varied audience of readers. Building a sense of "open exclusivity," the *Familiar Letters* allowed Spenser to belong simultaneously to the middle-class print marketplace, to university circles, and to aristocratic manuscript circulation traditions.<sup>166</sup>

The question of why Spenser would choose a different printer for the *Familiar Letters* is perhaps easier to answer than why Spenser would have published anything with Singleton in the first place. Harvey, after all, had used Henry Bynneman to publish his *Ciceronianus* in 1577, relying on the print agent's associations with popular texts to provide him the right kind of cultural capital.<sup>167</sup> As Kenneth Austin observes, Bynneman's market was already well

<sup>166</sup> The circumstances of Spenser's agency in bringing some of his publications to the marketplace are uncertain. Sarah Knight claims, for example, that scholars at Cambridge responded badly to Harvey's "hastiness to advertise his talents" (44). While I find it difficult to imagine that, given their collaborations, the *Familiar Letters* could have been published without Spenser's permission (or knowledge), Harvey's personal investment in the work helps explain why Bynneman was chosen instead of Singleton. While arguments can be made on either side—in favor of Spenser's intentional and thorough involvement in his publications or in favor of his print agents' interventions—here I am more interested in how his reading public may have perceived these events.

<sup>167</sup> Bynneman was also the printer for Turberville's *Booke of Faulconrie* (1575), Gascoigne's *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowers* (c.1573), and the first edition of Hollinshed's *Chronicles*.

known in scholarly circles, and Harvey's "courting of a London publisher who had already been involved with university writers suggests that he pitched his volume carefully, to a printer who would look favourably on a scholar's work" (41). Spenser would also have known Bynneman from his collaboration in Jan Van Der Noot's *Theater for Worldlings* (1569). In either case, a writer with an eye to popular print agents like Spenser was likely to know Bynneman's name, as he owned three very profitable presses in London and was, according to Plomer, "one of the few English printers of the sixteenth century whose work merits special notice" (226). Bynneman's output, which included travel narratives, news, and poetry, would have aided in bringing Spenser and, by association, the *Shepherd's Calendar* to the attention of a broader readership.

In this light, then, it is possible that Harvey may have suggested to Spenser that they publish the letters with this more established (and better regarded) print agent.<sup>168</sup> The letters help support the fiction of Immerito and further testify to his credibility through known friends and supporters. Thus, it would make sense that Spenser might wish to use the same print agent (and therefore the same market of readers) as he did when publishing *The Shepherd's Calendar*. But there is a third option: it is possible that Spenser took advantage of Harvey's initial bid for publication with Bynneman, using it as a (perhaps unplanned) opportunity to expand his market. The *Calendar* was entered in the Stationer's Register on December 5, 1579, whereas the *Familiar Letters* were entered on June 30, 1580.<sup>169</sup> As I

<sup>168</sup> Critics have differing opinions on whether Spenser participated in the publication of these letters. In "All his mind on honour fixed": The Preferment of Edmund Spenser," Jean R. Brink follows Rudolf Gottfried in assuming that a series of private letters "were reworked and included in the *Three Familiar Letters* ... suggesting that the latter should be interpreted more as fictional creations of Harvey than as documents authorized by Spenser" (61). Richard Rambuss sees the letters as "a career overture on the part of Harvey and Spenser" (18), while Leicester Bradner similarly suggests that the two "began to concoct a publicity scheme to build up a demand for their respective works" (262). Diana Barnes sees the letters as creating an exclusive community that shuts out unlearned readers and, further, implies that "civility, the grounding for nationhood or political community, is defined by the masculine reason displayed in letters of friendship between men" (201). Here, I choose to assume that Spenser was aware of the publication and would have seen it as a marketing opportunity, though there is no reason to imagine (as with the *Calendar*) that Spenser and Harvey did not contribute in equal parts towards bringing the work to print.

<sup>169</sup> Brink, 61-5.

discuss below, the *Calender* was reprinted in 1581 by John Harrison, who had inherited the patent from Singleton. It is likely, therefore, that the work remained popular in the year following its first publication. Additionally, Spenser and Harvey both seemed particularly invested in the timing of their publications.<sup>170</sup> As I will demonstrate, this change in print agents offered Spenser not only a broader variety of readers, but an extension of his retro-marketing strategy, retroactively providing a backstory for Immerito and promoting the *Calender* as an already popular and well-established book. To follow Stephen Brown's term, the publication (and its print agent) "amplifies" Spenser's author-brand, partially unveiling the secrecy in the *Calender* (by showing evidence of Immerito's coterie) and supporting the work's identity myth as public service towards rebuilding canonical English literature.

In More's *Utopia*, the friendly exchanges between More and Peter Giles were intentionally designed as part of the work's satire, directed (at least at first) to a very exclusive group of scholars who would be familiar with the classical and humanist references the authors shared in their fictional correspondence. Here, I would argue, the *Familiar Letters* between Immerito and Harvey support Spenser's open exclusivity by appearing at once as private letters never intended for the public and, at the same time, as a playful (at times shameless) advertisement for the authors. As such, the *Letters* function as something of a companion piece to *The Shepheardes Calender*. Whether or not Harvey originally designed the publication as a marketing ploy to attract a more scholarly audience, the *Letters* effectively extend the fiction of Immerito as a brand. A reader already familiar with Spenser/Immerito's first work might understand it differently within the context of Bynneman's market. Readers returning to Bynneman in search of academic or literary materials may happen upon the *Letters* and, through them, seek out "a certain famous book called the new Shepherd's Calendar" (f.19). As such, these supposedly private letters

<sup>170</sup> Brink suggests, for instance, that Harvey entered his epic poem, *Anticosmopolita*, on June 30, 1579, likely in hopes that it would come out before the *Calender* (61).

fabricate a preface of sorts for the *Calender*: much as the letters in More's *Utopia*, these exchanges illuminate the meanings of the central text and provide a context from which to engage with the author's rhetoric and ideologies.

This publication immerses Spenser in yet another popular marketplace genre: the familiar letter. As James Daybell discusses, there was a growing interest in the familiar letter genre during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which "transformed the early modern letter into a more flexible form, capable of dealing with a range of more personal and intimate concerns" (66). Much as Spenser deliberately makes use of a recognizable, popular culture reference to advertise the *Calender*, this publication brands itself as part of the genre of familiar letters through its central title: in the larger fonts at the top, the title-page announces *Three Proper, and wittie, familiar Letters* (fig. 18).<sup>171</sup> Although Jon Quitslund claims that the letters were designed to "attract the notice of literati like [Harvey and Spenser]" (35), the title-page reveals at least one protocol designed to attract popular culture readers: the full title of the first three letters summarizes their contents as "touching the earthquake in Aprill last, and our English reformed Versifying." Although, indeed, one of Harvey's letters discusses the Dover Straits Earthquake at length, it is likely that Bynneman placed this reference in the title-page as an advertisement ploy since, as Rudolf Gottfried notes, five publications were entered in the Stationer's Register on the days following the earthquake and "at least a dozen more" the following months (477).

Once again, Spenser's text is embedded in dual marketing strategies, aiming at both popular and erudite readers with one single title-page. In previous chapters, I have

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<sup>171</sup> Interestingly, the second title-page, which opens the second set of letters and appears to be designed to be sold bound with the former set, does not bear the nod to the familiar letter genre. The second group of letters is labeled simply *Two Other, very Commendable Letters, of the same mens writing* and said to be "more lately delivered unto the printer." Although the word "lately" implies that these were a subsequent publication, the fact that they were published in the same year and addressed directly the previous work (the protocols "other" and "same mens writing" indicating a readership already familiar with the first letters) seems to imply that despite the separate title-pages the works were meant to be sold together. Nonetheless, the existence of three familiar letters followed by (implicitly) two *other* letters serves to amplify even further Spenser's author-brand, encouraging readers to see the multiple publications as evidence of the author's popularity among book-buyers.

demonstrated that print agents designed different title-pages for reprints of popular works in order to draw the attention of new or more diversified markets. Spenser and his print agents, perhaps because they rely on pre-established markets, choose instead to make multiple, complex references to a wide variety of readers through a single set of paratexts. By associating the popular genre of familiar letters with his project of reforming and canonizing English verse, Spenser continues his education of readers of printed books, retro-branding the epistolary form as part of his continued efforts to historicize himself and redefine English literary writing.

The *Familiar Letters* offer explicit advertising for the *Shepherd's Calendar*. In the process of discussing the proper ways to write verse in the vernacular, Immerito and Harvey make use of several close-readings and translations of texts they find particularly well crafted. In his first letter, Immerito outlines his academic connections to Sidney, whom he claims gave him a book of “*Rules and Precepts of Arte*.” Immerito promotes his own works, announcing his plans to publish a collection of “*Dreames*” which has a “*Glosse* (running continuously in manner of a paraphrase) full as great as my Calendar” (A4v).<sup>172</sup> Immerito’s authorial qualities are further revealed in the preface “to the courteous buyer,” where a “welwiller of the two authors” (presumably Bynneman) claims to have received the letters directly from “a faithfull friende, who with mucche entreaty had procured the copying of them oute, at Immeritos handes” (A2r).<sup>173</sup> Once again, the reader is introduced to Immerito through editors and mediators: although the phrasing obscures the origins of the letters, the “welwiller” seems to imply that his “faithfull friende” (most likely Harvey) was responsible

<sup>172</sup> As Richard McCabe observes, the letters seamlessly invert Immerito’s relationship to Sidney: “although Sidney is addressed in Spenser’s ‘envoy’ as a social superior rather than a fellow writer, he is revealed as a fellow writer one year later in the *Letters*” (*Rhyme and Reason* 47). For an interesting analysis of how the letters assert male-to-male friendships as key influences in Spenser’s career, see Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodometries* (2010), 63-105.

<sup>173</sup> Since the preface is not signed, it is just as likely that Harvey or Spenser, and not Bynneman, was the actual “welwiller.” For the present discussion, however, I accept the textual implication that the “welwiller” is, or at least is meant to represent, the print agent responsible for publishing the letters.

for copying Immerito's letters and preparing the exchanges for publication. However, although the print agent insists that the letters were procured "through my meanes" and without the consent of the authors (as he admits to "not making them privy to the Publication"), his praise of the letters suggests the print agent is in touch (and possibly collaborating) with Immerito as well as Harvey.

The author of the preface makes it a point to distinguish manuscript circulation from print, implying that quality work must be widely publicized. His insistence on print as a determining quality of good writing is first indicated when the "welwiller" calls on his reader to "shewe me, or Immerito, two Englyshe Letters in Printe, in all pointes equall to the other two, both for the matter itself, and also for the matters of handling, and saye, wee never sawe good English letter in our lives." He suggests that he has read many of Harvey's other works which rival the *Familiar Letters* in quality, "the which Letters and Discourses and I would gladly see in writing, but more gladly in print" (A2r). Beyond functioning as a marketing strategy to sell more books, the print agent's insistence on publishing the letters supports Immerito's brand identity: ensuring that an English literary canon would be memorialized through print— and, further, that book-buyers know how to recognize and interpret it as such.

The preface therefore not only advertises Immerito's and Harvey's work but also subtly suggests that the *Letters* (and the preface itself) were a result of collaboration between Bynneman, Harvey, and Immerito. It is difficult to imagine that Spenser may not have been involved in preparing the *Letters* for publication; as the preface clearly shows, he and Harvey worked diligently in distinguishing Immerito's work, as the author, from the work being performed by the editors.<sup>174</sup> Once again placing himself within multiple market groups—

<sup>174</sup> Richard Rambuss argues that Spenser's works demonstrate his ability to work both as a literary writer and a secretary, that is, one who manages matters of state and can be relied on to keep valuable secrets. He suggests that in Spenser's "secretarial poetics" we can see evidence that "Spenser's career as a secretary provided him with a discursive practice and professional model that had a shaping effect both on his poetry and on the role he envisioned for himself as a poet" (29). While this may be true for Spenser, the author of the *Faerie Queene*, I



academic, editorial, pamphleteering, epistolary—Spenser complicates his brand’s identity while simultaneously establishing its authenticity: Immerito proves to be someone who is qualified to evaluate and define English writing precisely because of his (printed) experience with a variety of genres.<sup>175</sup>

Whether or not Harvey intended that the *Letters* served as advertisement of his poetic talents, he and Spenser seem particularly delighted by the fiction of Immerito and the (at this point) fabricated popularity of the *Calender*. One of Harvey’s letters, for instance, claims that the work is already considered a prime example of the quality of English literary poetry. Harvey praises the innovations of “a certaine famous booke, called the newe Shepheardes Calender” (E4r), teasingly alluding to “Cudie, alias you know who” (E4v) before quoting a passage he finds particularly elucidating. As Michelle O’Callaghan notes, despite the veiled secrecy covering up Cuddie’s alias, the reader needed only read the Glosse to October to find out that “by Cuddie be specified the authour selfe, or some other” (qt. in *Renaissance Transformations* 104). Later down, Harvey himself reveals his hopes that the author will “purchase great landes, and lordshippes, with the money, which his Calendar and Dreams have, and will affourde him” and, in the following sentence, addresses Immerito directly: “I like your *Dreames* passingly well” (E4v-F1r). The letters thus provide the reader with both academic and personal motives to buy and read the *Shepheardes Calender*: first, each learned writer indicates the text is a prime, well-crafted example of the new “versifying” revolution of English literature discussed in the letters; secondly, even if the reader is not interested in high quality writing, the authors insist it is a new and famous text, and thus worth purchasing for the reader looking for cultural capital in his purchases.

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suggest that Immerito, the author of the *Calender*, is presented as simultaneously distant from and complicit with the process of publication.

<sup>175</sup> Of course, there is a degree to which all of this is a farce, and Immerito’s overpraising of his own work was perhaps intentionally criticizing the exclusive and self-congratulatory culture promoted by the aristocratic coteries.

The seemingly accidental reveal of Cuddie as Immerito's alias and, in turn, Immerito as the known author of the "famous new Calender" can be understood as a recognizable feature of Immerito's brand. Although it appears more notably in Harvey's letter, it can also be found in the title-page, where Bynneman chooses to ascribe the letters to "two university men" without citing their names, and even in the preface to the reader, where the print agent elides his own name, introducing himself merely as "a welwiller of the two authors" (A2r). The feigned secrecy is thus a game between reader and print agent/authors, providing the "courteous buyer" addressed in the preface a sense of exclusivity for being "in" on the joke—that is, knowing perfectly well who the unnamed figures were simply by reading the text carefully. Furthermore, the reader is invited to participate in making these important works public by investing in a copy of the letters (and, possibly, in the *Shepherd's Calender*).

By publishing a collection of familiar letters with a well-known academic printer, Spenser (and/or Harvey) expands both his readership and the fiction of his author-brand, Immerito. While the letters serve as "a purposeful venture of public advertisement to display the rhetorical facilities of the writers" (Rambuss 18), they also function as a more covert, symbolic marketing strategy of diversifying Spenser's brand and imparting on readers the value of the print marketplace to the development of English literary history. Much as the *Calender*, the letters continue Spenser's retro-branding by simultaneously looking back (at a pre-established genre of familiar letters) and looking forward (at a new, redesigned purpose). This double move amplifies the brand's history as both familiar and new, both innovative and well-established. Such a strategy, at least in hindsight, certainly appears to have been successful: as later editions demonstrate, Spenser's career offers book-buying readers (and print agents) the opportunity to collaborate in his literary evolution from popular culture to established literary icon. Taking advantage of the protocols Spenser and his collaborators

established in these first two publications, later print agents work to reinforce Immerito's fiction, marketing the *Calender* (and Spenser himself) as an iconic English name brand.

### **Profitable Literary Markets: John Harrison, William Ponsonby, and Cuthbert Burby**

John Harrison (fl. 1571) was among the first print agents to benefit from the 1557 Stationer's Charter, which allowed for stationers to claim exclusive rights on books they had entered in the newly inaugurated Register.<sup>176</sup> By 1582 he was among the booksellers whom print agent Christopher Barker complained were "outnumbering the printers as well as competing successfully with them for those copies not covered by patents" (qtd. in Bladgen 89). The fact that booksellers (and not simply print agents who owned their own presses) could register books for publication represented a major power shift in the book trade, particularly as more print agents were deciding to invest instead in rights for publication of popular works and commissioning printers to run the editions for them.<sup>177</sup> Harrison has garnered some recent critical attention, as he was responsible for selling Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and later for acquiring the rights to publish *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594). In *Shakespeare's Stationers* (2012), Marta Straznicky claims that Harrison belonged to an "active but small sector of the trade, the publication of vernacular literature" and, as such, was part of a developing group of "investors, speculators in textual property, and developers of the market for popular printed books" (20). Although certainly, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 1, all print agents can be said to have been "speculators in textual property" given their investments

<sup>176</sup> Cyprian Bladgen, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403-1959* (1977).

<sup>177</sup> For Harrison's biography and further details on his bookshops, see Bladgen, *The Stationer's Company*; Alan Palmer, *Who's Who in Shakespeare's England* (1999); and R. B. McKerrow et. al. *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland 1557-1640* (1910).

in cornering unique readerships, Harrison seemed eager to participate in the growing market for English literature and to profit off (relatively new) exclusive rights to publication.<sup>178</sup>

Harrison came to print *The Shepheardes Calender* through a typical business route: not because he had been commissioned or because he sought out the book due to its popularity, but because he had inherited the rights from Hugh Singleton.<sup>179</sup> Harrison either had no particular investment in personalizing his editions or was instructed by Singleton to maintain the same formats, as his reprints from 1581 to 1597 (four editions, total) differ little from Singleton's original. The only noteworthy difference in the 1581 title-page is the addition of a laced border, which Harrison added to many of his other publications, particularly his earlier Protestant publications (fig. 19). By 1586, a more elaborate, woodcut frame is added to the title-page—but given that the woodcut appears later in a volume about husbandry techniques (*The First Booke of Cattell*, 1591), also printed by John Wolfe, it is likely that Wolfe, and not Harrison, had made the decision to give the work a more ornate frame and thus the appearance of a more expensive volume. In either case, Harrison was part of a breed of print agents who, much like the print agents discussed in Chapter 1, became interested in branding his market. His early investment in English authors and popular literary works developed as a byproduct of monopolies and patents. Harrison he appeared to avoid taking risks on untested markets and was interested in printing English drama as well as poetry. His early output, which includes mostly Protestant works like sermons, psalms, and catechisms, was a good fit for Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*—Harrison likely recognized a similar connection between Spenser's work and Singleton's market, and relied on that (and his recognizable layouts) to brand and sell his reprints.

<sup>178</sup> We have seen that printers like John Day were also avidly investing in patents and copy rights. Day, however, was solely interested in the market for religious writing. Although Harrison did publish some Protestant works, it is possible to see his market quickly moving towards a more single-minded focus to develop English literature and history.

<sup>179</sup> As recorded in the *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London from 1554 to 1640* (1875), vol. II, p. 380.

Although the *Calender* remained a popular text throughout the sixteenth century, meriting four reprints from Harrison alone, the work's literary function evolved not only as a result of its individual merits but also as a byproduct of Spenser's continued investment in amplifying his brand. While in 1579 and 1581 the *Calender* was more easily associated with the market of popular printed books in general, and Protestant books in particular, by 1590 the *Faerie Queene* had revealed Spenser as the *Calender*'s true author, completing his retro-branding fiction by making Spenser a recognizable author-brand. Having claimed authorship of the *Calender*, Spenser emerged (much as he had planned) as an English author, interested primarily in writing to a learned audience of readers who knew how to recognize quality literature by the names of the men who wrote it, and not simply the print agents responsible for publishing it.<sup>180</sup>

The collaborative relationship between Spenser and his printer of choice for the *Faerie Queene*, William Ponsonby (1546?-1604), has been well documented. In 1586, the savvy publisher had sought out Sir Fulke Greville and obtained the rights to publish Sidney's *Arcadia*. The publication led him to meet Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pembroke, and through her (likely with her encouragement) Ponsonby secured the patent for other work from Sidney and his sister, including Pembroke's revised *Arcadia*, printed in 1593, and her own translation of De Mornay's *Discourse of Life and Death* in 1592.<sup>181</sup>

Whether it was Ponsonby who eventually sought to add Spenser to his now very popular catalogue or the other way around has not been ascertained. Joseph Loewenstein argues that it is unlikely that Spenser commissioned Ponsonby for *The Faerie Queene*, particularly given the print agent's enterprising pursuit of the rights for Sidney's *Arcadia* and

<sup>180</sup> As Wendy Wall puts it, Spenser was "retrospectively reclaiming his previously published anonymous work and the role it devised" by identifying himself as the author of *The Sheperdes Calender* in the opening verses of the *Faerie Queene* (240).

<sup>181</sup> For a discussion of Ponsonby's involvement with the Sidney family and a complete biography, see Michael Brennan, "William Ponsonby: Elizabethan Stationer," in *Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography* 7 (1983).

many of his other works. Although he acknowledges that Ponsonby's work ensured that "the relation of authors to the book trade [remained] stable and continuous and so conducted to the slow development of *authorial* property," Loewenstein suggests that it was John Wolfe, the printer responsible for the *Faerie Queene*, who dictated many of the stylistic and organizational choices in the text (102, emphasis in original). Judith Owens takes this a step further, arguing that Wolfe's notorious role in the printers' revolt in the 1580s had made him an attractive figure for Spenser. As Owens observes, "Wolfe's printing of *The Faerie Queene* ... prompted potential buyers to regard it as a poem whose celebration of Elizabeth—its title and dedication notwithstanding—would be equivocal" (91). However, these critics omit a crucial step in Spenser's printing history: Wolfe was also the printer for *The Shepheardes Calender* in 1586 (published for John Harrison). Given that Harrison used different printers for each of his reprints of the *Calender*, it is not likely that he was particularly invested in Wolfe's work ethic or his market of followers. As such, it is quite possible that Spenser knew Wolfe and worked with him on the editorial changes made to the *Faerie Queene*.<sup>182</sup>

Beyond his involvement in preparing the texts for print, Spenser's choices of print agents were his most significant self-branding strategy, as they helped introduce him into pre-established, popular genres and reading markets. As I have discussed above, his association with Hugh Singleton and Henry Bynneman helped brand his persona, *Immerito*, as both popular and academic, both political and literary. Thus, to suggest that Spenser deliberately sought out Ponsonby or Wolfe (or both) does not necessarily imply that the print agents had no role in the editorial choices made for the text. The two publications that followed the *Faerie Queene*, the *Complaints* (published by Ponsonby in 1591) and the translation of

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<sup>182</sup> Further, if Spenser had indeed chosen Singleton because of his infamous connection to critiques of Queen Elizabeth, one may follow Owens in presuming Spenser would be interested in other print agents with subversive histories, as was the case with Wolfe. Although I do not wish to discuss *The Faerie Queene* here (as its printing history has been widely covered), these debates reinforce my suggestion that Spenser's collaborations with his print agents was precisely that: a collaborative and, most importantly, evolving work between author and print agent.

Plato's *Axiochus* published in 1592 by Cuthbert Burby (fl. 1592), demonstrate a slow but noticeable distinction between the role of the author and that of the print agent. As Spenser and his print agents continued to focus on his author-brand, the print agent as editor becomes a necessary counterpoint: whether or not Ponsonby himself sought out Spenser and the publishing rights for his works, such a relationship (between sought-after author and savvy printer) is a key characteristic of Spenser's brand.

Perhaps in efforts to once more expand his brand and show himself to be a versatile author, Spenser followed the publication of his epic poem with a reinterpretation of the classical complaint genre. The book, titled *Complaints, Containing Sundrie Small Poems of the Worlds Vanity* (1591), is a collection of translations and original poems apparently composed throughout Spenser's career, including "Mother Hubberd's Tale," a satirical fable about the ironies of social and courtly structures; "The Tears of the Muses," a poetic critique of the loss of appreciation for literary value; and "The Ruins of Time," a memorial lament for the Dudley family.<sup>183</sup> The work is the only publication in Spenser's lifetime to include a preface signed by the print agent and, as such, one of the few concrete pieces of evidence (however tenuous) of Spenser's relationship with his printers and publishers. Ponsonby's preface to the *Complaints* appears to be, at first glance, a statement of ownership: having acquired the rights to all of Spenser's works aside from *The Shepheardes Calender*, the print agent's insistence on maintaining a certain level of authority over the work is evidence of changing power relations among print agents as a whole as well as between print agents and authors.

Although critics have questioned whether the *Faerie Queene* really was the immediate success Ponsonby claims in his preface to the *Complaints*, the print agent must have found it

<sup>183</sup> For a compelling account of the *Complaints* as Spenser's "poetics in practice," see Richard Danson Brown, *The New Poet: Novelty and Tradition in Spenser's Complaints* (1999).

popular enough to use it as a marketing ploy to advertise the collection.<sup>184</sup> In addition to its much-talked-about preface, this edition is noteworthy for being the first to include Spenser's name on the title-page: although Spenser signs the dedication to Queen Elizabeth on the verso, it is still Ponsonby's imprint that appears prominently under the *Faerie Queene's* full title. In contrast, the *Complaints* features Spenser's initials (Ed. Sp.) at the center of the title-page, highlighting Ponsonby's direct association with the author by placing four pointing manicules between their names, two of which point upwards at Spenser and two others downwards at Ponsonby (fig. 20).<sup>185</sup>

Ponsonby's preface raises important issues about the direction of Spenser's career and the degree to which Spenser may have been involved in the production of his later works. As Richard Rambuss argues, for example, the *Complaints* represent a shift in the fiction of poetic evolution, as it steps back from the pinnacle of poetic achievement (the national epic) to offer another retro-branding work, using "'antique' genres [like the complaint and the estate satire] as a means for unmasking certain fictions upon which patronage and courtly advancement depend" (64). Although I want to touch on this possibly unexpected move, it is first necessary to understand how Ponsonby's preface in the *Complaints* demonstrates an interesting shift in the ways print agents' paratexts engaged with issues of authorship, ownership of rights, and their collaboration with writers. In particular, I want to compare his preface with Cuthbert Burby's preface to *Axiochus* (1592). Like Ponsonby, Burby was print agent seeking to make a name with English literature. He is known among modern critics for having published a number of Shakespeare "good" quartos as well as works by Thomas Nashe and Robert Greene. These two prefaces show different effects of Spenser's author-brand, and particularly

<sup>184</sup> See Jean R. Brink, "Who Fashioned Edmund Spenser? The Textual History of *Complaints*," *SP* 87 (1991): 153-168, and Anne Lake Prescott, "Spenser (Re)Reading Du Bellay: Chronology and Literary Response," in *Spenser's Life and the Study of Biography* (1996).

<sup>185</sup> For an extended analysis of the title-page and its symbolic illustrations, see Judith Owens, *Enabling Engagements*, 30-34.



demonstrate the reverberations of his retro-marketing strategies: while Ponsonby responds to the author's popularity by seeking to claim a role in the brand's exclusivity, Burby takes advantage of Spenser's recent popularity to attract readers toward an older, classical text.

Ponsonby's preface to the *Complaints* suggests that he is in the process of anthologizing Spenser's collected works. I quote it at length to demonstrate his clever advertisement and self-promotion techniques:

Since my late setting foorth of the *Faeries Queene*, finding that it hath found a favourable passage amongst you; I have sithence endeavoured by all good meanes (for the better ecrease and accomplishments of your delights,) to get into my handes such smale Poemes of the same Authors; as I heard were disperst abroad in sundrie hands, and not easie to bee come by, by himselfe; some of them having bene diveslie imbeziled and purloyed from him, since his departure over Sea. Of the which I have by good meanes gathered together these fewe parcels present, which I have caused to bee imprinted altogether, for that they al seeme to containe like matter of argument in them: being all complaints and meditations of the worlds vanitie, verie graue and profitable. To which effect I understand that he besides wrote sundrie others ... being all dedicated to ladies, so as it may seeme he ment them all to one volume. Besides some other Pamphlets loselie scattered abroad ... which when I can either by himself, or otherwise attaine too, I meane likewise for your favour sake to set foorth. In the meane time praying you gentlie to accept of these, and graciouslie to entertaine the new Poet. I take leave. (A2r)

Ponsonby begins by claiming that he has spent a great part of the previous year searching for further poems that will contribute to the "better encrease and accomplishment of your delights." His central goal, as he imparts to his reader, is to become the go-to source for Spenser's writings, what Judith Owens calls his attempt to "center" Spenser, implying that "in centredness resides the competence to manage cultural commodities" (32). Owens sees this as a move against Spenser's own agenda, who is "little concerned with drumming up sales" and whose project was rather to imply the ready availability of his works, as opposed to their prized scarcity. However, based on Spenser's obvious interest in printing and publishing of his works, particularly in the ways he choose his print agents, I suggest that this opposition is deliberate, as it helps construct a fiction of the literary author as different from

the enterprising print agent. In fact, given Spenser's early construction of his author-brand through the perceived anonymity in the *Calender* and authorial unveiling in the *Faerie Queene*, one could argue that Spenser would be invested in having Ponsonby take over the role that the fictitious E. K. performs in *The Shepherdes Calender*. In Ponsonby, Spenser now has an established, popular print agent willing to present and frame his work as one of canonical, cultural, and profitable value.

Ponsonby not only hints that he may soon own Spenser's entire catalogue of poems, but also suggests also that he is the only qualified print agent for the job. This position, I would argue, indicates more than a marketing ploy to sell this particular work or to promote Ponsonby's market: it hints at the market value Spenser's name held in 1591 and, further, suggests that the "new Poet" as brand had by then become a recognizable protocol for cultural capital. Ponsonby thus places himself as a vital resource to readers, implying he is (or will soon become) the exclusive market for Spenser's poetry. Of course, that was not true, since Harrison still held the rights for the *Shepherdes Calender*. However, by "promoting exclusivity," Ponsonby invites readers to see themselves as "the discerning elite," who recognize quality literature and know the best markets for finding it (Brown 85). The reference to the "new Poet" cleverly alludes to the *Calender* without having to promote another print agent's business or even acknowledging the existence of a text Ponsonby does not have available in his own stall. Further, Ponsonby can offer an exclusive service that Harrison cannot: the ability to serve as editor and interpreter of the author's intent.

Ponsonby claims he is able to recognize, for instance, that a group of poems "being all dedicated to Ladies" may indicate that the author "ment them all to one volume" (A2v). Whether or not Spenser and Ponsonby were collaborating to put this edition together, the preface to the reader makes a clear distinction between authorial intent and the editor's eye, highlighting to readers the importance of choosing Ponsonby's books over those edited (or

simply “porloyned”) by other print agents. If indeed the contents of this work function as “a fully authorized Spenserian retrospective” (Rambuss 84), meant to show off Spenser’s mastery of a broad variety of medieval genres, Ponsonby helps mark the work’s rebranding by reinforcing contradictions (the “new” Poet reworking old texts), ensuring authenticity (his edition has not been “imbeziled”), and relying on a fiction of exclusivity (implying his market is the one and best source for Spenser).

Richard Brown argues that Ponsonby’s preface serves two purposes: “on the one hand, [Ponsonby] conceives of complaint as a traditional genre which is didactically ‘profitable’ to its readers ... on the other, the preface is a sales pitch .... the writer of the *Faerie Queene* is financially ‘profitable’ to Ponsonby in 1591 because he is ‘the new Poet’” (7). As I have discussed in Chapter 1 (and elsewhere throughout this dissertation), this balance between literary quality and profitability is one that print agents intentionally sought to highlight. The notion of a “profitable” book usually represented a book that could offer returns in monetary as well as social capital. However, Ponsonby and Spenser take this a step further: by insisting on the relationship between print agent and author, the preface establishes also the very clear distinction between the two roles. Even if Spenser is overseeing the publication (or perhaps especially so), his perceived distance helps reinforce the value of the print agent as promoter and, most important, protector of the author’s ideas (which would eventually lead to formal copyright laws).

While Ponsonby’s preface relies on the print agent’s own popularity and literary sensibilities as a means to justify his interest in publishing the *Complaints*, Cuthbert Burby’s choice to print a translation of Plato’s *Axiochus* in 1592 seems entirely driven by an interest in joining in on Spenser’s profitable author-brand. Although the work has never been attributed to Spenser with complete certainty, the title-page indicates that Burby expected the cultural cachet of Spenser’s name on the title-page to attract readers towards the

publication.<sup>186</sup> Burby was on the forefront of the market for vernacular literature, and among the print agents with the most playbooks in his catalogue. His catalogue included a variety of genres, however: as Andrew Murphy suggests, “what makes Burbie’s list [of published works] distinctive is the combination of university wit, with a satirical, social, and controversial inflection, and romance fiction” (215). Given his predilection for English authors with budding cultural capital (Spenser, Shakespeare, Lyly, Nashe, among others), it is possible that Burby sought to publish the *Axiochus* because it was (presumably) the only work of Spenser’s which had not been locked in monopolies by either Harrison or Ponsonby. If indeed the *Complaints* marks a return to Spenser’s predilection for old-fashioned, classical genres, this work certainly continues in that trajectory, suggesting that Spenser is still invested in bringing classical works to the English-speaking public. Even if Spenser did not translate this text —or perhaps *especially* if he did not— the publication shows the effectiveness of the *Calender*’s retro branding; furthermore, it adds another popular genre to Spenser’s repertoire (the translation).

The title-page for *Axiochus* attributes the translation of the “most excellent dialogue” to “Edw. Spenser” and advertises the inclusion of an extra text: “a sweet speech or oration, spoken at the trymphe at White-hall before her Maiestie” (fig. 21). The placement of Spenser’s name between the two texts implies that he is the author of both, but Burby leaves this connection teasingly elusive: it is up to the discerning reader to assume whether that is the case or not. In the dedication to Benedict Barnam, then sheriff of London, Burby takes on Spenser’s literary project as his own, claiming he has published the *Axiochus* so that “so singular a worke ... might was wel flourish in our vulgare speech, as of long it hath donone both in Greeke and Latine” (3r). The dedication helps qualify Burby as both a “scholler” and someone with valuable social connections. He calls on Barnam to protect the publication

<sup>186</sup> Although there are still questions about the status of this work in the Spenserian canon, it has been included in the *Variorum* edition.

from “reprochfull slaunders” in honor of their former friendship and “my familiarity with yee in your younger yeeres, when sometimes wee were Schollers together” (3v). The dedication thus helps establish Burby’s reputation and better qualifies him to recommend that his reader should invest in purchasing the book. The preface “to the reader” claims that

This dialogue of Axiochus, gentle Reader, was translated out of Greeke, by that worthy Scholler and Poet, Maister Edward Spenser, whose studies have and doe carry no mean commendation, because their deserts are of so great esteeme. If hereerein thou find not the delightfull pleasures of his verses yeeldeth, yet shalt thou receive matter of as high contentment: to wit, comfort in the verie latest extremitie. For his sake then be kind in acceptance hereof, and doe him the right he very well deserveth. (4r)

Although he mistakenly expands Spenser’s first name to “Edward,” the timing of the publication and allusion to Spenser as a “scholler and poet” seem to indicate that Burby was capitalizing on the popularity of the *Shepherdes Calender*, the *Faerie Queene*, and Spenser’s other works circulating in print at the time.<sup>187</sup> However, much like Ponsonby, Burby refrains from making direct reference to titles printed by other agents, referring simply to “verses” from Spenser that the reader might have read for their “delightfull pleasures.”

Despite the ready availability of Spenser’s works through other markets (or perhaps because of it), Burby’s preface insists on a sense of exclusivity, suggesting that his book, in particular, offers a unique work from the popular author. Unlike other works’ “pleasures,” Burby claims, this translation offers a higher form of delight, delivering to the reader “comfort in the verie latest extremitie.” Burby seems to be making a distinction between readers who purchase books for “pleasures” and those who look for books that will instruct them or improve their minds. As such, his publication has an advantage over other titles because it carries two types of cultural capital: that associated with a popular author, and that associated with a more discerning class of “schollers,” or readers who recognize the value of classical authors like Plato. As each print agent seeks to distinguish his version of the Spenser

<sup>187</sup> Andrew Hadfield suggests that Burby’s original intention was to simply publish the “swete speech” and that he might have acquired the translation from Ponsonby, and used it to “bulk out a short pamphlet” (39).

author-brand from others available in the marketplace, the role of the reader becomes increasingly important: if in the *Calender* the reader was complicit in sustaining Immerito's identity myth, from that point on the reader is continuously invited to be Spenser's anthologizer: responsible not only for investing in quality literature when he finds it, but in continue to seek it out across different kinds of genres, print agents, and bookstalls.

By this point, then, Spenser's value as an author-brand has not only been accepted by the marketplace—it has been fully incorporated into the presentation of his work as the central quality that made a book worth buying. The print agent here is confident that Spenser's name on the title-page, regardless of the work's true authorship or value to the Spenserian canon as a whole, will be enough to commend the book to a browsing reader, and is bold enough to suggest that even readers who cannot take pleasure in its reading still need to purchase it for its “matter” and “comfort.” Thus, Burby and Ponsonby help enhance Spenser's iconicity by making use of his own retro-marketing techniques of open exclusivity (implying that works usually reserved for an exclusive group of scholars are now available in print), revealed secrecy (capitalizing on the exciting reveal that Spenser was the author behind the Immerito persona), and amplification (implying more works by Spenser will continue to appear in print). By the beginning of the seventeenth-century, Spenser, with the assistance of a team of print agents, has become a highly sought-after author, capable of attracting readers and print agents toward seemingly antiquated genres while simultaneously shaping a new literary canon for the English language. Although Spenser's market was initially associated with an almost-exclusively Protestant audience, he took advantage of popular genres, protocols for readers, and retro-marketing strategies to distinguish himself as a new brand of poet. His popularity, as in the case of More's *Utopia*, encouraged print agents to repurpose the brand towards their own market interests. As we will see below in two

diametrically opposite examples, Spenser's author-brand could be applied to political pamphlets just as well as to advertise a complete return to the classics.

**Generic Off-Brands: 1648's *The Faerie Leveller* and 1653 *Calendarium Pastorale*** By

the time the pamphlet *The Faerie Leveller* came out, Spenser's reputation in print had fully evolved from mysterious, anonymous poet to "poet laureate." While *The Shepheardes Calender* and *The Faerie Queene* represent Spenser's literary rise, it is through Ponsonby that Spenser is finally presented as a national, canonical poet worth anthologizing. Ponsonby's preface in the *Complaints* helps establish the distinction between poet and editor/print agent, as he takes over the role of E.K. as the mediator between the author and the reader. By 1611, Spenser's author-brand has reached its intended goal: following Ponsonby's anthologizing impetus, Mathew Lownes publishes a posthumous collection of Spenser's works in 1611 where he heralds the author as "England's arch-poet." Despite the announcement that Spenser was the author of the *Shepheardes Calender*, the work continued to be reprinted without Spenser's name on either the title-page or dedication, indicating that the work had become popular in its own right and that readers did not need the formal attribution to know that the work had been written by the author of the *Faerie Queene* (particularly following the publication of Lownes's collected works).

Spenser's enduring success might have been the reason the anonymous publisher of *The Faerie Leveller* decide to use Spenser's epic as a backdrop for his pamphlet attacking the newly formed political faction (fig. 22). As I have discussed in Chapter 2, the *Utopia* brand encouraged a similar response from cheap print writers. The authors of *The King of Utopia* (1647), for instance, capitalized on the island as a brand name in title-page advertisements, but constructed their own epistolary fiction in support of the monarchy. Here, the authors refrain from adding any original text: instead, the pamphlet lifts an entire section of the

*Faerie Queene* as evidence of Spenser's ahead-of-his-time Leveller critique. The pamphlet also shows an awareness of the *Shepherd's Calender* in its efforts to provide a gloss to reading Spenser's text and, further, demonstrates the endurance of the retro-marketing brand's capacity for entertainment.<sup>188</sup> Here, we have come full circle: the print agent responsible for *The Faerie Leveller* appears to feel true nostalgia for Spenser's time, and seeks to repurpose the text in order to "evoke a sense of a utopian past" while at the same time suggesting that current events had been prophesized (and could have thus been avoided).

The fact that Spenser's authorial brand continues to evolve over time is evidence of its power as an enduring cultural icon: through a variety of historical contexts, print agent interpretations, genres, and reading markets, Spenser's persona remains a valuable source of cultural capital, capable of adapting to the times while maintaining its nostalgic feel. A clear evidence of this effect is the appearance of 1653's *Calendarium Pastorale* (fig. 23). Through this publication, two print agents who identify themselves as M. M. T. C. and C. Bedell offered a side-by-side Latin to English edition of Spenser's *Calender* which omits all of E.K.'s editorial interventions and replaces his epistle with a dedication to Francisco Lane signed by one "Guil. Dillingham." Although it is difficult to say what inspired the print agents to produce such an edition, it bears noting that it the work appears to have the opposite agenda of Spenser's *Calender*, making the work less accessible to English readers and closer to its classical roots without the added playfulness of E.K.'s exacerbated commentaries.<sup>189</sup>

The *Calendarium* both expands and reverses Spenser's branding process: on the one hand, it

<sup>188</sup> Because the *Faerie Queene* itself is an allegorical work, the print agent sees it as open to new interpretations, and presumes to read it as an ahead-of-its time critique to Levellers, who "seduced" unlearned citizens with "their specious pretences of reducing all to a just equality, and restoring all to their rights and libertie: whereas on the contrary their endeavor is evident to take away every mans propriety" (f.4). Thus, the publisher offers his own reading of Spenser, aiding the reader with "a little explanation" and "a key to the work," wherein he links characters from the *Faerie Queene* to contemporary figures like King Charles and Oliver Cromwell.

<sup>189</sup> The *Calendarium* was originally in manuscript, written in or around 1608 by Theodore Bathurst, and A. C. Hamilton posits that it may be have a rhetorical exercise (1037). Whoever found the manuscript and decided to publish it forty-five years later must have imagined that it would find a sympathetic audience. Indeed, the book was reprinted two more times in 1679 and 1732, so it must have been popular enough to merit further copies.



takes advantage of his retro-branding to present him as an already classical, ancient author, in need not only of glossing but of translation. The inverted translation (from English to Latin) suggests that Spenser's work is not only elite and scholarly but also deserving of elevation to the status of other classical authors. Even though this translation might have made the work more attractive to Continental readers, the print agents nonetheless reversed Spenser's open exclusivity strategy, wherein he took elements typical of exclusive coteries and made them readily available in print. Thus, the *Calendarium Pastorale* is just as much a brand generic as the *Faerie Leveller*, for it misreads Spenser's authorial brand in crucial ways, using his name as advertisement for new interpretations of his own fictionalized literary rise.

Spenser's strategies for constructing himself as a recognizable English cultural icon relied on the implicit contradictions of his first printed work to present himself as both old and new, both familiar and innovative. In order to do so, he and Gabriel Harvey carefully selected a variety of print agents according to what those markets could offer them: Hugh Singleton helped the *Calender* attract both Protestant readers as well as casual book-buyers interested in popular culture and scandalous events; Henry Bynneman granted their *Letters* the level of authenticity and cultural capital necessary to establish Immerito as part of an exclusive (yet open to the print marketplace) group of scholars; finally, William Ponsonby and Cuthbert Burby helped amplify Spenser as a cultural icon by placing his works within specifically literary markets.

The success of Spenser's authorial brand and self-mythologizing through retro-marketing is evidence not only in the enduring popularity of his works, but also in the generic copies it inspired: by the end of the seventeenth century Spenser was undeniably established as a canonical English figure and, perhaps ironically, helped create a marked distinction between the figure of the author and that of the editor/print agent. As the last case-study in this dissertation, Spenser's work offers examples of all the techniques discussed in previous

chapters, but with a notable twist: instead of finding print agents branding their market through the manipulation of paratextual materials, here we see an author helping create his own mythology through similar strategies. Spenser fabricated an editorial persona in order to enter a broad variety of markets and to define his name not only as a memorable author of English literature, but also as someone who knew how to play the game of the print marketplace. In order to do so, he relied on collaborations with a variety of print agents and, most importantly, encouraged his readers to become expect critics, editors, and anthologizers of his work, always in the lookout for the promise that “I will send more after thee.” This perspective helps reinforce the importance of considering print agents’ careers and editorial collaborations as key aspects of literary analysis: as Spenser himself understood, the reception of a new work (and a new poet) depended on the cultural capital, industry, and advertising initiative of the print agents who registered, printed, and presented the book to its “courteous buyers.”

**TABLE 3: SPENSER'S PRINTING HISTORY CHART** (works cited in this chapter)

Year of Publication	Short Title	Publisher	Printer
1579	The Shepheardes Calender	Hugh Singleton	Hugh Singleton
1580	Three Proper, Wittie, Familiar Letters	Henry Bynneman	Henry Bynneman
1581	The Shepheardes Calender	John Harrison the younger	Thomas East
1586	The Shepheardes Calender	John Harrison the younger	John Wolfe
1590	The Faerie Queene	William Ponsonby	John Wolfe
1591	Complaints Containing sundrie small poemes of the worlds vanitie	William Ponsonby	Anon.
1591	The Shepheardes Calender	John Harrison the younger	John Windet
1597	The Shepheardes Calender	John Harrison the younger	Thomas Creede
1611	The Shepheardes Calender	Mathew Lownes	Humphrey Lownes
1617	The Shepheardes Calender	John Harrison the elder	Bernard Alsop
1653	Calendarium Pastorale	M.M.T.C. & G. Bodell	M.M.T.C. & G. Bodell,
1648	The Faerie Leveller or, King Charles his leveller descried and deciphered in Queene Elizabeths dayes	Anon.	Printed just levell anens the Saints Army, bin the yeare of their saintships ungodly revelling for a godly levelling

## CHAPTER 4 FIGURES

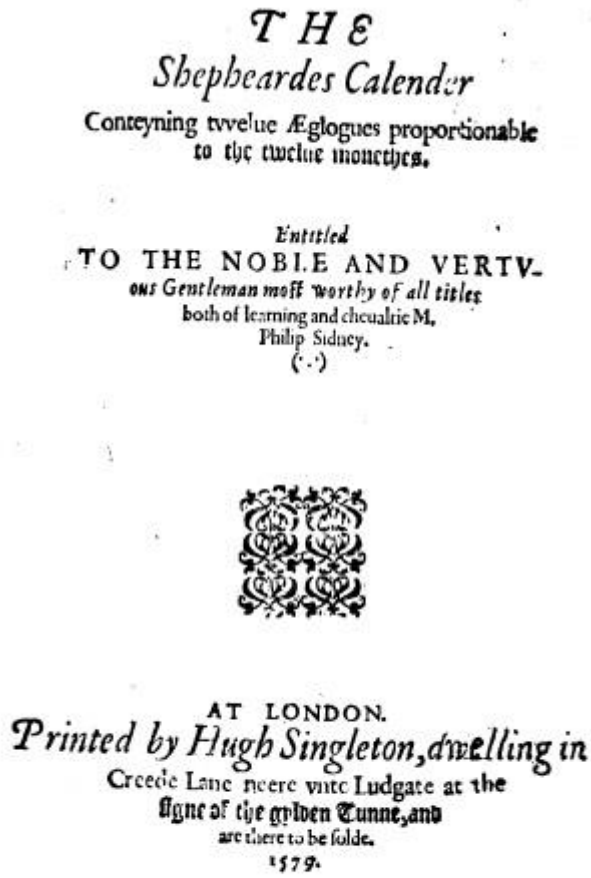


Figure 17. The Shepherdes Calender, 1579.

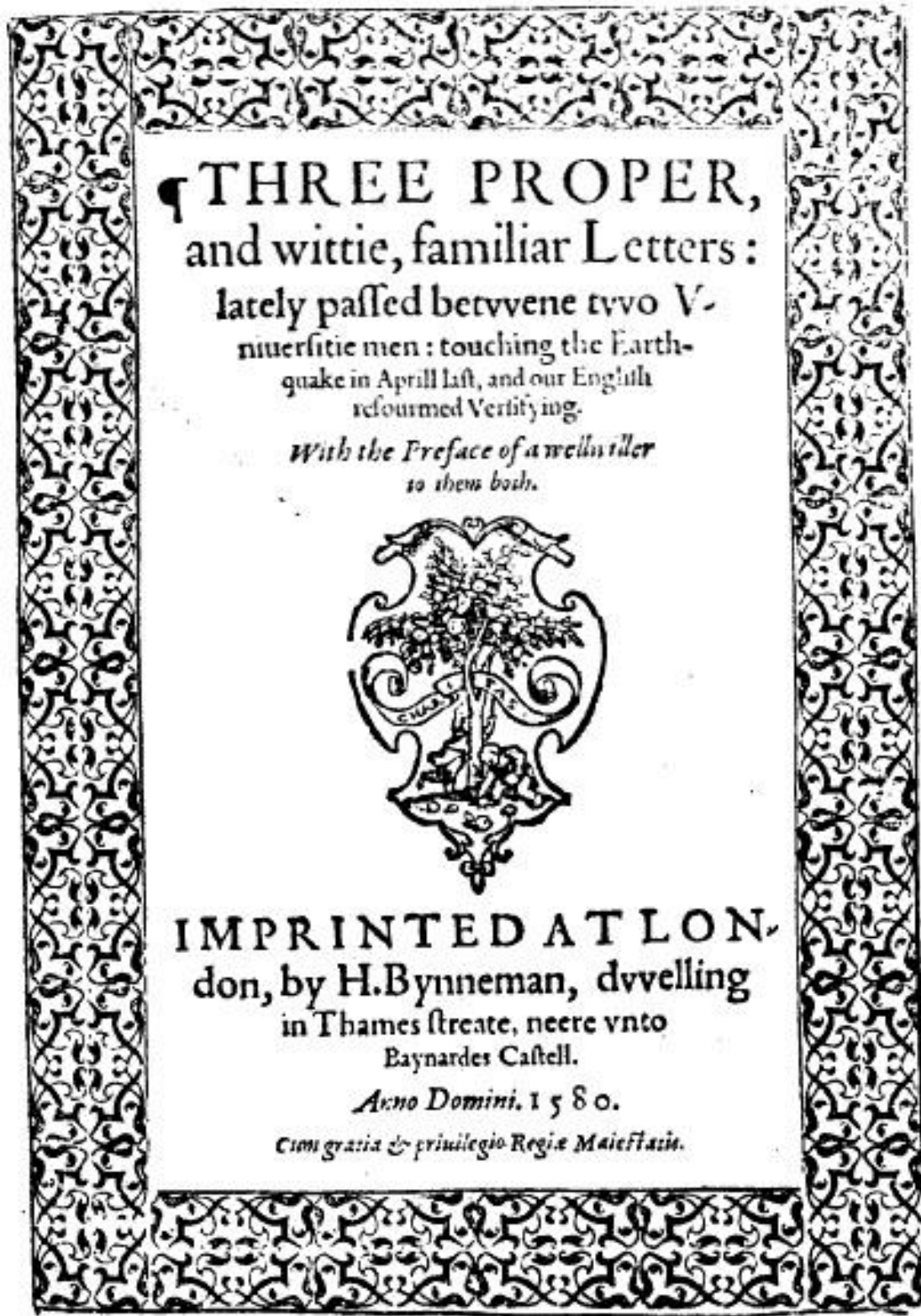


Figure 18. Three Proper, Wittie, and Familiar Letters, 1580.

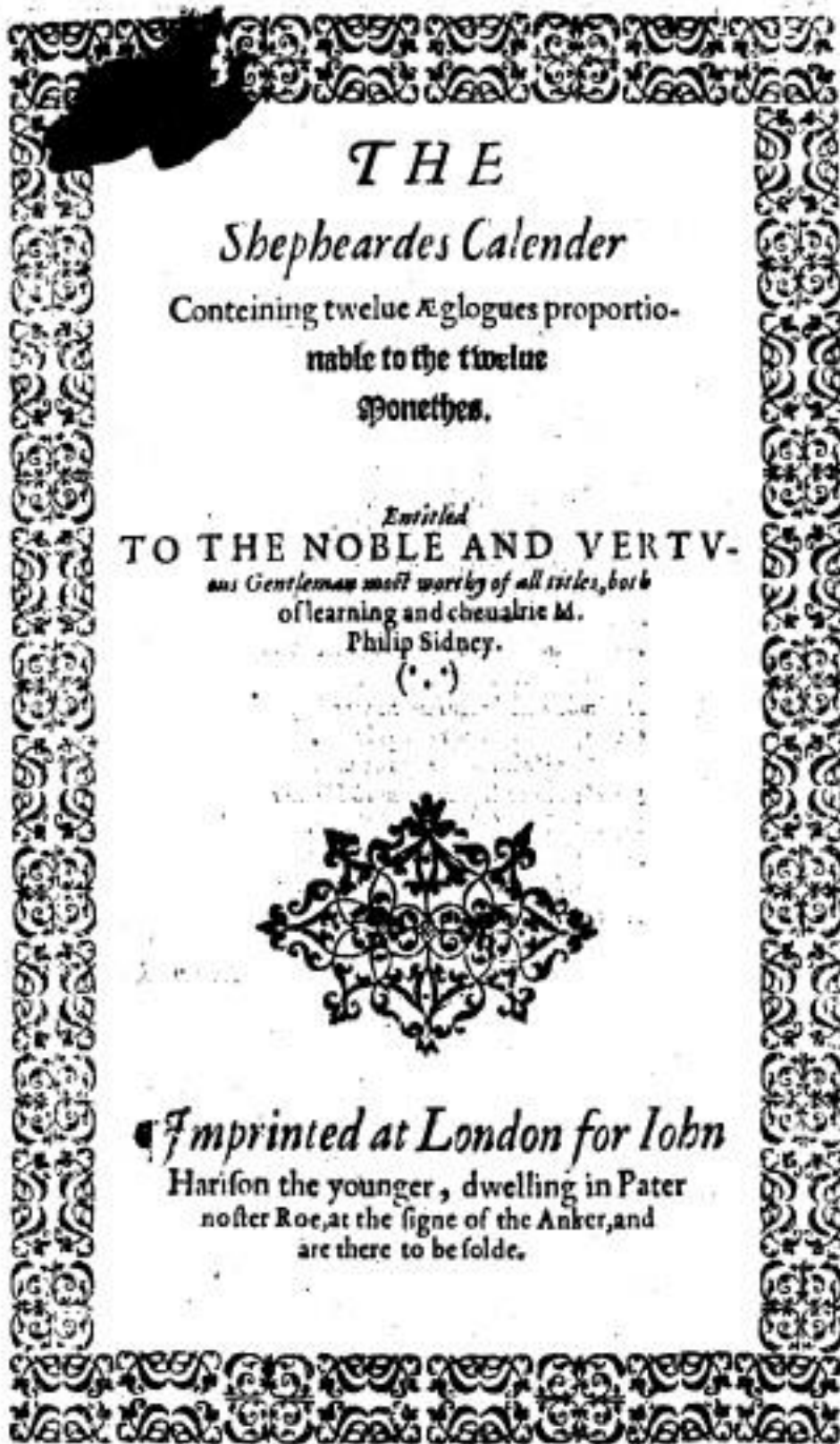


Figure 19. The Shepheardes Calender, 1581.



Figure 20. Complaints, 1591.

*Axiochus.*

A most excellent Dialogue,  
written in Greeke by *Plato* the Phy-  
losopher: concerning the shortnesse and vncer-  
tainy of this life, with the contrary ends of  
the good and wicked.

(·)

Translated out of Greeke by  
*Edw. Spenser.*

*Heereto is annexed a sweet speech or Oration,  
spoken at the Tryumphe at White-hall before her  
Majestie, by the Page to the right noble Earle  
of Oxenforde.*



AT LONDON,  
Printed for Cuthbert Burbie, and are  
to be sold at the middle shop in the Poultry,  
vnder S. Mildreds Church.

*Anno. 1592.*

Figure 21. Axiochus, 1592.



THE  
FAERIE LEVELLER:

OR,

King CHARLES his Leveller descri-  
c'd and deciphered in Queene ELIZA-  
BETH S dayes.

By her Poet Laureat *Edmond Spenser*, in his unparaleld  
Poeme, entituled,

THE FAERIE QVEENE.

A lively representation of our times.

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*Anagram :*

Parliaments Army.  
Paritie mar'sal men.

---

{ 藥 毒 }  
{ 毒 藥 }

---

Printed just levell anens the Saints Army : in the yeare of their  
Saintships ungodly Revelling for a godly Levelling. 1648.

Figure 22. The Faerie Leveller, 1648.

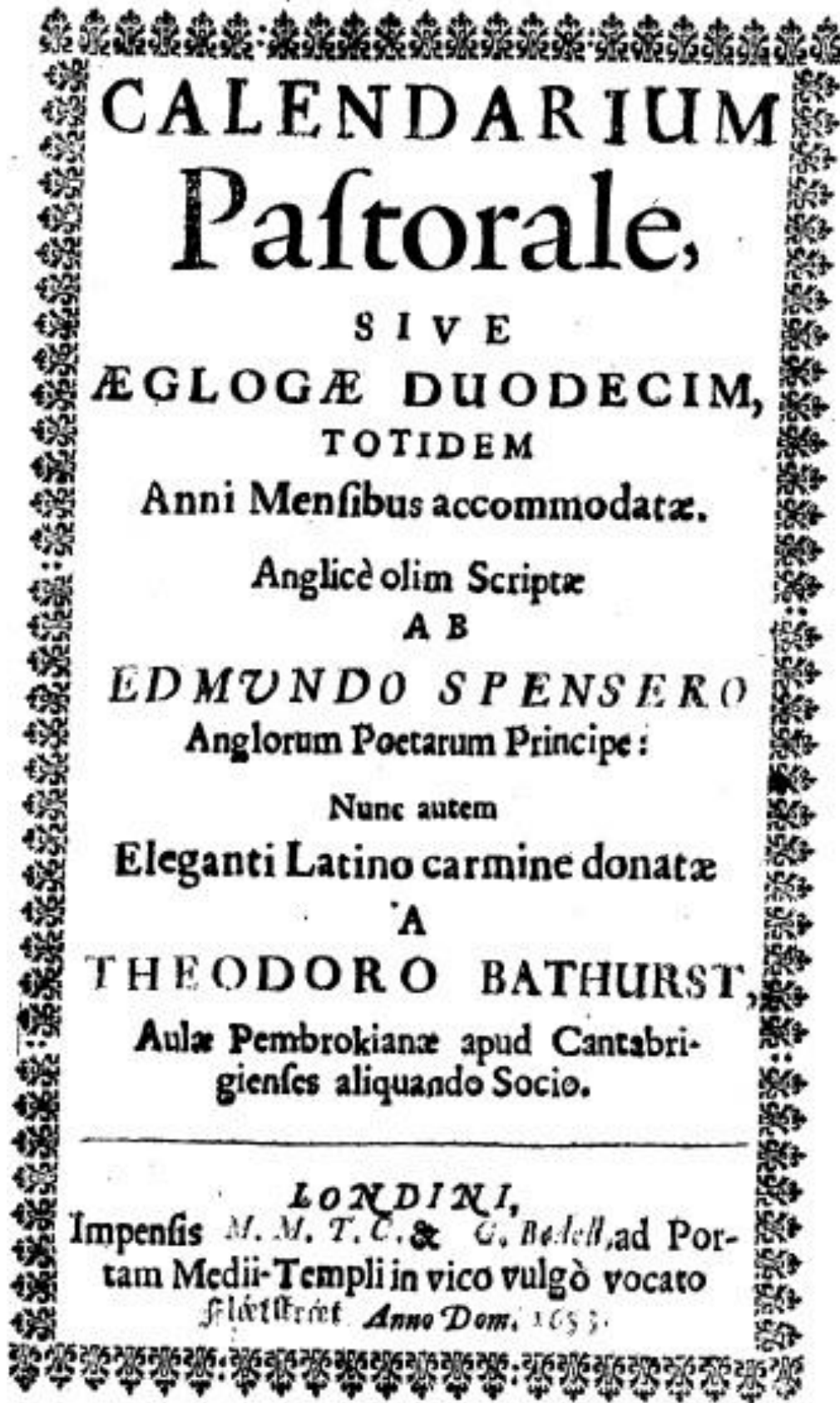


Figure 23. Calendarium Pastorale, 1653.

## CHAPTER 5 Virtual Readings: Digital Environments, New Technologies, and the New Print Agents

Dr. Harkwil, in his Apologie of the power and providence of God in the government of the world, (p. 316) treating of divers artificial works and inventions of the later ages, matchable with those of the Ancients, insists chiefly on Printing, Guns, and the Sea-Chard or Mariners Compass ... that all Antiquity had nothing equal to them.

Anon, *A Brief Discourse Concerning Printing and Printers*, 1663.

The early modern book trade was responsible for introducing readers to a new technology. The printing press itself could not have sparked a revolution without the work of printers, booksellers, typesetters, and publishers. It was up to these print agents to properly frame books so that readers would not only know where (and in whose bookstall) to buy a book, but also to help them identify categories such as genre and authorship as measures of quality and taste. In *A Brief Discourse Concerning Printing and Printers*, the “society of printers” praise the technology of print as a revolution for the way knowledge was both understood and disseminated: “by means whereof as much may be printed by one man in one year, as could be written by many in a whole year” (19). Print agents were responsible for translating the technology of print into a recognizable format and using it to establish relationships with new and returning readers. The study of new technologies, therefore, must always include a careful look at the individual agents who helped introduce and shape these technologies.

This dissertation so far has argued for the importance of understanding print agents as key participants in the development of taste, genre, and popular culture, and as responsible for shaping the reception and circulation of books in ways that continue to affect us today. This chapter moves away from case-studies of early modern texts and print agents to investigate the connections between early modern print technologies and developments in the digital humanities. Even when we handle a rare book inside the library, the study of its

contents is never unmediated: before reaching our hands, the text has been written by the author(s), designed and shaped by various print agents, owned and possibly bound by readers, collected by the library, curated with a catalogue number, and assigned to a genre, period, or style. The same is true for digital environments, where texts, even further removed from their material presence, are turned into data that must be structured, sorted, and interpreted for readers through a user interface. As Diana Kichuk argues, the “digital veil” stands between users and the material object, and though “scholars may attempt to penetrate the opacity of the new host medium through imagination and scholarly grit ... the facsimile is not, and perhaps never can be, ‘the real thing’ or equivalent of the original” (296). However, the same may be said of any mediating or remediating technique, which always stands between the “aura” of the text and how it is presented to us. Early modern readers and writers may thus have asked some of the same questions about print that we now wonder about digital environments: what is the purpose of this new technology? How might it change our experience as readers or scholars? Does it merit the same value, both monetary and cultural, as the previous technology?

Print agents helped shape and present printed books by making them unique commodities, teaching readers to approach new texts or genres, and ultimately defining niche markets. Similarly, digital humanists bear the responsibility of reinforcing the value of new technologies for the study of literary texts, guiding users to apply new methods of research, and helping establish new fields of scholarship. As a new kind of print agent, digital humanists must be more aware of their choices in curating, organizing, and labeling metadata – how the text is tagged or described, after all, can significantly impact how it is received, read, and understood as part of a larger culture. In this chapter I argue that we can analyze the structure of digital projects as new kinds of paratexts and framing devices, capable of making arguments and responsible for mediating primary sources for academic research. As Julia

Flanders has argued, the burden of digital criticism is not simply to develop new tools but make us aware of the human element of such tools, wherein we must be “*inside* the process, *inside* the tools, as they mediate between us and the field we are seeking to grasp” (¶10, emphasis in original).<sup>190</sup> By recognizing the work of project developers in encouraging or curtailing different kinds of research, we can become better users, critics, and makers of new technologies.

In order to demonstrate how digital projects function (much like paratexts) as mediating structures (and project developers as print agents), this chapter explores the benefits and shortcomings of a number of digital resources for the study of print agents and the early modern book trade. By understanding how these tools are structured and what kinds of research they privilege, we can acknowledge the degree to which digital technologies have influenced scholarship and research. Building on Lev Manovich’s suggestion that databases are arguments,<sup>191</sup> I explore a variety of digital tools and the arguments they make about print culture and the book trade. The analyses that follow are broken down into three categories; first, I consider larger, comprehensive projects like *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) and the *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC). I then move to projects that focus on specific genres like the *Database of Early English Playbooks* (DEEP), the *English Broadside Ballad Archive* (EBBA), and the *British Book Trade Index* (BBTI). Finally, I address projects that focus on born-digital techniques like the *Atlas of Early Printing*, *Geocontexting the Printing World*, and *Shakeosphere*. Each of these projects is representative of different kinds of approaches to digital curation and research. As I explain below, they range from first-generation projects (i.e. EEBO and ESTC), which were designed to catalogue or provide facsimiles for all surviving texts from the period; to second-generation projects like DEEP,

<sup>190</sup> In *Literary Studies in the Digital Age* (2013). <http://dlsanthology.commons.mla.org/the-literary-the-humanistic-the-digital/>.

<sup>191</sup> “Database as Symbolic Form.” RHIZOME (1998). <http://www.rhizome.com>

which focus on specific areas of study (in DEEP's case, printed drama) and can therefore provide more complex search options; to third-generation projects designed to provide distant reading analyses<sup>192</sup> or to map out locations using tools made exclusively for the digital environment. These projects also demonstrate different levels of editorial control: while EEBO largely uses the ESTC's metadata and offers little explanation about how the database is organized (let alone details about contributors), DEEP and BBTI boast more transparent (though not always more effective) approaches to structuring and presenting their information. As institutions strive to understand how to credit digital scholarship, it has become increasingly important to clarify our purposes for developing these tools, as well as to find ways to make the work of contributors, editors, and encoders count.

In addition to evaluating existing tools, this chapter also proposes a new database, *Printed Paratexts Online* (PPO), which aims to provide detailed information on paratextual materials authored and designed by early modern print agents. I argue that current digital projects make the study of paratexts difficult, either by inconsistently cataloguing information or omitting it altogether. We still need tools that can better account for the intricacies of the book trade, and that take into consideration printing histories, social and labor networks, and physical locations. While research on the early modern book trade has been made easier by the tools I discuss here, much work remains to be done about understanding their purposes and uses, as well as addressing how these projects have affected our approach to textual analysis. Once it is fully developed and published online, my proposed database will facilitate future studies on print agents and paratextual materials, encouraging scholars and students to finding new research questions and enhancing the corpus through their own contributions.

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<sup>192</sup> Franco Moretti argues that unlike close reading, where texts are analyzed at the sentence and paragraph level for intricate themes or ideas, distant reading “allows you to focus on units that are much smaller or much larger than the text” (57). Algorithms and databases, for example, can analyze a much larger textual corpus at faster speeds than a the human mind can process; through these technologies we are able to understand trends across texts and time, as well as to analyze minutia like word frequency and gendered pronouns (see Michael Whitmore et. al. “Much Ado about Data” posts in <http://winedarksea.org>).

In the sections that follow, I discuss some of the challenges faced by users and producers of digital humanities projects. I demonstrate firstly, that by relying on pre-digital categories the majority of our online resources often make innovative research difficult, if not impossible. Secondly, I argue that, as a new kind of print agent, digital humanities scholars must more carefully outline and describe their editorial interventions. By relying not only on pre-digital catalogues but also on pre-set metadata, resources for the study of early modern texts have reinforced canonical and historically problematic categories like authorship, genre, and publication dates. If our scholarship has become more and more interested in subverting these categories and pointing out their role as cultural constructs, it is crucial that current and future tools for studying and cataloguing early modern texts begin to do the same.<sup>193</sup>

**Framing and Cataloguing the Early Modern Period: the ESTC and EEBO** The *English Short-Title Catalogue* and *Early English Books Online* remain some of the most comprehensive resources for the study of early modern literature. For many scholars performing archival research online, the ESTC and EEBO are the first steps toward locating and analyzing primary texts. Their original purpose was simply to make records (ESTC) and facsimiles (EEBO) available to view and search online.<sup>194</sup> As such, it is arguably unfair to point out the ways in which these tools fail to offer transparent rationales and complex search engines. However, given not only their longevity but also the fact that digital projects can (and should) be updated regularly, it is important to consider some of the ways in which these two resources have both encouraged and at times limited future projects.

<sup>193</sup> Michel Foucault's term "author function" remains crucial to discussions of authorship, authorial intent, and any kind of teleological attempt at tracing an author's literary "evolution." Furthermore, critics like Kevin Sharpe and Leah Marcus have called for more careful analysis of the meaning/development of genre and canonicity. There is little doubt that contemporary scholars are invested in complicating the terms listed above, yet the majority of digital projects remains tied to these often tenuous (and ahistorical) categories.

<sup>194</sup> See <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/catblhold/estchistory/estchistory.html>. EEBO was first published in 1998, offering digitized scans of the "Early English Books" microfilm collection (Gadd 2009).

The ESTC is a digital edition of *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640* (1986; 1991). The site first appeared online as the “Eighteenth Century Short-Title Catalogue” in the 1980s, changing its name (and expanding its records) to English Short-Title Catalogue in the 1990s. The catalogue was made possible thanks to the standardization provided by Machine-Readable Catalogues (now known as MARC), which allowed for library records to be easily scanned and standardized across multiple institutions. As Ian Gadd concludes in his detailed evaluation of ESTC and EEBO, “ESTC is a hybrid database consisting of three sets of catalogue records, each constructed on different principles,” making it difficult for the “unsuspecting student” to discern what information came from which catalogue, or how representative to site can be of the period as a whole (684). But the ESTC is also a hybrid project in terms of its contributors. Much as titles like “printer” and “publisher” are difficult to apply to early modern print agents, who often performed multiple tasks and worked as printers for their own bookshop, for example, the word “editor” is also problematic for digital projects. In the case of the ESTC, that label cannot adequately encompass all the individuals involved in making these projects possible, including not only A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, the original compilers of the printed STC, but also the British Library’s curators who established the Eighteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue, as well as the programmers, web designers, and scholars who made the database now known as the ESTC. Thus, to speak of the ESTC’s “print agents” is not only to acknowledge the multiple individuals responsible for the project, but also to admit that it is impossible to identify who made which editorial intervention and when those might have been amended.

The ESTC functions as a digital index: its purpose was to provide a searchable catalogue of English printed materials from 1473 to 1800. Additionally, the ESTC’s metadata has served as the backbone for many database projects, including not only EEBO and DEEP



but also *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO). As such, the majority of its shortcomings and limitations have unfortunately been inherited by these projects. The ESTC's structural problems have been well documented: its annotations are at best inconsistent and at worst non-existent; silent additions make searches on original title page information nearly impossible; and modernized spelling and use of brackets (to fill in missing words or letters) often cause searches to be inaccurate (McKitterick 2005).<sup>195</sup> For example, in order to have complete records for entries, the editors will include in brackets details not present in the original edition, like an author's name (or misattribution) or a printer whom Pollard or Wing found through archival research to be responsible for a publication.<sup>196</sup>

Every record in the ESTC has been labeled to reflect the following categories: author, title, imprint, and year. Additional information includes: variant title, physical description, and "general notes," under which the editors may note any details they find relevant to the text but that do not fit into the pre-assigned labels. Much of the data regarding the presence of paratexts, where available, is listed under such notes. Immediately, we may observe that these categories privilege canonical, literary texts with well-defined authorial attributions. Pamphlets, for instance, were often printed anonymously, lacked short or clear titles, and did not always include publications dates, making them difficult to search for. Other works like Isabella Whitney's *A Sweet Nosegay* (1573) or even Spenser's *Shepherd's Calender* (1578) lacked the author's name on the title page or were printed under a pseudonym—information

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<sup>195</sup> But the ESTC has been taking note of these critiques: in 2011 the editors announced a project to modernize the catalogue "as a 21-century research tool." The revised ESTC will highlight the value of collaboration and cross-linking by making their metadata freely available for scholars working on new projects and connecting to existing indexed sources like the *Eighteenth-Century Book Tracker*. The editors also plan to provide a downloadable curation tool to encourage scholars to contribute and amend ESTC metadata, which will at first be listed separately from the official catalogue and eventually be fully incorporated into the system.

<sup>196</sup> Although the digital project has expanded to cover materials as late as 1800, not all the notes and descriptions in the original STC were imported into the database. Since the site's "history" page includes very little information, it is difficult to know the rationale that led to the selections and omissions made by the site. For more, see McKitterick, "Not in STC: Opportunities and Challenges in the ESTC," *The Library* 6.2 (2005).

which can be occluded by the catalogue's structure.<sup>197</sup> Research on print agents is made even more difficult, as the ESTC often lists silent emendations made by the editors under "imprint," and cannot differentiate between printers, publishers, or booksellers.<sup>198</sup> Thus, while the ESTC is a valuable resource, offering a starting point for both print and digital research, it cannot fully support variant searches: it is impossible to distinguish between works whose authors are known but were not advertised, or works whose titles varied widely from edition to edition. In other words, if I want to find out how many texts were printed anonymously in the seventeenth century, the database is unable to answer that question, as it was not a question originally anticipated by the project's developers. Of course, some of these silent emendations by the editors mean that it is possible to locate a vast number of works printed by, for example, Bernard Alsop, but that did not bear his name on the title page.<sup>199</sup> A manual search through the listed results can help make such distinctions while perhaps also uncovering reasons why Alsop might add his name to some title pages, but not others.

As the ESTC develops its new project, "The ESTC as a 21-century Research Tool," it is clear that the editors wish to situate the site as an aggregator of sources. Its proposed new organizational structure assumes that scholars are most interested not simply in breadth of content but in reaching both primary sources and record entries through a single tool. Eventually, when users click on a record, they will be able to be redirected to sites like EEBO, ECCO, and even Google Books, which contain facsimile images. This means,

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<sup>197</sup> For more on the value of studying and identifying texts printed anonymously, see Marcy L. North, *The Anonymous Renaissance* (2003).

<sup>198</sup> Although, as I have argued throughout this dissertation, these distinctions can themselves be deceiving and anachronous, they might help scholars better investigate networks of print agents as well cross-reference individuals listed in Plomer's and McKerrow's *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers* and the BBTL.

<sup>199</sup> Any search for "publisher" as the ESTC labels it, will bring back all the instances of the name, including, for example, Swetnam's *Araignment of Lewd...and Unconstant Women* (1622), for which the title page directly states the work was "Printed by Bernard Alsop for Thomas Archer," but also Tuke Thomas's *Treatise Against Painting and Tincturing of Men and Women* (1616), for which the original title page just states "imprinted at London." The ESTC amends with brackets that the work is assumed to have been printed "by [Thomas Creede and Bernard Alsop]."

however, that any project wishing to cross-link with the ESTC will have to follow their organizational structure. While uniformity may be an ideal way to ensure that digital projects can speak the same technical language, the persistence of MARC records as the core data for ESTC betrays an overreliance on pre-digital approaches to data curation. As Laura Mandell suggests, digital environments allow a much larger editorial freedom than old classification systems and restrictive categories like “author” and “subject.” Scholars must take advantage of this freedom by rethinking data structures and “creating algorithms to make possible investigation deep into the archive according to our own grammar of ‘objects,’ categories of being, and cherished topics” (86), not to mention tracing categories that were particularly significant for the early modern print marketplace.

As I discussed in Chapter 1, elements like woodcut illustrations or title-page designs could help print agents like Thomas Archer link their texts thematically as well as visually. Being able to search for texts with title-page illustrations may allow scholars to better understand the use of such images as marketing strategies. For instance, some title-pages for Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* (1592) were printed with a very evocative image illustrating a scene from the play, while others included vague woodcuts or printer’s marks (fig. 24). The former, as Janette Dillon states, registers “a point of deeply memorable engagement for the audience” (197), but it might also be evidence of print agents seeking to capitalize on the potentially subversive and blasphemous content of the playbook.<sup>200</sup> Is it also possible that the latter wished to make the text more broadly attractive to playgoers by alluding to previous performances? These kinds of questions may be central for analyses not only of plays, but pamphlets and poetic miscellanies, not to mention for studies on canon formation (which

<sup>200</sup> See also Diane Jakacki, “Canst paint a doleful cry?: Promotion and Performance in the Spanish Tragedy Title-Page Illustration” *Early Theater* 13.1 (2010). Jakacki addresses title-pages like the one for *Doctor Faustus* as evidence of theatrical and scene references as an advertising strategy.

could include, for instance, a study on the use of engravings of the author's likeness on title or recto pages).

Scholars interested in studying title-pages and illustrations are best served by *Early English Books Online*, one of the first projects to take advantage of the ESTC's metadata. EEBO's immediate goal is to offer facsimiles of English-language printed works across Europe. However, as Ian Gadd and others have observed, EEBO's records can be deceptive: first, the facsimiles on the site are "representative" copies, which means the site only contains scans of one copy of a single text, whether that text has one surviving copy or twenty.<sup>201</sup> As such, it is not possible to compare multiple copies of the same printed text to look for readers' annotations, print run corrections, or unusual binding details. Secondly, EEBO's images were obtained by scanning microfilms, not by photographing or rescanning rare books. Microfiche scans make it impossible to identify elements such as cover, binding, watermarks, or use of color. Zooming is another problem: enlarging an image to 100% does not always mean that we are seeing the book's actual size, only the full size of the original microfiche (so, for example, a duodecimo may appear much larger than in person, and users must pay close attention to rulers where available or read the records for size information). Whereas title-pages and prefaces were designed to establish relationships between the print agent and the reader, EEBO's catalogue is designed to create the illusion of an unmediated encounter with the primary text. As such, the work of the editors and digital agents involved in curating and encoding materials for the site is ultimately made invisible.

As a cataloguing and visual representation tool, EEBO is primarily concerned with providing a digital surrogate for original rare books and printed texts. Thus, its database is

<sup>201</sup> It is worth noting here a key difference between "copy" and "edition": while the former can represent multiple versions of the same print run, book history scholars may be interested in finding, for instance, corrections made along the way of a particular run. Editions represent reprints and new runs of a title, either by the same or a new print agent. Although EEBO does include variant editions on occasion, the initial project sought to scan only the "best copy" of a given edition. It is unclear on the site or elsewhere what criteria were used when making such selections. For a detailed history of EEBO's development from microfilm to database, see Kichuk (2007).

curated to replicate the same modern, pre-digital organizational categories as the ESTC. The “advanced search” allows extra options for “imprint” and “illustration type,” among others, but these categories can be deceptive, as they represent only such information as was originally deemed noteworthy by the agents responsible for the ESTC. Further, discrepancies between modern and original titles seem to confuse EEBO’s search engine: a search for “Women Beware Women” will yield 21 results on ESTC, one of which is the collection *Two New Plays* (1657), containing Thomas Middleton’s play by that name. EEBO, on the other hand, returns no results for the search, even though *Two New Plays* is part of their catalogue and its full title includes a direct reference to the play: *Two new plays viz More Dissemblers Besides Women and Women Beware Women*. The problem occurs because the ESTC record in EBBO was shortened to “Two new playes ... written by Tho. Middleton, Gent” (ellipsis in original), which erases any mention of the actual plays in the collection and thus makes it difficult to locate. Similarly, searching for “pleasant delights” on EEBO brings up the three copies of Clemment Robinson’s *A Handfull of Pleasant Delites* (1584) published by Richard Jones (two of which are fragments) and nothing else, while the same search on ESTC brings up 36 results (including Nicholas Breton’s *Brittons Bowre of Delights*, also printed by Jones). None of these results, however, is Robinson’s text, which can only be located by typing the misspelled, original title. Thus, scholars interested in plays that were bound together in a collection, or in uses of reading protocols in title-pages may be faced with incoherent results. From this example, we may see that while EEBO seems to have improved on some of its inherited metadata, it persists in considering texts as single units that cannot be easily linked to other texts, authors, or print agents. Although using records from the ESTC helped the editors of EEBO create uniformity across platforms, they ended up replicating a system that was not originally designed for the digital environment, making complex or exploratory research questions difficult to pursue.

Whereas EEBO is an invaluable (however costly) resource for scholars who cannot visit original materials in the library, its database structure betrays a number of now outdated assumptions about authorship, collaboration, and the business of the book trade at large. For instance: the entry for Mary Sidney Herbert's translation of Robert Garnier's *Antonius* lists Garnier as the primary author, even though his name does not appear anywhere in the printed octavo edition and the title-page attributes the work to "the countess of Pembroke." This entry obscures the fact that the title-page directly promotes the female author with a prominent placement in the center of the page, and suggests that other searches on women writers might yield questionable results. The database also makes elements like collaboration and paratextual details difficult to research: Queen Elizabeth's *Godly Meditation* (1548), which I discuss in Chapter 3, lists "Marguerite, Queen, consort of Henry II, King of Navarre, 1492-1549" as its primary author—Elizabeth is added under "other authors" along with John Bale (or James Cancellor, depending on the edition).<sup>202</sup>

In the case of paratextual details from title pages, dedications, and notes from print agents, EEBO's records are altogether inconsistent. Even where notes mention their presence, they make vague or incomplete references. Beaumont and Fletcher's *Comedies and Tragedies* (1647), for instance, is said to contain "'the Epistle dedicatorie' ... and eight others," a note that is guilty of overlooking some of the most noteworthy dedications, including a note from "the stationer to the reader," as well as a poem "to the stationer," neither of which can be located through a keyword search. Although it is impossible for a database as large as EEBO to account for all possible searches users might come up with, its underlying structure is evidence of the kinds of research scholars privileged at the time, a

<sup>202</sup> This text also suffers from inconsistencies with spellings: searching for "godly meditation" will only yield Cancellor's 1580 edition, since Bale's first edition was "A Godly Medytacyon" and Roger Ward's "A Godlie Meditation." Interestingly, Thomas Bentley is listed as the *Monument of Matrons*' primary author, even though he worked mainly as a compiler and publisher on the collection. Despite having compiled and edited many poetic miscellanies, Richard Jones never receives that honor.

factor which current users must bear in mind when using the tool. As we consider the future and lifespan of humanities databases, we can now find ourselves in a place to best judge what kinds of projects will be better suited for the research we want to pursue.

Even when everything is online and fully searchable, locating material does not depend simply on the contents of the resource, but on knowing how those contents were originally categorized. There are entries in any given database that, invariably, only the programmer or database developer truly understands how to search for; depending on the user interface, these details can be easily effaced. This is particularly the case if one seeks to perform a subject heading search. EEBO has imported its subject headings from the Library of Congress. This, in itself, is not problematic: the Library of Congress Subject Headings (LCSH) are fairly standard in database design. However, because subject headings had to be manually assigned to individual records, it is difficult for users to deduce the rationale that assigns texts to one category but not another. For example, the category “dedications” reveals the obvious shortcomings of this inherited categorization system:

- Dedications – 17<sup>th</sup> century
- Dedications – Early Works to 1800
- Dedications – England – 16<sup>th</sup> century
- Dedications – England – 17<sup>th</sup> century
- Dedications – England – London – 16<sup>th</sup> century
- Dedications – France – 17<sup>th</sup> century
- Dedications – Specimens – Early Works to 1800

First, many of these categories overlap: a dedication written in the 17<sup>th</sup> century naturally falls under the second and fourth or sixth category. Further, it is impossible to know when or with what frequency each of these categories was applied to individual records. In fact, a quick search indicates the majority of these records have only been applied to loose-leaf dedications, not to the type of paratext added to printed books. Jeffrey Garrett claims that subject headings generally aim at consistency rather than, necessarily, accuracy; they are meant to connect a researcher to a larger network of publications and to help her discover

new titles. Garrett suggests that subject headings for digital environments therefore should function not so much as finding aids but as effective samples of possible search options, or “as sources for frequently unique keyword material” (72). To work as finding aids, the headings depend on the human hand assigning each subject to a catalogue entry.<sup>203</sup> Now that the Text Creation Partnership has begun to offer full-text transcriptions of EEBO’s collections, it may be worth investing in computer-generated keywords by applying word-frequency algorithms more broadly to all texts. In either case, by importing pre-digital structures into their system without a discernible purpose or a thorough organizational method, the digital agents behind EEBO make the editorial process invisible (and therefore ineffective) to its users.<sup>204</sup>

At the time of its creation, EEBO’s digital agents assumed the most effective way to organize and search for records was to use familiar systems like MARC records and library catalogues, which scholars were already trained to understand. Furthermore, by scanning microfilms and presenting them as accurate stand-ins for the originals, the site expects that our primary interests in the visual image are still tethered to the content of the text, not in material conditions or variations across copies of the same edition. If we are to understand digital resources as “a modern academic creation” (Kichuk 296), we need to think more carefully about how to highlight their structure: literary and historical data is malleable and can (and should) be reshaped depending on the kinds of artifacts we want to study. As I have argued throughout this dissertation, the print marketplace depended on print agents, writers, readers, and the (implicit and explicit) relationships between those individuals.

<sup>203</sup> And here, again, we may consider the value of the print/digital agents category: while some projects make contributions clear by listing and detailing them on their site (like, for instance the *Map of Early Modern London*), many do not include any information about contributors or rationale.

<sup>204</sup> Garrett, for example, is harvesting and amending subject headings from several sources and curating them according to topics that are relevant to eighteenth-century texts and research. Search keywords such as “The East India Company” across full-text records allowed him, for example, to add 177 titles to that subject category (74). This will make the headings not only specific to the tool at hand (ECCO in this case), but also useful to help users find unexpected connections between texts.



**Genre-Specific Structures: DEEP, BBTI, and EBBA** Seeking to improve the vast digital and print catalogues of ESTC/STC and EEBO and make less-canonical texts and individuals easier to research, second-generation digital projects focused on smaller datasets and more specified search engines. Some of these projects, like the *Database of Early English Playbooks* (DEEP), have served as inspiration for current and future databases. Others, like the *British Book Trade Index* (BBTI), have demonstrated, in their shortcomings, the importance of a careful rationale and a well-developed structure. In many ways, the three sites discussed in this section represent some of the unique challenges of researching (and structuring a database around) the early modern book trade: how does one account for modern and early modern genre attributions, for instance? What is the best way to represent the multiplicity of trades held by print agents? How do texts without authors or publication dates get catalogued? To what degree must project runners overlook unreliable facts, imprints, or amended data? An analysis of each site's accomplishments and missteps serves as way to consider the new kinds of questions researchers and students of the early modern book trade might want to pursue, and the ways in which some of these questions are still beyond the scope of existing projects.

Although DEEP imported its metadata from the STC/ESTC, its digital agents, Alan Farmer and Zachary Lesser, corrected and amended many individual records to address variations in spelling, modernization, and the use of brackets to complete missing words or letters. Because of their focus on drama, Farmer and Lesser were able to structure the database according to topics of particular interest to early modern drama scholars. Six drop-down menus allow not only complex search combinations, but also offer a range of search options that distinguish between, for example, “modern attributions” and “playbook attributions,” or “date of first production” and “date of first edition.” DEEP's underlying

structure thus encourages scholars to think of plays as both printed and performed texts; the database is especially designed to facilitate historical research, particularly regarding changes in attributions, collaboration, and popularity.

In terms of book trade research, DEEP's central contribution is that it allows searches for specific kinds of trades: printer, publisher, and bookseller categories are distinct from "imprint location" and "attributions" (see fig. 25). In contrast, the ESTC (and, by association, EEBO) bundles all of those elements under "imprint," including both modern and contemporary attributions in the same search parameters and omitting differences between silent emendations and spelling variants. DEEP also includes in its drop-down menus specific attributions for paratextual materials, including dedications, commendatory verses, "to the reader," and errata, among others. Thus, this database allows for complex questions like: "how many dedications did Edward Allde write?" or "how many comedies included prefaces to the reader during the sixteenth-century?" DEEP's browsing options not only make this database extremely transparent in its editorial decisions and remarkably easy to use, but also help trace less prominent figures of the book trade like female print agents.<sup>205</sup>

One of DEEP's major accomplishments is cleaning up and aggregating datasets to make them more relevant for scholars of early modern drama: their extensive list of bibliographic sources is a testament to the breadth of information represented in the database.<sup>206</sup> However, although each entry distinguishes between "title-page features" and

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<sup>205</sup> DEEP's drop-down menus list the entire contents of the database, making it easy to know which print agents, paratexts, or title-page features have been catalogued by Farmer and Lesser. This is particularly helpful when it comes to female print agents like Jane Bell, Elizabeth Allde, and Elizabeth Purlowe, who are lesser known and not as widely studied as their late husbands. Although the vast majority of female printers and publishers were widows who inherited their husband's shops, there is evidence that printing houses and bookshops were often considered a family business, and there is much work left to be done in uncovering the work of wives and widows as apprentices and professional print agents. See Martha Driver, "Women Printers and the Page 1477-1541," in *Gutenberg-Jarhbuch* (1998); *Maureen Bell*, "Women in the London Book Trade 1557-1700," *Leipyger Johrbuch zur Buchgeschichte* 6 (1996); and Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678-1730* (1998).

<sup>206</sup> For a complete list, see <http://deep.sas.upenn.edu/sources.html>.

“reference information,” the database would have been much enhanced by visual features: title-page designs, after all, can show which elements were highlighted or enlarged to call the reader’s attention, and can shed light on the quality and eventual cost of a particular publication. Even if DEEP itself was not designed to store images, a link to facsimiles where available (such as those in the *Internet Shakespeare Editions* or the Folger’s *Digital Image Collection*) could save researchers the trouble of going back and forth between resources.

Arguably, DEEP’s strengths as a database are possible precisely because of its narrow focus on early modern drama: because they do not aim at comprehensiveness, Farmer and Lesser can provide a database structure that attends specifically to playbooks. However, databases like the *British Book Trade Index* seem to face cataloguing challenges despite their relatively narrow subject. Whereas DEEP focuses on records of printed texts, the BBTI shifts our focus from material texts to individual print agents. The BBTI is attempting to organize in one place historical and geographical sources available about the British print marketplace.<sup>207</sup> Although the project’s digital agents have been very thorough in their attempt to make the *Index* as accurate as possible, the difficulties in translating such a complex database system into a search engine are apparent.

The developers of the BBTI seem to assume an audience of fellow book history editors, for whom factual and historical accuracy may be more important than locating new questions in a database of potential primary sources or performing quantitative analysis. A “search notice” (fig. 26) displayed the user even sees the search features seems to preemptively address what some call the “white box syndrome”—that is, the immediate challenge faced by users who do know what keywords can produce the desired results or

<sup>207</sup> Currently hosted and previously funded by the University of Birmingham, the database continued to add entries as late as 2010. The project is undergoing institutional and hosting changes, and its project runners hope to make the database more functional and better integrated with the *Stationer’s Register Online*. This move will likely bring up future conversations about the long-term sustainability of projects like this which need both institutional support as well as a commitment from editors and developers to continue to maintain resources beyond their immediate creation. For more, see *Sustaining Digital Resources: An On-the-Ground View of Projects Today* (2009).

even what data is available for research. For example, if I want to know how many women published playbooks before 1660, I just need to select “stationer,” from DEEP’s drop-down menu and count, from the number of total names listed, which ones are women. DEEP’s lists allow users to know exactly what kinds of records and search options are allowed by the database. BBTI, on the other hand, best serves those wishing to look up dates or information on a particular printer (like, say, Thomas Purfoot) or to obtain data on a specific trade (like the number of publishers registered in London between 1500 and 1600, for example).

One of the larger goals of the Digital Humanities is to increase collaboration and transparency, and yet few projects accomplish or even consider the level of editorial openness allowed by (arguably even required of) digital platforms.<sup>208</sup> DEEP successfully demonstrates the value of both: contributions by scholars and outside sources are clearly listed and easy to find, and the database’s search options are transparently outlined by each of the drop-down menus.<sup>209</sup> Although BBTI’s search notice implies that, like DEEP, this project privileges clarity and transparency, these instructions betray some of the database’s shortcomings. For instance, the editors have chosen not to combine records from the Stationer’s Company with actual trade details, resulting in multiple or repetitive entries, like those for “Jones, Richard 1564-1564, Member/Apprentice of Stationer’s Co” and “Jones, Richard, 1564-1613, Printer/Bookseller.” The two results obviously refer to Jones before and after earning his

<sup>208</sup> For more on the importance of transparency and open collaboration for Digital Humanities, see Mark Sample, “Transparency, Teaching, and Taking My Evaluations Public” (2009); Edward Ayers, “The Academic Culture and the IT Culture: Their Effect on Teaching and Scholarship” *EDUCAUSE Review* 39.6 (2004): 48-62; and Bridget Draxler et al. “Democratizing Knowledge” *HASTAC* (2009).

<sup>209</sup> Arguably, DEEP deals with a comparatively small number of records and a very specific field—printed playbooks “from the beginning of printing through 1660” (DEEP “Welcome”), which allows the editors to define the database structure according to strict terms. Farmer and Lesser also had computer programmers working with them to design the user interface, a luxury not all digital humanists have funding or access to. Additionally, by working with a small group (the two editors worked on the database with few collaborators) and being nearly independent from external constraints (the website is hosted by the University of Pennsylvania for free and funded through small, local grants), DEEP’s unique conditions have allowed for a larger academic and financial freedom that other projects cannot necessarily afford.

freedom from the company, but for some reason produce separate entries.<sup>210</sup> Some of these decisions have already been amended since the database was first published—acknowledging that the print trade was malleable and ever-changing, the database now includes multiple trade entries for the same print agent: the entry for Hugh Singleton, for instance, shows that he worked not only as a printer, but also as a bookbinder and bookseller.

As the 2003 report from the BBTI Project Management Group indicates, it is possible to use the database to survey book-trade activities in individual locations, or to compare different kinds of trades across regions. For example, scholars may inquire which locations outside London featured the largest concentration of printing houses, as well as the influence of particular locations like Birmingham as a “regional center of book-trade activity” (2). Nonetheless, the search notice itself warns against the possibility of counting trades in a particular location: because of duplicate and uncertain records, “straightforward count of records is hardly ever likely to give an accurate indication of the scale of the trade.” The purpose of this project is to provide factual (not narrative or biographical) details about a print agent’s trade dates and location. As such, the editors seem to expect that scholars will want to consult a variety of specialized sources to obtain their historical information.<sup>211</sup> If that is the case, cross-linking and interoperability might be the key: if BBTI were linked to the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB) and even reliable Wikipedia pages, users could then find more biographical information to help clarify the confusion over repetitive records.

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<sup>210</sup> It is possible that the developers loaded an entire set of records directly from the Stationer’s Register and have yet to merge those tables with tables created for print trades.

<sup>211</sup> BBTI provides a number of drop-down options in their advanced search, but most are too vague to be helpful. For example, the category for “non-book trades” does not specify whether we are talking about print agents who also worked in “education” or “food and drink” or whether these are searches by genre of publication. The database does not allow gender searches, which would be helpful in researching the number of women working in the trade at particular periods or locations. Adam Hooks and Kirk Melnikoff are currently working on a revision of McKerrow’s *Dictionary of Printers* which, if published digitally, may offer some interoperability between the BBTI and the ODNB.

Perhaps the BBTI suffers from a case of too much transparency: their rationale for structuring the database can be an interesting model for any scholar attempting to build a new project, but it can be overwhelming for users trying to browse or search for records. As an online repository and virtual index, the site offers a broad number of sources, including data from all the *Dictionaries of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland* (Plomer 1910; 1922; 1932) among countless other publications as well as primary research conducted by book trade experts. The BBTI serves as an incredibly detailed account of all the available resources for scholarly research on the book-trade. Nonetheless, it is also a testament to the difficulties of building a structured database around malleable, uncertain, elements like date ranges, questionable birth or death dates, individuals bearing the same name, or ever-changing trade definitions. Small-scale projects can only accomplish so much: as new resources surface, it will be increasingly crucial that scholars create a supportive network of communication—there is little need (or money) for expanding existing projects if the Digital Humanities community can help share, link, and improve data.

DEEP could profit from more versatile approaches, such as those modeled by the *English Broadside Ballad Archive* (EBBA), which began as a digital repository for texts but has since grown to include sound files, visualizations, and creative search suggestions. As the front page announces, EBBA's goal is to “[make] broadside ballads of the seventeenth century fully accessible as texts, art, music, and cultural records.” Accordingly, the editors encourage researchers to consider the role of these texts not only within material culture (as sheets which were sold, circulated, read, discarded, and collected) but also within a vibrant oral, visual, and social culture. The site also allows thematic searches according to Pepys's original categories (such as “devotion and morality,” “state and times,” and “love unfortunate”); EBBA's own subject keywords (both broader and more specific than Pepys, including “sex/sexuality,” “politics/government,” or “urban life”); and, more recently, pre-set

combinatory searches like “CSI” and “Jersey Shore,” which match existing subjects in the database (in the aforementioned examples, “crime, news, punishment” and “sex/sexuality, vice”) to show users more complex search types (see fig. 27). The latter update builds on efforts to make the site increasingly friendly towards undergraduate students and non-expert researchers, something which, as I discuss below, I hope *Printed Paratexts Online* will also be able to accomplish.

EBBA’s treatment of ballads is a thriving example of the valuable contributions digital agents can make to academic research: beyond simply making these texts available, EBBA strives to make their reading dynamic in ways previously impossible.<sup>212</sup> Additionally, by focusing on a highly popular yet arguably ephemeral genre, the site calls attention to the duality of the print marketplace, wherein texts circulated and survived beyond their immediate print run. EBBA demonstrates that readers participated in and subverted the circulation and preservation of texts by collecting materials not originally designed to be bound and cherished.<sup>213</sup>

EBBA is an interesting counterpoint to DEEP, since the project has received several national and multi-institutional grants, and boasts of a team of nearly one hundred contributors from graduate students, to librarians, to programmers, and even singers. The immediate benefits of such support are evident in the site’s consistent updates and ever-growing side projects. Project management is clearly at the heart of both projects’ success: my future database and other existing smaller-scale resources like it must be careful not to set initial expectations for the project too high. By scaffolding the project into smaller goals and

<sup>212</sup> In addition to the search options discussed above, EBBA is also developing visualization charts to trace historical distinctions between black-letter and white-letter ballads, ballads with and without tunes, and a larger GIS-based project still in Beta testing called “Geography of the London Ballad Trade 1500-1700” ([http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/balladprintersite/LBP\\_main.html](http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/balladprintersite/LBP_main.html)).

<sup>213</sup> Not mentioned here is another very productive website for ballads, the *Broadside Ballads Online*, produced by the Bodleian Libraries. While their search options are not yet as innovative as EBBA’s, the site does provide a thorough index of illustrations tagged by Iconclass codes. BBO, however, is not as easy to navigate as EBBA, relying on database and coding terms that may prove unfamiliar to their target audience.

planning BETA testing rounds, project managers can ensure that the research is more quickly made available online and address errors and challenges along the way.

**Born-Digital Approaches: The Atlas of Early Printing, Geocontexting the Printed World 1450-1900, and Shakeosphere** While the ability to locate and read specific texts without having to visit individual libraries around the world is a major benefit of the digital projects discussed so far, these tools only facilitate research that could, given enough time and money, be undertaken by visiting individual archives. Databases that reproduce material records, card catalogues, and physical descriptions of texts are invaluable to our scholarship. But equally important are projects that edit and re-conceptualize materials in ways that are unique to the digital environment. In this section, I briefly consider some of the projects that have attempted to provide new perspectives on digital data curation.

An important contribution that makes digital technology unique from traditional archival research is its ability to quickly and accurately provide quantitative and geospatial information about the texts and cultures we study. The *Atlas of Early Printing*, for instance, offers detailed information about early works spreading throughout Europe and related developments like revolutions and trade routes. Instead of cataloguing texts or hosting facsimiles, the site invites users to play with an interactive display of a world-map, which is customizable by date range and “layer type,” including paper mills, trading routes, and universities (fig. 28).

These categories can provide users with a visual understanding of trends and geographical developments, especially in comparison to the relative isolation of London trades. Like EBBA, the *Atlas* is designed to function as a teaching resource: short essays about book-binding, decorations, and printers help students understand the history behind book making, much like the very impressive 3D representation of a traditional printing press.



Unfortunately, the site does not include any search capabilities (users can only select from the list of pre-defined layers and watch as the results populate the map). Much like *Visualizing the London Ballad Trade* and the BBTI, the *Atlas* belongs to a group of book-trade specific tools that remind scholars that the print marketplace was composed of a thriving culture of individual trades beyond just printers and publishers.

A similar but less ambitious project, *Geocontexting the Printed World*, works in conjunction with *Arkyves*, a paywalled repository of early illustrations, printer's devices, and woodcuts. It already contains an impressive number of entries about printers and publishers working across Europe, including two entries for London: Wynken de Worde and Theodoricus Rood. The site only distinguishes between publishers and printers (green and red-colored, respectively), so it cannot compete with the variety of trades the BBTI attempts to cover (fig. 29). However, resources like *Geocontexting* and the *Atlas* help place print culture within a larger context beyond England, demonstrating the relative isolation and delayed progress of the English print marketplace.

Mapping is not the only form of visualizing data: the *Virtual Paul's Cross* project, for instance, uses a software called "Google SketchUp" to recreate the physical, social, and aural conditions of John Donne's Gunpowder Day sermon outside of St. Paul's Cathedral. Though highly specific to a single event, once completed this project will no doubt provide a unique perspective on many other events and occasions taking place around St. Paul's. Digital projects such as this, and the also fairly new *Queens Men Editions*, which features remakes of plays performed by the Queens Men and is working on a virtual 3D theater, make exciting use of technological tools to provide new perspectives on written texts intended for performance. Such projects encourage alternate forms of reading, analyzing, and teaching texts beyond simply reproducing existing records.

More recently, Blaine Greteman began BETA-testing *Shakeosphere*, a project that is similarly attempting to connect social and professional networks for the texts circulating in the marketplace—despite its name, the project aims to provide information about “the entire 487,000 records of the English Short Title Catalogue ... handwritten materials ... data collected from the Oxford-based Early Modern Letters Online ... [and] EEBO.”<sup>214</sup> These ambitious projects demonstrate the value of interoperability and collaboration, as well as the importance of considering texts beyond their lives as printed paper. They also illuminate the degree to which the study of the early modern book trade has changed: scholars are no longer interested in conflicts between old and new bibliography, or simply in tracing ownership information about patents and printing rights. As more and more projects appear online, supporters and researchers have rightly begun to question the value of new resources: what can it accomplish that cannot be done with existing tools or by traditional methods? How does the work of developing such projects demonstrate a level of academic achievement similar to producing essays and monographs? One answer to such questions argues that new technologies such as Geographical Information Systems (GIS), which were used to produce the *Atlas* as well as the *Map of Early Modern London*, allow us to analyze and present “big data”—large amounts of information (like, say, counting all the surviving devotional books printed in England before 1640). As Lev Manovich argues in “Trending: the Promises and Challenges of Big Social Data,” the goal is not simply to produce these tools, but to make sure that humanities scholars can learn how (and why) to use technologies like GIS or 3D-vizualization in their own work.<sup>215</sup>

<sup>214</sup> At the time this chapter was written, *Shakeosphere* was in Beta testing, making a thorough evaluation not only difficult but ultimately unfair. However, the project represents an exciting new step in large textual corpus analysis and book history research beyond individual texts.

<sup>215</sup> See Matthew K. Gold, *Debates in the Digital Humanities* (2012).

**Printed Paratexts Online: A Database of Non-Authorial Paratexts** As I discuss above, research on the early modern book trade in general and print agents in particular remains painstakingly difficult. Although data about print agents, their trades, and the works they published exists in many of the projects I discussed, this information is often not properly labeled, making database searches at best misleading and at worst impossible. We currently lack a resource that can provide detailed and accurate information about paratextual materials—one that preferably does not privilege authorship and modern attributions over more interesting aspects like changes in dedications or especially significant errata.

As the tables appended to this dissertation make clear, continued study on number of paratextual materials authored and designed by print agents can benefit from a tool that helps us not only locate these materials but also to count and sort them according to specific parameters. For example: as I argue in chapter one, John Day used tables of content and indexes to structure his devotional publications as exclusive commodities. But how innovative was that tactic? How many other print agents were using similar methods, either in religious texts or other kinds of publications? Knowing the number of tables of contents printed in the early sixteenth century may give us a more holistic understanding of reading habits and editorial practices in the period.

Whereas this kind of research can be difficult to do through databases like EEBO, understanding its limitations allows current and future digital humanists to determine the kinds of projects that might be best suited for research exclusively on print agents and their markets. It is from this understanding that I propose *Printed Paratexts Online*, a project that begins as a database but may eventually expand to include visualizations and mapping. The first phase of PPO will demand data gathering from and beyond the current dissertation: in particular, I plan to digitize Williams' *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books Before 1641* (1962) and maintain a blog to discuss possible issues surrounding

editorial and structural decisions. As I design the database for PPO, I will have to consider which categories to list and privilege (for instance, it makes sense that records should be primarily organized by print agent, but authors, editors, and translators still need to feature in the description of the text). In order for PPO to provide nuanced searches on edition-specific details, the database will have to carefully distinguish between title-page attributions and standardized STC titles. The benefit of smaller-scale projects like the one I propose (and the three existing resources I discuss above) is their ability to provide more complex and innovative approaches to their catalogues, taking into consideration the particularities of a given genre like drama or broadside ballads as the guiding structure of the database. Maintaining an online presence during Phase I will encourage the collaboration of fellow book trade scholars as well as potential users.

My work on *Printed Paratexts Online* attempts to marry elements of first- and second generation projects by offering a relatively small-scale database that will function as an index for non-authorial paratextual materials and connect to other resources that can provide facsimiles as well as biblio- and biographical information on each entry. PPO will aim to catalogue non-authorial paratexts listed in sources such as Williams' *Index of Dedications and Prefatory Verses* (1962)—Phase I; the STC and DEEP—Phase II; and eventually full-text sources like EEBO-TCP—Phase III. Each entry in the database will provide information about individual editions, such as its full title (modern and early modern), author, year of publication, and STC number as well as details about print agents such as name, trade, and location (figure 30).

For each edition of a given text, users will be able to search types of paratexts—preface, index, TOC, errata—or the trade-specific paratexts (bookseller to the reader, for instance). Eventually, I hope this database will allow questions like: “are indexes and tables of contents more popular in religious works than works of literature?”; “what is the ratio of

printer's prefaces to author's prefaces?"; or even "how many booksellers or stationers were directly addressing readers of drama in the 1640s?" Such questions may help illuminate trends in marketing strategies beyond the case-study model, and help scholars understand the development of the book trade as both a literary and financial model, dependent on readers, editors, and authors equally (not as separate or more or less important entities).

By scaffolding the project into smaller goals and planning BETA testing rounds, new digital agents can ensure that the research is more quickly made available online and addresses errors and challenges along the way. In addition to using DEEP's user interface as a model, *Printed Paratexts Online* will also follow the examples set by the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (USTC) and *Early Modern Letters Online* (EMLO) in providing additional resources linking across other sites (preferably open-access ones) and encouraging institutional and individual contributions. Project management is clearly at the heart of those projects' success: my future database and other existing smaller-scale resources like it must be careful not to set initial expectations for the project too high.

New research on the book trade has shifted our focus from the text itself to its material production, helping us consider how elements like the cost of paper or stationer patents influenced the production of printed books. We must not, however, forget in this process to recognize the agency of the individuals who participated and invested in printing books. The work of print agents must be made more visible through not only digital projects but also in traditional archival and textual analysis. In this chapter, I have moved away from textual analysis to evaluate some of the tools attempting to make such work easier to locate and catalogue. In discussing how these projects represent material, (para)textual, and social elements of the marketplace, I have argued that the most productive digital projects move us beyond the text and into previously impossible visualizations or auditory experiences. However, such an observation should not obscure the fact that much textual research on the

book trade, particularly in locating materials authored and designed by print agents, remains underrepresented.

Non-authorial prefaces can provide illuminating perspectives on the implied relationships between readers and print agents. Whereas critics have widely discussed how authors' prefaces can control or otherwise shape a reader's interpretation of the main text, printers' prefaces have not received enough critical attention as a genre. Leah Marcus, for instance, has argued that "the construction and maintenance of authorial 'presence' in seventeenth-century volumes of published poetry was often a non-authorial activity" (192). However, many prefaces play a much larger role in setting up a relationship not between print agent and author, but between print agent and reader (as a potential customer and ally). Digital projects bear a similar burden: the structure of databases and other online projects determines (and sometimes limits) the kinds of research users can perform.

The ESTC and EEBO continue to be invaluable as digital indexes and digital repositories, respectively, and many recent and ongoing projects, including my own, would not be possible without them. However, by reproducing pre-digital library catalogues these projects omit or misrepresent information such as paratextual materials and title-page imprints, which have become important to scholars of the book trade since EEBO was first published. Second-generation resources like DEEP and EBBA demonstrate the value of smaller-scale projects, which can encourage complex and innovative search options. Nonetheless, they still require significant monetary as well as human resources in order to be maintained in the long run. The latest generation of born-digital projects has been experimenting with ways to visualize large datasets and generate big-picture analyses of production and reception trends, but we have yet to reach a moment where any humanities scholars with an interest in digital research are able to have proper (and affordable) training

to produce these tools.<sup>216</sup> Many of these projects continue to depend on collaborations between digital humanists and programmers—another level of mediation that should not necessarily be avoided, but should be carefully considered. As we continue to build and evaluate digital projects as arguments, the question of purpose is increasingly urgent: what we do want to gain from publishing online material? What kinds of uses are we trying to facilitate? How can we develop complex and unique projects that support the production new knowledge while keeping these projects freely accessible?

As scholars continue to think about, question, use, and produce digital tools, we have the opportunity to not only find new avenues for research but to collaboratively build tools that attend to new questions and ideas. By considering digital projects as the new frame (or paratext) for printed books and project developers as a new kind of print agent, I have argued that the first step towards properly evaluating and building digital projects is identifying the project's rationale for data curation. Secondly, we must also be able to understand the benefits and limitations of specific digital platforms (databases, digital repositories, virtual GIS maps, etc.) in order to properly identify the tools that best attend to our scholarly interests. Much like early modern readers had to learn how to properly read and respond to title-page advertisements, printer's prefaces, and errata sheets, modern scholars now have to learn how interacting with complex search engines, virtual maps, and network analysis tools impacts the ways we study early modern texts. By developing a critical apparatus with which to analyze and design tools, we can question how finding, editing, and cataloguing materials continue to influence how we read, teach, and understand these texts as part of our own culture and our challenges with ever-evolving technologies.

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<sup>216</sup> Michael Witmore and Kathleen Fitzpatrick argue that this is one of the goals of digital projects, even though not everyone who uses technology is or should be considered to be a digital humanist. See Gold, *Debates in the Digital Humanities* (2012).

## CHAPTER 5 FIGURES



Figure 24. The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus, 1604 (left). The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus, 1624 (right).





## DATABASE OF EARLY ENGLISH PLAYBOOKS

**Search DEEP: Advanced Search**

For fewer search options within the drop-down menus, use DEEP's Basic Search.

Search all records  
 Single-Play Playbooks  
 Collections  
 Plays in Collection

Search for:

Stationer	OR	Please select..
Company (Playbook Attribution)	OR	Please select..
Theater (Playbook Attribution)	OR	Please select..
Play Type	OR	Please select..
Genre (Annals)	OR	Please select..
Genre (Playbook Attribution)	OR	Please select..
Paratextual Material	OR	Please select..
Illustration		
Black Letter		
Latin on Title Page		
Stationer		
Printer		
Publisher		
Bookseller		
Imprint Location		
Date of First Production		
Date of First Edition		
Format		
Edition number		

**Search DEEP: Advanced Search**

For fewer search options within the drop-down menus, use DEEP's Basic Search.

Search all records  
 Single-Play Playbooks  
 Collections  
 Plays in Collection

Search for:

Printer	OR	Paratextual Material
Alde, Elizabeth	AND	Please select..
Please select..	OR	Please select..
Please select..	AND	Please select..
Please select..	OR	Please select..

Printed from:  to:

Please select..  
 Please select..  
 Any  
 None  
**Dedication**  
 Commendatory Verses  
 To the Reader  
 Argument  
 Character List  
 Actor List  
 Explicit  
 Errata  
 Other Paratexts

**Figure 25. DEEP's drop-down menus.**

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

University home page | Site index | Contact Details | Links | FAQs | Quadrat | Background Information | Add/Amend Data | Search BBTI | BBTI Home | English Dept.

**BBTI Site:**

- Home
- ▶ Search
- BBTI Information
  - History
  - Sources
  - Scope
  - Project Aims
  - Why Birmingham?
  - The Long-term Future
- Contribute/Amend data
- List of Contributors
- Bibliography of English Provincial Book Trade
- Volunteers needed
- Dissemination
- Print Networks Conferences
- Quadrat
- FAQs
- Links
- Contact Details

**General Information**

- Maintained by BBTI Team
- Website Comment Form

**Before you start your search – please note:**

**Names and titles**  
For the time being, personal titles (Mrs, Rev, Dr, etc.) may be found in the Forenames field, in the form 'Mary, Mrs'.

**Duplicate entries**  
Some records may appear to be duplicates. Some of these may be cross-references to variant spellings of names or may result from the long-established BBTI principle that unless two (or more) records are known *without any doubt* to refer to the same person, they have not been conflated. (The same principle applies to family relationships and master/apprentice links.) In some cases the Notes field will indicate that an individual *may* be the same person as an individual in another record. As evidence comes to light to support further conflation of entries, this will be carried out.

**Trading and biographical dates**  
An individual's biographical and trading dates may appear inconsistent, depending on the sources used and the practice of individual contributors. It is puzzling to find some records showing longer trading dates than biographical dates. One explanation is that an individual may have commissioned the printing of a book shortly before he/she died, so that the book's imprint may show a later publication date than the originator's year of death. In some cases, there may be confusion between an individual and his/her business, which may have outlived its founder. Normal BBTI practice is to list known businesses separately from the founder as an individual.

**Book Trades**  
Some terms seem to be used interchangeably, such as the various names for itinerant traders: 'chapman', 'hawker', 'pedlar', etc. Care should be taken to search on *all* possible terms. A complete List of the Book Trades and Book Trade Descriptors, showing the number of occurrences of each term is available

Figure 26. BBTI's search notice.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SANTA BARBARA  
**English Broadside Ballad ARCHIVE**

BALLAD SEARCH  
  
 Advanced Search Search

ARCHIVE AREAS  
**Home**  
 About Us  
 Features  
 Collections  
 Resources  
 Use Policy  
 Visualizations  
 Contact Us  
 Early Modern Center

**Making broadside ballads of the seventeenth century fully accessible as texts, art, music, and cultural records. [More...](#)**

Click below to explore sample topics in early modern popular culture:




 <p>"CSI" Real Crime and Real Punishment</p>	 <p>"Cheaters" Early Modern Love...and Misery</p>	 <p>"Jersey Shore" Ballads of Youthful Indiscretions</p>
---	--	--

Figure 27. EBBA's search topics.

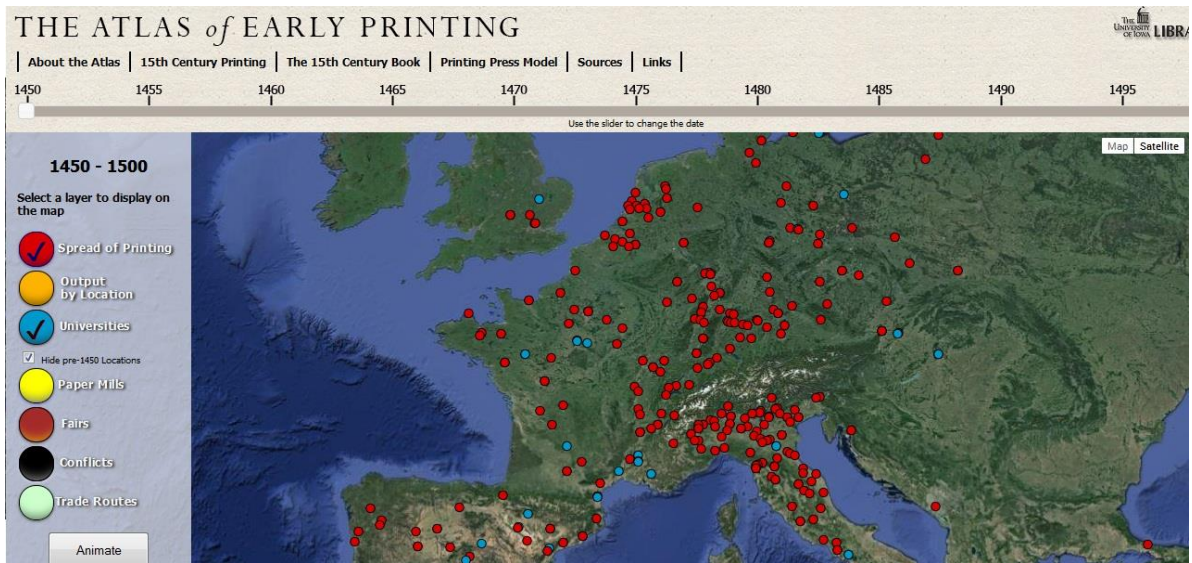


Figure 28. Atlas of Early Printing with selected layers.

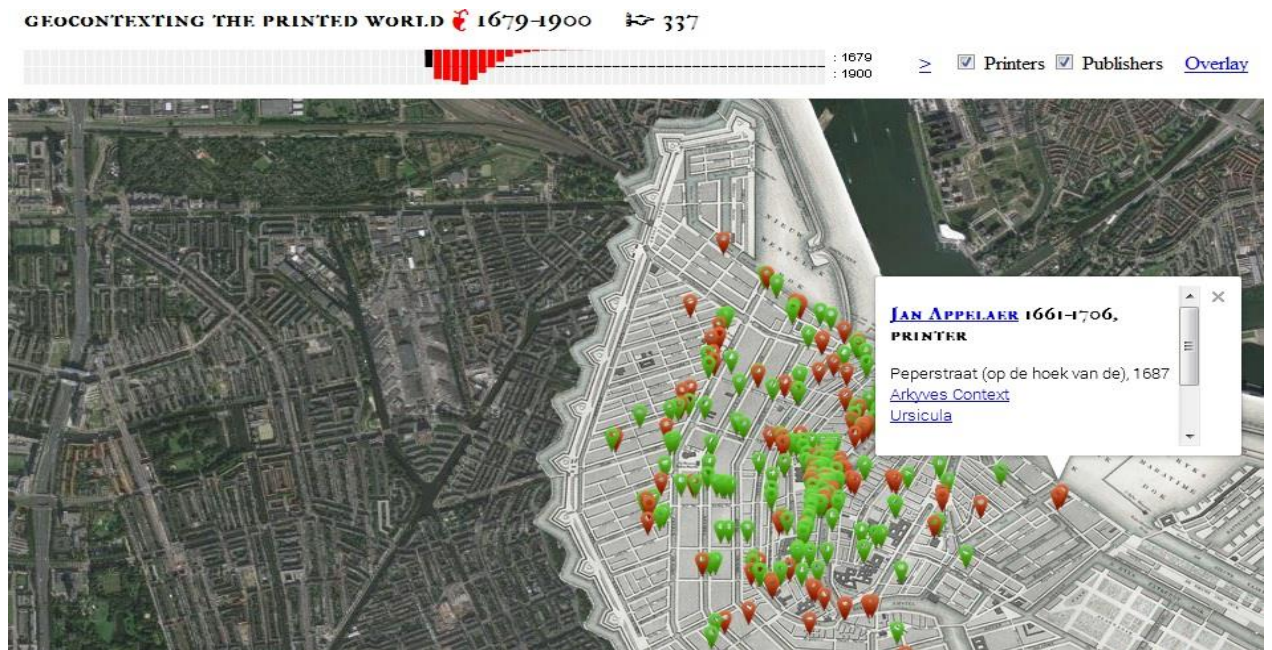
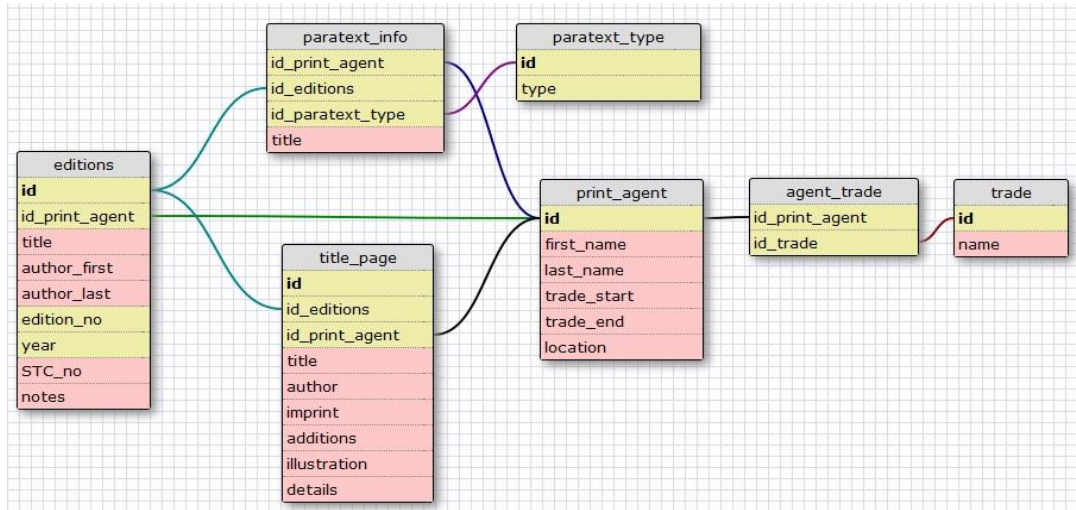


Figure 29. Sample entry from Geocontexting the Printed World.



**Figure 30. Visual model of PPO's database structure. Each box represents a separate table that can be searched individually or combined with others for complex searches.**

## CONCLUSION

The case studies in this dissertation demonstrate that studying printing histories and print agents' careers can offer new perspectives to literary studies, book history scholarship, and editorial practices. By paying close attention to the marketing strategies applied by print agents to create unique markets, we may begin to understand how canon-formation, popular taste, and literary genres were largely a product of early modern marketing practices. Each chapter in this dissertation has focused on a particular modern marketing theory interpretation.

Chapter 1 traced developments in cultural and social capital, showing how non-authorial paratexts helped shape printed books as a special kind of commodity. Chapter 2 used theories on myth-making and iconic branding to prove that *Utopia* became a recognizable genre thanks to the marketing work of print agents. In Chapter 3, I show that print agents helped create unique positions for women readers, helping them associate devotional reading with social participation and emotional capital. Chapter 4 looked at how early modern print agents might have influenced the choices of now-canonical authors like Edmund Spenser, who chose specific print agents so as to build on a pre-existing market of readers. Finally, Chapter 5 argued that digital humanists are a new kind of print agent and, as such, they bear a responsibility to make careful and transparent decisions when structuring digital information about the early modern period.

Much work remains to be done on different kinds of marketing strategies not discussed in this dissertation. Here, I have failed to address the work of women working in the print marketplace. Their unique contributions to framing and publishing books have likely influenced early modern readers and writers, and their participation in their husbands' shops remains largely under-studied. Additionally, although I focus on textual and symbolic

strategies, print agents also framed books in more literal ways by binding, stitching, and stamping the books they helped produce. Future studies may wish to consider the impact of these material practices on the ways printed books were understood as culturally significant objects.

This project has offered a critical lens through which to analyze non-authorial paratexts, suggesting that in modern marketing theory we may find an appropriate vocabulary that places agency in the work of print agents. Although this approach may seem anachronistic, I hope I have amply demonstrated the value of such a reading, especially as scholars continue to study print agents in order to uncover their relationship with and influence on authors. Once we have established a broader range of print-agent studies, we may begin to shape a critical apparatus that can fully address the history and developing of early marketing strategies in the book trade. By paying attention to how texts changed over time and markets, this dissertation encourages teachers and editors to value plurality over singularity, and to build richer editions of texts that can fully consider printing histories. I hope that once my database, *Printed Paratexts Online*, has been published other scholars will undertake new and innovative research on the individuals who populated and humanized the early modern print marketplace.

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*Teare. Subscribed, by the Long Abused Nation of England.* S.n., 1648. *Early English Books Online.* Web.

Anon. *The Deceyte of Women, to the Instruction and Ensample of All Men Yonge and Olde, Newly Corrected.*,. Abraham Vele, 1557. *Early English Books Online.* Web.

Anon. *The King of Utopia His Letter to the Citizens of Cosmopolis, the Metropolitan City of Utopia.* 1647. *Early English Books Online.* Web.

Anon. *The Loyal City of Bristol Vindicated from Amsterdamism, or Devil's-borough, Two Appellatives Occasioned by the over Credulous, Who Have Taken It for Granted, That the Schismaticks and Hereticks of All Sorts Were More Numerous than the Truly Loyal, Orthodox, and Liege People There. But at a Late Tryal of Skill, Managed by the More Vigilant, and Worthy Angel-guardian of That City, the Point Has Been Lately Clear'd, and the Church-men for an Earl Have out Voted the Fanaticks for a Knight, Though to Little Purpose: For They Have Rallied Again, since the Dissolution, to Fetch in the Same Persons. But Who? or What? and How Equipp'd This Ensuing Letter (to an Utopian Prelate) Will Fully Inform You.* Printed for J. Davies, 1681. Print.

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**ABSTRACT****MARKETING GOOD TASTE: PRINT AGENTS' USE OF PARATEXT TO SHAPE  
MARKETS AND READERS IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND**

by

**ANDIE SILVA****August 2014****Advisor:** Dr. Simone Chess**Major:** English (British Literature)**Degree:** Doctor of Philosophy

This dissertation examines the strategies deployed by print agents (publishers, booksellers, and printers) to create their unique niche in the marketplace. Building on scholarship that discusses how print agents shaped authorship, I argue that paratexts designed by print agents influenced the development of popular taste and even created new genres. Using contemporary marketing theory as an interpretative framework, this project traces the printing history of editions of single works in context with the careers of individual print agents. As my research demonstrates, print agents deliberately manipulated paratexts like title pages and prefaces to advertise printed books as unique investments, capable of returning profit in both knowledge and, more importantly, social capital. This project aims to question clear-cut distinctions between profit-seeking print agents and those with more literary sensitivities. As my analysis demonstrates, print agents' efforts to establish their markets not only coincided with but ultimately helped define notions of taste and literary value, and shaped a uniquely English market of readers and writers.



## AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

I first came to Wayne State as an exchange scholar from the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais in 2005. The four classes I chose to take—Studies in Film, Creative Writing, Shakespeare, and English to 1700—defined my future career and passions in ways I cannot even describe. Professor Arthur Marotti in particular made me realize that I had much left to learn. It was thanks to him that I ended up applying to the doctoral program at Wayne only a year later.

My time at Wayne State has been incredibly rewarding. Working as a Graduate Teaching Assistant, I developed invaluable teaching practices. As a Portuguese Language teacher for the same program that brought me to Wayne, I met and mentored undergraduate students about to live in Brazil for a semester. I am in awe of their perseverance and dedication, as well as their open-mindedness and eagerness to learn about new cultures.

I have been fortunate to attend and plan a number of conferences throughout these years. Thanks to the generous support of the English Department and the Humanities Center, I have been able to attend and present at meetings for the *Shakespeare Association of America* (SAA), the *Renaissance Society of America* (RSA), and the *Sixteenth Century Society Conference* (SCSC), among many others. I have also published a number of online pieces about digital projects and workshops, including an evaluation of online resources for *Early Modern Bibliography Online*. Two articles from this project are currently under review for publication; I also have a book chapter forthcoming in *Shakespeare's Language in Digital Media: Old Words New Tools* (co-authored with Laura Estill).

Once this project is completed, I will move on to work as Assistant Professor of British Studies at York College (CUNY). I look forward to the new challenges and lessons this new opportunity will bring, and hope to continue my research and publish my database within the next five years.