A MYRROVRE FOR MAGISTRATES: THE SOCIOLOGY OF A MID-TUDOR TEXT

by

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in English

Middle Tennessee State University
December 2018

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This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Linda, who told me I could,

to my dearest Rebecca, who told me I should,

to Clancy and Libby, who taught me why,

and to the memory of Dr. Elizabeth Oakes, who taught me how.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

ABSTRACT:

A Myrrovre for Magistrates: The Sociology of a Mid-Tudor Text

William Baldwin's mid-sixteenth-century collection, *A Mirror for Magistrates*, enormously popular in its own time, had been relegated to the footnotes and appendices of what were considered by scholars of literary history to be more prominent Tudor texts. Its timely and topical subjects combined with a problematic narrative frame and complicated publication history—not to mention a verse style that critics have long seen as tedious—renders *A Mirror for Magistrates* more noteworthy as historical artifact than a work worthy of study as meaningful, imaginative literature.

Recent scholarship has changed the way that *A Mirror for Magistrates* is viewed. Paul Budra, Scott Lucas, Harriet Archer, Andrew Hadfield, Sherri Geller, and Mike Pincombe, among others, have brought *A Mirror for Magistrates* into the mainstream of academic research, and scholars have explored it beyond its simple place as a bridge text between the medieval works of Chaucer or Boccaccio, for instance, and the early modern works of Shakespeare and Spenser. Following Scott Lucas's lead, I examine *A Mirror for Magistrates* as a voice in the dialogue of the English Reformation. Focusing specifically on the suppressed 1554, the 1559, and the 1563 editions, my dissertation claims that in laying bare the sociological history of *A Mirror for Magistrates* as a material object, genre piece, and political commentary, a distinctly Protestant form of collaborative composition emerges.

The first chapter introduces the significance of *A Mirror for Magistrates* by giving a brief overview of its composition and critical reception. The second chapter addresses the material study of books in the age of the printing press and the biography of William Baldwin in the context of mid-Tudor print culture. Chapter Three examines the *de casibus* tradition, its medieval roots/routes, and the ways in which *A Mirror for Magistrates* both embraces and confounds the parameters of the genre. Chapters Four and Five examine, respectively, mid-Tudor political and religious crises to relocate within them the textual difficulties of *A Mirror for Magistrates* as emblematic of a specific mid-Tudor moment.

Reconsidering this important book, long-neglected by scholars, in the light of recently renewed interest, I take a multi-faceted approach to study what D.F. McKenzie (whose *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* inspired this dissertation's

title) called "the social and technical circumstances of . . . production." In studying the *Mirror* and attempting to position it within its historical, political, religious, and sociological context, I have found it necessary to construct a portrait of its times that is panoramic in scope. This portrait consistently finds *A Mirror for Magistrates* at its center—a focal point and crossroads of a mid-Tudor panorama that encompasses all these various socio-political elements and combined, provides a clearer understanding of mid-sixteenth-century England. My contention is that study of *A Mirror for Magistrates* can act as a proxy and an exemplar for the study of an age.

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INTRODUCTION: "A Memorial of suche Princes"

> "It could be argued that we reach the border between bibliography
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> and textual criticism on the one hand and literary criticism and
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> literary history on the other. My own view is that no such border
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> exists."   —D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*[1]

At the Abbot Hall Art Gallery in Kendal, a little town in the Lake District in the North West region of England, hangs a massive triptych oil painting.[2] The painting stands over eight feet high, and each of its three panels measures almost four feet broad. A frame around each section adorns the entire work with embellishments of fleur-de-lis, harps, and Tudor Roses. For over three hundred years, the triptych hung at Appleby Castle, where it gave a four-century representation of the family that originally inhabited its walls. [3]

The Great Picture, a formidable work of mid-seventeenth-century art, depicts Lady Anne Clifford, the Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery. The central panel of the work depicts Lady Anne Clifford's parents—George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland and his wife Lady Margaret Russell—and their two male children

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[1] D.F. MacKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 23.

[2] "The Great Picture," The Great Picture | Abbot Hall Art Gallery, https://www.abbothall.org.uk/great-picture.

[3] George C. Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke & Montgomery. 1590-1676. Her Life, Letters and Work* (Kendal: Titus Wilson and Son, 1922), 334-45.

who died in infancy, Francis and Robert. Above Lady Margaret, the Countess of Cumberland are two hanging portraits of Lady Cumberland's sisters: Anne, Countess of Warwick and Elizabeth, Countess of Bath. The two Lords Clifford stand to the right of the Countess of Cumberland, and above the farthest, Robert, hang two more portraits: one of Lady Frances Wharton and the other of Lady Margaret Clifford, Countess of Derby—the two sisters of George Clifford. Thirty-four coats of arms surround the entire central panel. These coats of arms represent the Clifford family from the days of the reign of King John until the contemporaneous time of the triptych.

The left panel depicts Lady Anne Clifford as a young girl standing next to a table upon which rests a *viola da gamba.* Above the girl are two additional portraits hanging in frames on the wall, each with an inscription explaining the subject's identity. One is Mrs. Anne Taylour, the Lady Anne's governess, and the other is the poet Samuel Daniel, her childhood tutor. A shield hangs by a ribbon behind her from an iron pin—a shield that looks almost identical to one being held in the center panel by Francis Lord Clifford.

Finally, the right panel depicts Lady Anne Clifford as a much older woman, in her days as the Countess Dowager of Pembroke and Montgomery. Clad in a black satin gown, she sits beside a whippet, a white Italian greyhound, jumping toward her left hand while a black cat rests at her right foot. A table by her side holds a large parchment scroll; its text enumerates the details of her life.

To her right (the viewer's left) are two more portraits. These represent Lady Anne's two husbands: Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, and beneath his portrait, that of Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke (brother to William Herbert and nephew to Sir Philip Sidney).[4] Each of the two portraits rests in an elaborate gilded frame and has a tablet beneath it describing the subject's identity and lineage (see fig. 1).

The culmination of these various elements in the triptych provides a substantive history of Lady Anne Clifford's family and life, and the painting's inscriptions—more so, perhaps, than the portraits themselves—have provided us with a wealth of information about this extraordinary woman and her family. Perhaps the most revealing and informative element of the triptych, however, lies in neither the portraits nor the inscriptions, but in the collections of books resting behind and beside the figures in the painting.

Amidst the three panels, there are forty-four volumes pictured. Some are on shelves, some on tables, and some are lying about on the floor. Each has a title clearly labeled on its spine, and because of the year the triptych was painted (c.1646) and the careful attention to detail the artist, Jan van Belcamp, has placed in depicting the size of each volume, one can identify not only the title, but also the actual edition of each book depicted.

This collection of books is striking. It allows us a peek into Lady Anne Clifford's values as a reader and tells us a little bit about what volumes would have

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[4] Her husband Philip was also one of the "most noble and incomparable pair of brethren" to whom Condell and Heminges dedicated Shakespeare's first folio.

been important to a woman of her stature at that time.[5] They include the Bible,

Thomas Lodge's translation of the collected works of Seneca, and St. Augustine's *City

of God.* Included also are some less lofty works: *Don Quixote,* the essays of

Montaigne, Sidney's *Arcadia,* and the works of Chaucer.

The collection also says much in its placement of the books. Near her mother

in the central panel are several volumes that denote an aristocratic education: The

Bible, Seneca, and a volume of French medical and chemical formulas for relief of

various ailments. The left panel, depicting the young Lady Anne, seems to build

upon the reading habits of her mother. Mary Ellen Lamb has suggested that the

collection of books "represents Clifford's possession of this canon as one of the

accomplishments of a proper young woman of the aristocracy, not unlike . . .

embroidering and playing music also implied in the portrait."[6]

The final panel shows a continuation of the expansion of Clifford's collection

from what we see in the opposite panel on the far-left. The final panel contains a

much larger number of books and a much greater variety, containing historical

narratives, books about death, books about architecture, philosophical treatises that

were often in contention with one another, and verse collections by John Donne and

Ben Jonson. More striking, however, is the disheveled arrangement of the books in

the right panel. They appear at odd angles and in unruly stacks that appear to be on

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[5] It also may point to the influence of Samuel Daniel, a neo-Spenserian, in shaping Anne Clifford's tastes. Lady Anne's mother was one of Spenser's patronesses and Lady Anne paid for Spenser's headstone and inscription as "Prince of Poets" after his death.

[6] Mary Ellen Lamb, "The Agency of the Split Subject: Lady Anne Clifford and the Uses of Reading," *English Literary Renaissance* 22, no. 3 (1992): 364.

the verge of falling. Even the shelves themselves are cocked back at an angle, perhaps to prevent the books from cascading onto Lady Anne's head. Mary Ellen Lamb has suggested that this appearance may signify Clifford's "increased use and mastery" of books, or alternatively (or cumulatively), that the disheveled pile "may represent something chaotic about the nature of knowledge itself."[7] The difference in the arrangements of books strikes the viewer as quite deliberate and seems to suggest *something*, indeed, about the changing habits of Lady Anne's relationship

Figure 1: *The Great Picture,* painted by Jan van Belcamp, 1648.[8]

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[7] Ibid., 365.
[8] Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Lakeland Arts Trust, Kendal, UK, used with permission.

with books and reading.

Perhaps, though, we may gain as much or more knowledge from this portrait by looking at the books that have been *excluded*, rather than included. The contents of Lady Anne's library have been the subject of much scholarship. William Sherman discusses Lady Anne's library in his essay "Reading the Matriarchive," discussing her books within the greater context of the *matriarchive*, a neologism he borrows from Jacque Derrida's 1994 lecture, *Mal D'Archive,* or *Archive Fever.*[9] In that lecture, Derrida writes of the archive as a transgenerational memory that performs functions of selective forgetting.

> Without the irrepressible, that is to say, only suppressible and repressible, force and authority of this transgenerational memory, the problems of which we speak would be dissolved and resolved in advance [Derrida here is referring to the problems Freud outlines in his final work, *Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion* (1939) in which Freud discusses issues of inherited guilt through transgenerational memory within the Judaic tradition]. There would no longer be any question of memory and of archive, of patriarchive or of matriarchive, and one would no longer even understand how an ancestor can speak within us, nor what there might be in us to speak *to* him or her, to speak in such an *unheimlich*, "uncanny" fashion, to his or her ghost. *With* it.[10]

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[9] William Sherman, "Reading the Matriarchive," in *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 66.
[10] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression,* trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 35-36.

That is, each archive—and I believe one can view the cataloguing of Lady Anne's library within *The Great Picture* as an archive—is subject to a repression and a suppression by the inclusion and exclusion of items, and that repression and suppression builds the memory of the subject that continues to haunt future generations through the way we interact with our predecessors.

In the case of *The Great Picture,* I am interested in the suppression of an archive—that is, what is notably *missing* from the picture. The collection pictured shows volumes written by John Donne, Ben Jonson, Cervantes, and Sir Philip Sidney, but the works of Shakespeare are omitted. By the time of *The Great Picture* (it was completed in 1646), Shakespeare's First and Second Folios had been published (in 1623 and 1632, respectively) and had reached popularity enough to find themselves in the hands of the royal family. The First Folio had been dedicated to her husband. Why then did the First Folio not find itself inserted into *The Great Picture*, alongside what we largely consider to be many of the greatest volumes published by that time?[11]

Much more curious, however, is the case of the omission of *A Mirror for Magistrates.*[12] Scholar Stephen Orgel has purchased and written about a heavily annotated copy of *A Mirror for Magistrates* (now at the Huntington Library) that Clifford owned late in her life. The annotations indicate her reading habits regarding

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[11] Given the connections to Spenser mentioned earlier in n5, it seems surprising that Matthew Lownes's early seventeenth-century folio edition of *The Faerie Queene* is absent as well.

[12] Throughout the various editions and in the last four centuries of scholarship, the spelling of the word *Mirror* has been rather fluid. It appears as *Mirour, Mirrour, Mirror, Myrrore,* etc. Throughout this dissertation, I will be using the standard contemporary spelling of *Mirror*; however, at times, referring to the aforementioned editions and scholarship, alternate spellings will, inevitably, creep in.

the book—where she was and when parts were read either by her or to her. But, as William Sherman writes, her marginalia tell us so much more than simply the biographical facts of Clifford's reading:

> She also registers her moral and political sympathies by writing notes such as "A good vearse" or "Marke this" or, in a few cases summarizing a lesson that could be drawn from a particular passage. This book had a more than academic interest to Clifford, and its lessons hit close to home: the Thomas Sackville who co-authored *The Mirror for Magistrates* was her first husband's grandfather (and in fact, the man who first proposed the marriage between his grandson and Lady Anne), and her marginalia signal the presence of people from both her family and her household throughout the text. Next to a passage about "That famous horse-man, launce-fam'd *Clifford* hight,/ The great *Heroe* noble Cumberland" she writes "this was my ffather Gearge erle of Cumberland," and in another place identifies "*Russell that* martiall Knight" as "Sr Wm Russell he that was my Mothers younger Brother"; and next to a mention of "noble *Bingham*" she comments "this Sr Richard Bingham had a neece that served mee a good while as my chief gentlewoman." This was not simply a book, then, but (in Orgel's words) "in a real sense a family heirloom."[13]

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[13] Sherman, 66.

Why, then, does this volume not appear in *The Great Picture*? Given the breadth of the triptych's attention to the lineage and the family heritage of its subject, the "family heirloom" that Orgel describes seems like the perfect tome to place in a prominent position in the family portrait, perhaps alongside Seneca or even the Bible.

Unfortunately, the absence of the *Mirror for Magistrates* is hardly unique to *The Great Picture.* Any of the few people who have spent time reading or studying the *Mirror* are keenly aware of its conspicuous absence from the literary canon.[14] The book went through seven major editions from 1559 to 1610. It was widely read and well received. Sir Philip Sidney specifically mentioned *A Mirror for Magistrates* in his *Defense of Poesy* and the *Mirror* provides source material for Shakespeare's *King Lear*. And yet, the *Mirror* is largely consigned to a footnote by most modern scholars, and there has not been a modern edition since 1946 or a complete edition since 1815. How could such a thing happen? How does a book of such importance and prominence in its own time, one that "shaped the contours of Tudor and early Jacobean literature" suddenly disappear into the ether?[15] These questions initially drew me into this study. Since the Neoclassical period, when the *Mirror*'s popularity declined, it has been treated primarily as an historical document that subsequent authors mined for source material—Shakespeare, of course, being among the most notable of these. The *Mirror* does not feature in many sixteenth-century anthologies

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[14] In terms of the archive of literary history, such a loss presents a major distortion in the transmission of history and culture—what history is told when such an important book is no longer taught?

[15] Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield, introduction to *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 1.

or histories, and it rarely appears on syllabi for undergraduate or graduate college courses. Scholars reluctantly note its influence on Shakespeare only in appendices of "the most extensively informative editions."[16] Public interest in the Tudors has not extended to the *Mirror*, despite a wealth of popular films and television series on the era's politics and culture.[17]

As my studies proceeded, however, I have found that there is much more than simply the work's lasting popularity at stake. *A Mirror for Magistrates* remains a vitally important text within the field of literary study, particularly the study of early modern literature, as it stands at the intersection of numerous sociological factors—social, material, economic, generic, political, and religious—that culminate to define a mid-Tudor moment characterized by significant and lasting change.

Studying *A Mirror for Magistrates* has meant tracing many of the struggles and debates of sixteenth-century theology, and I have found, to my delight, that they resonate with many of the struggles and debates I have pursued in my own life as I have addressed my faith and religious practices from my Catholic upbringing to my current place within the community of the Episcopal Church—the American church of membership within the greater Anglican communion. The *Mirror* was written in an age concerned with moral authority, the role of kingly and papal rule, the ability of people to work as collective units to govern their own parishes, and the ability to

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[16] Ibid.

[17] To name just a few, there is Hilary Mantel's *Wolf Hall* and *Bring up the Bodies,* and the Emmy and Golden Globe-winning *Wolf Hall* television mini-series, Showtime's series *The Tudors*, Philippa Gregory's novel *The Other Boleyn Girl*, adapted into films both by the BBC in 2003 and by Columbia Pictures in 2008, The two *Elizabeth* films starring Cate Blanchett, and HBO's *Elizabeth I,* starring Helen Mirren. These examples are only a handful of the pop culture depictions of the Tudors in the last twenty years.

read the words of Holy Scripture in one's own vernacular. It was a society on the cusp of modernity—embracing scientific inquiry, yet still clinging to the spirits of ancestors: to magic, sorcery, and alchemy.

The writers of the *Mirror* were at the forefront of the struggles of their age. They had lived during what some scholars, building on the mid-1970s work of Whitney Jones, have called "the Mid-Tudor crisis."[18] They had, in a few short years, experienced a lifetime of rapid change—of intellectual and spiritual revolution. As with any revolutionary age, these times were mercurial, and the changing moods of the populace and the leadership of their time made many of their paths and trajectories uncertain. Most of the initial writers had been in the court of Edward VI, and after his death in 1553, saw their work on the *Mirror* suppressed until after the Marian years.

Studying the *Mirror* has been, for me, tracing the origins of philosophical and theological values and debates that are still with us today. I may not militate as resolutely against Catholic doctrine as those early Protestants, but studying their work brings me closer to my own faith, my own thinking, and my own deeper understanding of a relationship to the Divine mediated by the residual effects of events that happened then.

I have learned much about this book and the men who composed it. I say "men," of course, because the parties involved in composing the *Mirror* seem to have

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[18] Whitney Jones, in his 1973 work, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1539-1563* (London: Macmillan, 1973), argued that the reigns of Edward VI and Mary were scarred by weak leadership, economic troubles, and social unrest and amounted to a crisis that threatened the English state. David Loades would refute this view of the period in his own work, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545-1565* (New York: St. Martin's, 1992).

done so without much consideration of the women who were the subjects of their writing or who may have been their readers. While Orgel's treatment of *Mirror* scholarship dealt exclusively with Lady Anne Clifford's readership, there has been, since then, surprisingly little work done on *A Mirror for Magistrates* through a lens of gender studies. I will make the case here that scholarship on the *Mirror* has undergone a massive Renaissance in the last few decades, particularly through the studies and publications of Paul Budra, Scott Lucas, Andrew Hadfield, and Harriet Archer, but I should point out that this aspect (gender studies) of that scholarship has gone, and continues to go, largely neglected.

Through the course of this study, I have been further interested in the moment in time itself as uniquely generative of such a text. As one defines literary, artistic, and social movements by periods, I have always been more fascinated by the spaces between those periods—the liminal spaces of transitions that exist as one era of human activity gives way to another, the overdetermined culture of what Raymond Williams calls "dominant, residual, and emergent" habits of mind.[19] Those spaces illuminate the core values of both eras. Further, the deeper human experience that guides the shifts between them tells the story of human development. *A Mirror for Magistrates* marks the moment of such a cultural space, resting disheveled on the bridge between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, between Catholicism and Protestantism, between the written, scribal word and the printed, mechanical word.

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[19] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 121.

A *Mirror for Magistrates* began as a continuation of a book of similar poems by John Lydgate: *The Fall of Princes* (c. 1430-9). Lydgate's book was, in turn, a translation of a French volume by Laurent de Premierfait, which was itself a translation from Latin of a medieval work by Giovanni Boccaccio entitled *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium,* or *On the Fates of Illustrious Men*. Whereas Lydgate told stories of Adam and Eve, King John the Fair of France, and everyone in between, the poets of the *Mirror* planned only to chronicle *English* stories from the 1360s to the 1550s.[20] The authors of the *Mirror* sought to confine their tales to England to demonstrate a providential intervention in their country's unfolding nationalism. In his dedication to the "nobilitye and all other in office"—the intended audience of the 1559 edition, Baldwin explains that the work will illustrate God's role in punishing the vices of the nobility and offer what advice princes may take away to avoid similar outcomes— "howe he [God] hath delt with sum of our countreymen your auncestors for sundrye vices not yet left, this booke named *A Mirror for Magistrates*, can shewe: which therfore I humbly offre vnto your honors, beseching you to accept it fauorably."[21] The scope encompassing the precipitous careers of a set of fundamentally *English* shared ancestors with the *Mirror's* readership would be extended in later editions, but the substance of the original individual stories would remain fundamentally the same.

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[20] Mike Pincombe, "William Baldwin and *A Mirror for Magistrates,*" *Renaissance Studies* 27, no. 2 (2013): 184.

[21] William Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates: Edited from Original Texts in the Huntington Library*, ed. Lily B. Campbell (1938; reprint, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), 65.

The printer John Wayland commissioned the composition of the project as a follow-up to his edition of Lydgate's *The Fall of Princes* (1553)*.* In Lydgate's work, "Bochas" (Giovanni Boccaccio) narrates the work. For works that deal with events occurring after Boccaccio's death—all the stories included in the *Mirror*—the compilers wanted to use a narrator who was still living. According to the very unlikely and equally unfeasible prologue, the group appointed William Baldwin. A poet, printer, and editor whom R. W. Maslen calls "the most significant mid-Tudor author," William Baldwin was to take up Boccaccio's mantle, and the rest of the group—performing in character as the dead princes—would recite their falls, emulating the voices of the dead nobles in the story while "Baldwin" recorded them.[22]

Baldwin's closest associate in undertaking the project was the poet, parliamentarian, and lawyer George Ferrers. Ferrers had been a fixture in the court of Edward VI known for his extravagant Christmas parties. His proximity to and knowledge of the court and the royal family was great enough that he found himself called upon to serve as a Privy Council informant against the young Elizabeth during her trial regarding her attempted clandestine marriage to Thomas Seymour. "Master Ferrers," in his role as Master of the Revels, took control of the meeting of members/collaborators, and while each man told his tale, Baldwin wrote it down

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[22] R.W Maslen, "William Baldwin and the Tudor Imagination," in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Kathy Shrank (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2011), 292.

and took further notes on conversations exchanged extemporally in between the tale-telling *per se.*[23]

 While this internal story of the book's provenance creates an exhilarating prologue, scholars readily dismiss it as pure fiction. The set piece, nevertheless, retains a certain verisimilitude. Baldwin was a man of letters with a strong voice, but even more to the point than those qualifications was his employment as a proofreader and compositor in the printing shop of John Wayland.[24] This position may have contributed to conditions that facilitated his role in the generation of the book that would become *A Mirror for Magistrates.* Rather than following the pattern of Lydgate's work rigidly, Baldwin and company made some important decisions about their composition—to begin with, as mentioned, they used only English princes and rulers, leaving out the international pantheon of deceased monarchs and tyrants we see in Boccaccio and Lydgate's works. Additionally, the poets of the *Mirror* rendered their chronicles in the voices of the resurrected fallen rulers, and each poem would be followed with a commentary in the form of a prose passage about the group's reactions to the previously recounted tale.[25] Thus the concept makes use of Boccaccio's and Chaucer's precedents (and for that matter, Marguerite

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[23] Mike Pincombe, "William Baldwin and *A Mirror for Magistrates,*" *Renaissance Studies* 27, no. 2 (2013): 185.

[24] The circumstances of Baldwin's employment and its role in the genesis of *A Mirror for Magistrates* will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

[25] Scott C. Lucas, "Hall's Chronicle and the *Mirror for Magistrates*," in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Kathy Shrank (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2011), 363. This prosimetric style was also utilized by Boethius in *Consolation of Philosophy*, by Boccaccio in *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium,* and later by Sir Philip Sidney in *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia.* Baldwin is modeling his prosimetrum after Lydgate's translation, but subverting it by adopting a fictionalized autobiographical persona stylized more in the manner of someone like Thomas More. See Chapter Two, pg. 66 for a larger discussion of this idea.

de Navarre's and Castiglione's) in tellers' companionable interlocutions between tales.

The project had begun, in many ways, during the reign of Edward VI. During the young king's brief reign (1547-1553), under the Council of Edward Seymour, there was a strong Protestant underpinning among membership in the court, and reformers like Baldwin and Ferrers were able to thrive in such a political climate. After the coronation of Mary, changes of religion would, notably, both *inspire* the project that would become *A Mirror for Magistrates* and *stand in the way* of it coming to light. Nevertheless, in 1554, Baldwin compiled the nineteen tragedies of English rulers beginning with Richard II and ending with Edward V (c. 1387-1483). The work was entitled *A memorial of suche princes, as since the tyme of king Richard the seconde, haue been vnfortunate in the realme of England* (see fig. 2).[26]

The poets began by following the exemplar of Lydgate, but the project took some turns, and took on a life of its own in its distinct formulations. The tragedies began to resemble circumstances involving advisors and magistrates from the court of Edward VI with close relations to the Tudor family, particularly those who had been involved in the downfall of Edward Seymour.[27] Scott Lucas identifies confidently the stories of "Edmund Duke of Somerset," "Humfrey Duke of Gloucester," and "Thomas of Woodcock" as being "topical in form and designed to evoke memories of Edward Seymour."[28] These associations between certain

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[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., 364.

[28] Scott C. Lucas, "The Consolation of Tragedy: *A Mirror for Magistrates* and the Fall of the 'Good Duke' of Somerset," *Studies in Philology* 100.1 (2003): 48.

members of Edward's circle and the figures portrayed in the above tragedies must rely largely on conjecture, of course, but apparently the Marian Court saw transparently significant material that they deemed problematic as well, because the book was suppressed.

Stephen Greenblatt has written about Shakespeare's use of approaches similar to those in the *Mirror,* addressing contemporaneous issues through the lens of historical distance. Greenblatt writes that Shakespeare "seems to have grasped that he thought more clearly about the issues that preoccupied his world when he confronted them not directly but from an oblique angle. His plays suggest that he could best acknowledge truth—to possess it fully and not perish of it—through the artifice of fiction or through historical distance."[29] In other words, for Greenblatt, Shakespeare, like the *Mirror* poets, could address the issues of the day more safely by couching them within the memories of yesterday.

Paul Budra has observed that the *Mirror's* "political content, besides some English patriotism, includes an admonition that princes should stay out of church concerns." Thus, "the early editions were immediately recognized as political."[30] After going to press in 1553, Mary's Lord Chancellor Stephen Gardiner learned of the project, ordered the pages printed so far scrapped, and forbade the publication of the content until after the Queen's death.[31] A single leaf of text and two variant

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[29] Stephen Greenblatt, *Tyrant* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2018), 3.
[30] Paul Budra, "The *Mirror for Magistrates* and the Politics of Readership," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 32 (1992): 2.
[31] Scott C. Lucas, "Hall's Chronicle and the *Mirror for Magistrates,"* in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Kathy Shrank (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2011), 365.

title-pages remain extant. The verso page of the title displays Wayland's patent to print from Queen Mary. These pages were included at the end of a printing of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes,* and there are eight remaining copies today. Four of them are in the UK at the British Library, Cambridge University, the Peterborough Cathedral Library, and the St. Andrews University Library. The remaining four are in North America at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Harvard University, the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, and Queen's University in Ontario (see fig. 2).

Once Elizabeth ascended to the throne, Baldwin was able to release the book under the name *A Mirror for Magistrates* in 1559, with a new dedication that gave instructions to readers—instructions of a Protestant tone with some combative words regarding the monarchy.[32] Baldwin died in 1563. The Mirror ultimately had many sixteenth-century editions and an early seventeenth-century one: 1559, 1563, 1571, 1574, 1575, 1578, 1587, and 1610.[33] The 1563 edition included a collection of additional pieces with the title, *The Second Part of the Mirror for Magistrates.* As the editions progressed, the subject matter of the work separated from its original audience altogether, and its expressed values became dated and obsolete. Subsequently, several centuries passed without an edition of *Mirror*. The last complete printing of the *Mirror* was in 1815, edited by Joseph Haslewood. Lily B. Campbell's edition "pre-empted much of the New Critical antipathy towards the

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[32] Ibid., 366.
[33] Ibid., 362.
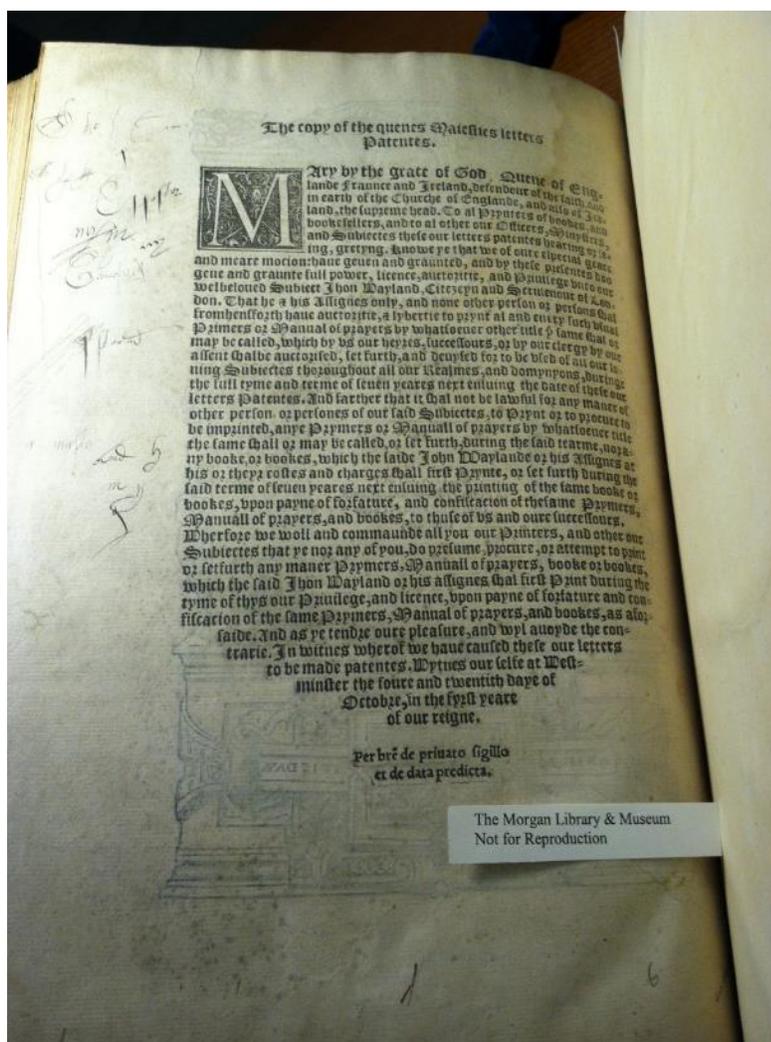
Figure 2: Extant verso page of John Wayland's aborted printing of *A Memorial of suche princes* showing Wayland's patent to print from Queen Mary. Note the extensive handwritten margin notes to the left of the text. Photo by Michael T. Sirles, taken at The Morgan Library and Museum, New York City. Not for Reproduction.

Mirror's verse," an antipathy born of a critical movement that shied away from the

very sort of panoramic treatment this dissertation employs.[34] The New Critics, with

their approach to literature as self-contained works, isolated from contextual

factors, had little time for the *Mirror* with its "didactic judgments, monotonous tone,

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[34] Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield, introduction to *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 4.

and repetitive plot structure."[35] Even today, the effects of that antipathy linger, as Campbell's edition, taken from her study of texts at the Huntington Library in 1938, remains the only modern edition, available only in specialty reprint form.

While the work went through many early modern editions, there were four main versions that are summarized below. Each of these main "versions" consisted of multiple editions, but each can be identified by its central collection of tragedies and by its editor.[36] The following list outlines the substantive differences between these four major independent versions of the *Mirror for Magistrates*:

- *Mirror* 1: Following the early Gardiner-aborted *Memorial of suche Princes,* William Baldwin edited the versions printed in 1559 and 1563 by Thomas Marshe. A third edition in 1571, eight years after Baldwin's death, was also printed by Marshe. The "tragedies" included in these editions essentially take place during the Wars of the Roses. The 1571 title page included the phrase, "newly corrected and augmented." Lily Campbell explains that the "correction seems to have been concerned, first, with bettering the poetry of the tragedies, and secondly, with the revision of the historical mirror to adapt it to new situations."[37] An additional version with very minor variations was published in 1574 under the title *The Last parte of the Mirour for Magistrates*,

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[35] Ibid., 2.

[36] The use of the term "tragedies" here can become problematic for purposes of genre identification—I will address what Baldwin and his contemporaries would mean by the use of this term later in this dissertation.

[37] Lily B. Campbell, "Introduction," in William Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates: Edited from Original Texts in the Huntington Library,* ed. Lily B. Campbell (reprint, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), 16.

advertising itself as "newly corrected and amended." This title of the edition

was reprinted again in 1578 as "Newly corrected and enlarged," and included

the story of "Humphrey Plantagenet Duke of Glocester" which had been

advertised since the *Mirror's* beginning, but never printed until this 1578

edition, almost twenty years later.

- *Mirror* 2: Also, in 1574, Thomas Marshe was printing another work by John

  Higgins with the confusing title *The First parte of the Mirour for Magistrates.*

  The lives described by Higgins in this "First parte" encompassed Brut

  through Caesar. A year later, this edition was released again, often being

  bound with a reissue of Baldwin's 1574 edition, the "Last parte" (see above).

- *Mirror* 3: Thomas Blennerhasset wrote twelve tragedies and published them

  as a supplementary work in 1578 called *The Seconde part of the Mirrour for*

  Magistrates, conteining the falles of the infortunate Princes of this Lande. From

  the Conquest of Caesar, vnto the commyng of Duke William the Conquerour.

  This work (decidedly the third part) appears four years after the "Last parte"

  (in case the progression was not confusing enough), printed by Richard

  Webster.

1587 saw the publication of another version of Higgins' *Mirror*, this time fused with

the Baldwin original (1559 and 1563) but ignoring the Blenerhasset edition of 1578

altogether.

Figure 3: Various 1574 and 1578 editions. Image taken from *Early English Books Online.*

- *Mirror* 4: Richard Niccols edited the final versions of the *Mirror*, which were printed by Felix Kyngston. Published in 1610, this version filled gaps in English history left by the previous editions. A King Arthur narrative was added, the tragedy of Richard III was rewritten, and "England's Eliza," a praise poem for Queen Elizabeth I, was added nostalgically. The title heading for the 1610 edition read, "*A MIROUR FOR MAGISTRATES: BEING A TRVE CHRONICLE HISTORIE OF THE VNTIMELY falles of such vnfortunate Princes and men of note, as have happened since the first entrance of Brute into this lland, vntil this our latter Age.*
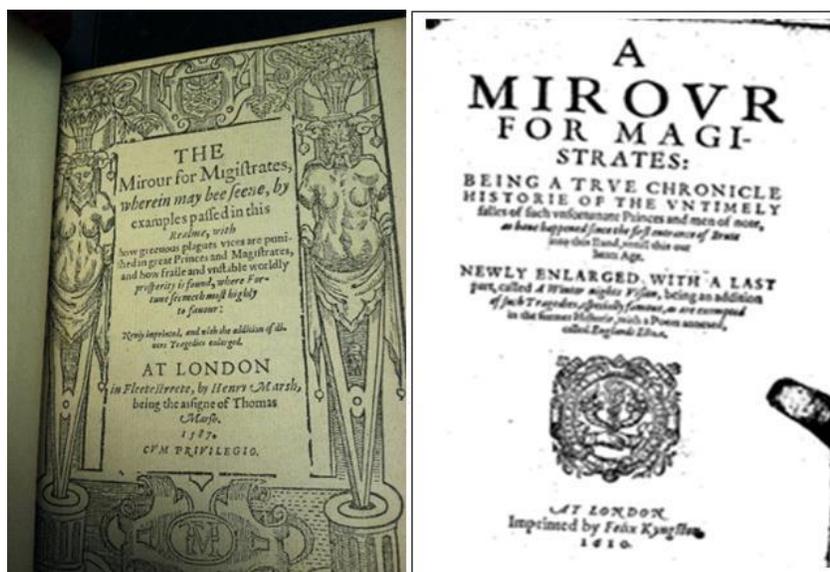
Figure 4: Final two editions: 1587 and 1610. Left photo by Michael T. Sirles, taken at The Morgan Library and Museum, New York City. Not for Reproduction. Right image taken from *Early English Books Online*.

For the purposes of this study, I am interested in a set of moments within the *Mirror's* larger composition history—the moments intertwined with the lives of William Baldwin and his circle of fellow poets between 1552 and 1563. The full publication history of *A Mirror for Magistrates* remains complex and fascinating, and unfortunately, far broader than the scope of this single dissertation will allow in any further detail; therefore, most of this study will focus on the two editions headed up directly by Baldwin, those of 1559 and 1563, preceded by the circumstances of the aborted version. Tracing the progression and metamorphoses that the various editions of the work went through will help us not only to locate the earliest Baldwin editions within this longer trajectory of transformation and reception, but also to understand the ways that the *Mirror* has been seen over time and why it has been so perceived.

While the early editions of the *Mirror* were widely praised, the reactions to it became increasingly less positive toward the later editions as the text expanded to almost one hundred tragedies. Opinions about the declining quality of the works added to the compilation have remained consistent, although critics are divided regarding the *grounds* for the inferiority. Contemporary readers struggle with the narrative form, the complicated bibliographical history, repetitive plotlines, monotonous tone, tedious verse, and a heavy-handed moral didacticism. Paul Budra argues that the various editions "evolved from a politically corrective exemplar of the poetry/history combination into a mundane and sentimental book of moral platitudes."[38] The evolution of the works, according to Budra, parallel the changing views and expectations of historiography from 1550-1600. Initially, histories were seen to be tools for teaching Christian morality, but as the century went on, they became more secular and political. "They increasingly traced a mechanistic teleology shaped around moral turpitude, not political will."[39]

The early *Mirrors* wed the past with the present. The authors consciously chose to bind their knowledge of chronicled historical material with the contemporary political issues of their day in an attempt to approach the subject matter from what Stephen Greenblatt has termed an "oblique angle." Writing about Shakespeare taking a similar approach for the stage, Greenblatt writes that

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[38] Paul Budra, "*The Mirror for Magistrates* and the Politics of Readership," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 32, no. 1 (1992): 2.
[39] Ibid., 3.

it was easier to think clearly when the noise of those babbling tongues was silenced and easier to tell the truth at a strategic distance from the present moment. The oblique angle allowed him to lift off the false assumptions, the time-honored beliefs, and the misguided dreams of piety and to look unwaveringly at what lay beneath.[40]

 Baldwin's prefatory dedication was a general appeal to the various magistrates of the land, "the nobilitye and all other in office."[41] Baldwin's preface sets a clear intent—that the *Mirror* was essentially to be a didactic volume offering "a teleological reading of history to ideological ends," and playing "to the immediate concerns of the readership."[42] Those concerns included, for readers of the *Mirror*, issues that faced leadership of state, such as the overall responsibilities of power and the follies and disastrous effects of corruption. In Baldwin's dedication, he explains that high office should be "not gaynful spoyles for the gredy to hunt for, but payneful toyles for the heedy to be charged with."[43]

Baldwin sought to pull the corrupt away from hypocrisy and vice and prevent the good from ever becoming afflicted with those same qualities. Baldwin's position in the *Mirror* is that public officers must be fundamentally good if the state is to be good as well. As such, it was incumbent upon the populace of the state to pray for the souls of its officers as they endeavored to make sound decisions.

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[40] Stephen Greenblatt, *Tyrant* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2018), 5.
[41] William Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates: Edited from Original Texts in the Huntington Library,* ed. Lily B. Campbell (reprint, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), 63.
[42] Budra, "*The Mirror for Magistrates* and the Politics of Readership," 7.
[43] Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, 63.

> For if the officers be good the people can not be yll. Thus the goodnes or
>
> badnes of any realme lyeth in the goodnes or badnes of the rulers. And
>
> therefore not without great cause do the holy Apostels so earnestly charge vs
>
> to pray for the magistrates: For in dede the wealth and quiet of everye
>
> common weale, the disorder and also miseries of the same, cum specially
>
> through them.[44]

In general, the preface makes it clear that the *Mirror* sets out to appeal to "the concern for honor and reputation that was the prime motivator of local officeholders in Elizabethan and Stuart England."[45]

Higgins echoes Baldwin's dedication to the nobility but assumes a wisdom in them that Baldwin does not. By using classical examples, he preserves safety in his rhetoric, and he appeals to a broader readership than Baldwin. Higgins looked backward and sought to emulate early Chroniclers and define an English pre-history. His narrator falls asleep reading the Mirror and he frames his edition as a dream vision—returning to Lydgate's device. He frames his *Mirror*, then, within a narrative that forgoes the pretense of verisimilitude in favor of a conscious admission of artifice.

The 1578 edition by Thomas Blennerhasset forgoes a formal dedication. Published without his permission by printer Richard Webster, Blennerhasset's edition moved toward a more pronouncedly personal moral didacticism, and his

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[44] Ibid., 64.

[45] Budra, "*The Mirror for Magistrates* and the Politics of Readership," 7.

version of the *Mirror* seems disproportionately concerned with the perils of lust.

Blennerhasset features the characters Inquisition and Memory trying to fill in the

gaps' omission of edifying sentence of previous editions. "So divorced are they [the

prior editions] from political didacticism that they fill one introduction with a

discussion of English poetic meter."[46] Blennerhasset's *Mirror* stands as a notable

diversion from earlier versions and their focus on political lessons for those in

power.

In the 1610 edition, Niccols returned to the dream frame and safely

"retreated into Myth and Tudor propaganda."[47] Niccols dedicates his edition to Lord

Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, begging favor and appealing for patronage.

This appeal to patronage stands as a testament to the significant shift in approach

and purpose over the various generations of the *Mirror.* What had begun, with

Baldwin's version, as a somewhat radical and very critical volume of satire, so much

so that Marian censors would suppress it, was now being framed as a collection of

light verse seeking the approval of the very kinds of parties that the original *Mirror*

sought to lampoon. This final version of the *Mirror* leaves out tragedies that might

offend the Scottish monarch and appeals to the popular belief of the day that James

descended from Arthur and would fulfill Merlin's prophecy of uniting Great Britain.

Niccols abandons political and critical rhetoric for comic patriotism.

Overall, Budra views this evolution of the various editions of the *Mirror* as

having moved the work from a text that commented critically on the current politics

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[46] Ibid., 10.
[47] Ibid., 6.

of the day to one of an obsequious and sentimental patriotism. Both the quality of

the volumes as printed texts and the success of them as individual ventures declined

with each edition. Sherri Geller suggests that later editions, rather than "newly

corrected and augmented," were "newly muddled and drastically cut."[48] Geller

focuses her studies on the interstitial narrative devices that Baldwin establishes in

the early editions and the ways they deteriorate through the subsequent versions.

She writes that readers underestimate the frame story, "an integral part of the

fiction and an innovative departure from the norm for ghost complaint frames."[49]

Previous critics see *Mirror* as a "series of disconnected poems."[50] Geller

disputes this reading and points toward the typography of the editions for evidence.

Baldwin set the frame commentary in larger type than the poems of complaint. In

reprints, however, editors have reversed this sizing, giving the frame a subordinate

position in the text as secondary material. The type size and layout of the complaints

match that of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*—the complaint poems were, thus,

deprivileged by the typesetting of Baldwin. Subsequent editions would undo this

move. By Richard Niccol's 1610 edition, the frame had been deleted entirely.

Niccol's edition includes the words "a True Chronicle Historie" in the title, "thus

aligning himself with an early modern view of historical truth that Baldwin's *Mirror*s

challenge."[51]

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[48] Sherri Geller, "What History Really Teaches: Historical Pyrrhonism in William Baldwin's *A Mirror for Magistrates,"* in *Opening the Borders: Inclusivity in Early Modern Studies.* Ed. Peter C. Herman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 150.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid., 178.

Campbell's twentieth-century edition omitted Richard Niccol's additions to 1609-10 *Mirror* because they worked against the intent of Baldwin's original. Budra argues that the Niccols edition "epitomizes its development" as a value that declines and fails over the course of four editions in fifty years.[52] To profit from the *Mirror*'s success, subsequent editors after Baldwin's death added complaints and took focus away from the pseudo-nonfictional framework, thus misrepresenting Baldwin's original intent.

Scholarship written on *Mirror* has blossomed in the last fifteen years. Writers have found new ways to frame the work, new genres to argue for its membership, and new questions that continue to be raised. Scott Lucas has continued to work extensively on the *Mirror* and reportedly is in the process of putting together a new edition, the first since Lily Campbell's in 1938. Having delved into the composition and publication history of the *Mirror*, I would like to turn now to some of the critical reception that the work has received over the years. A sociological reading of the work must include the readers, who, "to some extent make the meanings of the texts that authors create, rather than authors altogether determining the meaning of the books that readers encounter."[53]

By the 1559 edition of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, there were some changes in the reception of printed works. The changing landscape of early modern readers would make the decade following *Mirror* see the largest number of history books of

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[52] Paul Budra, "*The Mirror for Magistrates* and the Politics of Readership," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 32, no. 1 (1992): 1.
[53] Leslie Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 20.

any decade in the Elizabethan reign.[54] Critics disagree on the nature of these

changes in the popularity of certain genres and modes of writing as they affected

readership of *A Mirror for Magistrates.* Jessica Winston believes that the *Mirror*

represents a conscious effort by the poets to subjugate the "advice to Princes" genre

inherited from Lydgate and Boccaccio, and aim for a different, wider, audience than

the aristocracy and nobility it purports to target, while Mike Pincombe attributes

the shift to a change in authorship, rather than readership.[55] There were, for the

1559 edition, "no fewer than eight poets," who had to devise a trope of apparitional

charades to veer from the genre norms and account for the larger number of

authors.[56] Sir Philip Sidney spoke highly of *Mirror*, praising its "bewtiful partes," and

Francis Meres considered it in 1598 to be on par with Shakespeare, Marlowe, Kyd,

Chapman, Dekker, and Johnson.[57] The *Mirror* also receives praise in Hake's

Touchstone of Wit (1588), Harington's *Orlando* (1591), Marston's *Certain Satires*

(1598), and Bolton's *Hypercritica* (1620).

By the twentieth century, however, the tone of criticism toward the *Mirror*

had changed considerably.[58] C. S. Lewis most famously expresses this sentiment

toward the work in a series of collected lectures from the first half of the twentieth

century, absolutely eviscerating the period between late medieval and Elizabethan

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[54] Budra, "*The Mirror for* Magistrates and the Politics of Leadership," 2.

[55] Jessica Winston, "*A Mirror for Magistrates* and Public Political Discourse in Elizabethan England," *Studies in Philology* 101, no. 4 (2004): 383.

[56] Mike Pincombe, "William Baldwin and *A Mirror for Magistrates*," *Renaissance Studies* 27, no. 2 (2013): 188.

[57] Budra, "*The Mirror for* Magistrates and the Politics of Leadership," 2.

[58] In 1925, Eveline Feasey wrote about the *Mirror's* "insufferably trite moralizing and medieval spirit . . . [and] monotonous, jog-trot metre and its lack of dignity of style." Eveline I. Feasey, "William Baldwin," *The Modern Language Review* 20, no. 4 (1925): 407.

literature, naming it "the Drab Age." He contends that late medieval Britain was very

musical during the period, and so translating those performative and sung verses to

the printed word produces poetry that might seem "flat and dull" but associates

what came later with a "flat, plodding style" and a "painful regularity." Lewis's

critique of the poetry of the mid-sixteenth century continues in this manner—

complaining of its "lumbering clownishness," "*fee-fo-fi-fum* manner," "loutish verse,"

and "unpleasantly *staccato* effect"—but admits the period has a "severity, a

neatness, a precision" that gives it merit.[59] While Lewis's critique rings a bit harsh,

there are certainly moments when reading the *Mirror* when one has to admit that

Lewis has a point. Consider this stanza from "Two Rogers, surnamed Mortimer":

> Among the ryders of the rollyng wheele,
>
> That lost theyr holdes, Baldwin forget not me,
>
> Whose fatall threede false Fortune nedes would reele,
>
> Ere it were twysted by the systers three.
>
> All folke be frayle, theyr blysses brittle bee:
>
> For proofe whereof although none other wer,
>
> Suffyse may I, syr Roger Mortimer.[60]

Lewis calls the *Mirror* "the greatest composite monument of the Drab Age"

after *Tottel's Miscellany*. "Just because it is so much worse, it reveals the movement

of taste more clearly than Tottel—as a derelict shows the set of the tide more clearly

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[59] C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), 222-240.
[60] William Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates: Edited from Original Texts in the Huntington Library*, ed. Lily B. Campbell (1938; reprint, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), 82.

than a ship under sail."[61] Lewis notes that by invoking the Chronicles in the prefatory materials ("we opened suche books of Cronicles as we had there present"), Baldwin here appeals to historical rather than simply literary tastes (those indeed privileged in Lewis's criticism of the work).[62]

Lewis also points out that Baldwin and the *Mirror* poets depart from the metrical chronicle "under the disastrous, late medieval influence of 'tragedy,'" saying that the work blends "the monotony of 'tragedy' and the laborious dignity of the pseudo-epic."[63] He describes particular entries in the *Mirror* as "beneath contempt," characterizes George Ferrers as "no poet, but . . . of curious interest as a metrist," and describes some of the meter as "mere blunders."

He speaks only slightly better of Thomas Churchyard and his "desolating triumph" of the Drab Age full of "wooden regularity," Thomas Phaer, who, he writes, is "wooden without being regular," and Thomas Challoner, "whose *Richard II* scans and is dull"; Baldwin's work he describes as "execrable" and "forced into verse without the slightest poetical colouring."[64]

Overall, Lewis characterizes the work as "disastrous" and "utterly tasteless," but "just not bad enough to be harmless to public taste."[65] Lewis's unmitigated disdain for the work strikes me as inexplicable and incomparable. He sees it as the very worst work of the worst period of the sixteenth century:

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[61] Lewis, 240.
[62] Baldwin, 69.
[63] Lewis, 241.
[64] Ibid., 242-243.
[65] Ibid., 243.

No one lays down the *Mirror* without a sense of relief. An immense amount of

serious thought and honest work went to its composition and it remains,

with Tottel, the chief poetical monument of the Drab Age. Like Tottel it did

useful work in re-establishing metrical regularity, but in other respects its

influence on succeeding poets was mainly bad.[66]

In the last ten years or so, scholarship on *A Mirror for Magistrates* has

undergone a major transformation, emphasizing the political qualities of the work

and giving what Mike Pincombe calls a "*radicalisant* critique."[67] By this term,

Pincombe means that the recent scholarship focuses not only on the political

elements of the text, but specifically on the *radical* character of the *Mirror's* political

scope.[68]

Jim Ellis takes a Marxist/Lacanian approach to *Mirror,* focusing on the

mutilated bodies of the ghosts who are telling the stories to the intermediators

(Baldwin, et. al.) and the cultural trauma that comes from the conception of

property and the shifts from the medieval understanding into a more personal early

modern understanding of the self. Ellis argues that the economic and cultural

changes during the sixteenth century were so great that they disrupted the sense of

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[66] Ibid., 246.

[67] Pincombe, "William Baldwin and *A Mirror for Magistrates*," 183.

[68] The blossoming of recent scholarship on the *Mirror for Magistrates* is an exciting development in the field. However, it necessarily means that scholars' focus has proceeded in a disparate fashion. I intend, here, to give an overview of some of that recent criticism—for the purposes of organization, I will present it chronologically.

self, creating a cultural trauma that the *Mirror*, both in its composition and in its

reception, helps to demonstrate.[69]

Meredith Skura, however, sees the voices of the *Mirror* instead as a precursor

for later autobiographical texts and sees the *Mirror* as "one of the most important

unrecognized texts in the prehistory of autobiography."[70] Skura observes that critics

have limited the pool of autobiographical texts by dismissing those texts that lack

overt inwardness and can be construed merely as fictions. She adds that "the

sixteenth-century habit of reading allegorically and looking for contemporary

allusions in stories about the past often obscures the boundary between truth and

fiction."[71]

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[69]Jim Ellis, "Embodying Dislocation: *A Mirror for Magistrates* and Property Relations," *Renaissance Quarterly* no. 4 (2000): 1034. For Ellis, the text tries to explain "what happens when, in a particular society, properties which were hitherto regarded as inalienable and thus essential parts of the self, become alienable or are alienated." The change in agri-economics, whereby common use rights were lost in the early modern period resulted in a degradation—rural life gave way to larger urban centers, resulting in social mobility for many, but a larger disruption of social identity, leading to a greater sense of the individual as we would see during the Enlightenment. Ellis sees the *Mirror* as a part of the complaint genre and connects the writers with the mercurial nature of the Tudor monarchies. He further sees the authors' fascination with depictions of the mutilated corpses as a reading of the flesh as a signifier. Following the thinking of Foucault, Ellis reads the corpses of *Mirror* and writes that in their deaths, they "become an exchangeable narrative" that suggests the working of a trauma.

[70] Meredith Ann Skura, *Tudor Autobiography: Listening for Inwardness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 73. Skura notes that this autobiographical element would be imitated in works like Anthony Munday's *Mirror of Mutability*, and two later *Mirror* poets, Thomas Sackville and Thomas Churchyard, would go on to compose autobiographical texts.

[71] Ibid., 3. Sixteenth-century writers "incorporated their lives into sermons, saint's lives, courtly and popular verse, a history book, a traveler's report," etc. This early modern approach to reading would-be autobiographical writing allegorically becomes problematized as a result of scholarship that refutes the truthfulness of author as narrator—George Kane points this out as regards Chaucer, and Paul Zumthor, Stephen Greenblatt, and Thomas Webster since, as regards medieval troubadours, Sir Thomas Wyatt, and early modern diarists, respectively. This wider focus of scholarship that searches for a more general sense of modern subjectivity rather than looking inwardly at specific autobiographical text "has discouraged close attention to individual texts and what they might reveal about their individual authors" or members of collaborations.

Skura considers the frame narrative that Baldwin and the editors who followed him inserted into the *Mirror*, and she classifies the work as a prototype for early autobiographical writing. While most critics read it as historiography, Skura calls it "a remarkable repository of detailed and opinionated first-person narratives . . . [that] provided models of writing about self not only for their readers but also for themselves."[72] The *Mirror* should be considered as a hybrid genre of history and poesie. The multiple personae Baldwin employs "are part of what readers would expect in works of poesie."[73] Skura argues for the legacy of the project as a powerful example of the prose of individual experience. Ultimately, Skura considers the *Mirror* to be "one of the period's most tonally complex and realistically detailed accounts of a text's own history and composition, and thus of its author's own experience in the process."[74]

Sherri Geller has taken the dream vision and ghost frame critiques in another direction, and she traces the edition history of *Mirror* and how the emphasis on and importance of its paratext has been marginalized (both figuratively and literally), despite how vital attention to the paratext remains for a critical reading of the book. Geller asserts that editors and critics have misplaced *Mirror*'s genre—as a medieval ghost-complaint frame tale, readers should attend to the frame, not merely the complaints. This problem is understandable for Baldwin's text, because he subverts the genre of the ghost-complaint tale by excluding (mostly) ghosts and putting

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[72] Meredith Skura, "*A Mirror for Magistrates* and the Beginnings of English Autobiography," *English Literary Renaissance* 36, no. 1 (2006): 27.
[73] Ibid., 31
[74] Ibid.

himself and his friends in their place. Critics misunderstand, misread, and therefore misrepresent this subversion and then draw erroneous conclusions (and make incorrect editorial decisions) based on their misunderstandings. Geller's work examines the difference between William Baldwin, London printer of *Mirror*, and William Baldwin, the fictive inscribed character who, at the behest of an anonymous fictive printer, works with seven other poets to produce *Mirror*. This ventriloquism by Baldwin creates confusion for readers and critics.[75]

Jennifer Richards pulls the focus of her critique *away* from Baldwin and instead focuses on the collaborative nature of the work and its variability. Richards regards the work as a "project in which its authors are working out moral-political positions . . . perhaps best understood as a political virtue in a reforming commonwealth."[76] Acknowledging that many contemporary scholars see the thesis of *Mirror* as a call to defy any unjust royal decree, Richards invites a reading that does not begin with Baldwin's teleological dedication, removing the representation of the text as a single cohesive work and removing the poets as moral commentators. Most importantly, Richards argues that despite many critics' assertions that later editions under other editors degraded Baldwin's original intent,

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[75] Sherri Geller, "Editing Under the Influence of the Standard Textual Hierarchy: Misrepresenting *A Mirror for Magistrates* in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Editions." *Textual Cultures: Texts, Contexts, Interpretation* 2, no. 1 (2007): 43-77.

[76] Jennifer Richards, "Transforming *A Mirror for Magistrates,*" in *Renaissance Transformations*, ed. Margaret Healey and Thomas Healey (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 48. According to Richards, the *prosopopoeia* of the commentary in the work complicates our reception. For the writers, however, it was a rhetorical device that had been indoctrinated since they were schoolboys. It invites the reader to be sympathetic—to political office, to power, to political failure. Due to the suppression of the first attempt at printing (1554), the dedication to the work appears some years after the rest of the work had been written, supporting Richards's decision to start reading elsewhere.

the later editions are necessary expansions that hold truer to the initial goals set out before the post-compositional 'dedication' added to the beginning of the 1559 Baldwin edition.

Donald Jellerson reads the *Mirror* as a text that defies traditional, medieval, moralistic readings of history by presenting a conversational volume with contradictions that its early modern audience found appealing. He calls it a "historiopoetic engagement" that feigns its didactic tone, instead offering a prompt to reconsider the interpretation of history.[77] Poetry takes its place of autonomy— much as Sidney suggests in *Defense of Poetry*—animating the spectres of the historical figures to speak on their own behalfs, often to protest, retrospectively, on their portrayal in various chronicle histories. Jellerson sees in this approach a "resistance to history, the assertion of independence from the perceived biases and determinations of the chronicle tradition."[78] Jellerson sees the *Mirror* as piece that uses "the poet's pen in order to write history as moral philosophy."[79] Rather than dividing the various disciplines of study, Baldwin uses them in cooperation with one another to seek a greater truth.

Mike Pincombe, however, argues against the tide of contemporary scholarship. Citing the introduction of the first complete edition (1559), Pincombe argues that Baldwin depoliticized the nature of *Mirror* in an attempt to placate government authorities in the early days of the Elizabethan regime. The first

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[77] Donald Jellerson, "The Spectral Historiopoetics of the *Mirror for Magistrates*," *Journal of The Northern Renaissance* 2, no. 1 (2010): 57.
[78] Ibid., 58.
[79] Ibid., 60.

aborted publications were suppressed in Marian England, and while the last twenty

years of scholarship see the contributors to the *Mirror* as Protestant

revolutionaries—stalwarts left from the brief reign of Edward VI—Pincombe

instead accepts Baldwin's presentation of the writers in the frame narrative as

"harmless and humorous antiquarians."[80] While Pincombe focuses specifically on

Baldwin's role, he nevertheless gives a fresh examination of the circumstances of the

composition, set against the prevailing political environment.

In *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature*, Scott Lucas's article on the

Mirror gives an overview of the *Mirror*'s history and the influence of Edward Hall's

Chronicle as both source material and as a model for approaching the tragedies of

their own day. Lucas notes the embedded tensions of the Tudor monarchies,

making the text "one of the chief repositories for elements of Edwardian

commonwealth thought and Marian resistance theory in the Elizabethan and

Jacobean periods."[81] Setting the two works beside one another illustrates the

political shift that occurred between the printing of them. Hall, publishing during

Henrician rule, proclaimed a glorious end to the Yorkist struggles before the Tudor

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[80] Mike Pincombe, "William Baldwin and *A Mirror for Magistrates,"* *Renaissance Studies: Journal of The Society for Renaissance Studies* 27, no. 2 (2013): 197.

[81] Scott Lucas, "Hall's *Chronicle* and *the Mirror for Magistrates*: History and The Tragic Pattern," in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485-1603*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2011), 366. Lucas goes on to classify the poems of the *Mirror* as belonging to two groups: one designed to warn magistrates under Mary of the potential folly if they proceeded in undesirable political actions, and one to speak to English Protestants living under Queen Mary by celebrating the lives of people like Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset. Lucas describes the contributing poets as having lighted upon historical verse tragedy as a good medium for transmitting their message concerning …, because it was "powerfully effective—because affective" and because of its inoffensiveness. Of course, Mary's Lord Chancellor Gardiner felt differently, having suppressed the text in 1554.

reign. Baldwin and his writers "understood [those Henrician years] to be merely a break in the tragic action."[82]

Baldwin himself, however, calls upon the reader to perform a self-examination and sees a need to compare history to one's own situation. In the years that followed, the mirror would increasingly become a symbol of self-correction rather than a means by which one may look backward and examine the past for didactic purposes. In this sense, Bart van Es argues that the *Mirror* provided a model of *reading* that was new and revolutionary: "reading for parallels in history [as] the central objective for readerly engagement with the past."[83] Spenser would pick up this imagery of retrospection in Book One of *The Faerie Queene*, describing his sovereign as "a mirror of grace" and inviting her to look "in this fayre mirrhour [that she] maist behold thy [her] face."[84] Book Three begins with the Knight of Chastity looking into a mirror and viewing the fall of a line of monarchs leading up to his present day.

Angus Vine picks up on the critique of readership, observing that scholars have paid little attention to the "bookishness" of Baldwin's prefatory epistle—to its "style and lexicon."[85] In it, Baldwin makes a notable reference to books as objects—that is, to their physical, material presence. Vine suggests that Baldwin frames

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[82] Ibid., 363.

[83] Bart van Es, "'They do it with mirrors': Spencer, Shakespeare, Baldwin's *Mirror* and Elizabethan literature's political vanishing act," in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 217.

[84] Ibid., 220.

[85] Angus Vine, "Bibliophily in Baldwin's *Mirror*," in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 90.

authorship as "a material and mechanical practice."[86] The *Mirror* poets are portrayed as reading through the *Chronicles* in real-time, surrounded by books. The *Mirror*, a book deeply concerned with the consideration and authentication of history, for Vine, seeks to pay specific attention to the book's material form as a mode of validation.

Locating expressed intentions from William Baldwin has proven to be an elusive task. Indeed, the debate over the intentions of the work dominates much of contemporary scholarship on *A Mirrour for Magistrates.* What we do have are some messages embedded in the prefatory text, taken here from Lily B. Campbell's 1938 modern edition. The Frontispiece of the work reads as follows:

> A Myrrore for Magistrates. Wherein may be seen by example of thers, with howe greuous plages vices are punished: and howe frayle and unstable worldly propertie is founde, even of those, whom Fortune seemeth most highly to favour. *Foelix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.*[87]

This heading seems to state that the intention of the *Mirrour* is a didactic one—that is, that people should read the text and learn from the falls of the subjects therein. But who, then, is the intended audience? The preface gives us this: "To the nobilitye and all other in office, God graunt wisedome and all thinges nedeful for the preseruacion of theyr Estates. Amen."[88] Seemingly, then, the book was designated

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[86] Ibid.

[87] "Happy are those who can learn caution from the perils of others." William Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates, edited from original texts in the Huntington Library*, ed. Lily B. Campbell (New York, Barnes & Noble, 1960), 62.

[88] Ibid., 63.

specifically for the nobility and aristocracy—at least it offered them a prayer. The preface containing that dedication (which editor Lily B. Campbell labels "Baldwin's Dedication," although Baldwin used the running title "The Epistle") is signed, "Yours most humble, William Baldwin."[89]

However, immediately following this dedication we find a preface labeled, "William Baldwin to the reader" (see fig. 5). So, if the first preface, "The Epistle," is a letter from Baldwin to the nobility, then who is the intended reader, and why a second letter? If the intended audience is the same, then we encounter the very real possibility that we are dealing with more than one William Baldwin—that is to say, more than one persona. Indeed, Baldwin will figure greatly in the work itself, appearing as a character to whom the ghosts of the fallen princes may transmit their messages. The ghostly character of Jack Cade addresses Baldwin specifically in this complaint verse:

> Among which Fooles (Marke Baldwyn) I am one
>
> That would not stay my selfe in mine estate.
>
> I thought to rule, but to obey to none,
>
> And therfore fel I with my Kyng at bate."[90]

The unstable persona that Baldwin develops creates problems of credibility, and these problems have guided the debate in current scholarship. In the "William Baldwin to the Reader" section, however, Baldwin (whoever he may be) describes

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[89] Ibid., 67.

[90] William Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates: Edited from Original Texts in the Huntington Library*, ed. Lily B. Campbell (1938; reprint, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), 172.

the process that began the project, and in doing so, gives *some* indication of his intent:

> WHan the Printer had purposed with hym selfe to printe Lidgates booke of the fall of Princes, and had made priuye thereto, many both honourable and worshipfull, he was counsailed by dyuers of theim, to procure to haue the storye contynewed from where as Bochas lefte, vnto this presente time, chiefly of suche as Fortune had dalyed with here in this ylande: whiche might be as a myrrour for al men as well noble as others, to shewe the slyppery deceytes of the waueryng lady [Fortune], and the due rewarde of all kinde of vices.[91]

While this explanation does little to answer the questions, it does tell us Baldwin's most basic intent: to satisfy the desire of his printer (John Wayland) who sought to continue the work of "Bochas"—Giovanni Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*—bringing the chronicles up to the present date. Moreover, Baldwin goes on to say that he intended from the onset for it to be a group project:

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[91] Ibid., 68. Compare to Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy,* Book IV, prosa 7: "For this reason a wise man should never complain, whenever he is brought into strife with fortune; just as a brave man cannot properly be disgusted whenever the noise of battle is heard, since for both of them their very difficulty is their opportunity, for the brave man of increasing his glory, for the wise man of confirming and strengthening his wisdom. From this is virtue itself so named, because it is so supported by its strength that it is not overcome by adversity. And you who were set in the advance of virtue have not come to this pass of being dissipated by delights, or enervated by pleasure; but you fight too bitterly against all fortune. Keep the middle path of strength and virtue, lest you be overwhelmed by misfortune or corrupted by pleasant fortune. All that falls short or goes too far ahead, has contempt for happiness, and gains not the reward for labour done. It rests in your own hands what shall be the nature of the fortune which you choose to form for yourself. For all fortune which seems difficult, either exercises virtue, or corrects or punishes vice." The Boethian conception of Fortune shows its influence in this passage of Baldwin's text. For a detailed discussion of Baldwin's use of similar Fortune-related imagery in *Mirror* and other texts, see Allyna E. Ward, "Fortune Laughs and Proudly Hovers: Fortune and Providence in the Tudor Tradition," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 39, no. 1/2, (2009): 39-57.

> [I] refused vtterly to vndertake it, excepte I might haue the helpe of suche, as in wyt were apte, in learning allowed, and in iudgemente and estymacion able to wield and furnysh so weighty an enterpryse, thinkyng euen so to shut my handes. But he earnest and diligent in his affayres, procured Athlas to set vnder his shoulder: for shortly after, dyuers learned men whose many giftes nede fewe praises, consented to take vpon theym parte of the trauayle.[92]

This paragraph furthers the stated intention by establishing that Baldwin aims to make the *Mirrour* a collaborative effort—he initially assumes the humility *topos*, deeming himself unskilled in the wit needed for the task, but relents when Wayland provides him with an array of "dyuers learned men." How could this account be reliable? Given that Wayland was a staunch Roman Catholic and all the contributors were ardent Protestants, many of whom had been at the court of Edward VI, and considering that the text would be suppressed for another four years until Mary had left the throne, it seems unlikely.

When I began studying the *Mirror* seven years ago, as a first-year Ph.D. candidate, I was intrigued by Baldwin and his companions. Their story fascinated me on a personal level, but even more, I was fascinated by the *circumstances* of their story. How did these writers come so close to greatness, so close to the innermost circles of the English crown, only to have their lives upended by the failing health of a teenager? But it wasn't just these men, these poets who had this experience. It was shared by an ambitious portion of a nation that had their eyes set on a change.

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[92] Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates,* 69.
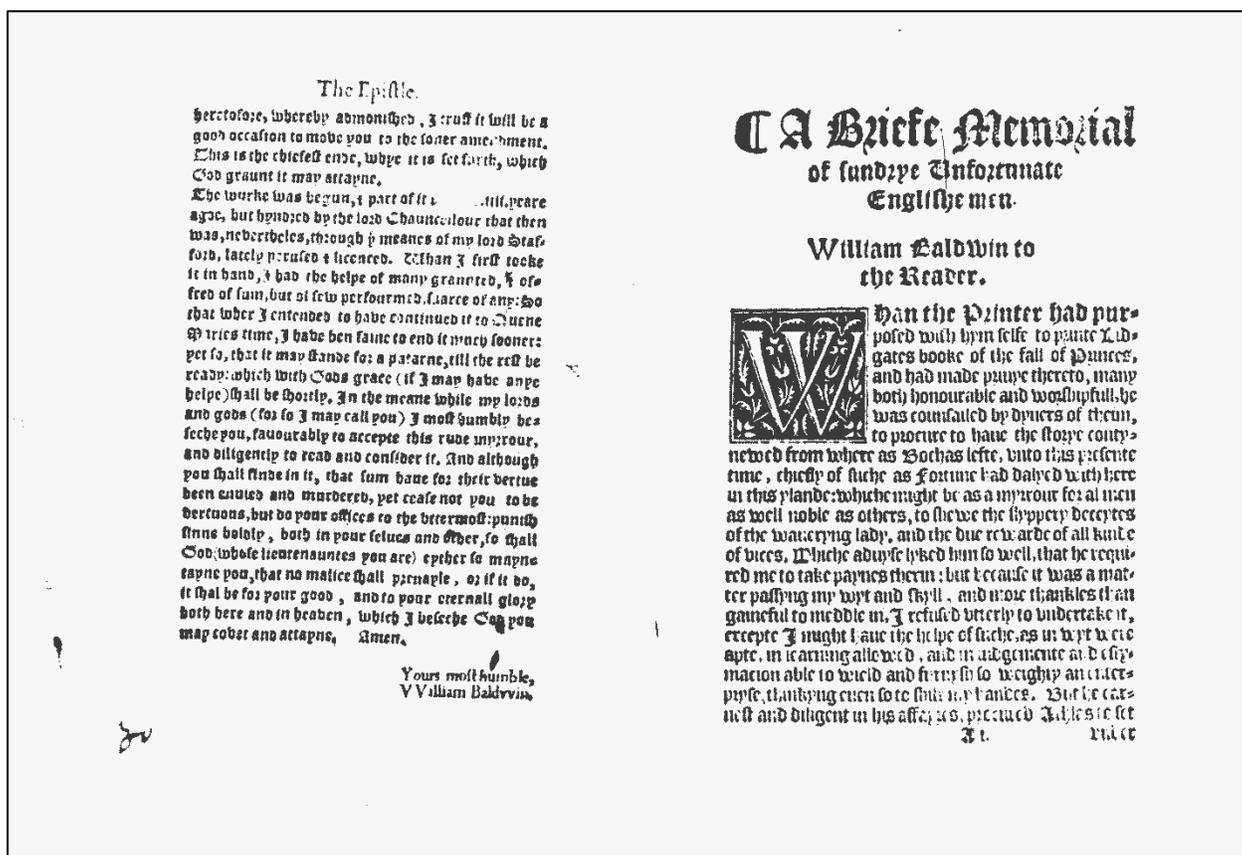
Figure 5: "William Baldwin to the Reader" from the 1559 edition of *A Mirror for Magistrates.*[93]

Diarmaid MacCulloch has written in the introduction to his comprehensive

historical study of the Reformation that "in fact, there were many different

Reformations, nearly all of which would have said that they were aimed simply at

recreating authentic Catholic Christianity."[94] England's reformation had a trajectory

all of its own, inextricably tied to its history of print, its literary tradition, its court

politics, and a very particular and peculiarly *English* spirit of reform. I believe that *A*

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[93] William Baldwin, *A Myrroure for Magistrates* (London: 1559), *Early English Books Online*.
[94] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation* (New York: Viking, 2003), xvii.

Mirror for Magistrates embodies all these elements at their very core, and that by studying the *Mirror*, we see them all presented before us in a clearly woven tapestry—one that stands as a proxy and exemplar of the age itself. I have taken the title for this dissertation from a work by D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts.* McKenzie sought to explain how a work's meaning was derived not only by its content, but by its material form. In making his argument, McKenzie expanded his definition of text, drawing from the etymology of the word, "from the Latin *textere*, 'to weave' . . . [which] refers, not to any specific material as such, but to its woven state, the web or texture of the materials."[95] The text of *A Mirror for Magistrates* can teach us about the mid-Tudor age, about the Reformation, about the history of English literature, and about who we are as a result of them all. In the chapters that follow, I will expand my own definition of text, as McKenzie did, and try to weave a conceptual understanding of this complex and elusive work.

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[95] D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 13.

CHAPTER II:

WILLIAM BALDWIN, RENAISSANCE MAN

Might it be that scholarship like this, using the book as an intellectual

approach and a way to open up interpretive possibilities, is even more

fruitful than the sort of studies that focus inward upon the

complexities of books for their own sake?

> —Leslie Howsam, from *Old Books and New Histories*
>
> (2006) [1]

> In Lyncolnes Inne and Temples twayne,
>   Grayes Inne and othe mo,
> Thou shalt them fynde whose paynfull pen
>   thy verse shall florishe so, . . .
> There heare thou shalt a great reporte,
>   of Baldwyns worthie name,
> Whose Myrrour dothe of Magistrates,
>   proclayme eternall fame.
>
> —Jasper Heywood, *Thyestes* (1560)

      Any understanding of *A Mirror for Magistrates* must, by necessity, begin with

an understanding of, or at the very least, an a*ttempt* to understand the volume's

chief creative architect, William Baldwin. Unfortunately, Baldwin has proven to be

an exhaustingly elusive figure in English book history—and in English literary

history, for that matter. None has championed his rediscovery and a reassessment

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[1] Leslie Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 45.

of place in the development of English fiction and the canon of English literature so much as William Ringler, who credits Baldwin with shaping the English novel as generic form. In 1979, Ringler made a rather bold claim:

> [t]he English novel was born the evening of December 28th, 1552. This is a fact of literary history that does not appear in any history of the novel. It is a fictional date, but the fiction is enmeshed with verifiable fact. On that evening George Ferrers, Master of the King's Pastimes, William Baldwin, playwright and printer, Gregory Streamer, and Master Willot were together in Ferrers' chamber at the Court of the boy king Edward VI.[2]

This paragraph refers to Baldwin's prose work, *Beware the* Cat, and it asserts quite a significant claim. Ringler goes on to suggest that all the longer works of fiction published before *Beware the Cat* "had been translations or adaptations, mainly from Latin or French, and not original."[3]

To support this claim, Ringler cites translations of works including *Appolinius Tyrius,* Archpresbyter Leo's *Historia de Preliis,* and Sir Thomas Malory's adaption of the French Merlin, Arthur, Lancelot, Grail, and Tristan narratives. He also includes William Caxton's translations of a fifteenth-century French prose version of *Ovide moralisée,* the Dutch *Hystorie van Reynaert die Vos,* and a French version of Virgil originally entitled *Livre des Eneydes.* After Caxton's translations, the list of longer works in English increases considerably, and includes translations of the Latin

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[2] William A. Ringler, Jr., "*Beware the Cat* and The Beginnings of English Fiction," *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 12, no. 2 (1979): 113.
[3] Ibid.

Historia Septem Sapientum Romae, the French *La vie Robert le Diable*, and *Le livre du chevalier Artus fil du duc de Bretagne.*[4]

These works serve as evidence that until the mid-sixteenth century, long prose narratives in English were few and, as Ringler states, largely works of translation. So, when Ringler nominates Baldwin's work as the first English novel, his case has merit. More importantly, however, we should consider *why* the case has merit within the context of contemporaneous literature. Was the absence of original work a lack of ingenuity and creativity on the part of English authors? Did the English-reading audience demand a plethora of translated works over original prose? Or was there a larger set of systemic circumstances related to the transmission and development of the novel form? Certainly, each of these factors plays some role. Ringler's analysis largely centers on the novel form itself and the development of narrative and rhetorical technique. He explains that Baldwin's book displays "a quite original handling of point of view, a first-person narrative with authorial comment; an enveloping action; and characterization by speech style."[5]

Ringler's determination, then, falls largely on a close analysis of the development of Baldwin's narrative style, and he rightly points out that William Baldwin introduces something in his prose wholly new to the literary landscape of 1552. After publishing his analysis, Ringler would spend the next decade putting together a modern edition of *Beware the Cat* with Michael Fachmann. However, for

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[4] Ibid., 125-6.
[5] Ibid., 123.

all of Baldwin's innovations as a writer of prose, his roots and his trade lay elsewhere—in the craft of print.

New Bibliographic Studies and History of the Book scholarship has seen a growing popularity during the last generation of academics on the heels of works by scholars like Robert Darnton, Elizabeth Eisenstein, Jerome McGann, and D.F. McKenzie, whose seminal 1986 collection of lectures inspired the title of this dissertation. That mode of scholarship opens numerous possibilities for exploring the factors implied in the production, transmission, and consumption of a text. It requires a painstaking attention to the details of various minutiae: type of paper, edition, printing methods, pressing details, sales records, etc. The resulting data can, at times, be overwhelming and far from what many literary scholars see as textually significant—even in a poststructuralist world.

This reflection on New Bibliographic Studies calls to mind a recent experience of my own. At the 2017 conference of the Shakespeare Association of America, I attended a workshop of book historians—I was there to talk about the role that *A Mirror for Magistrates* played in Shakespeare's re-imagining of the *King Lear* story—and listened to many notable scholars on the subject. My notes from this session include the following: "Book history is a methodology rather than a field of study." This note is attributed to Heidi Brayman, whose work on the subject has, for years, been helpful and informative to me. "Expanding Data in a Shrinking Field"—this comment seemed a suitable conclusion to our session which had raised a tremendous amount of excitement among its participants about the wealth of

information about the early modern book trade being unearthed in various archives in England and in Europe, only to reach a troubling conclusion about the state of academe and the dwindling numbers of humanities scholars poised, in the near future, to continue the work of the panel.

I do not, for this study, intend to engage in the type of painstaking research of the minutiae mentioned above, typically involved in New Bibliographic studies. Such an approach to *A Mirror for Magistrates* would, no doubt, be worthwhile scholarship that could teach us much about the work and its place in the early modern book market. As we have already seen, the *Mirror* has an extraordinary publication history that spans over a half century, numerous editions, and four distinct versions. However, to gain a sufficient understanding of who William Baldwin was and from what sociological climate *A Mirror for Magistrates* emerged, it will be helpful to rehearse some of the basic background facts of the first century of the history of printing in England.

Since my purpose here is to contextualize not just William Baldwin but the state of English print culture at the time of his work, it is necessary to spend some time examining the mere seventy-eight years between the first English printing press set up by Caxton at Westminster to the aborted printing in 1554 of the book that would become *A Mirror for Magistrates.* This overview will outline the nature and significance of Baldwin's professional activity and contextualize my claims regarding his contributions to an emergent 'Protestant' poetics or practice of literary production.

The earliest days of printing were exclusively confined to German

craftsmen.[6] On 30 September 1476, however, an English merchant named William

Caxton set up a print shop in the precincts of Westminster Abbey, having learned

the trade in Cologne and operated a press in Bruges.[7] The shop would remain there

until Caxton's death in 1491, and Wynkyn de Worde would remain in his place until

he moved the shop to Fleet Street in London in 1500.[8]

The first piece of work from Caxton's shop that we can verify and assign a

date to comes from December of 1476: an *Indulgence* issued by Pope Sixtus IV "in

aid of the war against the Turks."[9] His earliest printings also included quarto

editions of poems by Lydgate and the beginnings of a project to print the Canterbury

Tales.[10] His first *major* work, however, was to print his own translation of Raoul

Lefèvre's *History of Jason* (1477). Lefèvre had presented the work to King Philip the

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[6] Lucien Paul Victor Febvre and Henri Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (London: Verso, 1997), 181. From 1450 to 1460, the work of printing was exclusively confined to a handful of men working in a few print shops in Mainz. Distribution of printed works extended to Frankfurt, Lübeck, Angers, and even Avignon. The next decade, the 1460s, saw a rapid expansion in the print trade, an improved organization of labor and resources, and a more efficient distribution in Germany, "a land of mines, possessing prosperous commercial cities with skilled metal workers and a rich merchant class to finance the new trade." Between 1470 and 1480, the print industry and market continued growth and expanded to Italy, France, Spain, Poland, and the Low Countries.

[7] Ibid., 182

[8] For a detailed description of Caxton's Westminster shop, see George D. Painter, *William Caxton: A Biography* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), 82. The shop was adjacent to the Chapter House, which, at that time, was the meeting place of the House of Commons. Today, the site can be found "a few paces to the right as one leaves the south transept [of Westminster Abbey] by the Poets' Corner door." Nearby was the King's Palace of Westminster which housed the House of Lords, the royal residence, the Lord Chancellor and Council, and was the seat of the English government. Caxton's shop was on the path between the Palace and the Church which placed him at the literal intersection of church and state, of royal privilege and law—a wise choice, indeed, given Caxton's clientele. His workers were likely foreign-born and not yet protected by English law, and workers of the manuscript trade were still hostile to printers, so Westminster may have been a good choice over London for other practical reasons as well.

[9] Ibid., 83.

[10] In an interesting side note, Caxton would be printing Chaucer's tales only feet away from where Chaucer's remains were buried.

Good of France in the 1460s—a rewriting of the classical legend intended "to glorify the Order of the Golden Fleece," an order Philip had founded on his wedding day to Isabella of Portugal in 1430.[11]

The year 1478 saw the undertaking of a full edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, possibly under a patronage, and a publication of Chaucer's prose translation of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, published under the title *Boece.* By 1480, most printed books in England were still imported. As the Reformation progressed, though, England favored home production of books and handbills over European Catholic States. Caxton had adjusted his methods, modernizing his prints by straightening line-endings and incorporating smaller type, and he took on some other large projects in the next few of years—notably *Morte D'Arthur* and *Chronicles of England.* 1481 brought *Mirror of the World* and *Reynard the Fox*, translated from the French and Dutch, respectively.[12]

In 1483, the sudden death of Edward IV and ascension of Richard III, the last Plantagenet king, brought an end to much of Caxton's patronage and saw his status as "King's Printer" subside.[13] Caxton's greatest patron, Anthony Earl Rivers, was arrested, the young Prince deposed and imprisoned, and Richard III crowned a few yards from Caxton's shop in the Chapter House. Caxton's livelihood had literally

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[11] Ibid., 85. The Yorkist Edward IV had himself been a knight of the Golden Fleece, so Caxton's choice not only appealed to his new royal Yorkist patronage but also established a connection between his former life in Bruges and his new life as the first English printer.

[12] *Chronicles of England* (*STC* 9991) was published in a folio edition of 182 leaves in June 1480, making it his third largest edition up to that point, after *Recuyell of the Histories of Troy* and *The Canterbury Tales*. Caxton's edition of *Morte D'Arthur* (*STC* 801) would not be completed and printed until July 1485. A massive folio edition, it would be completed at 432 leaves. *Mirror of the World* (*STC* 24762), 100 leaves, and *Reynard the Fox* (*STC* 20919), 85 leaves, were both published in the first half of 1481.

[13] Ibid., 116.

found itself amid a Shakespearean tragedy. He did manage to retain the patronage of

the Queen Mother Elizabet h Woodville, who commissioned a translation of the

French poem *Pèlerinage de l'âme* (Pilgrimage of the Soul), printed in June 1483.
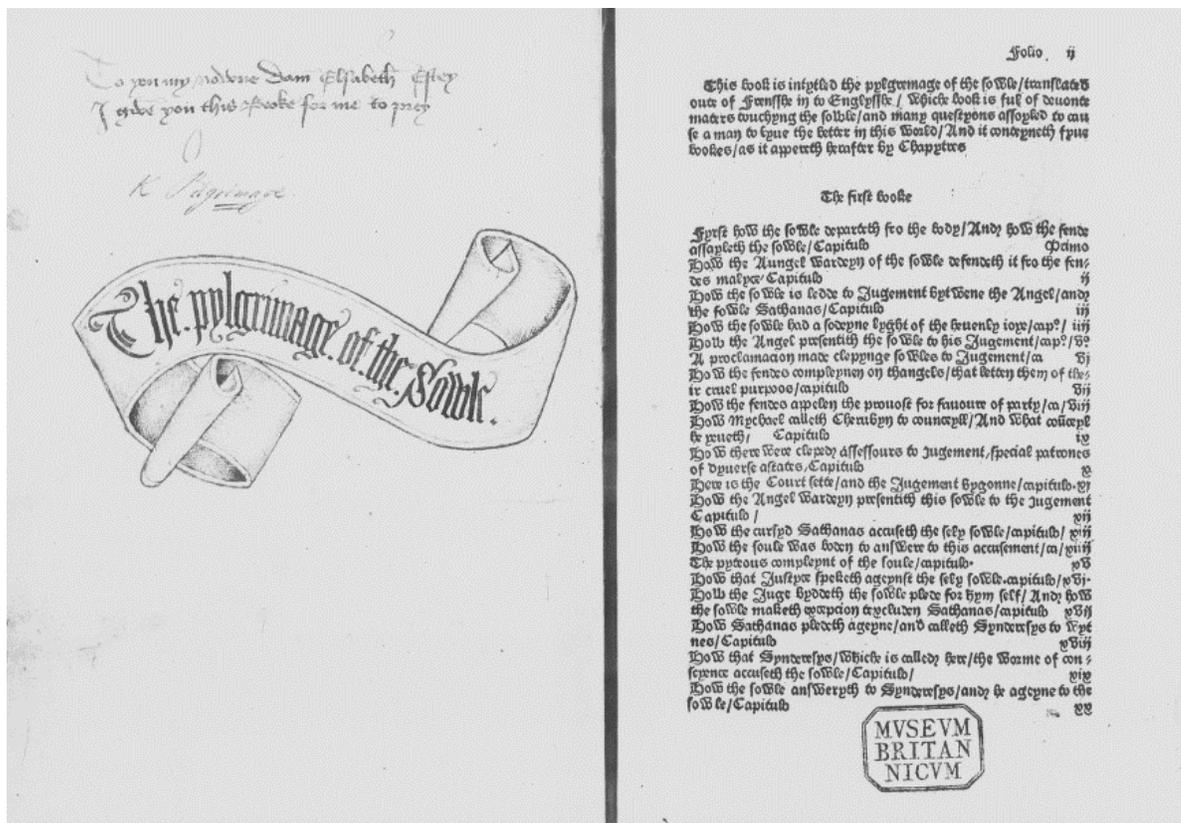
Figure 6: Page 1 of *The Pilgrimage of the Soul*. Caxton's date for publication is included at the top of the first page of text with the regnal year included. Image taken from *Early English Books Online*.[14]

Caxton dated the book "at Westminster . . . in the first year of the reign of King

Edward the Fifth."[15] (See fig. 6.) As the Queen Mother was in sanctuary at

Westminster and Edward held in the tower, this text, which tells "of the prosecution

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[14] Guillaume de Deguileville and John Lydgate, *This book is intytled the pylgremage ofthe sowle translated oute of Frensshe in to Englysshe* (Emprynted at Westmestre: By Wylliam Caxton, And fynysshed the sixth day of Iuyn, the yere of our lord M. CCCC, lxxxiij, 1483), *Early English Books Online.*
[15] Painter, 124.

of a newly departed soul by Satan before Reason, Truth, and Justice, who consider

his case hopeless, and Mercy who secures his speedy acquittal" would have borne a

message to his readers who were following the royal drama closely. [16] Caxton's next
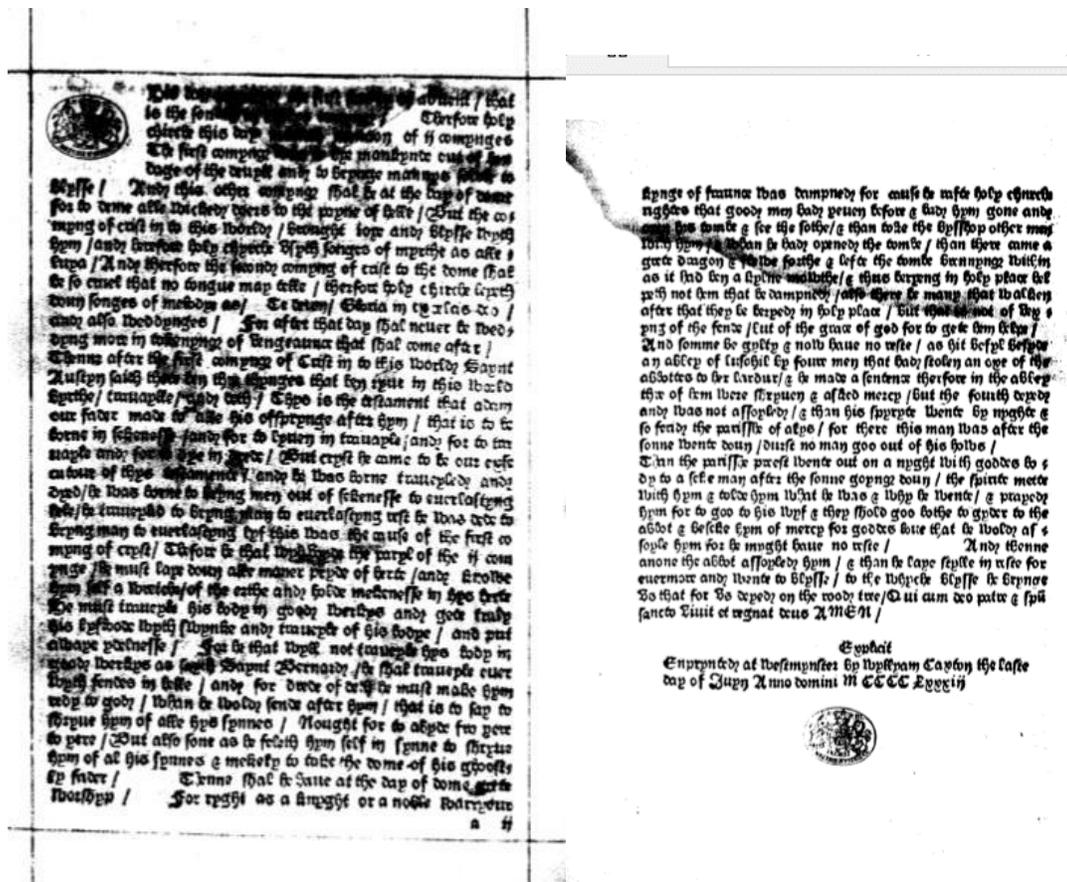
Figure 7: Page 1 and 117 of John Mirk's *Festial*—note the absence of an introductory dating on page one, as compared to what is seen in Figure 3. In this volume, Caxton has chosen to place his dating and printing information at the end of the book's final leaf and omit the regnal year and the name of Richard III. [17]

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[16] Ibid.

[17] John Mirk, *This day is callyd the first sonday of aduent, that is the sonday in cristys comyng. Therfore holy chirche this day maketh mencion of ij comynges* (Westminster: Enprynted by Wylliam Caxton at westmestre, 30 June 1483), *Early English Books Online.*

volume would omit the regnal year and the name of Richard III altogether, using the title and colophon as a subtle expression of Caxton's displeasure with the reign of the Yorkist Richard III and particularly of his treatment of Rivers, Caxton's chief patron. (fig. 7).

In March 1484, Richard reached something of a pact with the Queen Mother, whereby her daughters would be released under terms that can only be described as horrific—she seems to have reluctantly agreed only after Henry Tudor's 1483 failure during Buckingham's Rebellion. Caxton's next volume, *Order of Chivalry*, was *specifically* dedicated to Richard III with prayers wishing him "long life and prosperous welfare," "victory over his enemies," and "everlasting life in heaven"— many of the same prayers that he had included on behalf of the young Edward in various publications some years before. [18] Richard, "a notorious lifelong non-participant in the make-believe chivalry of Edward's reign," was being lectured to by Caxton on the subject—the book became an early example of printed propaganda.[19]

Caxton remained loyal to the Queen Mother and had no patronage from a wary Tudor house until 1489, largely printing schoolbooks, church books, and devotional works in the interim. In 1489, he renewed patronages and received a commission from Henry VII to print *Faytes of Arms*. Later that year, he would also print the statutes of Henry's first three Parliaments. As the sole English printer, Caxton enjoyed a successful continuing patronage with the Tudors until his death in 1491.

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[18] William Caxton, *Order of Chivalry*, quoted in Painter, 141.
[19] Painter, 142.

Caxton's successor, Wynkyn de Worde, came from Alsace in Eastern France as did over half the printers in England and their equipment. Wynkyn de Worde moved Caxton's shop from Westminster to London. Printing was focused in London and remained a limited market. With only around two million people in England and Wales—France had around fifteen million—the market did not have enough vernacular readers to support a larger industry.

While Caxton's press continued operation by Wynkyn de Worde, the most substantial competitor in London was Richard Pynson who, like many printers in London, had emigrated from Normandy to take advantage of a new market, most likely working under Caxton himself. Pynson set up shop in early 1492, dedicating an edition of Caxton's *Canterbury Tales* to "my worshipful master William Caxton."[20] Pynson and de Worde would continue to print and prosper for another forty years, and from 1500-1520, the two would dominate the London market.[21] London printers failed to generate the capital needed to undertake larger projects, and as a result, liturgical works that were *only* used in England were still printed on the continent. Wynkyn de Worde utilized established patrons from Caxton while Pynson "concentrated on official publications, proclamations, and legal texts."[22] This trend of non-English printers and publishers began to shift, and by 1523, laws began to restrict the numbers of foreign-born journeymen and apprentices working in English print shops.

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[20] Painter, 190.
[21] Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance,* 49.
[22] Ibid., 126.

By the 1530s, Reformist factions in England had penetrated the court of King Henry VIII and the legislative bodies. The Seven Years' Parliament, also known as the Reformation Parliament, first convened in 1529. The influence that the reformers would have would affect not only the political and religious aspects of English society, but also the literary and linguistic aspects.[23] "In England, the effect of the Reformation was to encourage the publication of translations of Scripture and of religious works, and their language was to be as influential on the development of English as Luther's in Germany."[24]

The Reformation and the Protestant cause was the first movement in history to utilize the print medium as a means of disseminating a revolutionary message against the status quo. Eisenstein notes that reformers had a self-awareness regarding the central role of the press in their movement. They viewed the ability to print as a gift from God—a sort of technological manifest destiny. The medium of print uniquely facilitated the movement "by which an obscure theologian in Wittenberg managed to shake Saint Peter's throne."[25] The ability to mass produce materials made the effect of dissent both indelible and far-reaching. Although the Western church had gone through several schisms, it was not until Henry VIII's divorce that the divisions in the Western Church would be so substantial and long lasting. Thomas Cromwell, in his campaign to back the actions of his King, found

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[23] For a detailed list of the acts passed by the Reformation Parliament, see Appendix C.

[24] Lucien Paul Victor Febvre and Henri Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (London: Verso, 1997), 323.

[25] Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 171.

new ways to utilize the press as a device for disseminating propaganda. The materials that came from heretical and schismatic publications of the sixteenth century could not so easily be suppressed as those that came before.

The implementation of print, however, also brought a uniformity to teaching and worship that would influence orthodoxy and the perpetuation of traditional Christendom. Indeed, print became such a palpable vehicle for the spreading of sermons and the Gospel that "gifted boys who might have become preachers simply became publicists instead."[26] It is hardly surprising that the Roman Catholic Church initially hailed the invention of the press as a divinely inspired gift.

Protestant texts in the early days of the English Reformation had too narrow a readership for London printers to risk upsetting the mutable feelings of King Henry VIII. When Tyndale sought means to publish his English Bible, the thought of doing so in London was inconceivable, and so, although royal policies by the 1530s may have loosened regarding evangelical texts, their authors still tended to publish abroad. However, an act in 1534 tightened further the restrictions on foreign workers in the book trade, and in 1543, King Henry VIII "granted an exclusive privilege in Church prayer books to Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch."[27] English printers produced 550 books between 1520 and 1529, 739 from 1530 to 1539, and 928 from 1540 to 1549. In 1586, fearing a growth in the output of seditious materials, a decree was passed limiting the number of presses and concentrating them in London.

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[26] Ibid., 175.
[27] Febvre and Martin, 191.

The death of Henry VIII and the unambiguous support of Edward VI's government toward evangelical publications changed the landscape considerably, resulting in a "deluge of printed texts [that] transformed both the range of Protestant books available in English and the London printing industry."[28] From 1546 to 1548, the volume of books published in London doubled, with the lion's share of works being religious books.

> The reign of Edward VI though had demonstrated the potential for a lively market in England if market and political conditions were favorably aligned; it was a harbinger of what might be achieved when the accession of Elizabeth in 1558 brought the return of a Protestant government, and of some familiar names to the London printing industry.[29]

Presses were also established in Ipswich, Canterbury, Worcester, and Dublin in hopes of reaching a larger, more provincial, audience. After Edward's death and Mary's accession, the mood rapidly changed, and many prominent printers gave up the trade or retired abroad to continue their work on a more sympathetic Protestant continent.

One of those prominent printers who managed to stay around through the Marian age and into the early days of Queen Elizabeth was, of course, William Baldwin, author, editor, and narrator of *A Mirror for Magistrates.* William Baldwin's biography mostly consists of suppositions and uncertainties. We can gather his biographical information piecemeal from a variety of sources, many of them

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[28] Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance,* 127.
[29] Ibid., 128.

guesswork at best. All the facts that we know—that we can document about William Baldwin—occur during a sixteen-year span from 1547 to 1563. He was a printer, a religious translator, a dramatist, and a man of letters.

Eveline Feasey calls him a "man of great learning, of varied powers, and of wide and practical interests."[30] In many ways, the figure we know as William Baldwin exists as an invention of his own narratives—indeed, Baldwin himself orchestrated much of the mystery around himself by adopting a variety of personae in his work. His work—the work that scholars now credit to him—went largely unattributed and even unpublished in his lifetime, and only through the work of recent scholarship (in the last century) have some of his works been definitively attributed to him at all.

William Baldwin's precise birthdate and birthplace are unknown to us. He was born in the early 1500s, perhaps in Wales. In 1533, a William Baldwin applied for a bachelor's degree at Oxford. This person is most likely our William Baldwin, but we cannot be absolutely sure. During his time there, he mostly likely met George Ferrers and Thomas Chaloner. John Bale in his *Scriptorium Illustrium Catalogus* notes Baldwin's distinction as a scholar, while Anthony à Wood describes him as "a noted poet" before leaving Oxford.

Baldwin likely became a soldier after Oxford, Eveline I. Feasey supposes. Ferrer and Chaloner did, and it is possible that Baldwin followed his friends. Both *Beware the Cat* and a play performed in Edward's Court, written by Baldwin,

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[30] Eveline I. Feasey, "William Baldwin," *The Modern Language Review* 20, no. 4 (1925): 418.

demonstrate an intimate knowledge of Irish customs that suggests he may have

soldiered there—at the very least spent some time there after Oxford.[31]

By 1547, however, the year of Edward VI's coronation, Baldwin had secured

a position in the printing house of Edward Whitchurch. Whitchurch printed at "The

Sign of the Sun" and brought Baldwin on as a corrector, a position in which his

literary knowledge and skills would have served him well. Eventually he moved on

to be a compositor. Baldwin, a great admirer of Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard,

Earl of Surrey—both innovators in English of the Italian sonnet—published his first

work in 1547: a sonnet attached as a commendatory poem to Christopher Langton's

A Very Brefe Treatise, Ordrely Declaring the Principal Partes of Phisick. That poem has

been recognized by many scholars as "the first known printed sonnet of any kind in

English."[32] Baldwin studied older Italian and Latin forms of verse and adapted them

for new media and new audiences, a composition habit that would continue into the

development of *A Mirror for Magistrates.*

Whitchurch would publish, in that same year, Baldwin's text, *A Treatise of*

Morall Phylosophie, contayning the Sayinges of the Wyse, a work that "underwent

frequent revision and expansion by the compiler and others; it had been reissued

twenty-four times by 1620," with Baldwin supervising the printing of ten different

editions of the work himself.[33] *Treatise on Moral Philosophy* was pirated by Thomas

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Scott C. Lucas, "A Renaissance Man and his 'Medieval' Text: William Baldwin and *A Mirror for Magistrates,* 1547-1563," in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 25.

[33] John N. King, "Baldwin, William (d. in or before 1563)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Online ed., Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, n.p.

Paulfreyman and, including Baldwin's own, went through at least ten editions before 1600. Thomas Nashe praises it and *Beware the Cat* in his *Have with you to Saffron Walden.*

On the subject of the printer Edward Whitchurch, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of The Christian Church* explicitly defines Whitchurch's collaboration with other Protestant printers and his role in the production of important Protestant works: Whitchurch had become an adherent of the Reformed doctrines. In 1537, he worked with Robert Grafton to circulate Matthew's Bible which had been printed at Antwerp. In 1538, Whitchurch and Grafton gave financial assistance to Miles Coverdale in printing his New Testament at Paris, followed by their 1539 publication of the Great Bible in London. Under Edward VI, Whitchurch printed the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549 and 1552.[34]

Baldwin's association with Whitchurch would bring him into the fold of a Protestant circle of biblical translators in London. That group included Thomas Sternhold, Nicholas Udall, Bishop Hooper, and John Rogers, the translator of *Matthew's Bible.* Rogers lived with Whitchurch on Fleet Street as a houseguest. Baldwin would also work with John Old at the Sign of the Sun; Old also worked as a corrector for Whitchurch. It would be amidst this group of translators that Baldwin would publish *Balades of Solomon* in 1549.

Canticles or Balades of Salomon was a metrical translation of the 'Song of Solomon' which he dedicated to King Edward VI. Baldwin makes known his

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[34] "Whitchurch, Edward (d. 1561)," *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of The Christian Church* (2014): *Oxford Reference*, EBSCOhost.

relationship with Whitchurch in the signatory notes of the publication: "Imprinted at London by William Baldwin, servant of Edward Whitchurch." From 1552 to 1556, Baldwin was at court working with the Court Revels. Ferrers had become the Master of the King's Pastimes—a position formerly called the office of the Lord of Misrule. That post had been revived for the Christmas celebrations of 1551—celebrations intended to bring up the general spirits of the King and everyone at court following the imprisonment of Edward's uncle, the Duke of Somerset. Baldwin gained a reputation at court as a dramatist, although there are none of his dramatic works still extant. Baldwin describes one of his plays, *Love and Live*, in a 1555 letter to Sir Thomas Cawerden, then Master of Revels. [35] *Love and Live* was apparently produced at Court for the 1556 Christmas celebration. It was a three-hour morality play that required a cast of some fifty-two performers.

In the prefatory chapter of *Beware the Cat*, a work credited to Baldwin, composed in the early months of 1553, the narrator serializes the circumstances of a meeting with Gregory Streamer, George Ferrers and Master Willot in the chamber of Ferrers, King Edward's Master of Pastimes in December of 1552. Thomas Sackville was also probably in attendance with this group at court. However, Baldwin's apparent penchant for verisimilitude shines through the account, and it is unclear

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[35] This title, *Love and Live*, were the closing words of Baldwin's *Treatise on Moral Philosophy.* It would become Baldwin's motto and would be incorporated as a prologue for future editions of his works. For a comprehensive discussion of this motto and its origin, see Mike Pincombe, "'Love and Live': The Source and the Significance of William Baldwin's Motto," *Notes and Queries* 57, no. 3 (2010): 341–346.

whether the event ever actually occurred. *Beware the Cat* portrays Baldwin as a wit at court.

Baldwin was a member of this courtly circle of scholars and poets, but he was also likely a member of the group of writers associated with the Inns of Court. The Baldwin family name was associated with barristers across England, and they were loosely connected. His family may have intended for him to go down a similar path. In his translation of *Thyestes*, Jasper Heywood praises Baldwin, connecting him to the Inns at Court.[36] In addition to Heywood's praise of Baldwin, he also mentions other notable writers of the time, including Sackville, Thomas Norton, Sir Thomas North, Barnabe Googe, and others. By associating William Baldwin with this larger group of important writers, Heywood establishes a breadth to Baldwin's literary connections that extend far beyond his circle of connections of writers within the royal court. Baldwin's 1555 letter to Master of Revels Cawerden suggests that his play *Love and Live* might be performed at the Inns.

Edward VI died on July 6 of 1553, and because of the stricter guidelines of the Stationers Company under Queen Mary, the publication of Baldwin's work became more complicated. *Funeralles of King Edward VI*, written during the interim between Edward's death and burial in 1553, would not be published until 1560, most likely because of its smattering of anti-Catholic sentiment throughout the work. In 1554, a collection of poems written by Baldwin's court circle entitled *A Memorial of Suche Princes, as since the Tyme of King Richard the Seconde, Have Been Unfortunate in the*

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[36] I have included the verse in which this praise occurs as a quotation at the beginning of this chapter.

Realme of England was printed and prepared with Baldwin as its editor. Only the cover leaf remains extant, and Bishop Stephen Gardiner, Chancellor to Queen Mary, suppressed the publication, due to its inflammatory Protestant leanings. In one of Ferrers's compositions, he creates something of a roman à clef casting Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester as an erstwhile Somerset, while Bishop Gardiner is represented by a fictionalized Cardinal Beaufort. Gardiner would halt the printing of the work. Baldwin's printing career ceased by 1558. When Elizabeth I was crowned in January of 1559, the overall mood of the court changed, and the book was revised and published as *A Myrrore for Magistrates.* It would become one of the most circulated and influential books of English verse in the sixteenth century. The 1563 edition describes Baldwin as having been "called to an other trade of lyfe."

Presumably, this "other trade of lyfe" was that of the clergy. In 1560, Baldwin was appointed Vicar of Torkington-Sussex, and by the next year, he was appointed rector of St. Michael-le-Querne in Cheapside in London—a position he would hold from 1561 to 1563. Baldwin appears to have died of plague in 1563, probably in September or October. John Stowe, in his *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles,* describes a scene at St. Paul's Cross in London of that year wherein several "bishops and diverse doctors" were being released from the Tower with Baldwin in the crowd, clamoring for them and other Catholics to be hanged:

> Anno 1563, in Septembre, the old byshopes and dyver doctors wer removyd owt of ye Towre in to the newe byshopes howssys, ther to remayn prysonars undar theyr custody (the plage then beynge in ye citie was thowght to be ye

caws), but theyr delyveraunce (or rathar chaunge of prison) dyd so myche offend ye people that ye prechars at Poulls Crosse and on othar placis bothe of ye citie and cuntrie prechyd (as it was thowght of many wysse men) verie sedyssyowsly, as Baldwyn at Powlls Cros wyshyng a galows set up in Smythefyld and ye old byshops and othar papestis to be hangyd theron. Hym selfe died of ye plague the next weke aftar.[37]

He was most likely buried at St. Michael le Quern which burned down in the Great Fire of London in 1666.

Aside from a dearth of verifiable biographical record, what makes the figure of such a prominent and widely published author like Baldwin so difficult to identify? Robert Maslen posits that Baldwin's writing and narrative styles themselves are obscuring factors that make his identity difficult to grasp. Baldwin engages in multiple voices, and as a result, his own voice often proves difficult to place and identify. If one compares this approach to the construction of voices to that of one of the greatest English writers of the generation before Baldwin, a writer he would have seen as a model, Thomas More, the comparison begins to reveal a departure from an established contemporaneous style. More's greatest works are structured as dialogues with More himself as a character. These personae of More, however, are highly fictionalized and often deliberately misleading. However, when writing about heretical matters, More would often adopt a persona that allowed him

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[37] James Gairdner and John Stow, *Three fifteenth-century chronicles, with historical memoranda by John Stowe, the antiquary, and contemporary notes of occurances written by him in the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., [1965], 1880)**.**

to maintain a personal distance that achieved a rhetorical end—"to force the reader's attention to [his] actual agency in the struggle against Protestant error . . . [manifesting] itself in savage asides which make clear More's own loathing of heresy and of heretics, 'the devils stinking martyrs, well worthy to be burned.'"[38]

In *A Mirror for Magistrates*, Baldwin manipulates the multiplicity of voices in a similar way to More's approach, distancing himself from the subject matter and obscuring his true intent amongst the reader's perceptions of radical idealism. Sherri Geller refers to this approach as Historical Pyrrhonism, whereby "Baldwin, the printing house employee, is imposed upon by a superior, the printer who is himself guided by the recommendation of his unnamed superiors."[39] Baldwin distances himself initially, but in the 1559 and 1563 editions, takes more responsibility for authorship.

Amidst this multiplicity of voices, and at the same time removed from them, we find Baldwin, "the most significant mid-Tudor author."[40] Politically, amidst the turmoil and changing allegiances in the Tudor age, this removal was probably very prudent. Many narratives of Baldwin's are presented as mere translations. For Baldwin, print had become a transformative force from what was a largely oral Renaissance education. To this end, Jennifer Richards invites us to:

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[38] Eamon Duffy, *Reformation Divided* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2017), 38.

[39] Sherri Geller, "What History Really Teaches: Historical Pyrrhonism in William Baldwin's *A Mirror for Magistrates,"* in *Opening the Borders: Inclusivity in Early Modern Studies,* ed. Peter C. Herman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 155.

[40] R. W. Maslen, "William Baldwin and the Tudor Imagination," in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Kathy Shrank (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2011), 292.

imagine Baldwin engaging in the reading activities designed to help him become a fluent reader, writer, *and* speaker of Latin: matching emotions to types of voice; varying the intonation and the meaning of the Latin sentences as he pronounced them; uttering 'every dialogue' . . . in a lively fashion.[41]

She argues that he may have utilized these skills in preparing scripts in the print shop, reading them aloud in his office as a corrector. The act of speaking and listening would carry over into the *Book of Common Prayer*, where the liturgy was *not* in Latin, but meant to be heard and understood by parishioners. She focuses her work on the vocality of Baldwin's writing, an element "to which he so insistently draws our attention, and which we just as insistently ignore."[42] Baldwin is writing for the spoken voice.

Richards points to *Beware the Cat* as a reference point for Baldwin's mode of writing for voice. In *Beware*, the narrator is a cat named "Mouse-Slayer" whose story is being translated and retold by Master Streamer, who is being transcribed by Baldwin, who is revising it to print. The complications of the text may be a commentary on the oral tradition of the Catholic Church—they certainly amount to a bizarre interplay of speech, writing, and print and they amount, for Richards, to "Baldwin's unease with *prosopopoeia*."[43] As readers, we are implicated in its vocality as well.

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[41] Jennifer Richards, "Reading and Listening to William Baldwin," in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 73.
[42] Ibid., 74.
[43] Ibid., 77.

Richards sees the two prefaces of the 1559 *Mirror* as competing modes of reading, "one silently and studiously, the other aloud."[44] The second preface dwells on ideas of oral reading amongst the *Mirror* poets, and Richards suggests that an affective reading of the moral-political works must involve the aural effect of the speakers. Baldwin's ability to pivot between the oral traditions of rhetoric in his humanist education and the creative uses of the mechanical elements of the new print medium contribute to John King's assertion that Baldwin was "the preeminent imaginative writer of the English reformation."[45] *A History of such Princes* emerged at the same time as John Bale's *Vocacyon.* Though Baldwin's approach was much different, both men saw themselves as divinely inspired poets. Bale writes with apocalyptic anger while Baldwin employs a "cosmopolitan wit."[46] Bale's approach stemmed from his place in the tradition of oral rhetoric and personal confrontation, whereas Baldwin, "a charter member of the Stationer's Guild" was so deeply ingrained in the printing trade that he could skillfully manipulate the medium while catering it to the public taste of the times.[47] Baldwin utilizes printer's typographical resources throughout his works, employing larger typeface for his prefatory letters and extending them through the entirety of a text, creating a running self-commentary that blurs the lines between primary and secondary text and

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[44] Ibid., 82.

[45] John N. King, "Baldwin, William (d. in or before 1563)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Online ed., Ed. Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press), n.p.

[46] Meredith Ann Skura, *Tudor Autobiography: Listening for Inwardness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 74.

[47] Skura, *Tudor Autobiography*, 75.

problematizes the primacy of competing narratives. (See fig. 8.) His extensive

marginalia do the same, creating a polyphony of voices throughout the text
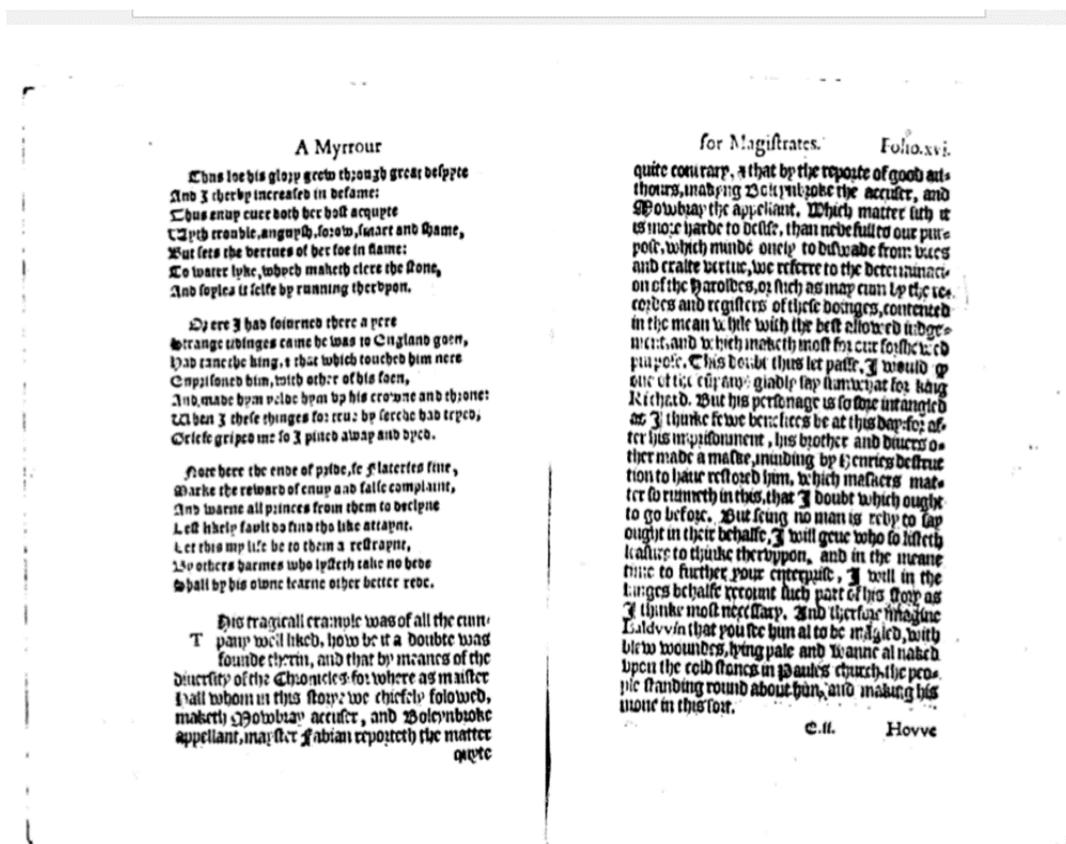
Figure 8: A sample page from *A Mirror for Magistrates* showing alternating textual sizes of type. Note that the verses on the left side are in a smaller type than the prose at the bottom of the same page and the page opposite.[48]

that seem out of place in the mid-fifteenth century. Baldwin's use of multiple voices presages narrative techniques that a contemporary reader might find to be more fitting in twentieth-century postmodern fiction.[49]

The Sign of the Sun was a London printing house on Fleet Street owned by Edward Whitchurch. He sold it to John Wayland in 1553. Wayland was a staunch Catholic from Middlesex who had taken a hiatus from the printing profession but returned upon securing a seven-year patent to print all of England's primers and prayer books. He also began to print several secular projects, the first of which was an edition of John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes.* [50] In addition to the Sign of the Sun, Wayland also inherited William Baldwin, and it was here that he would apply his printer's resources to the compositions that would lead to the creation of *A Mirror for Magistrates.*

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[49] Jane Griffiths, in her book *Diverting Authorities*, further discusses Baldwin's use of a multiplicity of voices. In a chapter entitled "A Broil of Voices," she writes that "the glosses [in Baldwin's earlier book, *Beware the Cat*] initially appear quite conventional, , , [but] are far from providing straightforward mediation." Baldwin "creates an emphasis on the process of making the book which allows Baldwin to explore the very different kinds of authority inherent in the spoken and the written word, and thereby the way in which print affects the meaning of the texts it transmits." Griffiths, 125-129.

[50] Paul Budra, *A Mirror for Magistrates and the De Casibus Tradition* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 3.

CHAPTER III:

BOCHAS AND THE *DE CASIBUS* TRADITION

"Whenever anyone's situation seems to be taken for granted by ever-turning Fortune, then in the midst of this unfortunate credulity, she is preparing a trap."[1]

—Giovanni Boccaccio

"Where rulers may see in a mirrour clere

The bitter frute of false concupiscence

How Iewry bought Vrias death full dere.

In princes harts Gods scourge imprinted depe

Ought them awake, out out of their sinfull slepe."

—Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey
"The Great Macedon" (1549)[2]

Paul Budra's 2000 study, *A Mirror for Magistrates and The De Casibus Tradition,* locates the publication of the *Mirror* within a larger tradition of literature and sociopolitical commentary that stems from a literary tradition perhaps best exemplified by Giovanni Boccaccio's fourteenth-century collection, *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*.[3] The *Mirror,* as its title suggests, reflects the values, mores, and

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[1] Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Fates of Illustrious Men*, Trans. Lewis Brewer Hall (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1965), 242.

[2] Surrey's passage is taken from a commendatory poem, "The Great Macedon," praising the paraphrasing of the Psalms by Sir Thomas Wyatt. Scott Lucas makes a brilliant comparison between this poem and Baldwin's commendatory sonnet to Christopher Langdon's *Very Brefe Treatise . . . of Phisick* (April 1547) that proposes Baldwin may have considered "The Great Macedon" when he selected the title *A Mirror for Magistrates*. I will discuss Baldwin's relationship to the traditions of Surrey and Wyatt further, but for more on this particular passage, see Scott C. Lucas, "A Renaissance Man and His 'Medieval' Text: William Baldwin and *A Mirror for Magistrates,*" in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context*, eds. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 17-34.

[3] It is important here to differentiate between the *de casibus* tradition of Boccaccio and the broader genre of *speculum* literature, or *advice to princes*. The chief example of the latter tradition is, of course, *The*

qualities of idealized leadership in an age of Reformation, penned by a collective of Protestant poets. The long development of *de casibus* literature stretches from antiquity through the Middle Ages, and the *Mirror* finds itself situated in a broader historical context from the Mid-Tudor age, when the stability of the monarchy seemed to be in danger, to the late Tudor period of Elizabeth's reign. These shifts in power and the commentary that the *Mirror* provided on them connects the *Mirror* to the earlier *de casibus* tradition.

Boccaccio most likely completed *De Casibus Illustrium Virorum* in 1358. In terms of the longer tradition, Boccaccio's work marks a transition between the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance, and as such, registers qualities of both. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were the time of the great tyrants of Italy. The death in 1250 of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen created a power vacuum, and Italian city-states began struggling for that power, each helmed by a dictator. In Florence, Walter de Brienne ruled from 1343-1348—Boccaccio, a native of Florence, tells his story in *De Casibus*.

The Florence of Boccaccio's day had become a commercial capital. The florin was the world standard of currency, and banking and lending brought the city to prosperity until an economic depression and plague brought the city down by 1348

Prince by Machiavelli, but the *speculum* genre extended far beyond late medieval Europe and can be found in early Greek and Indian texts as well as in Byzantine and Islamic works. The *speculum* text acts as a general guideline to princes and rulers—a sort of textbook, whereas the *de casibus* specifically features woes and tribulations of fallen and disgraced leaders who appear to the author, often in ghostly form, to warn or persuade a prince, tyrant, or magistrate against committing the fallen ruler's particular crime or vice.

(Boccaccio describes the plague at the start of the *Decameron*). *De Casibus* was a reaction to the excesses that led to Florence's downfall.

De Casibus embraces a pastoral ideal (demonstrated through voluntary poverty) as an antidote to the type of destructive materialism that brought down Boccaccio's home of Florence. It also presents a concept of state that had been envisioned in the fourteenth century through the writings of Marsiglio of Padua and later in Machiavelli's *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Livy.* Boccaccio's work illustrated the ideals he hoped to convey in reaction to the excesses of Florence, and "by means of their [Roman Emperors'] stories, Boccaccio demonstrated that the rewards of license had always been the same and had always been governed by the laws of a single, universal ethic."[4] In other words, by close scrutiny of the downfall of ancients, we are able to recognize those same qualities in leaders throughout history and amend them or avoid them altogether. William Baldwin and the writers of the *Mirror* would seize upon this ethic and adapt it for their own age, updating Boccaccio's stories with tales from England.

Boccaccio tells these stories (of Tiberius, Gaius Caligula, Nero Claudius Caesar, Aulus Vitellius Caesar, etc.), yet he speaks of the Romans as ancients, not as contemporaries.[5] In doing so, Boccaccio broke away from the conventional approach to historical writing of his contemporaneous writers.[6] Boccaccio also

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[4] Lewis Brewer Hall, "Introduction," in Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Fates of Illustrious Men*, Trans. Lewis Brewer Hall (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1965), vii.

[5] For further clarification of the types of figures that Boccaccio included, I have included a list of all the figures included in *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* at the end of this dissertation in Appendix A.

[6] The conventions of biography that Boccaccio is wrestling with date back into antiquity—I am reminded of Plutarch's introduction to the life of Alexander: "It is the life of Alexander the king, and of Caesar, who

strays from the biographical writers of his time (Petrarch, Dante, etc.) by presenting

his stories as bound to one another through a "vision framework"—a device similar

to one he also used in *Decameron.* In each of these works, Boccaccio sets the stories

he tells within another story. In *Decameron*, ten people who have fled the plague

take turns telling stories over the course of ten nights. In *De Casibus*, Boccaccio

becomes the narrator and protagonist of his own work. As a narrator/character,

Boccaccio is at this study, when he begins to see visions of the illustrious figures

from history who have suffered their great falls. The vision framework allows

Boccaccio to write from a historical perspective that presents historical order of

time and makes the reader feel natural in the book's overarching determination that

all rulers meet the same end.

That message, apparently, resonated with readers of *De Casibus*, even in

translation, as they were able to assimilate the lessons in Boccaccio's work to their

own political situations. In 1408, *de Casibus*, along with Aristotle, Seneca, Cicero,

Gregory the Great, Thomas Aquinas, St. Augustine and others, was cited in the

defense of John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, for the brutal assassination in the

streets of Paris of Louis I, Duke of Orléans—"Scarcely nothing is more acceptable to

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overthrew Pompey, that I am writing in this book, and the multitude of the deeds to be treated is so great that I shall make no other preface than to entreat my readers, in case I do not tell of all the famous actions of these men, nor even speak exhaustively at all in each particular case, but in epitome for the most part, not to complain. For it is not Histories that I am writing, but Lives; and in the most illustrious deeds there is not always a manifestation of virtue or vice, nay, a slight thing like a phrase or a jest often makes a greater revelation of character than battles when thousands fall, or the greatest armaments, or sieges of cities. Accordingly, just as painters get the likenesses in their portraits from the face and the expression of the eyes, wherein the character shows itself, but make very little account of the other parts of the body, so I must be permitted to devote myself rather to the signs of the soul in men, and by means of these to portray the life of each, leaving to others the description of their great contests.

God than the offering of the blood of a tyrant."[7] The moral didacticism and

ideological service of the *De Casibus* tradition clearly goes beyond that of simply

imaginative literature, performing a cultural function that empowered readers to

view their leaders through a larger historiographical (or historiopoetic) lens.

 De Casibus Illustrium Virorum was first printed in 1420 in Strasbourg by

Georg Husner in an early round, semi-Gothic type. The last printing was in 1544. In

its own time, the work became the best known of Boccaccio's writings, and it "gave

Boccaccio his earliest reputation."[8] That reputation as a daring and influential writer

of prose comes from Boccaccio's skill as a storyteller, but also from his selection of

subjects—he used mainly characters from classical history, deviating from the

Christianized canon of illustrious men established by St. Jerome and continued by

writers such as Isidore. Because of its immense popularity and subsequent

translations and reprinting across the continent and in England, *De Casibus*

maintained Boccaccio's reputation as a storyteller, but more than that, *De Casibus*

helped to "transmit medieval concepts into the Renaissance."[9]

 The best-known of these concepts of *De Casibus* is the mutability of

Fortune.[10] The illustrious figures, through their vices, bring adverse fortune upon

themselves. They avoid catastrophe by adhering to virtue—the chief of which

Boccaccio names as poverty— "voluntary poverty endured for the love of God"—an

important ideal echoed by Chaucer, John Wyclif and the Lollards, and in Thomas

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[7] Hall, vii.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid., ix.
[10] This concept was popularized in Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*—the "Wheel of Fortune."

More's *Utopia.*[11] The virtues enumerated in *De Casibus* would continue to help future generations define what "nobility" would mean for the ruling classes.[12]

On the nature of his noble subjects, Boccaccio asserted that the nobility they possessed came from *within* them rather than because of their lineage. Boccaccio writes:

> Nobility is nothing more than a glorious splendor, shining in the eyes of those directly beholding it, because of an elegance of manner as well as courtliness. It arises from a certain habit of will in the soul . . . [Not] because of famous statues of ancestors does nobility dwell in the house of the descendants. Wherever it may be found, nobility is only delighted by purity of the mind.[13]

Nobility is not some innate quality, Boccaccio tells us, that stems from divine right to rule. When a leader eschews vice and embraces virtue and purity in manner, then the qualities of nobility shine through. Most importantly, it is an *observable* quality that derives from a relationship and a dialogue with the beholder, not merely with the subject. Such a notion of give and take between ruler and subject represents the kind of philosophical shift that Boccaccio demonstrates between the medieval and the modern ages.

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[11] Ibid., x.

[12] Boethian philosophy is also an important source of influence on these ideals and on the pedigree of thinking. English translations of Boethius go as far back as the ninth century translation of *Consolation of Philosophy* attributed to King Alfred the Great. For a detailed discussion of English language translations of Boethius, see Brian Donaghey et al., *Remaking Boethius* (Tempe, AZ and Turnhout, Belgium: ACMRS and Brepols, forthcoming).

[13] Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Fates of Illustrious Men*, Trans. Lewis Brewer Hall (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1965), 148.

Alongside the mutability of Fortune, Boccaccio also relates the ways in which

vice and virtue influence one's fame and renown. In the chapter on Petrarch,

Boccaccio writes that "while it [renown] is sought in different ways, it is acquired

only through virtue. Therefore, if someone condemns renown, he must necessarily

condemn the practice of virtue."[14] In other words, only someone of great virtue will

have lasting fame, so we need not scorn that fame once granted, lest we scorn the

virtuous principles that lead that person to it. While good (or bad) Fortune may be

fleeting, *De Casibus* suggests that fame, *real* fame, the kind that results from the

practice of virtue, has a longer life: "Renown makes very long our too brief span of

mortal life, and as if she gave us another life, she bears witness to the honors earned

by one who is dead."[15] Boccaccio, in making these claims, signals a shift in thought

concerning Fortune's role in the destiny of great figures. He places the onus instead

upon those figures to cultivate their own destiny through their moral choices

toward embracing vice or virtue—a clear shift toward an early modern

philosophical understanding of the subjective role of destiny that would be echoed

by the poets of *Mirror for Magistrates* as it is in the *Mirror*'s tragedy of Lord

Mowbray:

> I blame not Fortune though she dyd her parte,
>
> And true it is she can doo lytell harme,
>
> She gydeth goods, she hampreth not the harte,
>
> A virtuous mynde is safe from euery charme:

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[14] Ibid., 204.
[15] Ibid.

Vyce, onely vyce, with her stoute strengthless arme,

Doth cause the harte to euyll to enclyne,

Whiche I alas, doo fynde to true by myne.[16]

Boccaccio also uses the characters' tragedies to consider other concepts that would be taken up by later writers in the early modern age. His concepts of government, for instance, echo in Book V of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* and history plays. Boccaccio's ideas about poetry and the poet are reflected in Sidney's *Defense of Poesie*. Boccaccio seems to bridge ideas of his own time with those that would become commonly accepted in the century that followed. Boccaccio scholar and translator Lewis Brewer Hall notes that *De Casibus* "provided a transition between medieval drama and that of the sixteenth century."[17] Characters in Boccaccio's work are punished on Earth rather than in Hell—a fundamental shift in the treatment of vice in Western literary history that would be reflected in early modern English drama. The closing chapter of the work sums up this sentiment that punishment gets played out in the worldly realm; but more importantly, the conclusion teaches readers the medieval lesson that the fates of the subjects fall not upon the machinations of men, but upon the twists and wills of Fortune: "And if it happens that you are overthrown, then know it occurred not because of your gift, but rather by the iniquity of changing Fortune."[18]

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[16] William Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates: Edited from Original Texts in the Huntington Library*, ed. Lily B. Campbell (1938; reprint, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), 102

[17] Lewis Brewer Hall, "Introduction," in Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Fates of Illustrious Men*, Trans. Lewis Brewer Hall (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1965), xi.

[18] Boccaccio, 243.

When John Lydgate set about to translate Boccaccio for the book he would

call *The Fall of Prynces* (1430-1438), rather than translate directly from the Latin

source, he worked from a fifteenth-century French translation of *De Casibus*

Illustrium Virorum by Laurent de Premierfait. Premierfait (c. 1370-1418) was a

French humanist and Latin poet who translated several works of antiquity into

French. Premierfait had translated *De Casibus* first in 1400, then expanded his

translation nine years later as *De Cas de Nobles Hommes et Femmes.*[19] This second

version was a much looser translation that had been augmented considerably from

Boccaccio's original Latin verse.

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, lord protector of England under Henry VI,

who was nine months old when his father, Henry V, died at Bois de Vincennes

during the French Wars, asked Lydgate to publish an English translation of *De*

Casibus. Lydgate, a peasant-born monk from Suffolk who had been ordained in 1397,

used Premierfait's second translation as his source material. Lydgate worked for six

years on the translation and produced over 36,000 lines of pentameter in Rhyme

Royal, taking liberties with his source material just as Premierfait had done before

him with Boccaccio's. He made deletions and expansions, as well as "various

patriotic changes to ensure that the English rulers were represented in a better light

than they had been by both Premierfait and Boccaccio."[20] Also, with his patron

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[19] There are, at the time of writing, fifty remaining illuminated manuscript copies of *De Cas de Nobles Hommes et Femmes* extant. For a greater discussion of Laurent de Premierfait's translations of Boccaccio, see Anne D. Hedeman, *Translating the Past: Laurent de Premierfait and Boccaccio's "De casibus"* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008).

[20] Budra, *A Mirror for Magistrates and the de casibus Tradition,* 6.

Gloucester—who was also a translator in his own right—in mind, Lydgate shows in his *Fall* a hierarchical system of governance, beginning with Adam over Eve (see fig. 9), and makes it clear that he intends his work for princes, to counsel them on how to rule "wisely, well, and absolutely over their subjects," emphasizing the necessity of obedience.[21]
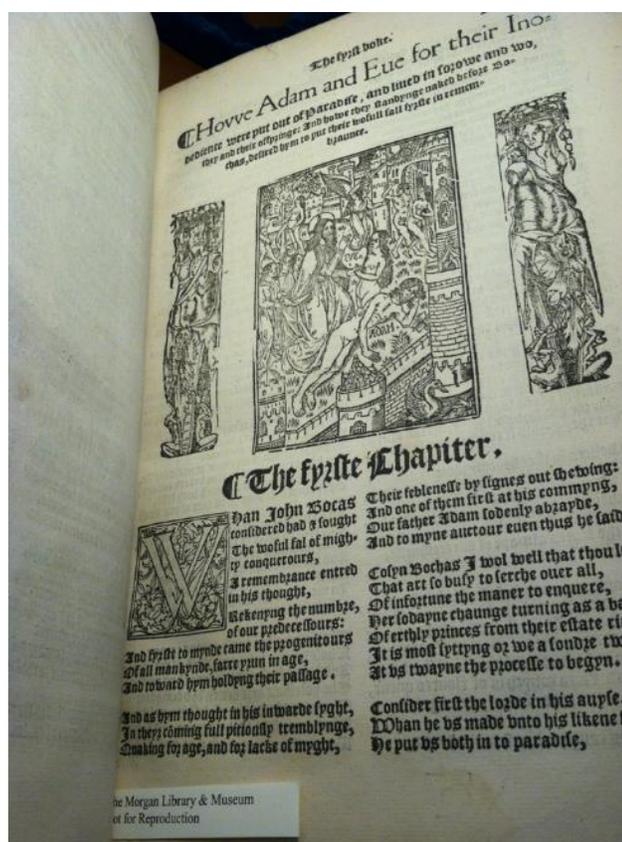
Figure 9: The first chapter—Adam and Eve—from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*. Photo by Michael T. Sirles, taken at The Morgan Library and Museum, New York City. Not for Reproduction.

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[21] Jessica Winston, "Rethinking absolutism: English *de Casibus* tragedy in the 1560s" in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 201.

Fall of Princes was the printer John Wayland's first major secular project. Boccaccio's Latin text was never widely read in England, so Lydgate's version (published under Boccaccio's name) became the standard edition for English readers. Initially, *The Fall of Princes* was released in manuscript form, but Richard Pynson printed it in a folio edition in 1494, and then again in 1527. It achieved enough popularity that by 1554, both Wayland and Richard Tottel would reprint an edition. Wayland based his version on Pynson's 1527 edition. Wayland's volume, thanks in part to "a corrector by the name of William Baldwin," would prove to be "the superior book."[22]

This "superior book" would find John Wayland in want of a follow-up, and that task would take form in *A Mirror for Magistrates.* The *Mirror* would be a book of new poems that would adhere to an old form. But the *De Casibus* form that Lydgate presented to the sixteenth-century poets of the *Mirror* had dual sources—one, of course, was Boccaccio by way of Premierfait, but the other, Paul Budra argues, was Chaucer, "who categorized the accumulated stories of the *de casibus* tradition by their narrative arc rather than moral purpose, calling them tragedies and expecting them to invoke sympathy."[23]

The *Mirror* had clear sources, but in addition, it also had some clear predecessors. Before the publication of the *Mirror,* several writers composed works that followed up *The Fall of Princes* in the form of single complaints. Some of these

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[22] Budra, *A Mirror for Magistrates and the de casibus Tradition,* 8.

[23] Paul Budra, "A miserable tyme full of piteous tragedyes," in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 40.

single works include "Ruefull Lamentation" by Thomas More in 1495, John Skelton's

"King Edward the Forth," and David Lindsay's "Tragedye of Father David" (ca. 1546).

Baldwin, however, takes the complaints of the *Mirror* and binds them to a structure

of historiography that exceeds the "poesie" of other *de Casibus* writers before him.

Additionally, Baldwin's ghosts separate themselves from their older *de Casibus*
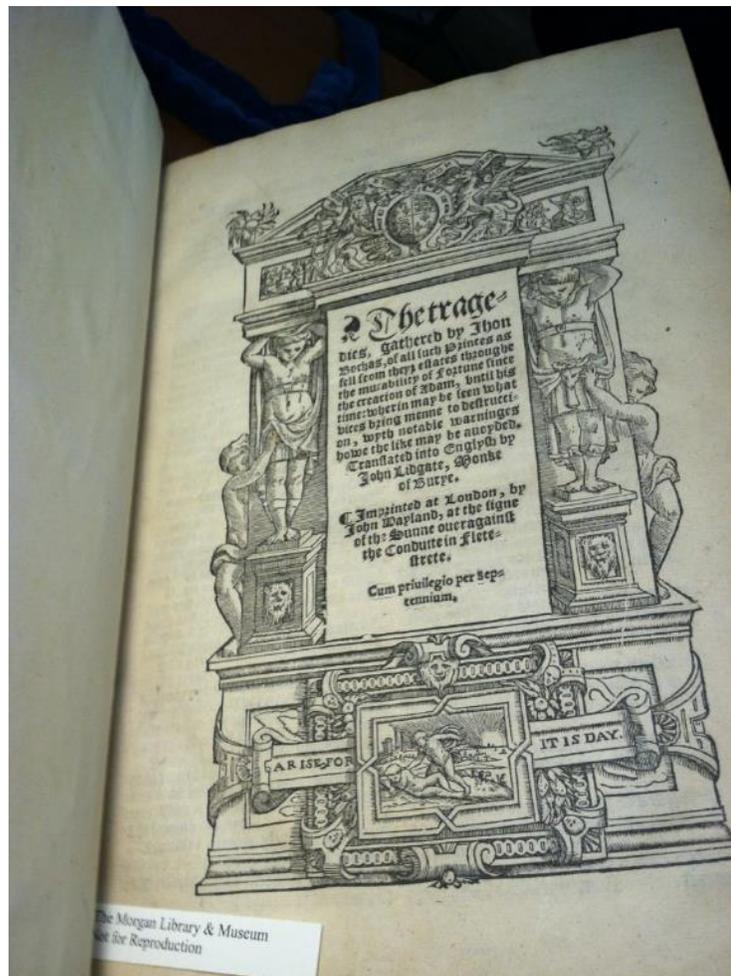
Figure 10: Title page of Wayland's printing of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes.* Photo by Michael T. Sirles, taken at The Morgan Library and Museum, New York City. Not for Reproduction.

models by developing a new model wherein they are responsible for their own downfalls, rather than owing them to Fortune as had been the convention for previous *de Casibus* writers.

The subjects of Baldwin's *Mirror* grapple with this distinction—in the tragedy of Jack Cade, for instance, we see the titular character trying to decide whether it is Fortune's wheel or his own vices and actions that have been the source of his downfall:

Shal I cal it Fortune or my froward folly

That lifted me, and layed me downe below?

Or was it courage that me made so Ioly,

Which of the starres and bodyes grement grow?

What euer it were this one point sure I know,

Which shal be mete for euery man to marke:

Our lust and wils our evils chefely warke.[24]

The final poem of the 1559 edition provides another key—and perhaps more direct—example of how the *Mirror* project took older work and altered it to make the case for the role of vice in the fall of famed figures. The poem had originally been penned by John Skelton, but it was then reproduced thirty years after his death by the *Mirror* group. The poem, entitled "On the Death of the Noble Prince King Edward the Fourth," had been published in 1545 in a volume of Skelton's work printed by

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[24] William Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates: Edited from Original Texts in the Huntington Library*, ed. Lily B. Campbell (1938; reprint, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), 171.

Richard Lant for Henry Tab.[25] The title of the poem was altered, however, from

Skelton's original to "How king Edward through his surfeting and vntemperate life,

sodainly died in he mids of his prosperity." Not a very subtle change. What had

started as an elegiac poem to a noble prince became transformed into a heavy-

handed didactic propaganda piece about a tragic fall. Paul Budra finds puzzling that

"a saint-invoking poem written by a Catholic subdeacon, deacon, and priest with a

deep and abiding hatred of the New Lutheranism" would be presented to end a

work intended to prop up Protestant politics.[26] It may have been included out of

convenience in order to complete the work, or out of respect for "Maister Skelton."

Budra suggests, however, that it was included for its emotional impact upon the

reader and that it has a strategically epitaphic tone that recalls the attitude of

contemptus mundi "that informed the tragic teleology of the *de casibus* tradition";

thus, the closing poem connects the *Mirror* to Lydgate, Chaucer, and Boccaccio.[27]

Scott Lucas writes that "Baldwin himself was unmistakably the intellectual

product of the European Renaissance, an ardent admirer of humanist learning and

Renaissance verse forms."[28] However, Baldwin was unique in his approach to timely

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[25] John Skelton, *Here after foloweth certayne bokes, co[m]pyled by mayster Skelton, Poet Laureat* (Printed at London: by Richard Lant for Henry Tab dwelling in Pauls churchyard at the sygne of Iudith, 1545), *Early English Books Online*. There is some question as to the authorship of Edward IV's elegy. The *Mirror* poets credit it to Skelton, as does Lant and Tab's 1545 edition of Skelton's works. It would be published again in 1568 in its original form by Thomas Marshe—the printer of the 1559 *Mirror for Magistrates.* For a detailed discussion of the complicated publication history of Skelton's work, see V. J. Scattergood's introduction in John Skelton and V. J. Scattergood, *The complete English poems of John Skelton* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), 1-7.
[26] Ibid., 48.
[27] Ibid., 49.
[28] Scott C. Lucas, "A Renaissance Man and his 'Medieval' Text": William Baldwin and *A Mirror for Magistrates,* 1547-1563," in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 18.

and topical issues with an amalgam of old and new; he bridged medieval and classical traditions by working with medieval materials—*de Casibus* traditions—and putting them through the lens of Renaissance attitudes, styles and innovations. Before the work began on the *Mirror for Magistrates* project, William Baldwin had been best known for his *Treatise on Morall Phylosophie* (1548), a volume written in the tradition of medieval rhetoricians like Cicero, Boethius, or Augustine and modelled after the work of Desiderius Erasmus. *A Treatise on Morall Phylosophie* and *Balades of Solomon* (1549) the following year followed a textual style of versification, translation, and commentary that was particularly Erasmian in style. For *Balades of Solomon*, Baldwin finished the work with a printer's mark that he had fashioned for himself, modeled after the mark of the printer Johann Froben, one of the principal publishers of Erasmus.

Erasmus had led the charge for a return to classical source of learning and "a new eloquence in Latin letters," and he had accomplished and nurtured that movement through promotion and example.[29] The printer's mark that Baldwin chose was specifically the mark Froben used for Erasmus's *Novum Instrumentum* (1516), the Greek New Testament translated into Latin that eclipsed Jerome's *Vulgate* in its accuracy and clarity and justified Erasmus's call to return *ad fontes.*[30]

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[29] Ibid., 19.

[30] Scott Lucas provides a lengthy and fascinating discussion of these two printers' marks in his chapter. Froben's mark had scriptural lines in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin surrounding a caduceus. Baldwin used an almost identical caduceus emblazoned with what would become his motto, "Love and Live," then an English translation of one of Froben's lines from Matthew 10:16, "Be wise and serpents and innocent as doves." The two images are nearly identical in format and style with Baldwin replacing Froben's initials with his own last name.

In aligning himself with Erasmus in this way, Baldwin kept a metaphorical foot in old traditions and in new, expressing an association with another writer adapting older work for newer purposes. Reformers took to Erasmus's call for all Christians to engage in gospel study and for scripture to be translated and made available—not only to be read but to be sung. Baldwin's translation, then, of the *Song of Songs* brings this call to fruition.

The *de casibus* works that Baldwin and company used as models are directed almost solely to princes and the nature of princely power. Baldwin uses the connecting prose passages in *Mirror*, however, to explore and convey humanist topics that go beyond the examples in Lydgate and Boccaccio and to "cultivate a magisterial class along the lines of other authors at the time. . . thinking about new models of governance."[31] Paul Budra argues for an affective reading of the *Mirror,* proposing that its predecessors, Boccaccio, Premierfait, and Lydgate, "set out to make a teleological argument through the rhetoric of accumulation."[32] Budra's reading, then, would have readers address *Mirror* as part of a larger conversation with the other authors, an addition to that polylogue that represents a shift within its early modern moment.

One of the obstacles in approaching the *Mirror* as a reader at any time, but particularly from the vantage point of the present day, is the difficulty that comes with the unique narrative frame that Baldwin used to tell the paratextual story of

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[31] Jessica Winston, "Rethinking Absolutism," 204.

[32] Paul Budra, "A miserable tyme full of piteous tragedyes," in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 39.

the *Mirror's* composition. Treating the narrative frame as a factually legitimate material object "has obscured the frame's resemblance to other early modern pseudo-nonfictional constructs such as those in More's *Utopia,* Baldwin's *Beware the Cat*, Spenser's *Shepearde's Calender*, and Nashe's *Summer's Last Will and Testament.*"[33] Rather, if we treat the frame as a unique development within the progression of English prose, we begin to see more of the ways that the *Mirror* embraced tradition yet broke with expectation to create a work that spoke to its own time.

Sherri Geller was one of the first modern scholars to acknowledge this shift through a bibliographic approach to the work that examines the ways that Campbell's edition subverted the paratextual play within the *Mirror*. The shift from the type of scholarship pursued during the New Criticism and the mid-twentieth century toward a paratextual study informed by New Bibliographic scholarship and the History of the Book has guided much of the modern critical work on the *Mirror*. Unlike Boccaccio in *De Casibus* or Dante in *Inferno*, Baldwin does not find himself accosted by ghosts—the character Baldwin is *transcribing* (according to his frame) extemporaneous storytelling from the other writers who are feigning ghostly personae.

When Baldwin invokes the ghost of a magistrate in a dream, he signals to the reader that he is drawing upon a tradition of "dream visionaries" that includes

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[33] Sherri Geller, "What History Really Teaches: Historical Pyrrhonism in William Baldwin's *A Mirror for Magistrates,"* in *Opening the Borders: Inclusivity in Early Modern Studies*, ed. Peter C. Herman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 154.

William Langland, Geoffrey Chaucer, John Skelton, and John Lydgate, but unlike

those older writers, he also incorporates a first-person narrative framework that

can be seen in the humanist satires of Erasmus and Thomas More.[34] Baldwin

explores and hones a proper mode of poetry, providing the reader with an

evaluative commentary of his own writing along the way.

Sherri Geller notes that the writers of the *Mirror* are drawing from various

historical sources like Edward Hall, Robert Fabian, and Thomas More that begin to

come into conflict with one another. Their observations result in a topical discussion

and commentary on their present time and why some authorities may be unreliable.

Boccaccio, by contrast, assumes authority for himself, relaying the ghosts' messages

in *De Casibus* as a third-person narrator.[35] He also acts as editor, silencing or

altering the voices of ghosts he finds to be suspect—the same is true in Lydgate's

translation of the French version that Baldwin and his group are working with.

The *Mirror,* by contrast, is using the poets as speakers who are imitating

ghosts. Constructing the narrative in this manner gives readers distance "from what

sympathy the ghosts' lamentations might elicit because they [the readers] are not

allowed to simply engage with the fiction of a spectral visit."[36] Also, as fervent

Protestants, the *Mirror* writers may have been uncomfortable with the idea of the

supernatural. Intentionally painting the ghosts as fictions, then, lent a portraiture to

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[34] Meredith Skura, "*A Mirror for Magistrates* and The Beginnings of English Autobiography," 31.

[35] Sherri Geller, "What History Really Teaches: Historical Pyrrhonism in William Baldwin's *A Mirror for Magistrates,*" in *Opening the Borders: Inclusivity in Early Modern Studies*, ed. Peter C. Herman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 161.

[36] Paul Budra, "A miserable tyme full of piteous tragedyes," in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 45.

the dead rather than conjuring the actual dead to visit with their departed and troubled souls.

De casibus poems, as a genre, are generally stories, usually about ancient or mythological figures of high birth and the falls that they encounter. They typically concentrate on an elite audience, and the stories focus on Fortune, demonstrating the insecurity of rank and power. The poems in the *Mirror* are composed in verse—rime royal, specifically. Fortune exists as a guiding and ruling force, and, in keeping with tradition, the subjects are *mostly* illustrious men. Jack Cade, a commoner who thinks he *should* be king, stands as a notable exception—one that allows for some play on the word *Fortune*:

> His state no Fortune by no meane appayers:
>
> For Fortune is the folly and plage of those
>
> Which to the worlde their wretched willes dispose.[37]

However, the *Mirror* differs from other *de casibus* stories in its audience, authorship, and politics. The *Mirror* has a *much* wider intended audience: magistrates in general. George Ferrers, a former MP and JP of Hertfordshire "warns magistrates to protect the law and not to use it merely to protect the powerful" in the story of Robert Tresilian, the very first tragedy of the *Mirror.*[38] These opening lines of the poetical section of the book invoke Baldwin as intercessor of the tales,

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[37] William Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates: Edited from Original Texts in the Huntington Library*, ed. Lily B. Campbell (1938; reprint, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), 172.

[38] Jessica Winston, "Rethinking absolutism: English *de Casibus* tragedy in the 1560s" in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 203.

address the mercurial nature of Fortune, but supplicate other leaders, the "Lawyers

and Iudges of the Land," to learn from their mistakes and avoid their fates:

> In the rufull Register of mischief and mishap,
>
> Baldwin we beseche thee with our names to begin,
>
> Whom vnfriendly Fortune did trayne vnto a trap,
>
> When we thought our state most stable to haue bin,
>
> So lightly leese they all which all do ween to wyn:
>
> Learne by vs ye Lawyers and Iudges of the lande
>
> Vncorrupt and vpryght in doome always to stande.[39]

The *Mirror* also breaks from tradition by subverting the traditional authorial

role. Rather than being called to compose like Chaucer's Monk or patronized like

Lydgate, the printer proposes the *Mirror* project to a group of poets, and the

complaints of the dead "are products of intentional labour."[40] Jessica Winston

argues that the politics, because of the authorial subversions, become wider and

more inclusive, moving away from the absolutism of earlier Tudor politics. Unlike

Boccaccio in *De Casibus* or Dante in *Inferno*, Baldwin does not profess to be accosted

by actual ghosts—Baldwin is *transcribing* (according to his frame) extemporaneous

storytelling from the other writers who are merely *feigning* ghostly personas. Of

course, the ghosts are a fiction, either way, but in the *Mirror*, the work itself becomes

self-aware, *acknowledging* that it is a fictional product of the authors' imaginations

and a product of their work.

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[39] Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates,* 73.
[40] Winston, 203.

Part of the innovation that takes place in the *Mirror*, as mentioned, is a shift away from the embrace of an absolutist model of governance like monarchical rule that we see in the older works of Boccaccio and others. This shift becomes evident not only in Baldwin and his company's work, but in other compositions of the day. The *Mirror*, instead, portrays the prince as but one part of a larger system of governance needed in order for the realm to operate, an idea consistent with William Bavand's *Good Ordering of the Commonweal*, a work also published in 1559—a translation of a Lutheran-inspired German author who "presents magistrates as the backbone of an orderly society and aims, like the *Mirror*, to help magistrates to 'be put in remembrance of their duties.'"[41] The *Mirror* and other works of its day envisioned a magisterial class and a shift in the model of governing from feudal to bureaucratic.

To this end, Archer and Hadfield argue that the use of the word *Magistrates* in the title indicates an attempt to reach a wider audience that the *Speculum Principis* genre of advising kings and rulers specifically. The word *magistrates*, on the other hand, shifts toward a broader governing class "including all governors from lowly Justices of the Peace in shires, to powerful first ministers advising the monarch . . . [and therefore] hints at an attempt to spread the language of politics more widely."[42] The view that the *Mirror* espoused, that governors needed to lead with fairness and wisdom and a responsibility toward the people was a bit of a

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[41] Ibid., 204.
[42] Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield, "Introduction," in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 5.

radical turn to its readers, who had long been accustomed to the notion of

absolutism in governance under an authoritative monarch.

The *Mirror* poets were also writing on the eve of a great rebirth of dramatic

tragedy.[43] Twelve of the 1559 *Mirror* poems are referred to as tragic. Thomas

Sackville, a *Mirror* contributor, would go on to co-write *Gorboduc*, the 1561 political

play widely considered to be "the first Senecan-style English play, the first blank-

verse drama, the 'first real English tragedy.'"[44] Many of the *Mirror* poems appear in a

dramatic setting and are delivered dramatically. Many cite Seneca as Baldwin and

company's influence for dramatic tragedy. The *Mirror* poets, then, according to

Budra, helped to facilitate the birth of the great dramatic tragedies of the late

Elizabethan period, but rather than evoking an Aristotelian sense of fear and dread,

the English tragedies they influenced would seek to reinforce a didactic sense of

morality.

In the paratextual frame narrative that appears just before the tragedy of

"Richard Plantagenet duke of York," a strange thing happens in the narrative.

Baldwin writes:

> Whyle he was deuisyng thereon, and every man seking farder notes, I looked
>
> on the Cronicles, and fynding styl fyelde vpon fyelde, & manye noble men

---

[43] Baldwin's conception of tragedy stems from a tradition that has roots in Boethius by way of Chaucer—a tradition that places Fortune very much at the hand of the tragic fate. This tradition would further extend into the works of Shakespeare and Marlowe. A detailed discussion of this lineage of tradition can be found in Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Ideas and Forms of Tragedy from Aristotle to the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[44] Laura Estill, "New contexts for early Tudor plays: William Briton, an early reader of *Gorboduc*," *Early Theatre* no. 2 (2013): 197.

slayne, I purposed to haue ouerpassed all, for I was so wearye that I waxed

drowsye, and began in dede to slumber: but my imaginacion styll prosutyng

this tragicall matter, brought me suche a fantasy.[45]

Baldwin then relays a story about having a dream of seeing a headless man holding

a child's hand standing before the group. This vision is no longer the *Mirror* group

imitating ghosts who are relaying their stories. In this narrative, Baldwin has

actually dozed off waiting for the next poet to begin and is having a dream all on his

own. Jessica Winston looks at the episode wherein Baldwin nods off as emblematic

of readings of early *Mirror* editions: "tediously repetitive or unexpectedly

intriguing."[46] As the best verse of the Drab Age and a political collection of radical

commentary works, the *Mirror* remains a book that "everyone thinks is dull, but

which is about as radical and subversive as anything produced in the period."[47]

Winston further argues that the *Mirror* reworks the *de casibus* genre as a

pointed criticism on the absolutist model of governance. The criticism of absolutism

that Winston's reading presents would, according to her, influence many English

neoclassical tragedies that typified the mode of 1560s dramatic composition. Among

such tragedies, we find Jasper Heywood's translation of Seneca's *Troas* (1559),

Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton's collaborative effort *Gorboduc* (1561/2),

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[45] Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates,* 181.

[46] Jessica Winston, "Rethinking absolutism: English *de Casibus* tragedy in the 1560s" in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 199.

[47] Ibid., 199. It is worth noting here that Mike Pincombe sees the recent approach to *Mirror* criticism by regarding it as fundamentally radical literature as problematic because it colors the *Mirror* poets as free speech champions in a way that is anachronistic and out of step with the societal standards of the day. It also unites the group in a way that de-emphasizes the role of Baldwin himself. Pincombe argues that Baldwin actually uses his narrative frame to *de-politicize* the work.

Alexander Neville's translation of Seneca's *Oedipus* (1563), and George Gascoigne

and Francis Kinwelmersh's *Jocasta* (1566).

Jasper Heywood's translation of Seneca's *Troas*, one example of a *Mirror*-

inspired neoclassical drama, would expand Senecan themes and use the language of

the *Mirror* to rework Senecan tragedy into *de casibus* drama. The play presents

Hecuba as a victim of Fortune and guides the audience to consider her misfortunes.

The first chorus ends with lines that describe the work's moral function of revealing

the vices that bring about the downfall of a great leader:

> A mirrour is to teach you what you are
>
> Your wavering wealth, O princes, here is seen.
>   (II. 55-6)[48]

Compare that passage of *Troas* to this stanza from the *Mirror*'s "King Richard the

Second", and we see similar themes and even similar phrasing developing into a

mode of mid-Tudor tragedy that has adapted the *de casibus* genre for a Renaissance

humanist age wherein a prince's virtues and vices carry more weight that Fate's

wheel:

> Happy is the prince that hath in welth the grace
>
> To followe virtue, keping vices vnder,
>
> But wo to him whose will hath wisdomes place:
>
> For who so renteth right and law a sunder
>
> On him at length loe, al the world shall wunder,

---

[48] Quoted in Jessica Winston, "Rethinking absolutism: English *de Casibus* tragedy in the 1560s" in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 207.

Hygh byrth, choyse fortune, force, nor Princely mace

Can warrant King or Keysar fro the case,

Shame sueth sinne, as rayne drops do the thunder.

Let Princes therfore virtuous life embrace

That wilfull pleasures cause them not to blunder.[49]

The delay in the *Mirror*'s initial publication may have taken the emotional bite out of some of the tragedies. The original work was penned by "a group that has seen its hopes dashed and is trying to rationalise defeat."[50] But by 1559, the moment had passed, a Protestant queen was on the throne, and the title had been changed to *A Mirror for Magistrates.*

The *Mirror* has, for too long, been treated primarily as an artifact of history. It has been relegated to the footnotes of history—not metaphorically, but quite literally—as generations have moved further and further away from seeing it as an important volume of imaginative literature, despite the recent growing popularity in Tudor history nostalgia within popular culture.

The *Mirror* poets, William Baldwin in particular, used the vision framework of the piece to alter the late medieval form of *De Casibus* literature and redefine nobility for a changing early modern audience. Baldwin had studied the older Latin and Italian verse forms and knew them well—however, he inserted a paratextual play into the framework of the storytelling that constituted a significant departure

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[49] Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, 111-112. The injunction to avoid vice and to cultivate virtue is the same given by Philosophia to Boethius at the end of the *Consolation of Philosophy*, Book V.
[50] Paul Budra, "A miserable tyme full of piteous tragedyes," in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 46

from late medieval traditions and reworked the form into a discourse upon the

mutability of Fortune for a class of magistrates that extended far beyond Boccaccio's

audience of princes and rulers and into a larger egalitarian field of leaders that

transcended class and royalty, encompassing an idea of leadership more suitable to

this early modern moment.

Certainly, *A Mirror for Magistrates* owes a great debt to Boccaccio's *De

Casibus Virorum Illustrium.* The writers of the *Mirror*, however, adapted that

tradition to a new and evolving age in the early modern period. If the *Mirror*

represents, as this dissertation posits, a crossroads in Western culture, then the

literary element of that crossroads places the work between the late medieval

traditions of Boccaccio, Petrarch and Petrarch and the early modern works that

would follow from the translation of Seneca and tragedies of Sackville or Gascoigne

to the tragic and historic works of Spenser or Shakespeare. The *Mirror* poets also

utilized their poetic form and tradition to anticipate a departure from the absolutist

form of government typified by medieval monarchical rule and the move toward a

decentralized and egalitarian form of government that would begin to bud and

blossom during the early modern period.

CHAPTER IV:

CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE COURT OF KING EDWARD VI

"Sith we all already are gilty of murder,

Ceas we all for Gods sake, to sin any furder,

O sleys not our Soverayne, our most noble Queen,

Whose match in vertue hath seldome be seen,

But pray the almighty her life to defend.

Repent, recompence, pray, pay, and amend.

For if our sins send her to her brother,

Swift vengeance wil folow, let none looke for other."

—William Baldwin, *The funeralles of King Edward the sixt*[1]

The above epigraph, penned by William Baldwin, captures a peculiar

moment in the national grieving for the loss of the young Tudor king. Published

during the early years of Elizabeth's reign, Baldwin's volume mourns the loss of

Edward and assumes, on behalf of the poet himself, a guilty part in his death. At the

same time, the tone of the passage seems to recognize the very real burdens placed

upon English society, from Baldwin's perspective, by the Marian years that followed.

In Baldwin's plea to preserve Elizabeth's life and reign, he recognizes a renewed

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[1] William Baldwin, *The funeralles of King Edward the sixt.: VVherin are declared the causers and causes of his death* (n.p.: Imprinted at London: In Fletestrete nere to saynct Dunstons church by Thomas Marshe, Anno domini, 1560) *Early English Books Online*.

chance at what he perceives as a *virtuous* England, that is, an increasingly Protestant

England. The *Mirror*, with roots in all three of these Tudor reigns, further

exemplifies the fears and the trepidations of Baldwin's circle, but also the *renewed*

hope and promise that came with a monarch embracing what they must have seen as

divine providence and will in this mid-Tudor moment.[2] Robert Crowley's *An*

Epitome of Cronicles, published the same year and in the same printing house as the

first edition of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, illustrates a couple of things: first, it shows

the popularity of the form—an historical companion piece professing to offer much

the same thing as *Mirror*: a history of kings that might offer didactic edification to

the reader. Additionally, it gives us an indication of the political barometer that

year—from the text transcription that follows, we see that the markers of time are

Jesus Christ, Edward VI, and Elizabeth. The work implies a succession, and looking

further into the document, it becomes more and more explicit in this volume.

AN EPITOME OF CRONICLES.

Conteyninge the whole discourse of the histories as well of this realme of

England asal other coutreys, with the succesion of their kings, the time of

their reigne, and what notable actes they did: much profitable to be redde,

namelye of Magistrates,

and such as haue auctoritee in commoweales, gathered out of most probable

---

[2] Appendix B in this dissertation gives a timeline of events intended to place *A Mirror for Magistrates* in a chronological historical place with the coronations of all the corresponding English monarchs in bold lettering.

auctours. Firste by *Thomas Lanquet*, from the beginning of the worlde to the

incarnacion of Christe, Secondely to the reigne of our soueraigne lord king

Edward the sixt by *Thomas Cooper*, and thirdly to the reigne of our

soueraigne Ladye Quene Elizabeth, by Robert Crowley.

Anno. 1559.
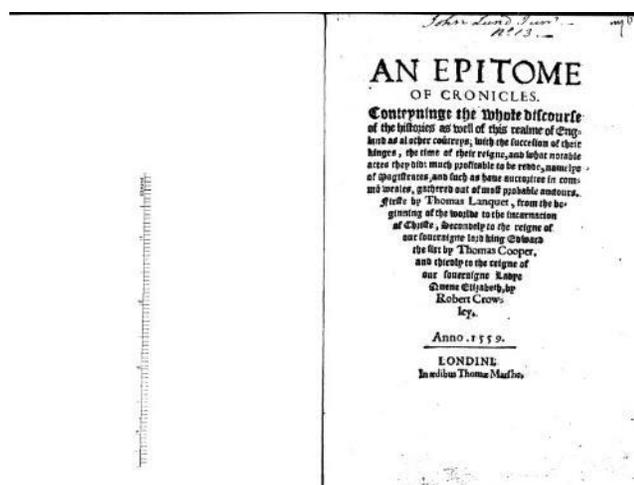
Figure 11: Title page of Thomas Lanquet's *An Epitome of Cronicles,* London, 1559, *Early English Books Online*

The lore and legend of Henry VIII's reign, either from study, from popular portrayal,

or from rumor and hearsay, remains a topic of shared general knowledge. To place *A

Mirror for Magistrates* within an appropriate context, however, one may very well

benefit from a brief rehearsal of the events that led up to its publication within the

courts of the Mid-Tudor age. Doing so will help to illuminate the kind of impact that

the political powers had upon the *Mirror*, but more importantly, how the *Mirror*

serves as a material item that illustrates the very pushing and pulling of power that

occurs throughout the mid-century. I will touch on the circumstances of note within

the English Reformation here, but the next chapter will address that movement in much closer detail.

In the 1530s, Henry VIII had a Protestant faction within his court that was decidedly pro-French and anti-Spanish. That faction consisted of Cromwell, Cranmer, and Queen Anne's Circle. This group would be instrumental in Henry's move to establish himself as the Supreme Head of the Church of England through the *Ecclesiastical Supremacy,* which, "established by statute between 1533 and 1536, gave the King of England a type of authority which neither the Holy Roman Emperor nor the King of France could claim."[3]

During the last ten years of Henry's reign, this group "vied for the king's ear, mind, and soul."[4] This faction stood opposed by a group of influential court conservatives including the Howards, the Poles, Bishop Gardiner, Bishop Tunstall. However, in 1535-36, the developing coalition began to fall apart as the French proved unreliable, and Thomas Cromwell reopened negotiations with Charles V. On 7 January 1536, Katherine of Aragon died. Henry was aware that without a legitimate heir, the crown would pass to his nephew, James V of Scotland, "which neither the King nor his subjects could regard with equanimity."[5] Later that month, after continuing efforts to produce a male offspring for Henry, Anne Boleyn miscarried a son at fourteen weeks.

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[3] David Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545-1565* (New York: St. Martin's, 1992), 9.
[4] R. O. Bucholz and Newton Key, *Early Modern England, 1485-1714: A Narrative History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publications, 2004), 88.
[5] Loades, 11.

Meanwhile, during the winter of 1535-1536, Henry had become attracted to Jane Seymour, one of Anne Boleyn's ladies-in-waiting who was associated with the Aragonese faction at court. By April 1536, a committee had formed to investigate claims of Queen Anne's adultery. We do not know whether Henry played a role in this committee, but on 15 May 1536, Anne Boleyn was tried and convicted of the charges. She was executed on 19 May 1536.

Henry VIII married his third wife, Jane Seymour, on 30 May 1536, and the heir he had so long awaited was born on 12 October 1537—a young boy named Edward. There were complications during the delivery, however, and Jane died on 24 October 1537. Henry found himself a widower, and he needed "not only a new wife, but a new alliance and religious settlement. These three matters would be intertwined."[6] It was around this time that Henry sought a renewed alliance with Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, and enacted a compromise statement on sacramental doctrine called the *Ten Articles*. The Articles reaffirmed Catholic doctrine concerning good works, baptism, confession, and the Real Presence. It ignored, however, the sacraments of Confirmation, Matrimony, Holy Orders, and the Anointing of the Sick.

The *Ten Articles* were rejected by both Charles V and by Francis I of France, and in 1538, Pope Paul III declared Henry a heretic and apostate and excommunicated him from the Church. Meanwhile, in 1539, a Peace treaty between France and the Holy Roman Empire strengthened their collective defenses while

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[6] Bucholz and Key, 93.

weakening England's position in Europe. In response to England's decline in continental alliances, Thomas Cromwell worked from 1537-40 to establish productive diplomacy with northern German princes, resulting in several changes to the Church in England. Cromwell instated policies designed to curry favor with the German princes that directly affected the English church. Cromwell would promote Protestantism by dissolving monasteries and issuing the Injunctions of 1536 and 1538 regulating local parishes with specific initiatives: each church would be given a Tyndale translation of the Bible revised by Miles Coverdale. Iconoclasm would become official policy, with images and statues being removed from parish churches. The English clergy would be directed to teach parishioners the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer in English along with other common prayers. Preaching would also be done in English. The injunctions also reduced the number of Holy Days, dismantled many of the country's shrines, and denounced the practice of pilgrimages. The injunctions would also require that individual parishes keep detailed records of baptisms, marriages and deaths.

As an additional measure intended to align Henry's kingdom with the potential German allies, Thomas Cromwell arranged for a marriage between Henry VII and Anne of Cleves, the daughter of the West German prince, the Duke of Cleves. He enticed Henry with an exaggeratedly flattering portrait of Anne by painter Hans Holbein. Henry signed a treaty with the German duke in Oct. 1539 when Anne arrived. However, Henry felt that he had been misled by the portraiture, and

nicknamed Anne of Cleves "the Flanders mare." They were married in January of 1540, but the marriage was annulled in July 1540 after just over six short months.

The more conservative Catholics at Court, like Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and the Howard family, opposed Cromwell's initiatives, and in the wake of Anne of Cleves and the annulment, they found an opportunity to seek a new alliance and influence with the King. Henry had taken interest in the seventeen-year-old Katherine Howard, the niece of Elizabeth Howard—mother of Anne Boleyn (making her first cousin to Anne Boleyn and first cousin once removed to the future Queen Elizabeth I). By the summer of 1540, Henry and Katherine found themselves married, and Thomas Cromwell found himself executed. Henry and Katherine's marriage would last sixteen months, until her execution in February 1542.

In 1541, Henry was responding to the Wakefield plot in the north, a conspiracy grounded in economic conditions in Yorkshire, but likely spurred on by Catholic factions in Scotland. Henry's response would be The Great Progress from London to York, whereby the King would assert his significant military power through the land. At the same time, France and the Holy Roman Empire had dissolved their peace treaty and were fighting one another. To shift the balance of power, both courted an alliance with England, who sided with the emperor. Still, Henry pushed for the realm to separate from the Roman Church. James V, King of Scotland, resisted the calls by Henry for the separation from Rome. In 1542, that resistance came to a head as Scottish forces invaded England at the Battle of Solway Moss. James was crushed by the Scottish army's defeat and died months later. He

was succeeded by his infant daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, who was betrothed to Henry's son, Edward VI.

In July 1543, Henry VIII married Katherine Parr, his sixth and final wife. While her evangelical leanings may have been minimal at the time of their marriage, by the summer of 1544, she appeared to be firmly within the camp of evangelical enthusiasm. Under her influence and with significant pushes from Archbishop Cranmer, Henry began moving at a gingerly pace toward Protestantism. Cranmer took advantage of the King's shifting views by urging a series of Parliamentary Acts of Reform targeting canon law and liturgical reform.[7]

In the meantime, Henry surrounded Edward with Protestant counselors and tutors like John Cheke, Richard Cox, Thomas Cranmer, John Dudley, Stephen Gardiner, John Gates, the Seymours, and William Thomas.[8] A 1544 Act of Parliament, in the meantime, established the order of succession that would be in place in the event of Henry's death:

Edward→ Mary→ Elizabeth→ Frances, Eleanor, and Henry,

the children of Henry VIII's younger sister Mary by Charles Brandon.

This act, Henry's Third Act of Succession, also "empowered the King to depart even further from custom if he so decided."[9]

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[7] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, 326-328.
[8] Chris Skidmore, *Edward VI: The Lost King of England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2007), xi-xv.
[9] Loades, 12.

In July 1544, Henry launched his final French military campaign. He captured

Boulogne, but at great financial cost.[10] In the course of the campaign, he emptied the

treasury, took out foreign loans, debased England's coinage, and promoted inflation.

During this time, between 1543 and 1545, Catholics in England tried three times to

oust Thomas Cranmer, Edward's godfather, as Archbishop of Canterbury. However,

when Henry died in January 1547, he died with Cranmer holding his hand, and his

son, Cranmer's godson, became King.

At the age of nine, Edward VI had become the King of England, and in doing

so, began the period that many scholars have dubbed "the mid-Tudor Crisis." David

Loades, however, argues against the standard notion of crisis during the reigns of

Edward VI and Mary Tudor. "If Edward's councils were ineffective," Loades asks,

"how did they manage to enforce the most revolutionary changes which had ever

taken place in the worship and doctrine of the English church?"[11] Loades asks a fair

question, one that this dissertation will explore in greater detail in the next chapter.

Crisis or not, however, the coronation of Edward VI created political complications

both within and without the kingdom. To start, Emperor Charles V recognized Mary

as the only legitimate child of Henry VIII, but pragmatism allowed him to do

business with Edward, and Mary advanced no claim on the crown—still the

emperor withheld official recognition of Edward.

The new king may have been young, but he was very intelligent. Having been

groomed to be King since his birth, Edward VI was accomplished in Greek, Latin, and

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[10] Bucholz and Key, 95.
[11] Loades, 2.

French. Roger Ascham, who had tutored Edward's sister Elizabeth in Greek and

Latin was a calligraphy teacher to them both and King Henry's favorite musician,

Philip van Wilder instructed Edward in playing the lute.[12] Because he was a minor,

his court had been entrusted to a team of councilors led by his maternal uncle

Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset. Somerset became Lord Protector and took a

very active role in his position, and he was a champion of the reformist cause,

issuing seventy-six proclamations in two years.

Somerset continued Henry VIII's "rough wooing" of Scotland to capitulate to

Henry's wish for a marriage between Edward and Mary, Queen of Scots, allying

England and Scotland, invading in September 1547. Mary Queen of Scots fled to

France, and in 1558, married the Dauphin, uniting instead two of England's most

bitter enemies.[13] Somerset responded almost immediately, enacting the *Treason Act*,

the *Act for Burning Heretics*, the *Six Articles*, and several restrictions on reading and

printing the Bible.[14] More measures followed.

The *Chantries Act*, passed under Somerset, denounced the doctrine of

Purgatory and the associated prayers for the Holy Souls of the dead, significantly

curtailing a major social function and reducing the Church as an institutionalized

presence. In 1548, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer put together the *Book of Common*

Prayer, radically changing liturgical practices in the new Church in England. The

following year saw the passage of the *Act of Uniformity* which ordered parishes to

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[12] Chris Skidmore, *Edward VI* (New York: St. Martin's, 2007), 31-34.
[13] Bucholz and Key, 98.
[14] Ibid., 99.

use the prayer book and follow the liturgy therein and allowed marriage for the clergy.

Because of many of Somerset's initiatives, resistance and rebellion followed, especially in the North and in the West Country.[15] From 1540-1550, England had been having huge economic problems. There was a 10% annual rate of inflation, and it had fallen upon the wool industry to pick up much of the financial slack until 1550. The *Chantries Act*, by limiting some of the Church's outlets and abilities, dissolved many of the channels of social support for the poor, resulting in a growing discontent.

In July of 1549, tenants of Robert Kett, a minor Norfolk gentleman, rioted. He joined their cause.[16] Their numbers grew until a group of 16,000 rebels captured Norwich. Despite the conformist policies that sparked this uprising, it was an uprising driven more, or as much, by economic rather than religious discontent. Somerset proved himself unable or unwilling to suppress the rebellion. John Dudley (1504-53) was the Earl of Warwick, and in 1549, he was a member of Edward's Privy Council. Dudley conspired against Somerset, got an army from the King, and crushed the rebels in Norfolk.[17] Kett himself was executed and his remains hanged in chains outside Norwich castle.[18] On 10 October 1549, Warwick returned to London and seized power from Somerset, installing himself as Lord Protector.

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[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid., 100.
[17] Ibid., 101.
[18] Ibid.

Four days later, Somerset was imprisoned in the Tower where he remained until the Spring of 1550, when he was temporarily restored to the Privy Council. His restoration did not last long, and in October 1551, Somerset was arrested for conspiracy against Warwick, who had by now used his popularity among the masses and the Privy Council to secure his position of power as the Duke of Northumberland. Somerset was tried, and in January 1552, Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, was beheaded.

In "The Consolation of Tragedy: *A Mirror for Magistrates* and the Fall of the 'Good Duke' of Somerset," Scott Lucas focuses on the relationship between the tragedy of "Edmund Duke of Somerset" in 1471 and the real-life events of Edward Seymour, executed in 1552. Lucas argues that many of the poems in *A Mirror for Magistrates* are designed to refer to Somerset's circumstances and to provide the audience with some sort of way to interpret the precipitous downfall that ended the duke's tenure as Lord Protector and, ultimately, his life.

Lucas explains how many of Seymour's supporters had difficulty reconciling the hero that they championed with the baffling behavior of his last days and the manner of his death. The deaths of Lady Jane Grey and the Marian martyrs followed closely behind, and such setbacks seemed at odds with the notion of divine providence interceding on behalf of Protestantism. In Ferrers's verses, the poem, Lucas claims, "seeks to restore the lost confidence of Seymour's former followers."[19]

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[19] Scott Lucas, "The Consolation of Tragedy: *A Mirror for Magistrates* and the Fall of the "Good Duke" of Somerset," *Studies in Philology* 100, no.1 (2003): 70.

As the new Lord Protector, Northumberland faced several challenges that he notably did *not* approach with the same Protestant fervor as his predecessor. On the one hand, Dudley needed to appease the young Protestant King, and on the other hand, he faced Catholic Mary as heir apparent. He bet on Edward and suppressed all prayer books except Cranmer's. From Cranmer, he commissioned a new, more Protestant Book of Common Prayer in 1552.[20] In 1553, he commissioned the *Forty-Two Articles of Faith*, which propped up several key Protestant beliefs: first, the belief in salvation by faith alone rather than by good works or through indulgences. Second, the articles established the doctrine of predestination and election, the belief that God has predetermined those souls to be united in Heaven for eternity. The articles eliminated the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation—the real and corporal presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, and they eliminated the practice of the Catholic Mass as liturgy. Also, rather than the traditional seven sacraments of the Catholic faith, the articles provided for only two sacraments as part of the reformed English church: Baptism and Eucharist.

Matters became much more complicated in early 1553 when the fifteen-year-old King Edward began showing signs of tuberculosis. Edward resisted Mary's succession to avoid the reversal of Protestant conversion. He and John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland drew up a Device that circumvented the will of Henry VIII and the associated statute. It seemed to be aimed at excluding female rule; the main argument of preventing foreign rule by husbands of Mary and Elizabeth "had

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[20] Bucholz and Key, 102.

political weight but no legal validity."[21] With trepidation, over one hundred of Edward's councilors and judges including the initially reluctant Archbishop Cranmer eventually swore to the Device. Northumberland's financial and military resources may have played a large role. Never having attained his majority, Edward could not make a legally binding will. Dudley's motives were questioned by the Parliament and Privy Council, and indeed, history has generally viewed Northumberland's motives with skepticism. The peerage resented his ambitions, and appearances certainly indicated that Dudley was up to something and had much to gain from Edward's chosen line of succession falling to Dudley's new daughter-in-law, Jane. However, study of the various detailed drafts and revisions of Edward's device indicate "that he had thought very deeply over the nature of the English succession," and that excluding his sisters from the line "may have seemed entirely natural to the Tudor eye."[22]

By the Spring of 1553, Edward willed his kingdom to Lady Jane Grey, his first cousin once removed (grand-niece of Henry VIII through his sister Mary and her daughter Frances) in hopes of the recently married Jane producing Protestant male heirs for the Tudor line. Northumberland, in a play for power and in cahoots with her father, forced Jane to marry his son, Lord Guildford Dudley. On 6 July 1553, Edward VI died of consumption. Much to the chagrin of Edward's sister Mary, who at this time was in Norfolk with the Howard family, Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed

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[21] Loades, 13.

[22] Chris Skidmore, *Edward VI: The Lost King of England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2007), 249.

Queen of England by Northumberland and his factions in accordance with Edward

VI's "device" of succession on July 9, 1553.[23]

Both queens raised armies—Mary's, led by Henry Fitzalan, earl of Arundel,

reached London, and the Privy Council proclaimed Mary queen on July 19th, 1553.

Jane Grey's reign had lasted a total of nine days. Stephen Alford describes the

circumstances of Edward VI's deferred funeral as the most somber of occasions,

filled with:

> The political chaos of late July and early August 1553 meant that for a whole
> month Edward's body was unburied. His funeral took place at last in
> Westminster Abbey on 8 August. He had been brought from Greenwich
> Palace to the chapel of Whitehall Palace, where his coffin lay upon a structure
> of wood that was covered in thirty-two yards of black velvet . . . For a few
> hours only, Edward's court lived again when his old courtiers and officials
> rode or walked as if they still served the king. Even for those who were free
> after the collapse of Jane's government it must have felt like a procession of
> the doomed.[24]

Northumberland was placed in the Tower where he joined Guildford, and

Lady Jane who had been there since Lady Jane's coronation. Mary entered her reign

with the benefit of her Tudor lineage—a benefit that she failed to use to her greatest

advantage. While her subjects initially rallied to her support, Mary had a number of

things working against her, and as a result, she "subordinated her strong Tudor

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[23] Bucholz and Key, 103.
[24] Stephen Alford, *Edward VI: The Last Boy King* (London: Allen Lane, 2014), 82.

personality to the demands of her religion, her Spanish sympathies, and contemporary expectations of her gender."[25] Mary's engagement to King Philip (of Naples 1554, Spain 1556) was exposed by the Privy Council—largely under the guidance of Cardinal Pole and Stephen Gardiner—and Parliament.

In January 1554, Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger and three thousand men in rebellion against Mary's wedding plans with the Spanish monarch, marched to London. Wyatt, ninety of his followers, Lady Jane, and Guildford Dudley were executed. Mary's sister, the princess Elizabeth was imprisoned in the Tower, and in July 1554, Mary was wedded to Philip II at Winchester Cathedral. Despite Mary's devotion to the Roman Catholic Church, her Parliament was not interested in restoring Catholicism at the expense of returning monastic lands that had been acquired during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI.

In October 1553, Parliament revoked the *Book of Common Prayer* and rescinded the *Act of Uniformity.* Then in 1554, Cardinal Reginald Pole, formerly exiled, returned as Mary's advisor. Cardinal Pole was a "friend and ardent admirer" of Thomas More and John Fisher, a cousin to Henry VIII, a descendent of the House of Plantagenet, and at one time had been considered as a possible suitor for Princess Mary.[26] As a priest, Pole had presided over the opening of the Council of Trent and had been one vote short of becoming Pope in 1547. Upon his return to England, Cardinal Pole was appointed by Pope Paul III as Papal Legate—the pope's ambassador in England, empowered to settle ecclesiastical matters—and he also

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[25] Bucholz and Key, 104.
[26] Eamon Duffy, *Reformation Divided* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2017), 99.

replaced Thomas Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury. Pole would be a key figure in the counter-Reformation. He negotiated for the current holders of titles within the aristocracy to retain their formerly monastic lands. In return, Parliament reunited the English with the Church of Rome and reenacted heresy laws. Two thousand priests were ejected by Cardinal Pole, Mary's archbishop of Canterbury from the Church for preaching from the Protestant (reformed) viewpoint. Some of them fled to Frankfurt and Geneva which were safe havens for them. Others were not so fortunate.

On 4 February 1555, John Rogers, an English Bible translator was burned in Smithfield at the stake as a heretic. More burnings would follow, like those of Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, and Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, in October 1555. Archbishop Cranmer would follow them in March 1556. He had already six times publicly recanted his beliefs, but his sentence was not remitted; at the fire, he reversed his position, reclaiming at the last his convictions. The public outcry over the injustice of Cranmer's treatment registered a shift in an initially popular support of Mary. Cranmer's choice to publicly voice his beliefs at the moment of his execution cemented his position as a Protestant martyr, and according to legend, the "offending hand" that had penned and signed his confession and recantations he placed and held steady into the flames coming up from the fire under him. "Bloody Mary" was a persona shaped during the reign of Elizabeth by works like John Foxe's

Actes *and Monuements.*[27] In all, 237 men and 52 women were burned as heretics in

four years.

In January 1557, Philip II declared war on France, and Mary joined to him the

English army, sending troops to the Low Countries. By January 1558, Calais fell. In

the face of Mary's illness, by November 1558, the Privy Council urged her to

acknowledge Elizabeth as the heir apparent. Mary died 17 November 1558.

In his *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1529-1530)*,* Thomas More argues

against Tyndale's English translation of the Bible by focusing on three words that he

found particularly contentious: priest, church, and charity. By substituting the

words "senyor," "congregacyoun," and "love," More suggested that Tyndale inserts a

Lutheran agenda that "masquerades as scholarly objectivity."[28] Translating the

Greek *presbyteros* as "senyor" rather than "priest," More claims, denies the

sacrament of priesthood. Further, it also inserts a problematic and unnecessary

reference to age. The word, More writes, "is a frenche worde used in englysshe more

than half in mockage / whan one will call another my lord in scorne."[29]

Using 'congregation' instead of 'church' was, to More, an undermining of the

visible Church of Christ on Earth. He saw Tyndale's move as dissolving any notable

difference between "a company of crysten men and a company of turkes." Tyndale's

use of "love" over "charity" specifically attacked the Catholic Church's focus on the

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[27] Bucholz and Key, 108-109.
[28] Duffy, *Reformation Divided,* 68.
[29] Ibid.

necessity of good "charitable" works, favoring instead Luther's doctrine of

justification by faith alone.[30]

The medium of print made it possible to sow ideas at a rate before unseen. In

the minds of those like More, the reformers had found a way to "weaponize" (in

current parlance) the medium of print and set loose a heretical and destructive

power upon the world. The response, from the perspective of received channels of

power and authority, was understandably to refute and/or suppress. The Marian

regime, as Eamon Duffy writes, "was certainly fully alive to the dangerous potential

of Protestant books and exercised a tight control over the domestic press."[31] In

1553, Mary issued her first proclamation on religion, specifically warning against

the evils done by Protestant printers and forbidding the print and sale of such

materials. According to David Loades:

> The same proclamation also made reference to 'her grace's special license in
>
> writing' but gave no indication as to how this license was to be bestowed and
>
> threatened simply 'due punishment' according to the order of the existing
>
> law for those who should fail to obtain it. It is not clear how Mary's licensing
>
> system worked at any stage of her reign. Perhaps the power remained vested
>
> in the Privy Council, but more probably it was returned to the church,

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[30] Ibid., 68-69.

[31] Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England Under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 57.

particularly after Cardinal Pole took up his legatine responsibilities in

England at the end.[32]

Within that atmosphere and within a reactionary tradition of controlling the printed

word, the Marian regime chose in 1554 to suppress the first edition of what would

become *A Mirror for Magistrates*.[33] Mary and her court had a keen understanding of

the importance of print and utilized it and the control of it for their own ends.[34]

Cardinal Reginald Pole approached the instruction of his congregations by

utilizing some the reformers' tools of choice—the vernacular tongue and the printed

word. Under advisement from the bishops of the Legatine Synod—the council of

bishops the Cardinal had gathered to rule on ecclesiastical matters—Pole set out to

produce a set of English language homilies on "doctrinal and devotional instruction,

above all on truths which had been contradicted by the heretics."[35] Under the

Synod's second decree (1555), the church was directed to control the press's

production of heretical books, prohibit heretical preaching, and produce instead

---

[32] D. M. Loades, "The Theory and Practice of Censorship in Sixteenth-Century England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, no. 24 (1974), 151.

[33] This suppression would be enacted by Stephen Gardiner, Mary's Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor. The Stationers' Company had been established in 1403 as a guild for the book trade. As the printing industry began to overtake the manuscript trade, the Stationers' Company basically became a Printers' guild. It would gain its teeth and power under Mary when it became incorporated by royal decree in May of 1557. Stationers' Company officers were empowered to seize offensive works and report them to ecclesiastical authorities.

[34] This assertion directly contradicts the view held for quite some time—a view characterized in works like J. W. Martin, "The Marian Regime's Failure to Understand the Importance of Printing," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 154 (1980-1): 23I-247. More recent scholarship, however, demonstrates that the Marian establishment had a keener understanding of the potential power of the press than older historians like Martin and David Loades previously believed. The dialogue on this topic took a notable turn in Jennifer Loach's article, "The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press." *The English Historical Review* 101, no. 398 (1986): 135-48.

[35] Duffy, *Reformation Divided*, 106.

popular teaching that stressed papal primacy and the sacraments. The latter two

topics of the highest concern to the Reformation movement. The Synod emphasized

the need for popular, papal-controlled preaching and clear direction from the clergy

to counter the Reformation. The first decree (1555) directed a parade and

thanksgiving Mass each year to celebrate the anniversary of England's reconciliation

with the papacy: St. Andrew's Day (30 November 1554). Homilies would be

preached throughout the realm to explain to people the importance of the day, and if

a parish had no qualified preacher, an official homily would be provided through

publication and read aloud by the parish priest. It was this directive and practice,

stemming from the Synod, that would later influence the 'bonfires and bells'

celebrations and sermons popularized by English Protestants to celebrate

Elizabeth's Accession Day (17 November 1558).[36] Pole was, himself, largely

responsible for the St. Andrew's Day practice.

The Henrician Protestant factions had moved England further and further

from the Roman church, pushing initiatives that would solidify the vernacular as a

currency that would unite English Christendom. By the time of Henry's final

marriage to Katherine Parr, the Reformation Parliament had created a legislative

foundation for the evangelical enthusiasm that dominated sentiments at court and

led to the further Parliamentary reforms under the brief rule of Edward VI—

reforms that would culminate in Archbishop Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer*.

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[36] Ibid., 109.

The tumultuous rise and fall of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, the subsequent rise of Northumberland, the death of Edward VI, the brief reign of Jane Grey, and the Marian succession all provided a fertile ground for the composition and publication of *A Mirror for Magistrates*. With the Marian initiatives and rollback of Protestant legislature on the one hand and the religious rollback by Cardinal Pole on the other, the Mirror's trajectory became problematized in a time of an increasing importance of the medium of print.

The *Mirror for Magistrates* poets composed their work during the height of what some scholars have termed "The Mid-Tudor Crisis." Crisis or no, the era was certainly fraught with uncertainty—an uncertainty that the *Mirror*'s history of composition and publication reflected. In observing the intricacies of those histories, we gain a greater understanding of the larger history of the time, and the *Mirror* serves as a further exemplar of its times.

CHAPTER V:

TUDOR COLLABORATIVE POETICS AND PROTESTANT

EGALITARIANISM

> Beware, take heede, beware, beware
>
> You Poetes you, that purpose to rehearce
>
> By any arte what Tyrantes doynges are,
>
> Erinnis rage is growen so fell and fearce
>
> That vicious actes may not be toucht in verse:
>
> The Muses freedome, graunted them of elde,
>
> Is barde, slye reasons treasons hye are held.
>
> —*A Mirror for Magistrates,* "How Collingbourne was
>
> cruelly executed for making a foolishe rime."[1]

Collingbourne's complaint constitutes a direct reference to the writing

process and to the role of the poet as a critic of government—a role that reflected an

interest in the effect of government that was to become a hallmark of Elizabeth's

toleration policies. Sherri Geller suggests that the poet's complaint in the

Collingbourne episode of *A Mirror for Magistrates* constitutes "perhaps the most

obvious criticism of governmental censorship that the mid-sixteenth century

produced."[2] Both Collingbourne's tale of execution by Richard III over an offensive

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[1] William Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates: Edited from Original Texts in the Huntington Library.* ed. Lily B. Campbell, 1938; reprint (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), 347.

[2] Sherri Geller, "What History Really Teaches: Historical Pyrrhonism in William Baldwin's *A Mirror for Magistrates,"* in *Opening the Borders: Inclusivity in Early Modern Studies,* Ed. Peter C. Herman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 163.

rhyme and the frame reaction "attest overtly to the perils of censorship for both ruler and ruled."[3]

A Mirror for Magistrates was composed under what must have been the most extraordinary conditions. From a culture of coterie circles, scriptoria, and authorized texts came this volume that was subversive, mechanically produced, and intended for masses. More than that, the authorship presents us with such difficulty today because, although William Baldwin was clearly at the helm of the construction of the original *Mirror,* the work is a collaborative effort with no clear indication of where one author begins or ends.

I am describing the spirit of this process as a *Protestant egalitarianism* of authorship. This writing model has leadership, but a sense that all the writers are on equal footing, rather than beholden unto one supreme head. The audience was not meant to be only the elite aristocracy and loyalty, but a larger concept of what a magistrate could be—a leader of a community—and a sense that the lessons contained therein applied not only to the most powerful among us, but to each and every person within that community. The authors took advantage of practices that were newly engendered by the conditions of print culture and employed new and inventive ways to construct the volume. Books no longer had to be left solely to the monks of the scriptoria to conjure illuminated Latin volumes for the wealthy elite; now they could also be mechanically produced *en masse* for a general, wider, English-speaking public.

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[3] Ibid., 164.

Printed books should be viewed as an industrial process rather than merely as text. They played such a large role in the Reformation due to the industrial process developed by medieval craft society which had enmeshed itself as a powerhouse industry in Europe by 1520. England, however, presented a notable exception to the veracity of growth in the print industry. Andrew Pettegree argues that books did not have quite as much importance to the English Reformation as they did for the Reformation movement on the European continent. English readers had to look abroad for most of their books (as discussed in chapter two); any substantial Latin text would most likely have come from Paris, Venice, Antwerp, or Lyon. Scholarly editions were nearly entirely imported, based on catalogues from libraries at English cathedrals, Oxford, and Cambridge.

Luther's publications made Wittenberg a one-industry town and accelerated the rate of printing in Germany as the debate grew, but in England, official condemnation stifled the flow of Lutheran materials before the country could see a comparable deluge in the market. Any notable publication could be easily tracked to an individual printer due to the small size of the industry, and any project as large as a Bible could never have gone unnoticed; for that reason, Tyndale sought official sanction from Bishop Tunstall before resigning to print in Cologne, then Worms, and then eventually finding success in Antwerp.

John Day became one of the most prominent and wealthy printers in England in the sixteenth century. His first press, at the Sign of the Resurrection, was active from 1547 to 1549 in the parish of St Sepulchre. In 1549, he moved his shop to

Aldersgate at the gatehouse where he lived and worked for the remainder of his life.[4] The success of Day's press was due in large part to his expertise and acumen. His business sense was evident in his securing some very high-profile patronage within the courts of both Edward and Elizabeth. Known as a Protestant printer, his greatest renown was eventually gained by publishing John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*. Day's early works defended the actions of Edward's regime. Day's printing origins are unknown. He was operating independently toward the end of Henry's rule and became a member of the Stationers' Company in 1550.[5] Day's earliest attributable printed works, dated from 1547, demonstrate Day's early commitment to publishing Protestant propaganda—particularly in "affordable small-format editions."[6] Thus Day demonstrates choices early on that register his understanding of the economic opportunities the movement afforded printers.

Day's career took off after the accession of Edward VI when prior censorship and licensing regulations were lifted due to "a relaxation of the law against heretical books, combined with the positive advocacy of an evangelical agenda by prominent members of the new governing clique."[7] In 1543, Henry's government had tightened restrictions on printers enumerating, for the first time, harsh and specific penalties for unlicensed printing:

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[4] Andrew Pettegree, "Day [Daye], John (1521/2–1584), printer and bookseller," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* The shop in Aldersgate is the shop Baldwin references in *Beware the Cat.*
[5] See previous chapter, p. 115, n33.
[6] John King, "John Day: Master Printer of the English Reformation," in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, ed. Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 181.
[7] Pettegree.

The offender was to be imprisoned for three months and fined £10 for each book. If he repeated the offence a second time he was liable to forfeiture of goods and perpetual imprisonment. These penalties could be inflicted irrespective of the content of the books concerned, and quite independently of any other penalties which might have been incurred by their authors.[8]

These kinds of regulations from the Henrician government, coupled with the treason laws, sought to crack down on clandestine printing. As soon as Henry died in 1547, many of those restrictions became relaxed. Protestant propaganda, subsequently, flooded the London booksellers during a wave of "popular iconoclasm, free circulation of the vernacular Bible, and Cranmer's introduction of a Protestant worship service in the vernacular."[9]

John Day was only twenty-five years old when he became a master printer in London. During the peak years of London's printing output, 1548 and 1550, Day was responsible for about thirteen percent of all English imprints. Day's success in those years was largely due to his understanding of his shoppers' needs as shown in the type of books he was printing: small inexpensive octavos and pamphlets, as opposed to large, time-consuming, and costly folio editions. Day would go on, of course, to publish John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (better known as *Book of Martyrs*) in a lavish and exquisite folio edition in 1563, after the propaganda boom of the Edwardine years and the turmoil that would fall on him in the time of the Marian rule.

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[8] D. M. Loades, "The Theory and Practice of Censorship in Sixteenth-Century England," 149.
[9] John King, "John Day: Master Printer of the English Reformation," 182.

There is evidence that Day had an association with Protector Somerset. He printed several tracts by one Thomas Becon, Somerset's household chaplain, and also by John Hooper, "a radical Protestant who joined Becon as a chaplain to Seymour upon return from exile in Zürich."[10] These and other connections along with the evidence of an ample supply of capital suggest a patronage from someone of Somerset's stature.

Day's work included biblical publications, Protestant sermons, works by Latimer and Tyndale, and writings by Robert Crowley, "a prolific publicist whose pamphlets outline a gospel ethic favorable to social reform."[11] Crowley's work ranged from tracts opposed to Lenten fasting to treatises attacking Nicholas Shaxton, the Bishop of Salisbury who recanted and attempted to persuade Anne Askew to do the same prior to her 1546 execution. Day also published several coterie texts to be circulated among aristocratic women. One such octavo edition that Day brought out, entitled "Fourteen Sermons Concerning the Predestination and Election of God," by the Italian reformer Bernardino Ochino, was patronized by Archbishop Cranmer himself. The project was translated by Anne Cooke, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke (the classical languages tutor to Edward VI). Anne was the second wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon and sister-in-law to William Cecil (whose second wife was Anne's sister Mildred). The text of *Fourteen Sermons* opens with an address "To the Christian Reader" attributed to a G.B. (see fig. 12). John King suspects that

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[10] Ibid., 184.
[11] Ibid. 192.

this G.B. may be Guliemus Baldwinus, or William Baldwin—the same initials with which he signed *Beware the Cat.*[12]
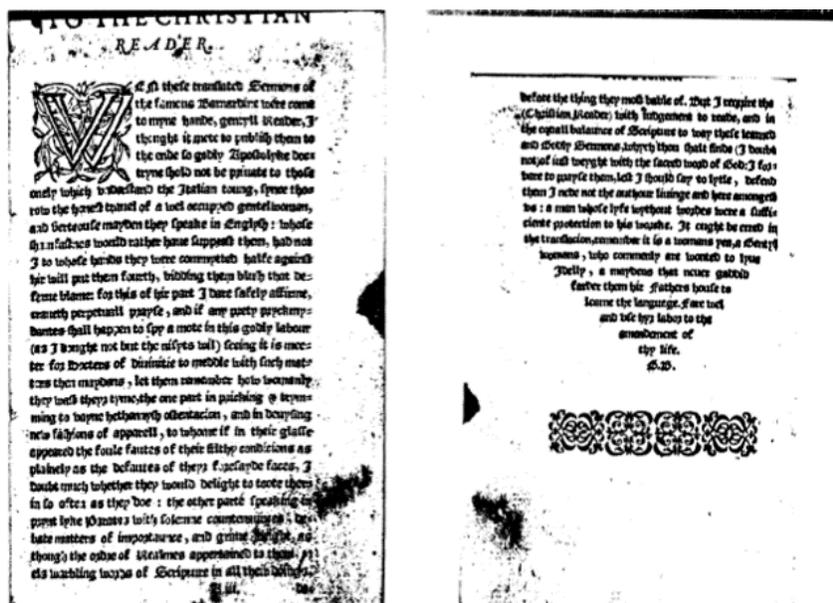

Figure 12*:* "To the Christian Reader." A poem included in a John Day-printed coterie text, signed by a "G.B.," believed to be Giulemus Baldwinus, i.e., William Baldwin. [13]

Beware the Cat features a uniquely specific description of the location of a Tudor printing house and indicates that Baldwin had knowledge of Day's shop at Aldersgate.

> Being lodged (as I thank him, I have been often) at a friend's house of mine,
> which, more roomish within than garish without, standeth at Saint Martin's
> Lane end and hangeth partly upon the town wall that is called Aldersgate . . . I

---

[12] Ibid., 195.

[13] Bernardino Ochino, Richard Argentine, and Anne Cooke, Lady Bacon. *Sermons of Barnardine Ochyne, (to the number of. 25.): concerning the predestination and election of god: very expedient to the setting forth of his glory among his creatures. Translated out of Italian into our natiue tongue, by A.C.* (London: Printed by Iohn Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate beneath S. Martins, 1570), *Early English Books Online.*

lay oftentimes, and that for sundry causes, sometime for lack of other

lodging, and sometime as while my Greek alphabets were in printing to see

that it might truly be corrected . . . I was lodged in a chamber hard by the

Printing House, which had a fair bay window opening into the garden, the

earth whereof is almost as high as Saint Anne's Church top, which standeth

thereby. At the other end of the Printing House, as you enter in, is a side door

and three or four steps which go up to the leads of the Gate, whereas

sometime quarters of men, which is a loathely and abhominable sight, do

stand up upon poles.[14]

John Stow describes Day's shop in terms that match Baldwin's account and support

the possibility that Day and Baldwin had some kind of working relationship.

After Seymour's deposition, Day's output sharply declined. After Edward's death,

Day's activities became even more complicated. Proclamations were made,

injunctions were issued, and books were burned. Works that Day may or may not

have published would have been done so anonymously or pseudonymously to avoid

prosecution and circumvent suppression. One can only imagine how well received a

volume would be under Marian authority with a title like *A Commission Sent to the*

Bloody Butcher Bishop of London, and to all Convents of Friars, by the high and mighty

prince, lord, Satan the Devil of Hell (see fig. 13). I am certain that whatever that

pamphlet lacked in veracity it made up for in subtlety. Day would eventually see a

major resurgence in his career, of course, after 1558 and the ushering in of the

---

[14] William A. Ringler, Jr. and Michael Fachmann, *Beware the Cat by William Baldwin: The First English Novel* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1988), 9-10.

Elizabethan age. He would publish *Acts and Monuments* for John Foxe, one of the

single most vital texts of the 16th century, cementing his reputation as one of the

most important printers of his time. By 1554, however, his fortunes had taken a

sharp negative turn under the pressures of the Marian regime and his blossoming

career was put on hold.
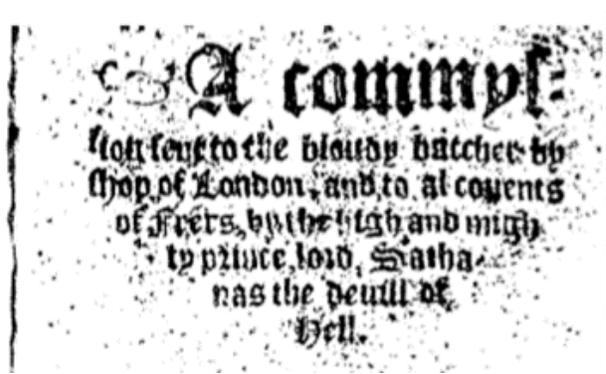
Figure 13: Title Script from *A Commission Sent to the Bloody Butcher*, etc., printed anonymously by John Day.[15]

For printing polemic pamphlets and incendiary Protestant-leaning works

(like *A Commission Sent to the Bloody Butcher*), Day was eventually arrested and sent

to the Tower on 16 Oct. 1554, then imprisoned at Newgate until spring of the next

year. After his release in 1555, Day was unable to continue in his capacity as both

printer *and* publisher and began, instead, printing on behalf of others, including

John Wayland, who by this time had obtained the Sign of the Sun house from

Edward Whitchurch. Day managed to retain ownership or at least knew the location

15 *A commyssion sent to the bloudy butcher byshop of London: and to al couents of frers, by the high and mighty prince, lord, Sathanas the deuill of hell* (London: J. Day?, 1557), N. Pag. *Early English Books Online.*

of his former woodcuts and employed them in his new ventures. Day had crafted a woodcut depicting the death of Anne Askew for a 1548 Robert Crowley pamphlet entitled *The confutation of the. xiii. articles, wherunto Nicolas Shaxton, late byshop of Salilburye [sic] subscribed and caused to be set forth in print the yere of our Lorde. M.C.xlvi. [sic] whe[n] he recanted in Smithfielde at London at the burning of mestres Anne Askue, which is liuely set forth in the figure folowynge. In the nexte page shalt thou finde the contentes of thys little boke.* The same woodcut of Anne Askew would
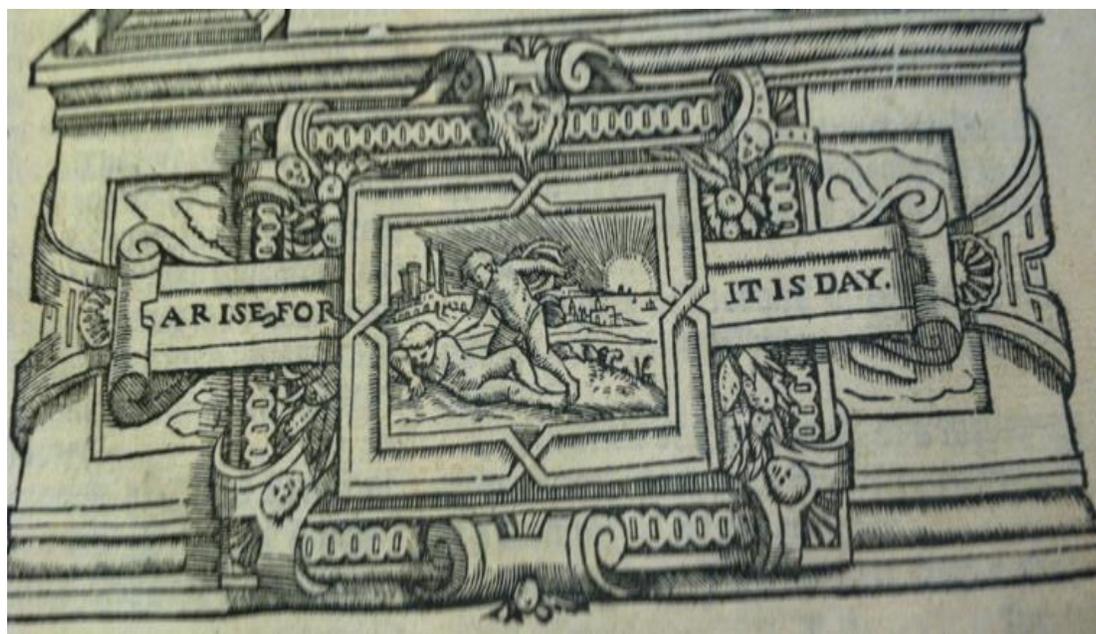

Figure 14: A closeup of the bottom of John Day's title page border with his motto, "Arise for it is Day," in the foreground. Photo by Michael T. Sirles, taken at The Morgan Library and Museum, New York City. Not for Reproduction.

be used along with the majuscule letters from Day's 1551 folio Bible in his 1570

printing of *Actes and Monuments.*[17] Day's title page border for his 1551 Folio Bible

depicted several images of resurrection, representing Day's printing house at the

Sign of the Resurrection, and the inscription: ARISE, FOR IT IS DAY (clever pun on

his name fully intended). Day would go on to use this same frontispiece for later

works he printed, but in the interim, it found its way, somehow, into the hands of

John Wayland who used it as the title border for his 1554 edition of Boccaccio's *Fall*

of Princes and the suppressed volume *A Memorial of Such Princes, as Since the Time*

of King Richard the Second, Have Been Unfortunate in the Realm of England—the

proto-publication of the *Mirror for Magistrates*. John King proposes that Wayland's

printing house at the Sign of the Sun was actually a front for a house to press and

publish works by and for prominent Protestant writers. Wayland, a Catholic, had not

printed since 1539 before acquiring Whitchurch's shop on Fleet Street. The

complexities of collaborations between Catholic and Protestant printers needing to

forge relationships to protect capital investments during the turbulent mid-Tudor

political shifts has yet to be fully explored, but the material evidence for these

bipartisan business ventures lies in the histories of books such as *A Mirror for*

Magistrates that were their products.

 The history of the Protestant Reformation is far too complex to be discussed

in even the briefest detail here.[18] My concerns for rehearsal of facts and timelines

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[17] John King, "John Day: Master Printer of the English Reformation," in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, ed. Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 200-201.
[18] Many of the details outlined in this chapter will necessarily intersect with details outlined in previous chapters. This intersection illustrates the sociological overlap of the many contributing forces that created

for the English Reformation rest solely on the material machinations in the form of

developments in the project of *A Mirror for Magistrates* of the Reformist tempers in

England.[19] As a very short reminder, some of the most basic principles essential to
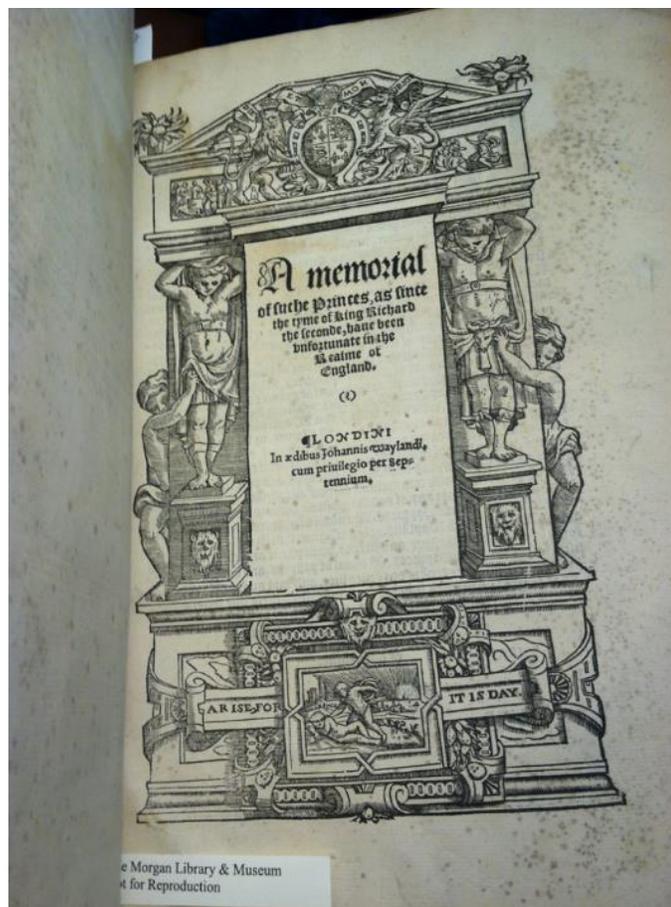
Figure 15*: Title page of *A Memorial of suche princes*— Photo by Michael T. Sirles, taken at The Morgan Library and Museum, New York City. Not for Reproduction.

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the conditions from which *A Mirror for Magistrates* was born. For the purposes of delineating chapters on biographical, bibliographical, literary, political, and religious developments, I have parsed these factors into tidy divisions, but of course in reality, these divisions are artificially imposed, and the forces they describe work in concert with one another.

[19] For details and clarity, see Appendix B (Chronology of Events)

the philosophy of the greater Reformation movement may be found in a text in the

Gospel of Matthew. The institution of the Roman Catholic Church exercised

considerable control (in terms of interpretation, transmission of content) on

Scripture. Based on the Scripture they controlled, especially on Matthew 16:18-19,

they ascribed the absolute authority of the Church to the papacy and the office of St.

Peter as Bishop of Rome:

> And I saye also unto the / that thou arte Stonne / and apon this same stonne
> / I wyll bylde my chirche. And the gates of hel shal not preuayle against
> it. And I wil geve unto the / the keyes of the kingdom of heauen / and
> whatsoeuer thou byndeth upon earth / it shal be bounde in heauen. And
> whatsoever thou lowseth on earth shalbe lowsed in heauen.[20]

Luther saw a fundamental corruption in the church as an institution that prevented

change from within (this, of course, church hierarchy was meant to do). For Luther

and those who followed him, the hope for reform rested in secular leaders, like

German Protestant Princes or Henry VIII, rather than the ecclesiastical leaders of a

corrupt church body. Protestants eschewed the Catholic tradition and papal

authority that propped up their doctrine. The Roman Catholic church operated as a

strict hierarchical structure from the Pope down to parish priest whereas the

Protestant model did away with ordained priests, opting instead for ministers of

worship and favored a limited structure that kept decisions based in scripture and

on the parish level. Protestants also limited the number of sacraments in the liturgy

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[20] Biblical text here taken from the Tyndale translation (1534)—not for any reason other than to remain consistent with the time period of the *Mirror* and related texts.

and embraced the doctrines of salvation through faith alone, predestination, and election.

The Reformation in England took a different and unique form from that of the larger movement on the European continent. First, in early printing history, as previously outlined, Henry's bureaucracy had kept the primary means of production and transmission on the continent and limited the entry of the ideas of Protestantism into England. Domestic printers were heavily monitored by means of the Henrician treason, sedition, and heresy laws. Additionally, the attitudes toward religious reform took on a different tone in England—Henry VIII (through advisors such as Cromwell) became interested in reform as a tool to extend the sphere of the monarch's power rather than as a theological problem, at least initially. Henry found himself "greatly helped by the manifestation in Europe of a general discontent with the medieval church system" whose abuses "were admitted and deplored by good Catholics."[21] Indeed the anticlerical satire evident in Chaucer finds new vituperative expressions in Skelton. Nevertheless, those "good Catholics" who objected to abuses were divided in spirit and in deed. While many English Catholics might readily admit to the abuses and excesses of the Roman Church, they were still entrenched in the tradition and unwilling to break away from the church as an institution. That division led to a formidable counter-reformation.

In many ways, the Reformation was the natural consequence of a general discontent and antipathy toward aspects of Catholicism that had been rising and

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[21] F. E. Hutchinson, *Cranmer and the English Reformation* (London: The English Universities Press Ltd., 1951.), 1.

growing within the zeitgeist of the English church for some time. Far from being some radical movement that was imported from Germany, some of the most ardent supporters of change in England were to be found within the Catholic church itself—loyalists who recognized abuses from within and hoped to purify the integrity of the church. Reform had been in the air for some time, and the church itself had, of necessity, begun many efforts, albeit largely failing, to make changes from within in an effort to preserve the unity of Christendom. The Catholic factions that opposed the Reformists efforts "strengthened the Church and purified it of many practical abuses; to this extent the Roman Church gained by the Reformation, and it aided the recovery of large parts of Europe to Catholic obedience."[22]

For all his satirical attacks upon the excesses of the Church, Erasmus drew back from steps Lutherans were advocating. Like many Renaissance humanists, Erasmus "valued the preservation of the Catholic unity more than immediate reforms."[23] The English grievances against Rome tended to be more practical than doctrinal in nature and had largely to do with cash expenditures and budgetary deficits. King Henry was able to harness plenty of existing resentment toward the Church and the Pope when he moved to augment the national revenue by suppressing, dissolving, or disbanding monastic houses and seizing their property.

Sentiments hostile to ecclesiastical abuses were complicated by a general perception on the part of the laity of absenteeism of the clergy—the fact that many clergymen in the higher echelons of the church would be given positions within a

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[22] Ibid., 4.
[23] Ibid., 5.

parish or diocese and then live and work outside of that area. For instance, Cardinal Wolsey was made Archbishop of York in 1514, but notoriously never visited the city of York until 1529. Increasingly, the clergy was seen as greedy, corrupted, and undisciplined. English Catholics had also long found themselves at odds with clergy over the practices and doctrines of indulgences and Purgatory.

Soon after publication, Luther's works began to be smuggled into England and rapidly gained popularity at the universities, particularly at Cambridge. King Henry VIII told Pope Leo X that "ever since he knew Luther's heresy in Germany, he had made it his study how to extirpate it."[24] Henry composed a work, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorium*, dedicated to the Holy See. The King would present to Leo a gold bound edition of this treatise—in turn, Leo would confer the title of *Fidei Defensor* upon King Henry.

In 1532, Henry awaited a judgment from Pope Clement VII on the nullification of his marriage to Katherine of Aragon. Meanwhile, Parliament passed the Act in Conditional Restraint of Annates allowing the King to suspend payments and dues to Rome at his discretion pending the Pope's judgment on Henry's wish for a declaration of nullity. Implicit in this act was also the threat of a separation from the Roman authority.

One year later, in February 1533, Parliament passed the Appointment of Bishops Act 1533 that stripped Rome of its judicial jurisdiction and allowed the King to settle his business at home. On 30 March 1533, Thomas Cranmer was consecrated

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[24] Ibid., 13.

as Archbishop of Canterbury, taking his oaths with added protestations that anticipated immediate repudiation by Rome. These protestations would be regarded as perjuries by Mary's government when Cranmer was put on trial years later.

Henry had been secretly married to Anne Boleyn, and now, free from his constraints with Rome, he needed a way to enable his new Archbishop to annul his first marriage and sanctify his marriage to Boleyn. With Henry as head of the English church, "a new procedure [was] painfully worked out whereby a monarch who was head of the Church could be tried by his most senior clergyman."[25] On 10 May 1533, Cranmer began his examination into the marriage of Henry and Katherine. On 23 May 1533, completely flouting papal authority (the Pope was, after all, unable to function—the prisoner of Charles V), Cranmer pronounced Henry's marriage to Katherine null and void. Five days later, Cranmer had heard the petition from Henry and Anne and gave an official sentence that validated Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn. In March of the next year, however, the Pope pronounced Henry and Katherine's marriage valid. Nevertheless, the marriage to Anne persisted, and on 10 September 1534, Archbishop Cranmer became godfather to Elizabeth I. The role that Cranmer played in the lives of the Tudor dynasty and in the development of the English Reformation that would be the backdrop for the production of *A Mirror for Magistrates* cannot be understated.

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[25] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 92.

Parliament, meanwhile, in collusion with Cromwell and the King, was making

official moves that would push England into reform on a legislative level. The Seven

Years' Parliament, known as the Reformation Parliament, met on 3 November 1529

and continued until 1536.[26] Thomas More was persuaded to sit as Lord Chancellor.

The House of Commons consisted of more laity than the House of Lords, which was

clerical in the majority, owing to the personal enrichment of clerics using their

ecclesiastical authority for personal gain, and Catholic in orientation. In 1531, the

English clergy granted to Parliament a clerical subsidy of £100,000 and a statement

acknowledging the King as "Protector and Supreme Head of the English Church and

Clergy," thus effectively prohibiting the Roman Catholic Church from operating its

holdings legally and financially in England without royal consent. The clergy took

such action under the threat of prosecution under an ancient law called *praemunire*

whereby papal (or any other foreign) jurisdiction against the supremacy of the

monarch was prohibited and punishable. Henry VIII had revived the enforcement of

praemunire in the takedown of Cardinal Wolsey, prosecuting fifteen clerics for their

alignment to the cardinal.[27] The resulting Act of Supremacy prepared a path "for the

entire submission of the Church [in England] to the royal authority."[28] Terrorized by

the threat of praemunire and fearing for their lives and livelihoods, Parliament

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[26] See Appendix C for a detailed account of the acts passed by the Reformation Parliament.
[27] For a detailed discussion of the way in which Henry used the statutes to his advantage and the outcomes therein, see J. A. Guy, "Henry VIII and the Praemunire Manoeuvres of 1530-1531," *The English Historical Review* 97, no. 384 (1982): 481-503.
[28] Ibid., 47.

(without More, who had withdrawn and resigned his position as Chancellor in 1532) approved installation of Cranmer as primate of the King's Church.

In February of 1533, Cranmer had Parliament pass the Act for the Restraint of Appeals which retroactively forbade appeals to Rome, legislatively destroying Katherine's right to appeal to the Pope concerning Cranmer's decision regarding her marriage's validity. The act legislated laws made by men over divine law (in the form of Apostolic Succession) and made the King the final legal and ecclesiastical authority and the English church an institution/bureaucracy of the Tudor state. The Act for the Restraint of Appeals was thus a key legal foundation of the English Reformation. In the spring of 1534, Parliament passed the first Act of Succession, declaring that the King alone, without influence from the Pope, determined the legitimacy of own his succession. On pain of treason, Henry, through Parliament, required nobles, in the second version of the Act, to take an oath to that effect.

On 30 March 1534, members of both Houses took the oath. Thomas More resigned his chancellorship rather than take an oath against the Papal authority. He was called to take the oath anyway. He, along with John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, agreed to the succession but refused the oath's "repudiation of the Pope's authority."[29] They were consigned to the Tower, and a Treasons Act of November 1534 condemned the two men. Fisher was beheaded on 22 June 1535, while More was brought to trial before a special commission of laity, pronounced guilty of high treason, and beheaded on 6 July 1535.

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[29] Ibid., 56.

The English state administration (Cromwell) was now in a legally sanctioned position to restrict the flow of papal monies to support the monasteries and vice versa, and to deflect monastic finances into Tudor coffers. The monasteries, having been denied operating expenses, even if they generated them themselves through fisheries and other industries, were rendered economically dysfunctional through this deliberate rechanneling of their capital. Although the monasteries had bowed to royal supremacy (out of fear), they were viewed with hostility by the Tudor administration (Cromwell) as potential sites that could harbor, attract sentiment, or worse—house organization against the newly established channels of state and religious power and authority. In 1535, the Suppression of Religious Houses Act allowed the state-sponsored dissolution of all monasteries with an income of less than £200 annually. Their lands and properties were then surrendered to the King and his heirs. Through these maneuvers, a significant portion of the land mass of England and Wales became nationalized. These were lands that had previously been supranational—in other words, monastic lands were assembled and administrated by the orders that had founded them, not by a state or superior temporal power. They were overseen by the order, not even by the Pope, and ministered to people near them. The move decimated accustomed channels of social services in England and people were helpless. In 1539, Parliament passed an additional Act that suppressed all the remaining monasteries. New bishoprics were established, so many of the churches were consecrated as cathedrals, but the majority were destroyed or left to ruin. After the Reformation Parliament, there was a tension

between those who wished to progress the movement beyond the breach with the

Pope and those who sought to prevent the further contamination of the English

Church with Lutheran ideas.

In June 1536, a Convocation met under Cranmer to publish the *Ten Articles of Faith* "to stablish Christian quietness and unity among us, and to avoid contentious opinions."[30] The Ten Articles offered a compromise between conservatives and reformers. William Tyndale was executed 6 October 1536. His last words were "Lord, open the King of England's eyes."[31]

1537 saw *The Institution of a Christian Man* or "Bishop's Book" published, a project chiefly headed by Archbishop Cranmer. In 1539, the *Six Articles of Faith* reaffirmed traditional Catholic doctrine on six issues and made denial of Transubstantiation punishable by death. Cranmer opposed the articles but assented upon the plea of the King. "Cranmer's greatest contribution to the English Reformation was his continuous care for the introduction of the Bible to the people."[32] However, the importance of the English order of Service that Cranmer established, the English Liturgy, must not be understated. It would be the underpinning of what would become the Book of Common Prayer and would be a part of every edition of the Bishop's Bible.

On 28 January 1547, Henry VIII died, and Edward Seymour, the maternal uncle of Edward VI, was named Lord Protector. Weeks later, Seymour was made

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[30] Ibid., 78.
[31] Ibid., 18.
[32] Ibid., 93.

Duke of Somerset and given "almost regal power until Parliament deposed him on 14 January 1550."[33] Under his protectorate, the Privy Council shifted away from conservative members like Thomas Wriothesley toward "a group of like-minded politicians—notably John Dudley, William Parr, Thomas Cranmer and William Paget."[34] With the power of the council now firmly within the hands of reformers, Somerset and Archbishop Cranmer became free to collaborate on a path toward real change. Henry VIII's death also saw "an explosion of Protestant print" with publications "dominated by works of a religious character . . . almost all of them Protestant."[35] The reforms that brought about the religious reforms also instigated a notable shift in the printing industry, discussed in the last chapter.

This shift in the printing industry, rather than being just a fortunate by-product of the changing policies of a new governance "was deliberately fostered by those at the very heart of the Edwardine regime."[36] According to the most recent scholarship, "printers, authors, and members of the Privy Council operated with a tightly knit circle of friendship, patronage and personal connection"[37] which has gone to some great lengths to overturn a previous body of work that suggested that Edward's council somehow instituted these reforms without a full and active understanding of their actions.

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[33] Ibid., 99.
[34] Diarmaid McCulloch, *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (New York: Palgrave, 1999), 7-8.
[35] Andrew Pettegree, "Printing and the Reformation: The English Exception," in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism,* ed. Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 172.
[36] Ibid., 173.
[37] Ibid.

In November 1547, Parliament repealed the *Six Articles* and heresy laws, and on 21 February 1548, Somerset's Council ordered the destruction of all images in churches. The following Easter Day saw *The Order of the Communion* which drastically changed the sacramental portion of the Mass. Those sacramental changes would pave the way for the following year's first Act of Uniformity which authorized the *Book of Common Prayer.* The *BCP* included the English Litany, prescribed services in the English tongue, removed or reduced responses, antiphons, and readings from the lives of saints, increased readings from the Bible and Psalter, and set high literary standards for the liturgy. It also set provisions of music for reformed services and metered psalms. The 1549 edition was met with resistance and even armed insurrection by conservatives who sought restoration of the Latin mass, images, and the Six Articles.

Somerset was overthrown by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, later Duke of Northumberland, Lord Protector, and on 22 January 1552, Somerset was executed. Warwick adopted an aggressive Protestant policy. Under his protectorate, the churches were stripped of all but the bare necessities, and the Oxford library was emptied. Properties of bishops were seized, often for the personal gain of Warwick. The nature of the Eucharist and the Real Presence became the greatest point of contention between reformers and conservatives, Catholics and Protestants. The revised *Book of Common Prayer* in 1552 focused on the memory of Christ's death over the sacrifice of the communion. Cranmer insisted on Christ's spiritual presence in the Eucharist, but not a "real" or "carnal" presence. F. E. Hutchinson writes:

> The pace and violence of Northumberland's religious policy were clearly
>
> distasteful to Cranmer's sober and orderly mind. Cranmer's resistance to the
>
> wholesale spoliation of the Church, its revenues and its adornments, brought
>
> upon him Northumberland's displeasure.[38]

Cranmer opposed Northumberland's plan to divert the order of Succession, as did

many of Edward VI's councilors. They caved at Edward and Northumberland's

insistence and signed his "devise"—a move many of them would later backpedal in

the Marian reaction. In 1553, Edward died, and Mary soon became Queen. Many

bishops fled the country—Cranmer did not. The accession of Mary Tudor brought a

notable and sudden decline to the output of the English printing industry. The

market had developed around the Edwardine reform, and for the Marian printing

projects, the regime had to look often to continental printers instead.

On 18 August 1553, Mary's first Proclamation about religion was published

expressing her intent to maintain Catholicism and her desire for her subjects to do

the same. Months later, on 13 November 1553, Archbishop Cranmer, Lord Guildford

Dudley, Jane Grey, and others were tried for treason and sentenced to execution, but

Mary spared Thomas Cranmer. Parliament, in the meantime, repealed the first Act of

Uniformity.

On 5 August 1553, Pope Julius III had appointed Cardinal Reginald Pole to

England, but Mary would stall his re-entry to the country for sixteen months. Before

such a highly appointed member of the Catholic leadership could be reinstalled, the

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[38] Ibid., 133.

aristocratic laity who had acquired former monastic property had to be assured it would remain theirs.

In April of the next year, Cranmer was called before a commission to give testimony on the nature of the Eucharist. For six hours, he was interrupted and insulted as he calmly argued his positions against the corporal presence of Christ and the doctrine of transubstantiation.[39] The new Parliament that met in November of 1554 repealed the reforms that had taken place since 1529 during Henry's Reformation Parliament and adopted rigorous heresy laws that would lead to the burning of nearly three hundred people during Mary's reign.

As Archbishop, Cranmer's case was given to the Pope, Paul IV, who delegated control of the trial to James Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester. His trial began on 12 September 1555, and he was convicted of heresy. On 14 February 1556, Cranmer was ceremonially stripped of his vestments in the Cathedral church of Oxford. His clothes were stripped, his crozier removed, and his hands and fingers scraped where they had been anointed. He was then dressed in a peasant's garment and cap. On 21 March 1556, Cranmer was taken to the stake at St. Mary's Church. He gave a speech wherein he renounced:

> . . . all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my own hand
> since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And
> forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall

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[39] Ibid., 145.

first be punished therefore; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first

burned.[40]

He recanted his recantations and stood firmly on his beliefs about the Sacrament.

It was during these critical moments of Reformation history, wherein the

movement had found its footing, gained traction, and then found itself suddenly

stripped of power under a hostile Marian regime wherein the poets of *A Mirror for*

Magistrates were contextualizing their own sense of history and reconciling it to the

times in which they lived. Patrick Collinson writes that the Tudor concept of history

was very different from our own—the line between *story* and *history* was not a

substantial one. He explains that the view expressed in Sidney's *Defense of Poetry*

and its placement of fiction over history was uncommon. Today's idea of the

historian would be more applicable to the early modern antiquarian, rather than

historian. History writing was largely didactic, and "'truth' was a slippery

commodity.'"[41] When early modern readers read history, it was largely the history

of Rome or Greece—by the time of British writers like John Foxe, historical revision

came into fruition and a new mode of history writing began to develop, from the

perspective of those who were living the history.[42]

The Chronicle was a common mode of English history writing, and the years

1475-1699 saw the publication of "220 editions of 79 different chronicles."[43] The

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[40] Ibid., 157.
[41] Patrick Collinson, "History," in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture,* ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2003), 59.
[42] See p. 73, n 6.
[43] Ibid., 63.

chronicle intended to give history in its entirety—Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* was unfinished, but intended to be a history of England, though only the preface and overview were completed and published. Their popularity largely peaked in the 1560s, and precipitously declined following the publication of Holinshed in 1577, which Collinson calls the 'trump card' of chronicles. Their histories were reborn as "cheap ballads and the more respectable historical and political poems known as *A Mirror for Magistrates*" and into the works of Shakespeare and others during the "craze for history plays" of the 1590s.[44]

Historical writing also found form at this time in proto-autobiographical texts. Autobiographical studies tend to indicate that there was not a lack of focused self-reflective writing before the seventeenth century. Meredith Skura makes the case for reading *Mirror* as a proto-autobiographical mode of writing. While most readers tend to categorize *Mirror* as historiography, she points out the "remarkable repository of detailed and opinionated first-person narratives . . . [that] provided models of writing about self not only for their readers but also for themselves, insofar as three of them [*Mirror* contributors of later editions] went on to write autobiographical accounts of their own lives."[45] Categorized as historiography, *Mirror* draws on the fictional devices that Sidney called "poesie." The blurring of history and fiction was a convention of the time that would have mattered very little to contemporaneous readers.

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[44] Ibid., 62-65.

[45] Meredith Skura, "*A Mirror for Magistrates* and The Beginnings of English Autobiography," *English Literary Renaissance* 36, no. 1 (2006): 27.

For *A Mirror for Magistrates,* the form itself expresses a vision of history that is largely understated—one that reflects the Protestant Egalitarianism to which I have referred. The form of the *Mirror,* however, is perhaps its most contentious aspect for scholars. The various discussions on form stand in a vigorous debate with one another—a debate that illuminates the way in which these writers utilized form to explore their complicated conception of history.

Jessica Winston examines the collaborative nature of the book and sees it as a prescriptive commentary for Tudor society. Like Budra's work, Winston pays close attention to the genealogy of *Mirror*, walking the reader through the Boccaccio/Laurent de Premierfait/Lydgate set of translation that culminated in the genesis of Baldwin's project with Wayland. For *Mirror*, however, she sees "a kind of writing designed to speech *to* power [turned] into one that depicted and fostered a conversation *about* power."[46]

She also discusses the typographic form of *Mirror,* observing the different print types for the verses and the prose frame narratives, which move the reader's focus from the *De Casibus* verses to the conversations between the contemporaneous authors. Essentially, she sees a continuum of dialogue between several different entities—the progression of which begins with the nobility, as readership, and eventually circles back around to the same nobility as subject. The progression of dialogue can be visualized in this way:

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[46] Jessica Winston, "*A Mirror for Magistrates* and Public Political Discourse in Elizabethan England," *Studies in Philology* 101, no. 4 (2004): 382.

Nobility→Printer→Baldwin→Baldwin's Circle of Writers→

Boccaccio and other past writers→Nobility

According to Winston, the printers' use of alternating font sizes dictated the way in which readers, largely from the noble class, approached the material that Baldwin's circle composed—material that they sourced and built upon from previous sources and from their own previous editions of the *Mirror*. Much of her argument focuses upon the changing nature of readership for *Mirror*—as readers began to follow the model of public discourse that Baldwin and his circle advocated, the editions changed to match the changing nature of reception, until the book lost all relevance and the verses declined. "Baldwin claimed new importance for the poet's old territory of dreams and narrative self-consciousness. He made room in history for the poetic 'I' and placed the chronicle author into his text as blatantly as the dreamer steps into his dream."[47]

Meredith Skura, building on this discussion of form within her own exploration of the autobiographical mode, notes that Baldwin separates himself from prior dream narratives by framing his magistrates as texts, rather than as ghosts or visions—the ghosts telling their tales are fictionalized by the *Mirror* poets and then transcribed by Baldwin. Baldwin is writing, according to Skura, within "a post-reformation, post-purgatorial world, and unlike Boccaccio's it has no room for ghosts."[48] Baldwin and the others, instead, take turns speaking on behalf of the

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[47] Skura, "*A Mirror for Magistrates* and The Beginnings of English Autobiography," 35.
[48] Ibid.

ghosts to tell tales, ventriloquizing their chronicles. The group actively employs standards of historiography—trustworthy sources, accurate chronology, a secure sense of national identity, scrutinous use of details, impartiality, and an attempt to reconcile the differences between conflicting sources. In doing so, they claim the role of the poet as one who imparts truth and holds an independent authority, making the *Mirror* "one of the period's most tonally complex and realistically detailed accounts of a text's own history and composition, and thus of its author's own experience in the process."[49]

The eight men who met in that private room in London to compose the *Mirror* envisioned a book that would tell the stories of England's rulers from the 1360s to the 1550s. As such, they worked with the best and most complete volumes of Chronicles that they currently had available to them. Baldwin writes that they wished

> to procure to haue the storye contynewed from where as Bachas lefte, vnto this presente time, chiefly of suche as Fortune had dalyed with here in this ylande: whiche might be as a myrrour for al men as well noble as others, to shewe the slyppery deceytes of the waueryng lady, and the due rewarde of all kinde of vices.[50]

The *Mirror* poets worked with the 1542 edition of *The Chronicle of Fabyan* and Edward Hall's *Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York.*

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[49] Ibid.

[50] William Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates: Edited from Original Texts in the Huntington Library*, ed. Lily B. Campbell (1938; reprint, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), 68.

According to Baldwin's dedication, however, he intended for his initial scope to be a bit wider:

> Whan I first tooke it in hand, I had the helpe of many graunted, & offred of sum, but of few perfourmed, skarce of any: So that wher I entended to have continued it to Quene Maries time, I have ben faine to end it much sooner: yet so, that it may stande for a patarne, till the rest be ready: which with Gods grace (if I may have anye helpe) shall be shortly.[51]

The framework's position takes the burden of responsibility off Baldwin as the source of material that may be politically contentious. Sherri Geller argues "that the frame, along with the complaints, thematizes the indistinguishability of truth and lies and accounts of history, undermining its own claim to veracity in the process."[52] Hall's *Chronicle* was censored in 1555, illustrating the need for such a distance between author and material. By utilizing a variety of sources, Baldwin and the other poets were able to present "contradictory perspectives on the past" and were able to include "political bias, censorship, and willful distortion and dishonesty to instill doubt about whether historians and their sources provide objective historical data."[53]

Historical writing, thus, inevitably modifies or suppresses information because of biases, agendas, or the impact of censorship by outside parties. Geller

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[51] Ibid., 66.

[52] Geller, Sherri, "What History Really Teaches: Historical Pyrrhonism in William Baldwin's *A Mirror for Magistrates,*" in *Opening the Borders: Inclusivity in Early Modern Studies,* ed. Peter C. Herman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 157.

[53] Ibid., 163.

argues that the *Mirror*, therefore, approaches factual truth with a degree of skepticism indicative of a historical Pyrrhonism evident in other contemporaneous works by Juan Luis Vives, Cornelius Agrippa, Francesco Patrizzi, and others.

According to the prefatory text of the *Mirror,* poet and courtier George Ferrers appointed Baldwin secretary, the group relayed their tales, and Baldwin made note of their ghostly complaints. This version of events is itself, of course, "manifestly untrue."[54] The story told in the preface serves to set a scene for the readers, but as Mike Pincombe writes, "only the first twentieth of the story told by Baldwin can be claimed to be perfectly plausible. All the rest is a charming but impudent fiction of authorship.[55]

Where Jessica Winston contends that *Mirror* breaks from *de Casibus* tradition through the notion of expanded readership, Pincombe instead argues the implications of expanded *authorship*:

> No fewer than eight poets gathered to write the continuation. This is why
> they had to devise a new order, one that could involve them all in the
> narrative, presumably so that each could take credit for the work.[56]

Winston argues, however, for an audience shift—Boccaccio, Lydgate, and Premierfait directed their work at the nobility, but Baldwin and the *Mirror* poets widened the audience to include "women, merchants, and indeed, anyone who can

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[54] Mike Pincombe, "William Baldwin and *A Mirror for Magistrates*," *Renaissance Studies: Journal of The Society for Renaissance Studies* 27, no. 2 (2013): 185.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid., 188.

lay their hands on a copy," thus shifting the voice from one what speaks *to* power to one that speaks *about* power. [57]

Pincombe, on the other hand, argues that expanded authorship created the new order out of necessity, and that the creation was purely accidental. He takes Baldwin at his word when he asserts that the printer had approached him to write the continuation to Lydgate but refused to do it on his own. The gathering, then, of poets had no singular purpose, but rather a variety of motivations. Baldwin takes great care not to implicate the rest of the party by name (only Baldwin, Ferrers, and Thomas Chaloner are even named), and so establishes himself as having "a place outside the group as well as within it."[58]

Paul Budra argues that Baldwin's frame is "a realistic, prose recounting of the trials of multiple authorship."[59] He makes a case for the choice of Baldwin as narrator:

> Baldwin was a singularly apt choice for guide. His 1547 book *Moral Philosophy* was so popular it underwent ten editions under Baldwin's guidance and numerous others under a pirate named Thomas Paulfreyman. Baldwin had translated the *Ballads of Solomon* (1549); his *Beware the Cat* drew controversy as a religious satire; and his *Funeralles of King Edward the Sixth* (1560) was suppressed—and therefore well known—for seven years. An Oxford graduate with influential friends, he was listed in the 1556 charter

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[57] Ibid., 187.

[58] Ibid., 190.

[59] Paul Budra, "The *Mirror for Magistrates* and the Politics of Readership," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 32, no. 1 (1992): 9.

incorporating the Stationers' Company. He worked with the Court Revels and he was known in his day as a playwright. He also was respected enough as an historian to be asked to help John Stow in his *Summarie* (1565). Baldwin was a personality, and his name gave the *Mirror* project instant credibility.[60]

Mike Pincombe, on the other hand, refers to Baldwin as an "unambitious" printer, having only printed *The Canticles of Solomon* under his own name, and that only with the additional information in the signatory line: "William Baldwin, servant with Edward Whitchurch."[61] In 1553, Whitchurch went into exile, and John Wayland, a Catholic, obtained the shop where Baldwin would continue to work in his role as a corrector and printer.

Citing textual evidence of Baldwin's deference to the other poets, Pincombe postulates that he is of lower social class, and goes on to describe him as "a vulnerable nobody"—vulnerable due to his identification as an Evangelical writer. [62] While he dedicated his early works to the Earl of Hertford and Edward VI himself, after the fall of Somerset in 1551, he becomes less enthusiastic about trying to make his name known amongst the Evangelical center. In 1552, he publishes a translation of a satirical anti-papal tract by the Italian Pier Paolo Vergerio entitled *Wonderful News of the Death of Paul III* signed only "W.B., Londoner."

The 1559 *Mirror* is supposed to be a lightly edited version of the original *Memorial of such Princes*. Pincombe notes, however, we cannot verify how much

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Pincombe, "William Baldwin and *A Mirror for Magistrates*," 191.

[62] Ibid., 192.

content has been changed or redacted. Since, he notes, Baldwin suppressed the identity of Thomas Chaloner for the 1559 publication of *Mirror*, we may conclude that all the poets were originally named but that Baldwin chose to protect their identities in a shifting political climate. By the time of Sir Thomas More, the literary community had embarked on a project of humanist satire, but More feared that the increasing availability of books in English for the propagation of heresy was so destructive that "men can not almost now speke of such thynges in so mych as a play, but that such evyll herers wax a grete dale the worse." So great was More's concern of heretical misreading that he vowed, "I wolde not onlely my derlynges [Erasmus] bokes by myne own also, helpe to burne them with myne own hands, rather then folkers sholde (though thorow theyre owne faute) take any herme of them."[63]

Some critics have speculated that members of Edward's Privy Council suggested Baldwin to John Wayland to head up the project that would become the *Mirror* due to his known Protestant leanings—all the poets he chose to help him were then of similar mind.[64] Baldwin used allegory and allusion to comment on period of unrest at the brink of the Reformation. Work was suppressed and alluded to Edward Seymour, treated "not as a proud nobleman felled by fortune, but rather as one punished for virtue."[65] George Ferrers authored the tale of Eleanor

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[63] Duffy, 45.
[64] Skura, *Tudor Autobiography*, 76
[65] Paul Budra, "*The Mirror for Magistrates* and the Politics of Readership," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 32, no. 1 (1992): 4.

Cobham—perhaps an analogy to Elizabeth and Dr. John Dee in 1555-56. Ferrers

served as Privy Council informant against young Elizabeth.

Under Mary, the Protestant intelligentsia that had believed themselves to be

triumphant while allied to Edward Seymour during Edward VI's reign, believed—

with good reason—that they had lost their cause. The poem outlining the death of

the Duke of Gloucester, for instance, Scott Lucas sees as a direct analogy to the

execution of Seymour, then Duke of Somerset. In it, the poet writes:

Thus hoysted so high on Fortunes wheele,

As one on a stage attendyng a playe,

Seeth not on whiche syde the scaffolde doth reele,

Tyll tymber and poales and all flee awaye:

So fared it by mee, for day by daye,

As honour increased I loked styll hyer,

Not seying the daunger of my fonde desyer.[66]

Ultimately, Lucas contextualizes *Mirror* as a medium by which Protestant writers

could voice their dissent through allusive tragedies and sees the tragedies of *Mirror*

as a polemic contrived during a time of great religious and political uncertainty.

Even with Elizabeth on the throne in 1559, printing the *Mirror* still proved to

be a difficult task. By that time, permission to print came from the Stationers'

Company—no longer the Chancellor Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester that

Baldwin cites as an earlier obstacle to the production. "Humfrey Duke of Glocester,"

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[66] Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, 94.

"Elinour Cobbam" (his wife), and "Duke of Somerset"—three of the *Mirror* tragedies penned by George Ferrers—likely were at issue. All three were alluded to in the 1559 edition but do not appear. Baldwin's narrative mentions Somerset's complaint after the tragedy of "Jack Cade," but he says he fell asleep and his dream gives us the tragedy of "York"— "Somerset" receives no further mention, but the foliation skips from xlviii to lix, demonstrating an empty space in the text where, up until the moments before printing, Baldwin anticipated inserting the "Somerset" tragedy.

The other two, which Feasey refers to as "the Gloucester poems" for the sake of brevity, have a similar prosaic introduction but no accompanying page break. The Gloucester poems appear in the Table of Contents—both were penned by George Ferrers. We can reasonably conclude that these three poems met with scrutiny and problems with authorities and were, therefore, suppressed. It is possible that the 1554 edition was allowed only because of the influence of the Lord Henry Stafford and the condition that the three offending poems be omitted.

When the Humfrey poem was finally printed in 1578, its full title was: "How Humfrey Plantagenet Duke of Glocester Protector of England, during the minority of his nephue King Henry the sixt (commonly called the good Duke) by practice of enemies was brought to confusion.

The description in this title is a most thinly veiled allusion to the story of Edward Seymour, Lord Protector for his nephew Edward VI, executed in 1552. The similarities continue in the narrative—both are divorced (though Humfrey's divorce
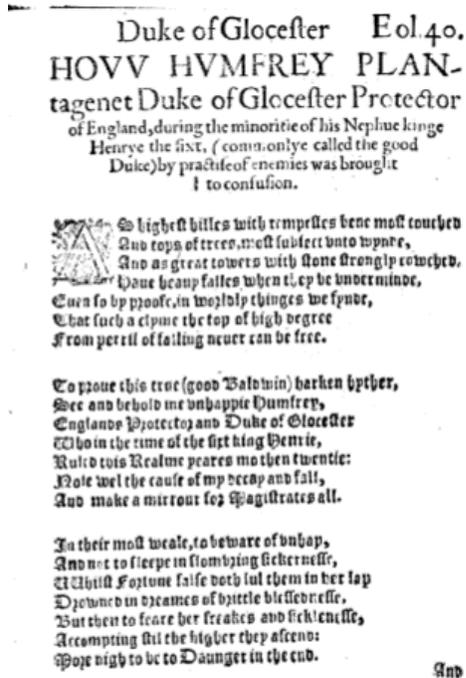
Figure 16: First Page of Gloucester Poem from the 1578 edition of the *Mirror*.[67]

plays no role in the narrative), both are suddenly called to a Council meeting of

which they are suspicious, and both are arrested a few hours later and tried for

treason. In the trial that follows, the treatment of the duke is not portrayed as a just

punishment for a life of vice, but rather, as a persecution for "one of those who have

for their virtue been envied and murdered."[68] In other words, the fate of Gloucester

in *Mirror* stands antithetical to the stated mission and intention of the entire work:

to show how men have fallen by their own facilities.

Bishop Gardiner had cause to be upset with any praises bestowed upon

Seymour—Seymour had excluded Gardiner from Edward VI's Privy Council and

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[67] William Baldwin, *The last part of the Mirour for magistrates* (London: 1578). *Early English Books Online.*
[68] Eveline I. Feasey, ''The Licensing of the Mirror for Magistrates,'' *The Library*, 4th ser., no. 3 (1922): 182.

removed him as Chancellor of University of Cambridge. For expression of his

religious views, he had been sent to the Tower. Ferrer, a strident supporter of

Seymour, could not have written these poems without having in mind an open

attack on Gardiner, by this time Bishop of Winchester and Lord High Chancellor of

the Realm.

By 1559, Elizabeth had become Queen, and Gardiner had died. The license to

print *Mirror*, however, had been granted some months earlier so would have been

made so with stipulations that the offending pieces be removed. Eveline Feasey

postulates that the death of Mary, coming between the licensing and the printing,

may have given Baldwin hope to include "Somerset"—but perhaps the Lord Stafford

may have still seen offense. By the 1563 *Mirror* edition, the Gloucester poems were

still absent, but "Somerset" had been restored. The Gloucester poems would be in

the table of contents in the 1571 edition, but not included. They had no mention

whatsoever in the 1574 and 1575 *Mirrors*, then finally were printed in the 1578

edition. "The history of these three poems," Feasey writes, "involving as it does the

history of the whole of the original *Mirror*, shows that the writers were concerned

far more than they professed to be, with the events of their own day."[69]

Concerned with their own day or not, the subjects to which the *Mirror* gives

voice are certainly long dead figures. It is a curious situation that William Baldwin is

writing from a tradition of rhetoric that privileges orality and chooses to embody

that orality in the voices of the disembodied. To be sure, the *Mirror* is filled with

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[69] Ibid., 190.

invitations by the authors to imagine the most gruesome imagery. The very first

tragedy, "Robert Tresilian," declares to the reader: "And therfore by your lycense

and agrement, I will take vpon me the personage of the last, who full of woundes,

miserably mangled, with a pale countenaunce, and grisly looke, may make his mone

to *Baldwin* as foloweth."[70]

Jim Ellis proposes that Elizabethan readers were intrigued by *A Mirror for

Magistrates* because of "its fascination with the mutilated bodies of its subjects, and

its compulsive return to the spectacle of the body in pieces."[71] Pincombe argues that

those bodies are an artistic solution to a major artistic problem for Baldwin. He

suggests that by constructing the *Mirror* as voiced poems on behalf of the dead, the

descriptions of mutilated bodies led some credence to and believability to an

otherwise awkward framework. Baldwin, according to Pincombe, "could never take

the idea of a talking cadaver quite seriously," and they slip from a tragic to an

"untragic" tone at times.[72] The cadavers address Baldwin directly, inviting him to

imagine their ghastly forms. Since, of course, Baldwin is giving them voice, what the

reader is actually observing is Baldwin addressing *himself*, a fact that gives credence

to Pincombe's argument. Consider such an invitation in the tragedy of "King Richard

the Second": "And therfore imagine *Baldwin* that you see him al to be mangled, with

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[70] Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, 81.
[71] Ellis, 1033.
[72] Mike Pincombe, "Tragic and Untragic Bodies in the *Mirror for Magistrates*," in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context,* ed. Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 53.

blew woundes, lying pale and wane al naked vpon the cold stones in Paules church, the people standing round about him, and making his mone in this sort."[73]

In the case of William Delapole, Duke of Suffolk, the poets are ignoring, apparently, the fact that Suffolk was beheaded, and by speaking to the corpse, they would be speaking to a *headless* corpse. The *Mirror* describes his death only as "notable." Pincombe argues that "the prose . . . functions as a kind of commentary on the poems, and especially on their status as a kind of dramatic monologue."[74] The light-heartedness of the prose dilutes the melancholy of the verse, and the tragic bodies take on elements of the grotesque, "playing with the conventions of grisly literary horror."[75]

Jack Cade's narration of his misdeeds in his tragic poem shows another example of this playful horror:

His sonne in law, Iames Cromer shrive of Kent,

I caught at Myle ende, where as than he laye:

Beheaded him, and on a poale I sent

His head to London, where his fathers laye.

With these two heades I made a pretty play,

For pight on poales I bare them through the street,

And for my sport made ech kisse other swete.[76]

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[73] Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, 111.
[74] Ibid., 55.
[75] Ibid., 56.
[76] Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, 175.

Pincombe recognizes the ironic literary mischief at work in the interplay between the tragic and untragic of the *Mirror*'s verse and prose (respectively). The tragic bodies evoke a sense of *pathos* when the *Mirror* implicitly calls upon the reader to imagine their grisly mangled corpses. The untragic bodies, however (a term Pincombe uses to describe a particular treatment by Baldwin) evoke a different effect—not comical, still an image of suffering, but at once distanced from the tone of the tragic. As an example, Pincombe cites the Duke of Clarence who, in his verse, apologizes to Baldwin (here is Baldwin the author *and* Baldwin the character/listener) for his slurred speech, having been drowned in a vat of wine.

In the tragedy of Owen Glendower, Baldwin the narrator uses the frame to introduce the idea of relaying his tragedy to the group—then Baldwin the poet provides the title: "Howe Owen Glendower seduced by false prophecies tooke vpon him to be prince of Wales, and was by Henry then prince therof, chased to the mountaynes, where he miserably dyed for lacke of foode." Glendower's verse then begins with a direct plea to Baldwin:

> I pray the Baldwin sith thou doest entend
>
> To shewe the fall of such as clymbe to hye,
>
> Remember me, whose miserable ende
>
> May teache a man his vicious life to flye.[77]

Here, Baldwin the poet apostrophizes Baldwin the narrator.

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[77] William Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, 120.

The introduction describes Glendower's starved naked body, but first, Baldwin exhorts the group to take up the tragedy, "although he be but a *slender* prince" (emphasis mine) presenting an image that may be "more grotesque than horrifying."[78] This is not to say that the treatment of Glendower's verse is comical. Rather, Pincombe argues, the interplay between prose-title-verse presents a complicated rhetorical move that complicates the consistency of tone—it continues in the prose passage that follows: "Whan starued Owen had ended his hungry exhortacion, it was well inough liked."[79] "Starved Owen," indeed.

Ultimately, Pincombe writes, the *Mirror* "has suffered the same fate as some of its subjects: it has been *dismembered*."[80] The poems on their own are very serious, but the framework makes the whole of the work playful and a bit confusing. Pincombe calls for readers to restore the work to its full effect and approach it thus.

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[78] Pincombe, "Tragic and Untragic Bodies in the *Mirror for Magistrates*," 60.
[79] Baldwin, The *Mirror for Magistrates*, 131.
[80] Pincombe, "Tragic and Untragic Bodies in the *Mirror for Magistrates*," 68.

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CONCLUSIONS

The man we know as William Baldwin remains a mystery—a phantom if you will, haunting the archive of the mid-sixteenth century, beckoning us to look more closely. From our vantage point here in the early part of the twenty-first century, we can easily look at history as a series of moments—notches on a timeline. It has been over six hundred fifty years since Boccaccio's *De Casibus*, almost six hundred years since Gutenberg's press, five hundred forty years since Caxton's press in Westminster, five hundred years since Martin Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses*, and four hundred fifty-nine years since the publication of *A Mirror for Magistrates.*

However, history, the passage of time, and the ever-shifting development of human culture are not bound to such concrete moments—rather, they exist in the fissures between them. The notion of a fissure is a curious one, for fissures both bind and separate. The word itself is a contranym, like *cleave* or *sanction*. These words problematize definition by being themselves defined as two oppositions in a binary. At the start of this dissertation, I turned to Derrida's concept of the *archive* to try to understand Lady Anne Clifford's library. Here at the end, I turn again to Derrida—this time to his essay "The Double Session"—to conceptualize this fissure of history, the spaces between the borders of eras and the points of a timeline. Writing about *mimesis*—doubling, Derrida employs the word (image, signifier) *hymen*, telling us that it "is first of all a sign of fusion, the consummation of a

marriage, the identification of two beings, the confusion between two. *Between* the two, there is no longer difference but identity."[1]

The identity exists *between* the moments, and so these fissures become for us indispensable guides to understanding the vistas presented to us by the passage of time. William Baldwin lies within such a fissure. He rests on the borders between the Medieval and the Modern periods, the time of manuscript and the age of print, the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church and the Age of the Reformation.

This dissertation has, by design, painted a limited and incomplete portrait of the full history of this work. *A Mirror for Magistrates the Seconde Parte* was published after Baldwin's death. It included manuscripts submitted after the 1554 suppression. The *Mirror* would garner the praises of Sidney, who in *Apology for Poetry* would call it "meetly furnished of beautiful parts" and the only poetry (apart from the Earl of Surrey) worth mentioning between Chaucer and Spenser. The *Mirror* would influence Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and Shakespeare's History plays, and would have revised new editions in 1574, 1578, 1587, and 1610.

I have attempted to illustrate a sociological view of the earliest versions of this largely forgotten text, *A Mirror for Magistrates*. In doing so, I have explored its provenance, its authors and compositors, its place within generic and literary traditions, and the political and religious underpinnings of its composition. I contend that within this prismatic approach we can truly begin to understand this complex and baffling work—but the converse is also true: by using a deeply

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[1] Jacques Derrida, "The Double Session," In *Dissemination,* Trans. Barbara Johnson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 209.

sociological reading of the text itself, we also gain a more comprehensive understanding of the times that produced it—times that inform so much of who we are today. "For here as in a loking glas," Baldwin writes in the prefatory dedication, "you shall see (if any vice be in you) howe the like hath bene punished in other heretofore, whereby admonished, I trust it will be a good occasion to move you to the soner amendment."[2] Baldwin and his collaborators preserved for us a text that was intended to provide us with a way to view the world, but moreover, a way to view ourselves, irrespective of our place in history, for the magistrates, like those in Macbeth's apparition, stretch out to the crack of doom. Though the names and the timelines change, the vices, the trappings, and the human inclinations remain with us. To see them, we need only a clear enough glass.

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[2] Baldwin, 65-66.

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APPENDIX A: CONTENTS OF *DE CASIBUS ILLUSTRIUM VIRORUM*

The First Book

- Introduction
- About Adam and Eve
- Time Consumes All Things
- About Cadmus, King of Thebes
- A Gathering of Unhappy Souls
- About Jocasta, Queen of Thebes
- The Quarrel of Thyestes and Atreus
- About Theseus, King of Athens
- A Warning Against Credulousness
- A Gathering of the Mournful
- About Priam and Hecuba
- Against the Proud
- About Agamemnon, King of Mycenae
- Poverty Applauded
- About Samson
- Against Women
- Some More in Misery

The Second Book
- A Short Introduction
- Against the Presumptuous Pride of Kings
- About Dido, Queen of Carthage
- In Praise of Dido
- About Sardanapalus, King of Assyria
- Against Sardanapalus and his Ilk
- A Few Thoughts about Dreams
- An Invective Against Deceit

The Third Book
- Introduction
- The Fight of Poverty and Fortune
- About Tullus Hostilius and Tarquin the Elder
- About Tarquin the Proud, his son Sextus, and the Rape of Lucretia
- Against the Prodigious Lust of Princes
- About Xerxes, King of the Persians

- The Dark Blindness of Mankind
- Some Unhappy People
- About Appius Claudius, the Decemvir
- Against Ignorant Lawyers
- About Alcibiades, the Athenian
- In Defense of Alcibiades
- The Author Acquitted and Poetry Commended
- Against Riches, the Frenzy of Many

The Fourth Book
- Introduction
- About Marcus Manlius Capitolinus
- Against the Faithlessness of the Common People
- About Alexander the Great and Callisthenes, the Philosopher

APPENDIX B: CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

- 1358—Giovanni Boccaccio completes (likely) *De Casibus Illustrium Virorum.*
- 1420—First Printing of *De Casibus Illustrium Virorum.*
- 1476—William Caxton sets up first English printing press at Westminster.
- 2 July 1489—Thomas Cranmer born.
- 28 June 1491—Henry VIII is born
- 1500s—date unknown—William Baldwin born perhaps in Wales
- **24 June 1509—Coronation of Henry VIII**
- 3 November 1529—Seven Years' Parliament, known as the Reformation Parliament, meets.
- 1533—William Baldwin applies for degree at Oxford (possibly)
- February 1533—Parliament passes the Act for the Restraint of Appeals which retroactively forbids appeals to Rome and makes the King the final legal authority. It is a key legal foundation of the English Reformation.
- 1533-1536—Ecclesiastical Supremacy
- 30 March 1533—Thomas Cranmer consecrated as Archbishop of Canterbury
- 10 May 1533—Cranmer begins his examination into the marriage of Henry and Katherine of Aragon.
- 23 May 1533—Archbishop Cranmer pronounces the marriage of Henry and Katherine of Aragon null and void.
- 28 May 1533—Archbishop Cranmer validates Henry and Anne Boleyn's marriage.
- 7 September 1533—Elizabeth I is born.
- Spring 1534—Parliament passes the first Act of Succession.
- 23 March 1534—Pope pronounces Katherine's marriage valid.
- 30 March 1534—members of both Houses take the oath to the Succession Act.
- 10 September 1534—Cranmer becomes Godfather to Elizabeth I.
- 22 June 1535—John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester beheaded.
- 6 July 1535—Sir Thomas More beheaded.
- 1535—Suppression of Religious Houses Act.
- 7 January 1536—Catherine of Aragon dies.
- Winter 1535-1536—Henry attracted to Jane Seymour, lady in waiting—associated with Aragonese faction.
- January 1536—Anne Boleyn miscarries a son at 14 weeks.
- April 1536—Committee to investigate adultery of Queen Anne. Henry's role is unknown.
- 15 May 1536—Anne Boleyn tried and convicted.

- 19 May 1536—Anne Boleyn executed.
- 30 May 1536—Henry marries Jane Seymour.
- June 1536—Convocation meets under Cranmer to publish *Ten Articles of Faith.*
- 6 October 1536—William Tyndale executed.
- 1537—*The Institution of a Christian Man* or "Bishop's Book" published.
- 12 October 1537—Edward VI born.
- 24 October 1537—Jane Seymour dies.
- 1538—Pope excommunicates Henry—declared heretic and apostate.
- 1539—*Six Articles of Faith* reaffirms traditional Catholic doctrine on six issues and made denial of Transubstantiation punishable by death.
- 1539—Peace treaty between France and the Holy Roman Empire strengthened defenses.
- January 1540—Henry VIII nicknames Anne of Cleves "the Flanders mare."
- July 1540—Henry and Anne divorce.
- Summer 1540—Henry marries Anne of Cleves, Catholic Queen, and executed Thomas Cromwell
- 13 February 1542—Katherine Howard executed.
- 1542—Scotland invaded. James V dies, succeeded by Mary Queen of Scots, betrothed to Edward VI.
- 1544—Succession Statute to secure Edward VI as heir, then heirs of Edward's Body, then Mary, then Elizabeth
- July 1544—Last French campaign for Henry VIII. He captures Boulogne, but at great financial cost.
- 1547—William Baldwin works for Edward Whitchurch at printing office; Whitchurch publishes Baldwin's *Treatise of Moral Philosophy*, a text that, according to the *DNB,* is "tinged with Erasmianism" and "underwent frequent revision and expansion by the compiler and others; it had been reissued twenty-four times by 1620."
- 28 January 1547—Henry VIII dies.
- **20 February 1547—Coronation of Edward VI.**
- November 1547—Parliament repeals the *Six Articles* and heresy laws.
- 21 February 1548—Council orders destruction of all images in churches.
- 4 April 1548, Easter Day—*The Order of the Communion* drastically changes the sacramental portion of the Mass.
- 1549—Baldwin publishes *Canticles or Balades of Salomon,* a metrical translation of the Song of Solomon dedicated to King Edward VI.
- 21 January 1549—first Act of Uniformity authorizes the Book of Common Prayer. Parliament abolishes the Latin Mass and establishes the English Communion

Service, but this act is not ordered into effect nationally until June of that year.

- 10 October 1549—Warwick returns to London and seizes power from Somerset.
- 14 October 1549—Somerset imprisoned in Tower.
- 14 January 1550—Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset deposed by Parliament.
- Spring 1550—Somerset restored to Privy Council.
- October 1551—Somerset arrested for conspiracy against Warwick.
- 22 January 1552—Somerset executed.
- 28 December 1552 (fictional date?)—Ferrers, Baldwin, Willot, and Streamer meet in Ferrer's chamber at the court of King Edward VI (opening scene of *Beware the Cat*)
- 1553—early months—Baldwin composes *Beware the Cat*
- 1553—Edward's illness. Edward and John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland draw up a Device of Succession to prevent Mary from becoming queen and reversing Protestant reforms. Crown would go to the male heirs of Frances Grey, Duchess of Suffolk, the elder daughter of Henry VIII's younger sister.
- June 1553—Edward had weeks to live, Frances Grey had no sons, Device altered to assign Lady Jane Grey.
- 6 July 1553—King Edward VI dies.
- **9 July 1553—Lady Jane Grey is proclaimed Queen.**
- 19 July 1553—Privy Council proclaims Mary Queen.
- 5 August 1553—Pope Julius III appoints Cardinal Reginald Pole
- 18 August 1553—Mary's first Proclamation about religion published expressing her intent to maintain Catholicism and her desire for her subjects to do the same.
- **1 October 1553—Coronation of Mary I**
- October 1553—Parliament revokes Prayer Book and Act of Uniformity
- 13 November 1553—Cranmer, Lord Guildford Dudley, Jane Grey and others tried for treason and sentenced to execution.
- January 1554—Sir Thomas Wyatt and 3000 men march to London. Wyatt, 90 followers, Lady Jane, and Guildford Dudley executed.
- 1554—Reginald, Cardinal Pole, formerly exiled, returns as Mary's advisor. Negotiates for present owners to retain monastic lands. In return, Parliament reunites with Rome and reenacted Heresy laws.
- 16 April 1554—Cranmer called before a commission to give testimony on the nature of the Eucharist.
- 25 July 1554—Mary's wedding to King Philip of Spain.

- 1554—*A Memorial of Suche Princes, as since the Tyme of King Richard the Seconde, Have Been Unfortunate in the Realme of England* is printed with Baldwin as editor. Publication is suppressed by Mary's Chancellor, Bishop Stephen Gardiner.
- 12 November 1554—Queen Mary's Parliament begins.
- 12 September 1555—Cranmer's trial begins.
- 14 February 1556—Cranmer ceremonially stripped of his vestments in the Cathedral church of Oxford.
- 21 March 1556—Cranmer taken to the stake at St. Mary's Church.
- 17 November 1558—Mary dies.
- **15 January 1559—Coronation of Elizabeth I**
- 1559—*A Memorial of Suche Princes* is revised and published under the title *A Myrroure for Magistrates.* This volume would become one of the most circulated and influential books of English verse in the 16th century. As a set of Chronicle-poems, it gives precedence for Chronicle-plays, and no less than 40 Renaissance plays use, as subjects, material found in *Mirror.*
  Baldwin, according to the 1563 edition of *Mirror,* is "called to an other trade of lyfe"—probably ordained a deacon that year
- 1560—Baldwin appointed Vicar of Torkington-Sussex
- 1561—Baldwin appointed rector of St Michael-le-Querne, London. *Beware the Cat* first published (Ko 34)—this edition's existence largely contested by scholars.
- 1563—William Baldwin dies of plague, probably between September and November.

APPENDIX C: ACTS PASSED DURING THE "REFORMATION PARLIAMENT" 1529-1536[1]

1529

- c. 1. The King's Highness his general Pardon.

- c. 2. An Act concerning such as shall take Sanctuary for Felony or Murder.

- c. 3. An Act concerning Delays in Assizes.

- c. 4. An Act concerning Executors of last Wills and Testaments.

- c. 5. An Act concerning Fines and Sums of Money to be taken by the Ministers of Bishops and other Ordinaries of Holy Church for the Probate of Testaments.

- c. 6. An Act concerning the taking of Mortuaries, or demanding, receiving or claiming of the same. (also known as the **Mortuaries Act 1529**)

- c. 7. An Act for the Punishment of such Servants as shall withdraw themselves, and go away with their Masters' or Mistresses' Caskets and other Jewels or Goods, committed to them in Trust to be kept.

- c. 8. An Act for the bringing up and rearing of Calves to increase the Multitude of Cattle.

- c. 9. An Act limiting the Prices of Woollen Hats, Bonnets, and Caps made beyond the Seas, and brought to be sold within this Realm.

- c. 10. An Act against the carrying of Lattin, Brass and such Metal mixed beyond the Seas.

- c. 11. An Act for Restitution to be made of the Goods of such as shall be robbed by Felons.

- c. 12. An Act for true making of great Cables, Halsers, Ropes and all other Tackling for Ships, etc. in the Borough of Burport, in the County of Dorset.

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[1] *Statutes of the Realm,* (Burlington, Ont: TannerRitchie Publishing, 2007), *eBook Academic Collection.*

- c. 13. An Act that no Spiritual Persons shall take to farm, of the King or any other Person, any Lands or Tenements for Term of Life, Lives, Years or at Will, &c.; and for Pluralities of Benefices; and for Residence.

- c. 14. An Act for the Linen Drapers in London.

- c. 15. An Act that Tenants for Term of Years may falsify for their Term only, Recoveries had and made by their Lessors, to the defrauding of the said Termers' Interests.

- c. 16. An Act ratifying a Decree made in the Star Chamber, concerning Strangers and Handycraftsmen inhabiting the Realm of England.

- c. 17. An Act repealing a Grant lately made by the King's Highness to the Citizens of York, for the shipping of certain Wools into the Port of Hull.

- c. 18. An Act for the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne, concerning the shipping of Merchandize, and the unshipping thereof within the Liberties of the said Town.

- c. 19. An Act concerning Avowries.

- c. 20. An Act that the President of the King's Counsel shall be associate with the Chancellor and Treasurer of England, and the Keeper of the King's Privy Seal.

- c. 21. An Act for Yarmouth concerning the making of Worsteds.

- c. 22. An Act for the assurance of diverse Manors, Lands, and Tenements to Thomas Duke of Norfolk and there his males of his body lawfully begotten.

- c. 23. An act concerning the last Will and Testament of one John Rooper the elder of Canterbury in the County of Kent, Esquire, deceased.

- c. 24. An Act for the releasing unto the King his Highness of such sums of money as was to be required of him by any of his subjects for any manner of loan by various missives or other ways or means whatsoever.

- c. 25. An Act that no person or persons shall sustain any prejudice by means of that attainder of the Lord Cardinal [Wolsey], by means that the said Cardinal was seized in their lands to diverse uses.

- c. 26. An Act of the assurance of certain lands to Elizabeth Duchess of Norfolk during her life and after her decease to Thomas Duke of Norfolk her husband forever and his heirs.

1530-1531

- c. 1. An Act against Regrators and Gatherers of Wool.

- c. 2. An Act for avoiding of foreign Pleas pleaded by Felons.

- c. 3. An Act concerning Plumsted Marsh.

- c. 4. An Act concerning the avoiding of Exactions levied on Apprentices.

- c. 5. An Act concerning the Amendment of Bridges in Highways. (also known as the **Bridges Act 1530**)

- c. 6. An Act for Butchers not to keep Tan-houses.

- c. 7. An Act against Conveyance of Horses out of this Realm.

- c. 8. An Act for Denizens to pay Strangers Customs.

- c. 9. An Act for Poisoning. (also known as the **Poisoning Act 1530**)

- c. 10. An Act concerning Egyptians. (also known as the **Egyptians Act 1530**)

- c. 11. An Act concerning Powdike in Marsh-land.

- c. 12. An Act concerning punishment of Beggars and Vagabonds. (also known as the **Vagabonds Act 1530**)

- c. 13. An Act concerning Bakers, Brewers, Surgeons and Scriveners.

- c. 14. An Act concerning Abjurations into Sanctuaries.

- c. 15. An Act concerning a Pardon granted to the King's Spiritual Subjects of the Province of Canterbury for the Premunire.

- c. 16. An Act concerning the Pardon granted to the King's Temporal Subjects for the Premunire.

- c. 17. An Act concerning the Duke of Richmond.

- c. 18. An Act concerning the King's household.

- c. 19. An Act concerning the Assurance of certain lands to the heirs of Sir William Fyloll.

- c. 20. An Act concerning the Town of Southampton.

- c. 21. An Act of Exchange between the King's Highness and the heirs of Lord Marquess Montague.

- c. 22. An Act concerning certain Annuities granted out of the Bishopric of Winchester.

- c. 23. An Act concerning the assurance of the Jointure of the Lady Dorothy Countess of Derby.

1531-1532

- c. 1. An Act that no Person committing Petty Treason, Murder or Felony, shall be admitted to his Clergy under Subdeacon.

- c. 2. An Act concerning where and under what Manner the Jails within this Realm shall be edified and made.

- c. 3. An Act concerning Perjury, and Punishment of untrue Verdicts.

- c. 4. An Act that no Brewers of Beer or Ale shall make their Barrels, Kilderkins nor Firkins, within them; and how much the same Barrels, &c. shall contain.

- c. 5. A General Act concerning Commissions of Sewers to be directed in all Parts within this Realm.

- c. 6. An Act concerning before whom Recognizances of Debts shall be made and the form of the obligation.

- c. 7. An Act that the Statutes made for the maintenance of the Navy of this Realm shall stand in full Strength; and how Gascoigne and French Wine shall be brought in, and the same and other Wines sold.

- c. 8. An Act for the amending and maintenance of the havens and ports of Plymouth, Dartmouth, Teignmouth, Falmouth, and Fowey in the Counties of Devon and Cornwall.

- c. 9. An Act that no person shall be cited out of the Diocese where he or she dwelleth except in certain Cases. (also known as the **Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Act 1531**)

- c. 10. An Act for Feoffments and Assurances of lands and tenements made to the use of any parish Church Chapel or such like.

- c. 11. An Act for breaking of prison by Clerks convict.

- c. 12. An Act for taking Exactions upon the paths of Severn.

- c. 13. An Act that Men in Cities Boroughs and Towns which be clearly worth £40 in goods, shall pass in trial of murders.

- c. 14. Process of Outlawry to lie in Actions on 5 Rich. 2. [and] in Covenant and Annuity.

- c. 15. An Act that the Defendant shall recover Costs against the Plaintiff, if the Plaintiff be nonsuited, or if the Verdict pass against him.

- c. 16. An Act that no Englishman shall sell exchange or deliver to be conveyed into Scotland, any Horse Gelding or Mare without the King's License.

- c. 17. An Act for true winding of Wools.

- c. 18. An Act for pulling down and avoiding of Fish-garths, piles, stakes, hecks and other engines set in the River and Water of Ouse and Humber.

- c. 19. An Act concerning the King's gracious pardon of Premunire granted unto his Spiritual Subjects of the province of York.

- c. 20. An Act concerning restraint of payment of Annates to the See of Rome.

- c. 21. An Act concerning an Exchange of certain lands between the King's Highness and the Abbot of Westminster.

- c. 22. An Act concerning an Exchange of Lands between the King's Highness and the Master Fellows and Scholars of Christ's College in Cambridge.

- c. 23. An Act concerning an Exchange of Lands between the King's Highness and Abbot of Waltham of Holy Cross.

- c. 24. An Act concerning an Exchange of certain Lands between the King's Highness and the Provost of Eton.

- c. 25. An Act concerning an Exchange of Lands between the King's Highness and Abbot of St Albans.

- c. 26. An Act concerning the Exchange of certain Lands between the King's Highness and Lord of St Johns.

- c. 27. An Act concerning an Exchange of Lands between the King's Highness and the Prior of Sheene.

- c. 28. An Act concerning an Exchange of Lands between the King's Highness the Duke of Richmond and the Lord Lumley.

- c. 29. An Act concerning the Assurance of certain Lands unto Henry Earl of Surrey in consideration of his Marriage.

- c. 30. An Act concerning the Manor of Hunsdon from henceforth to be called the Honor of Hunsdon.

- c. 31. An Act concerning the Assurance of the Jointure of the Lady Elizabeth Countess of Wiltshire.

- c. 32. An Act concerning an Award made by the King's Highness of Coopcenory to the heirs general of the Earl of Oxford.

- c. 33. An Act concerning the Assurance of the Jointures of the Lady Anne and the Lady Elizabeth Countesses of Oxford.

- c. 34. An Act concerning the Attainder of Rychard Gruffyth and Wyllyam Hughes.

1532-1533

- c. 1. An Act concerning true tanning and currying of Leather.

- c. 2. An Act concerning the true dying of Woolen Cloth.

- c. 3. An Act for Flesh to be sold by weight.

- c. 4. An Act concerning sowing of Flax and Hemp.

- c. 5. An Act where a Man killing a Thief shall not forfeit his Goods.

- c. 6. An Act concerning sale of Wines.

- c. 7. An Act to continue and renew the Act made against killing of Calves.

- c. 8. An Act where Defendants shall not recover any Costs.

- c. 9. An Act against killing of young Beasts called Weanlings.

- c. 10. An Act made and ordained to destroy Choughs, Crows and Rooks.

- c. 11. An Act for paving of the Highway between the Strond Cross and Charing Cross.

- c. 12. An Act that the Appeals in such Cases as have been used to be pursued to the See of Rome shall not be from henceforth had ne used but within this Realm. (also known as the **Ecclesiastical Appeals Act 1532**)

- c. 13. An Act for Reformation of Excess in Apparel.

- c. 14. An Act concerning the Assurance of certain Lands unto Walter Walsh and Dame Elizabeth his wife late the wife of Sir Wyllyam Compton knight deceased.

- c. 15. An Act concerning the repealing of certain Letters patent granted unto the Mayor Burgesses and Commonality of the Town of Hull.

- c. 16. An Act licensing the Butchers of London to kill their Cattle within the Walls of the same City.

1533-1534

- c. 1. An Act concerning Graziers and Butchers.

- c. 2. An Act of proclamation to be made concerning victuals.

- c. 3. An Act for standing mute and peremptory challenge. (also known as **Standing Mute, etc. Act 1533**)

- c. 4. An Act against forestalling and regrating of Fish.

- c. 5. An Act for calendering of Worsteds.

- c. 6. An Act for the punishment of the vice of Buggery. (also known as **Buggery Act 1533**)

- c. 7. An Act against killing of young spawn or fry of Eels and Salmon.

- c. 8. An Act for paving of Holborn.

- c. 9. An Act concerning Pewterers.

- c. 10. An Act concerning the Acceptance of the oath to the act of Sewers.

- c. 11. An Act against Destruction of Wild-Fowl.

- c. 12. An Act concerning the Attainder of Elizabeth Barton and others.

- c. 13. An Act concerning Farms and Sheep.

- c. 14. An Act for Punishment of Heresy.

- c. 15. An Act for printers and binders of books.

- c. 16. An Act that every Judge of the High Courts may have One Chaplain beneficed with cure.

- c. 17. An Act for shooting in Crossbows and Handguns.

- c. 18. An Act for Clothiers within the Shire of Worcester.

- c. 19. An Act for the submission of the Clergy to the King's Majesty. (also known as **Submission of the Clergy Act 1533**)

- c. 20. An Act restraining the payment of Annates, etc. (also known as **Appointment of Bishops Act 1533**)

- c. 21. An Act for the exoneration from exactions paid to the See of Rome. (also known as **Ecclesiastical Licences Act 1533**)

- c. 22. An Act for the establishment of the King's succession. (also known as **Succession to the Crown Act 1533**)

- c. 23. An Act concerning the Town of Plymouth.

- c. 24. An Act of Exchange of certain Lands between the Duke of Norfolk and the heirs general of Earl of Oxford.

- c. 25. An Act concerning the Queen's Jointure.

- c. 26. An Act concerning an Exchange of certain Lands between the King's Highness and the Abbot of Waltham.

- c. 27. An Act concerning the Deprivations of the Bishops of Sarum and Worcester.

- c. 28. An Act for the Lady Dowager.

- c. 29. An Act concerning the Bishop of Norwich's pardon.

- c. 30. An Act between the King's Highness the Duke of Richmond and the Lord Lumley.

- c. 31. An Act concerning the assurance of Manor of Pyssowe to the King's Highness and his heirs.

- c. 32. An Act concerning the pardon of Richard Southwell and others.

- c. 33. An Act concerning the Assurance of Christchurch in London to the King's Highness and to his heirs.

- c. 34. An Act concerning the attainder of John Wolff his wife and others.

1534

- c. 1. An Act concerning the King's Highness to be supreme head of the Church of England and to have authority to reform and redress all errors heresies and abuses in the same. (also known as **Act of Supremacy 1534**)

- c. 2. An Act ratifying the oath that every of the King's Subjects hath taken and shall hereafter be bound to take for due observation of the act made for the surety of the succession of the King's Highness in the Crown of the Realm. (also known as **Succession to the Crown Act 1534**)

- c. 3. An Act concerning the payment of First Fruits of all dignities benefices and promotions spiritual; and also concerning one annual pension of the tenth part of all the possessions of the Church, spiritual and temporal, granted to the King's Highness and his Heirs.

- c. 4. An Act for punishment of Perjury of Jurors in the Lordships Marchers in Wales.

- c. 5. An Act that Keepers of ferries on the Water of Severn shall not convey in their ferry boats any manner of person goods or chattels after the sun going down till the sun be up.

- c. 6. An Act that murders and felonies done or committed within any Lordship Marcher in Wales shall be inquired of at the Sessions holden within the Shire grounds next adjoining, with many good orders for ministration of Justice there to be had.

- c. 7. An Act for amending of Highways in Sussex.

- c. 8. An Act for the re-edifying of void grounds in the City of Norwich.

- c. 9. An Act for the re-edifying of void grounds within the town of Lynne.

- c. 10. Act whereby the King's Highness hath authority to repeal the statute made for restraint of Wines to come in afore Candlemas.

- c. 11. An Act for punishment of Welshmen attempting any assaults or affrays upon any the inhabitants of Hereford, Gloucester and Shropshire.

- c. 12. An Act for purgation of Convicts in Wales.

- c. 13. An Act whereby diverse offences be made high treason, and taking away all Sanctuaries for all manner of high treasons. (also known as **Treasons Act 1534**)

- c. 14. An Act for nomination and consecration of Suffragans within this Realm. (also known as **Suffragan Bishops Act 1534**)

- c. 15. An Act for taking away certain Exactions taken within the Archdeaconry of Richmond by Spiritual men.

- c. 16. An Act for making of Worsteds in the City of Norwich and in the Towns of Lyn and Yarmouth.

- c. 17. An Act that no farmers of spiritual persons shall be compelled or charged to pay for their leaser's First Fruits or year's pension of the tenth granted by the King's Highness.

- c. 18. An Act concerning the King's general Pardon unto all his subjects.

- c. 19. An Act containing a grant of Subsidy unto the King's Highness for a fifteenth and tenth.

- c. 20. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands unto Thomas Duke of Norfolk and others.

- c. 21. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands unto the Duke of Richmond and his heirs.

- c. 22. An Act concerning the Attainder of the Bishop of Rochester and others.

- c. 23. An Act concerning the Attainder of Sir Thomas More Knight.

- c. 24. An Act of exchange between the King and the Abbot of Waltham.

- c. 25. An Act concerning the Attainder of Thomas Fitzgerald Earl of Kildare.

- c. 26. A Provision for the Merchants of the Stylyard in London.

1535-1536

- c. 1. An Act for re-edifying of diverse towns in the Realm.

- c. 2. An Act concerning the forging of the King's sign manual Signet and Privy seal. (also known as the **Forging the Sign-manual, etc. Act 1535**)

- c. 3. An Act for avoiding of exactions taken at Kyngston upon Hull.

- c. 4. An Act concerning Pirates and Robbers of the Sea.

- c. 5. An Act for the making of Justices of peace in Wales.

- c. 6. An Act concerning the breed of Horses. (also known as the **Breed of Horses Act 1535**)

- c. 7. An Act for the abuses in the Forests of Wales.

- c. 8. An Act for discharge of payment of the tenth in that year in which they pay their first fruits.

- c. 9. An Act licensing all Butchers for a time to sell vytell in gross at their Pleasure.

- c. 10. An Act concerning uses and wills. (also known as the **Statute of Uses**)

- c. 11. An Act concerning Clerks of the Signet and Privy Seal.

- c. 12. An Act for true making of Woolen Clothes.

- c. 13. An Act that White Woolen Cloths of £4 and under, and coloured Cloths of £3 and under, may be from henceforth carried over the Sea.

- c. 14. An Act concerning the custom of Leather.

- c. 15. An Act whereby the King's Majesty shall have power to nominate thirty-two persons of his Clergy and Lay fee for making of Ecclesiastical Laws.

- c. 16. An Act concerning enrollments of bargains and contracts of Lands and Tenements. (also known as the **Statute of Enrolments**)

- c. 17. An Act concerning such as been put in trust by their Masters and after do rob them.

- c. 18. An Act for the preservation of the River of Thames.

- c. 19. An Act limiting an Order for Sanctuaries and Sanctuary Persons.

- c. 20. An Act containing an Order for Tithes throughout the Realm.

- c. 21. An Act limiting an Order for payment of Tithes within the City of London.

- c. 22. An Act concerning decay of Houses and Enclosures.

- c. 23. An Act for the preservation of Havens and Ports in the Counties of Devon and Cornwall.

- c. 24. An Act for recontinuing of certain liberties and franchises heretofore taken from the Crown. (also known as the **Jurisdiction in Liberties Act 1535**)

- c. 25. An Act for punishment of sturdy vagabonds and beggars

- c. 26. An Act for Laws and Justice to be ministered in Wales in like form as it is in this Realm. (also known as the **Laws in Wales Act 1535**)

- c. 27. An Act establishing the Court of Augmentations.

- c. 28. An Act whereby all Religious Houses of Monks Canons and Nuns which may not dispend Manors Lands Tenants and Hereditaments above the clear yearly Value of £200 are given to the King's Highness his heirs and Successors forever. (also known as the **Suppression of Religious Houses Act 1535**)

- c. 29. An Act concerning the Assurance of the Manor of Grenes Norton to the King's Highness and his heirs.

- c. 30. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands to the Lady Elizabeth Vaux in recompense of her Jointure.

- c. 31. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands to the King's Highness and his heirs late appertaining unto John Tuchet Knight Lord Awdeley.

- c. 32. An Act containing a concord and agreement between the Earl of Rutland and the City of York and others.

- c. 33. An Act concerning an exchange of certain Lands between the King's Highness the Duke of Norfolk and the Prior of and Covent of Thetford.

- c. 34. An Act concerning an exchange of certain Lands between the King's Highness and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

- c. 35. An Act concerning the assurance of the moiety of Lands lately owned by Cornelius Vanderdelf unto Richard Hyll and his heirs.

- c. 36. An Act concerning the assurance of the Lady Elianour Clifford's Jointure.

- c. 37. An Act concerning the King's gracious pardon granted unto the Duke of Suffolk.

- c. 38. An Act concerning an exchange of certain Lands between the King's Highness the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Northumberland.

- c. 39. An Act concerning the assurance of the Duke of Suffolk 's place in Southwerk to the King's Highness and his Heirs; and concerning also the assurance of Norwich place unto the Duke of Suffolk and his Heirs.

- c. 40. An Act containing an agreement between Charles Duke of Suffolk and Sir Christopher Willoughby.

- c. 41. An Act concerning the assurance of the Manor of Hasylleygh unto the Queen's Grace for term of her life.

- c. 42. An Act concerning the exemption of Oxford and Cambridge from payment of their first fruits and tenths.

- c. 43. An Act between Sir Piers Dutton and others.

- c. 44. An Act concerning the partition of Lands between the heirs of Lord Broke.

- c. 45. An Act concerning the assurance of all the Temporalities belonging unto the Bishopric of Norwich unto the King's Highness and his heirs.

- c. 46. An Act concerning the partition of certain Lands between the Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Thomas Poynings Knight.

- c. 47. An Act concerning the assurance of the possessions of the Earl of Northumberland to King's Highness and his Heirs.

- c. 48. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands unto Sir Thomas Awdeley Knight Lord Chancellor of England and his heirs.

- c. 49. An Act concerning the Assurance of a void plot of ground being in Cheape in London to the Mayor and Commonality of the said City of London and their Successors.

- c. 50. An Act concerning the assurance of the Manor of Halynge to the King's Highness and his heirs.

- c. 51. An Act concerning the Assurance of the Lordship and Manor of Collyweston to the Queen's Grace for term of her life.

- c. 52. An Act concerning an exchange of Lands between the King's Highness and the President and Scholars of Corpus Christi College in the University of Oxford.

- c. 53. An Act concerning an exchange of Lands between the King's Highness and the Prior and Covent of Marton Abbey.

- c. 54. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands unto Sir Arthur Darcy Knight and his heirs.

- c. 55. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands unto Anne Fitzwilliam in recompense of her Jointure.

- c. 56. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands unto the Lord William Howard for term of his life.

- c. 57. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands unto Thomas Pope.

- c. 58. An act annulling as well a Deed of Feofment as also an Indenture fraudulently made by Sir Thomas More Knight of his purchased Lands in Chelseth or elsewhere in the County of Middlesex.

- c. 59. An Act concerning the attainder of John Lewes.

- c. 60. An Act limiting of a longer day to be given to the Collectors of the Tenth for bringing in their Certificate into the King's Eschecker.

- c. 61. An Act concerning the assurance of Manor of Bromhill to King's Highness and unto his heirs.

- c. 62. An Act concerning the general Surveyors of our Sovereign Lord the King.

- c. 63. An act declaring certain Ordinances to be observed in the Town of Calais and the Marches of the same.

1536

- c. 1. An Act that Felons abjuring for Petty Treason murder or felony, shall not be admitted to the benefit of their Clergy.

- c. 2. An Act for continuing of two Statutes made in the last Parliament touching such as go away with Caskets Jewels Goods or Plate of their Masters.

- c. 3. An Act giving the King's Highness authority newly to allot the Townships of Wales at any time within three years next ensuing.

- c. 4. An Act repealing the Statute lately made for the bringing in of Doulas and Lockerams.

- c. 5. An Act for avoiding of exactions taken upon Prentices in the Cities, Boroughs and Towns Corporate. (also known as the **Apprentices Act 1536**)

- c. 6. An Act for the continuing of the Statutes for Beggars and Vagabonds; and against conveyance of Horses and Mares out of this realm; against Welshmen making affrays in the Counties of Hereford, Gloucester and Salop; and against the vice of Buggery.

- c. 7. An Act for the establishment of the succession of the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

- c. 8. An Act for continuance of the Statutes against the carriage of Brass Laten and Copper out of this Realm and for making of Cables and Ropes and others.

- c. 9. An Act for continuance of the Statutes of Perjury, for making of Jails, and for sowing of Flax and Hemp.

- c. 10. An Act extinguishing the authority of the Bishop of Rome. (also known as the **See of Rome Act 1536**)

- c. 11. An Act for restitution of the first Fruits in the time of Vacation to the next Incumbent. (also known as the **Tithe Act 1536**)

- c. 12. An Act declaring the limits of the King's Palace of Westminster.

- c. 13. An Act compelling spiritual Persons to keep residence upon their Benefices.

- c. 14. An Act limiting the prices of Wines.

- c. 15. An Act for punishment of Pirates and Robbers of the Sea. (also known as the **Offences at Sea Act 1536**)

- c. 16. An Act for the release of such as have obtained pretended Licences and Dispensations from The See of Rome. (also known as the **Ecclesiastical Licences Act 1536**)

- c. 17. An Act giving authority to such as shall succeed to the Crown of this Realm when they come to the age of twenty-four years to make frustrate such acts as shall be made before in their time.

- c. 18. An Act concerning the Attainder of Thomas Fitzgerald and of his various Uncles.

- c. 19. An Act concerning the assurance of the Manor or Hyde of Southwark unto the King's Highness his heirs and Successors, late belonging to the Monastery or House of St. Saviour of Bermondsey.

- c. 20. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands unto Dame Grace, wife unto Sir Henry Parker son and heir apparent unto Henry Lord Morley, in recompense of her Jointure.

- c. 21. An Act concerning the exchange of certain Lands between the King's Highness and the Lord Prior of St. John's Jerusalem in England and his Cobrethren.

- c. 22. An Act concerning the assurance of certain lands unto the King's Highness sometime to the Earldom of Warwick.

- c. 23. An Act concerning the assurance of a Pension unto Robert Shurborn late Bishop of Chichester.

- c. 24. An Act concerning the Attainder of the Lord Thomas Howard.

- c. 25. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands unto Sir Edward Seymour Knight Viscount Beauchamp.

- c. 26. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands in Kew unto Sir Edward Seymour Viscount Beauchamp, and to the Lady Anne his Wife.

- c. 27. An Act declaring the Church of Elsing Spytle, lately belonging to the Priory of Elsing Spytle within the City of London, from henceforth to be reputed deemed and taken the Parish Church of St Alphes within the Ward of Cripplegate in London.

- c. 28. An Act concerning the assurance of the moiety of Richard's Castle unto John Onley and unto his heirs.

- c. 29. An Act concerning an exchange of certain Lands between the King's Highness and the Abbot of Westminster, for Covent Garden.

- c. 30. An Act concerning the assurance of Stanton Barrey to the King's Highness and his heirs.

- c. 31. An Act for enlarging of St Margaret's Church yard in Southwark.

- c. 32. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands unto the King's Highness and his heirs from Sir William Essex Sir Hugh Vaughan William Jenyns and others.

- c. 33. An Act concerning an exchange between the King's Highness and the Bishop of Durham for Durham Place.

- c. 34. An Act concerning the assurance of Baynard's Castle unto the Duke of Richmond and unto his heirs.

- c. 35. An Act concerning an exchange of certain Lands between the King's Highness and the Lord Sandys.

- c. 36. An Act ratifying of an Award made by the King's Highness between Sir Adrian Fortescue and Sir Walter Stoner.

- c. 37. An Act concerning a marriage to be had between Richard Devereux son and heir apparent of Walter Deveroux Knight Lord Ferrers and Lady Dorothy daughter unto the Earle of Huntingdon.

- c. 38. An Act concerning the assurance of the Manors of Parysgarden Hyde and others to the Queen's Grace.

- c. 39. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands unto the King's Majesty and unto his heirs sometime belonging unto the Earldom of March.

- c. 40. An Act concerning the assurance of the Manor of Kyrteling unto Edward North and his heirs.

- c. 41. An Act concerning the assurance of the Manor of Birmingham to the King's Highness and his heirs.

- c. 42. An Act concerning an Exchange of certain Lands between the King's Highness the Abbot of Abingdon and others.

- c. 43. An Act concerning the Assurance of certain Lands unto Thomas Jermyn and his heirs.

- c. 44. An Act concerning the assurance of the Manor of Haslingfield unto the Prior and Covent of Charter House nigh London and to their successors forever.

- c. 45. An Act concerning the Queen's Jointure.

- c. 46. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands unto Thomas Hatcliffe Squire and unto his heirs.

- c. 47. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands unto John Gostwick and his heirs.

- c. 48. An Act concerning a marriage to be had and solemnized between the Lord Bulbeck son and heir apparent unto the Earle of Oxford and the Lady Dorothy eldest Daughter of the Earle of Westminster.

- c. 49. An Act concerning an Exchange of Lands between the King's Highness and the Abbot and Covent of Westminster.

- c. 50. An Act concerning an exchange of Lands between the King's Highness, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Cromwell Esquire the King's chief Secretary.

- c. 51. An Act concerning the assurance of certain Lands unto the Lady Katherine Duchess of Suffolk in recompense of her Jointure.

- c. 52. An Act for persons to enjoy their Lands and to have advantage in the Law wherein the Lord Rochford, Norris and others, were seized.