History And Literature: Historical Consciousness In England, 1480-1620.

INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of "sectioning" the material has been followed. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. For illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.

5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

University Microfilms International
300 N. Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Doyle, Michael Francis

HISTORY AND LITERATURE: HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN ENGLAND, 1480-1620

Lehigh University PH.D. 1983

PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark ✓.

1. Glossy photographs or pages _____
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print _____
3. Photographs with dark background _____
4. Illustrations are poor copy _____
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy _____
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page ✓
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages ✓
8. Print exceeds margin requirements _____
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine _____
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print _____
11. Page(s) _____ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12. Page(s) _____ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
13. Two pages numbered _____. Text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages _____
15. Other Dissertation contains pages with print at a slant, filmed as received.

History and Literature:

Historical Consciousness in England, 1480-1620

by

Michael F. Doyle

A Dissertation

Presented to the Graduate Faculty of Lehigh

University in Candidacy for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Lehigh University
1983

Approved and recommended for acceptance as

a dissertation in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

9-20-83
(date)

Charles L. Ryder
Professor in Charge

Accepted 9-20-83
(date)

Special committee directing
the doctoral work of
Mr. Michael F. Doyle.

Charles L. Ryder
Chairman

Joseph A. Darling

Frank Hall

Mark Ellis

Michael Baylor CLT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

An Abstract

of

A Dissertation

History and Literature:
Historical Consciousness in England, 1480-1620

by

Michael F. Doyle

In order to impose some order on the past, historians often divide history into separate "periods" each of which possesses certain characteristics or traits that distinguish it from other epochs or periods. What of the individuals who live through these various periods? Were they aware that they were living in a period that later generations would call revolutionary? This thesis is an attempt to analyze the level of "historical consciousness" and awareness of change among Englishmen in the period from approximately 1480 to about 1620.

Many historians see in this era a watershed between two different cultures. There is some debate about what to call the older one and its successor, but there is a certain unanimity that a new age, be it "early modern," "Renaissance," or "modern" did begin during this time.

This study focuses on three particular areas which most recent scholars acknowledge to be integral parts in the transformation of culture. The first is technology, as revealed in reactions to the three great inventions of the late medieval era

which sixteenth century writers never tired of extolling: the printing press, gunpowder, and the compass. The second, religion, revolves around one of the greatest disruptions in English history, the Dissolution of the Monasteries and Chantries. Thirdly, in the economic and social sphere, the legalization of interest taking, in 1545 and 1571, along with what was perceived as rampant social mobility, are also thought to be indicative of a new era and outlook.

A few contemporaries, mostly poets, dramatists, artisans, churchmen, and philosophers did believe that their age was unique and pointed to the specific evidence in the above noted sectors to prove their contention. During the second half of the sixteenth and first part of the seventeenth century, a new sense of history developed to the extent that one may conclude that the Elizabethans in particular recognized that their age differed from others in fundamental ways. Surprisingly, they were almost equally divided in their judgement as to which age was "better." Representatives of either side agreed, with Miranda, that they lived in a "brave new world."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Several people have helped me complete this dissertation and I wish to acknowledge their contributions. First, I wish to thank Professor C. Leon Tipton who, after some prodding, agreed to direct me and then suggested the topic. Professor G. Mark Ellis, Professor Joseph Dowling, Professor Frank Hook, and Professor Michael Baylor have all given me their time and suggestions and have cleared up many of the errors. Mr. William Miller of the University of Pennsylvania Library gave me access to the Furness and Short-Title Catalogue Collections and made several useful bibliographical suggestions. Wild Bill and Lou provided much in the way of advice, beer, and bed and I abused their hospitality. Mrs. Terry Racosky typed this on short notice and without her kindness this could not have met any deadlines. My parents have encouraged me all along and I am grateful to them. Mostly, I wish to thank my wife Ali and to apologize for putting off so many more important things. Without her, I could not have gone the distance. Bob was right: twenty years of schoolin' and they put you on the day shift.

Chapter I

Introduction: "counsel of the dead"

> "For out of the five and twenty centuries over which the memory and learning of men extends, you can hardly pick out six that were fertile in sciences or favorable to their development. In times no less than in regions there are wastes and deserts. For only three revolutions and periods of learing can properly be reckoned: one among the Romans, and the last among us, that is to say, the nations of Western Europe. And to each of these hardly two centuries can justly be assigned."[1]

Historians have expended a great deal of energy detailing the differences between "medieval" and "early modern" England and attempting to locate exactly when that transition occurred.[2] Most recognize that no sharp break can be made between the two periods without distorting the continuity of history. Instead, most students depict the transition from the one age to the next as a slow and gradual process in which both the old and the new overlapped freely so that, as one authority put it, all "that we see are the mingled facts of persistence and change."[3] To more than one student of the

---

[1] Francis Bacon, The New Organon [1620]. Edited by F.H. Anderson, Indianapolis, 1960. Book 1, Aphorism 78.

[2] The issue of defining medieval and early modern or fixing their chronological limits has not yet been settled. Scholars can, and have, pointed out exceptions to most generalizations about either. Yet few would deny that differences distinguish the two. For present purposes, "medieval" refers to that type of Western culture in which religious interests prevailed over secular ones; tradition over innovation; pessimism over optimism. "Early modern" refers to a more secular vision of life in which progress in all areas is at least possible, if not probable, and innovation is regarded as superior to custom.

[3] Robert Nisbet, Social Change and History (New York, 1969), p. 3.

era, an "uneasy coexistence" between the contending forces of tradition and innovation characterized the age, giving it an ambiguous if not schizophrenic nature.[4] In fact, that very conflict supplied the period with one of its most outstanding characteristics, the debate between pessimists and optimists about the direction of history which flourished particularly during the second half of the sixteenth century and first quarter of the seventeenth. In that debate, the respective spokesmen claimed superiority for either the ancients or the moderns in the field of cultural achievement while, most significantly for present purposes, acknowledging a wide chasm to separate the two eras.

Whatever their individual definitions of medieval and early modern, most students admit a fundamental and recognizeable difference between the England of 1480 and that of 1620. Although several institutions and aspects of medieval England continued well into the early modern age, the latter took on a new and distinct character. A girl, for example, grows into womanhood yet retains some characteristics acquired in youth. Still, at some point, she is no longer identified as a girl but more accurately as a woman. So too with the transition period of early modern England. The England of 1620, in the estimate of most authorities, while continuing to exhibit some features found in 1480, differed fundamentally from its predecessor. So established has that view become that it is no longer seriously questioned. One sees the clearest demonstration of this in the

---

[4]Wallace K. Ferguson, The Renaissance: Six Essays (New York, 1953), p.4; Hiram Haydn The Counter Renaissance (New York, 1950), prologue.

numerous publications, and university courses, devoted to topics such as "England in the Middle Ages," The Dissolution of the Medieval Outlook,[5] and "Early Modern English History," and the like, all of which assume something much more profound than a mere chronological separation between the two periods. Implicit in such offerings is the premise that each age has its own unique features which make it a suitable topic for individual classification and study. Cautious students have pointed out that the date for ending one period and beginning another often depends on the area of culture one is examining. For example, in considering social and economic change in England one authority elects the date 1510 to mark the end of medieval times. The same author reminds us that such a terminal date would have little meaning if one were considering changes in religion.[6] The one date that authorities seem most reluctant to use to mark any watershed is 1485 which for so long dominated the periodization scheme of many historians. At any rate, the early modern era has traditionally attracted scholars interested in the concept of periodization, the transition of culture, or the origins of the world in which they themselves live.

---

[5]Gordon Leff, The Dissolution of the Medieval Outlook (New York, 1976).

[6]F.R.H. DuBoulay, An Age of Ambition: English Society in the Late Middle Ages (New York, 1970), p. 6. Cf. Donald Hanson, From Kingdom to Commonwealth: The Development of Civic Consciousness in English Political Thought (Cambridge (MA), 1970), p. 1.

Students concur that a "cultural transition"[7] did indeel occur during the period between 1480 and 1620, though they agree less about its nature. This study asks if that alleged transformation revealed itself to contemporaties and, if so, how. Their reaction to events that later generations have judged important has been largely ignored. Therefore, in order to make up for some of that neglect, contemporary literary response to certain ideas and events will be analyzed to measure the level of "historical consciousness"[8] among early modern Englishmen. Naturally, their perception of events may differ markedly from those of later commentators. Events which we think truly revolutionary or important may

---

[7]"Cultural transition" refers to the process, normally slow and organic, by which one set of attitudes, beliefs, or world-view, along with the customs, institutions, and way of life associated with them suffers displacement by another with its own peculiarities and traits which have not yet taken final shape. At times, the process can be dislocative and revolutionary. As Lynn White has indicated, the theory of genetic mutation provides a metaphor at least as provocative of historical thought as does evolution. Lynn White, Medieval Technology and Social Change (Oxford, 1966), p. 39, note 2.

[8]"Historical consciousness" or sense of history or period-sense may be described as an awareness to change in history which makes one responsive to the meaning and direction of the ideas and events of one's lifetime or at least alert to the fact that one's culture is being transformed or loosened from its moorings. To be historically conscious is to be aware of periods or epochs and anachronisms in history. It is the ability to interpret or arrange the past into patterns which take into account the fact that not all ages possess the same dress, religion, attitudes, or institutions. It is a sense generally lacking before the early modern era, although some exceptions can be found such as Heoodotus and Bede. Two reasons account for this general lack of historical consciousness before the Revolution. First, a slower pace of change than which makes change more difficult to detect. Secondly, most history written in the Middle Ages was done so by monks who were concerned with the timeless. Peter Burke, The Renaissance Sense of the Past (New York, 1969) pp. 18-19.

simply have eluded them due to a field of vision considerably less wide than that of hindsight, or they simply may not have shared our prejudices as to which events and ideas are important. Their exclusion of those aspects of transition to which we accord pre-eminence may well have been elective. What they found important is the topic here.

To what extend did they share the modern consensus that a revolution had altered their world? To what specific ideas or events did they assign pre-eminence in that transformation? It is important to consider the perceptions of contemporaries about such things for several reasons. In the long run, their opinions rather than those of later students, will prove more valuable in understanding that earlier culture. As Paul Oscar Kristeller has observed:

> "interpretations and theories of a past period.... will not be judged on their agreement with our preferences or with those of like-minded persons, but in their accordance with the available texts and documents of the period which we are trying to describe."[9]

Accordingly, this study will focus on the writings of contemporaries and what, rightly or wrongly, they adduced to be significant and newsworthy events however misguided we may judge their choices.

Secondly, this topic is important because it attempts to fill, at least in part, a void noted recently in the historiography of Renaissance England.

---

[9]Quoted in F. Smith Fussner, Tudor History and the Historians (New York, 1970), p. 39.

> "What is lacking is an intensive study of the growth of historical consciousness in English society during the early modern transition period."[10]

Hopefully, this will be accomplished by analyzing contemporary opinion about the cultural changes which had, in a Biblical phrase popular during the early modern era, turned the world upside down.

Finally, the topic has a certain pertinence today when so many intellectuals maintain that a similar transformation is creating a "post-modern" era. Some have concluded that we live in a time of cultural crisis or 'at the edge of history.'[11] A survey of an earlier tumultuous period might increase one's understanding of the forces disrupting one's own era.

Given the magnitude of an entire society in a state of flux, where specifically should one look for evidence of historical consciousness? What individual sectors of society are the most likely sources to reveal instances of cultural change? Rather than simply chronicling the many and varied comments about all of the changes going on in early modern England, this study will confine itself to those particular areas that both early modern Englishmen as well as more recent writers have singled out as the most representative and

---

[10] Ibid., p. 234. In a similar aside, Ortega has suggested that "an easy and useful job that someone ought to undertake would be to collect the predictions of the near future that have been made in every period of history... there have always been a few men who were able to foresee the future." Ortega y Gassett, History as a System (New York, 1962), p. 66, note 15.

[11] William Irwin Thompson, At the Edge of History (New York, 1971); John Lukacs, The Passing of the Modern Age (New York, 1970).

significant. In addition, the investigation will limit itself to the literary record and necessarily omit the more amorphous changes in peripheral areas such as architecture and portraiture which offer their own unique evidence of cultural transition and historical consciousness. The written record will provide the student with a greater variety of witnesses including poets, dramatists, economists, educators, satirists, clerks, artisans, as well as the more generalized group of "articulate citizens"[12] who recognized the many faces of change transforming the England of their day.

The research of modern historians has aided in the process of focusing on those cultural sectors most revelatory of fundamental change. In arriving at their own conclusion of a verifiable cultural transformation, they have pointed to such varied factors as the mental outlook of the age, the topsy-turvy changes in religion, the series of technological innovations, social and economic re-arrangements, and educational and governmental re-organization as agents that effected that transition. Within those broad spheres, the literary record of Renaissance England provides the student with specific evidence of what the articulate citizen found most noteworthy.

Before proceeding to a discussion of individual topics, one ought to have a general over-view of the intellectual outlook which informed most of the reactions to those particular subjects. One reason for the steady growth of historical consciousness during

---

[12]Arthur B. Ferguson, The Articulate and the English Renaissance (Durham, 1960).

the early modern period can be attributed to the flourishing of two conflicting attitudes both of which attempted to use the past to prove their contentions about the direction in which their respective adherents saw society moving. A despairing pessimism and a nascent belief in progress vied for the allegiance of the intellectuals of the 16th and early 17th centuries.[13] Even by the end of the Renaissance early modern Englishmen had not reached a unanimous verdict on whether they were witnessing the final stages before the world's dissolution or the dawn of a new golden age.

The more traditional of the two attitudes, pessimism and the accompanying theory of the world's decay and inevitable destruction, is extremely important for any analysis of historical consciousness since it represents a negative interpretation of the entire historical process. Disciples of that theory of history evaluated events and ideas from the pre-conceived and well-entrenched notions that they revealed in graphic detail the continuing story of man's devolution. The "decay of nature" implied the superiority of the ancient world which existed in closer proximity to the wondrous age of gold or the pristine Garden of Eden.

Convinced of modern inferiority and decadence, the pessimists turned, when challenged by the optimists to document their claims, to the natural world for confirmation of their skepticism.

---

[13]Herbert Weisinger, "Ideas of History During the Renaissance," in Renaissance Essays, edited by Paul Oscar Kristeller and Philip Wiener (New York, 1968), pp. 74-94; Haydn, The Counter Renaissance, pp. 14-15.

For centuries, educated men looked to that world for signs and omens that reflected conditions on earth or portended their imminence. This disposition to see prodigies, omens, and portents, sprang from a coherent view of the world as a moral order reflecting God's purposes and physically sensitive to the moral conduct of human beings.[14] Such a view of the "great chain of being," which extended from God's highest and most sophisticated creations to the most insignificant and lowly was simply part of the educated man's picture of the universe and its workings. An obscure Elizabethan divine, Francis Shakelton, for example, warned his parishioners, in 1580, that the earth would soon perish. In his treatise, A Blazing Starre, he speculated that the recent floods, fires, and earthquakes indicated that Judgement Day was at hand. For, he asked, "if there be so greate alteration in the superior worlde, what shall wee saie of the inferiour?"[15] Most pessimists knew exactly how to interpret the changes in the "inferiour" part. On the night of Macbeth's murder, one nobleman noted that

> "The night has been unruly. Where we lay,
> Our chimneys were blown down; and, as they say,
> Lamentings heard i' the air, strange screams of death,
> And prophesying, with accents terrible,

---

[14]Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (New York, 1971), p. 91.

[15]Francis Shakelton, A Blazing Starre.... (London, 1580), pp. A4-A5.

Or dire combustion and confused events
New hatched to the woeful time."[16]

Disruptions in the skies and the corresponding upheavals on earth did not originate with Shakelton's or Shakespeare's generation. Pessimism and the belief that man had declined constantly and relentlessly from an age of gold to one of silver then iron and finally to lead lad flourished as far back as antiquity. But unlike the earlier pagan view, the Christian belief in the destruction of the world offered no solace that the cycle would simply recur over and over again. History and time had been enacted but once and with the destruction of the earth, time and history would cease.

Further, medieval and early modern man's Christian faith reinforced such pessimism by encouraging a contempt for the transitory things of this world. Efforts to improve one's lot the medieval preacher denounced as wasteful and sinful since man's time on earth was solely one of preparation. Man must not tamper with the world that God had created. Any "progress" would come only in the after-life when, if chosen, he would enjoy the gifts of Heaven. How could fixed verities

---

[16] Macbeth, II, iii, pp. 56-61. For secondary literature see D.C. Allen, The Star-Crossed Renaissance: The Quarrel About Astrology and Its Influence in England. (Durham, 1941); L.H. Buell, "Elizabethan Portents: Superstition or Doctrine?", Essays Critical and Historical Dedicated to Lily Bess Campbell (Berkeley, 1950); Marc Sondheim, "Shakespeare and the Astrology of His Time," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, II (1938-9), pp. 243-259; Lily Bess Campbell, "Richard Tarlton and the Earthquake of 1580." Huntington Library Quarterly, III (April, 1941), pp. 293-301; W.B. Stone, "Shakespeare and the Sad Augurs." Journal of English and Germanic Philology, LII (1953), pp. 457-479; Thomas, Magic, pp. 283-388.

be improved upon? Even an early optimist like Erasmus believed that the heavenly rewards for Christians would far exceed anything that a corrupt world might offer.[17]

The eyes of medieval man looked backwards in time or to the future day of reckoning beyond time. As for the ideal age, it had existed long ago in Eden and would return again only with the Second Coming. The time between he viewed as one of sin and unmitigated gloom. For the most part, he entertained no illusion about establishing a golden age in the present or even in the future. His general pessimism caused him to place that idyllic age in the shrouded and irretrievable past. Man had not, and could not, progress.[18] Since his Fall, he was condemned to a continual struggle until such time as he would secure his eternal salvation. The story of that Fall provided the metaphor for his pessimism. As early as the fifth century, Augustine had complained that not only had man's moral stature declined, but his physical stature had diminished as well.[19] He was smaller and weaker, as well as intellectually inferior, to the ancients. That notion survived well into the seventeenth century to be reiterated by other anti-progressives who discerned an all-encompassing pattern of inferiority and decadence in modern man.

---

[17]Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages. (Garden City, 1954), p. 32.

[18]"And can there be worse sickness, than to know, That we are never well, nor can be so?" John Donne, "An Anatomy of the World; The First Anniversary," 1. pp. 93-4.

[19]Augustine, City of God, Book XV, Chapter 9.

Since medieval man lived, or thought he did, in a relatively static world, he maintained a skeptical, if not openly hostile, attitude towards innovations. Like Aristotle, he believed that virtually everything ordained to be known had already been found.[20] Change of any sort he classified not as growth, but as decay, like a corpse returning to dust. In such a temperamental climate, the idea of progress could hardly thrive. So ill-disposed was he towards innovations, a pre-requisite for change, that the word itself he sometimes identified with heresy or at least used it to vilify opponents.[21] During the Reformation era for example, Roman Catholics and Anglicans alike accused one another of "heretical innovations" and each proclaimed their faith the true and ancient one founded by Christ. Both reformers and papists recognized the distinct advantage that 'tradition' gave their respective case and how the charge of innovation could effectively disparage the opposition. A progressive Francis Bacon realized the apprehension with which most of his contemporaries regarded innovations and attempted, in one of his essays, to quiet those fears by portraying innovations in a more salutary and less disturbing manner.[22]

In sharp contrast to the preceding view of history, a second more progressive or optimistic attitude came into fashion during the

---

[20]Thomas, Magic, p. 43.

[21]George Sarton, "The Quest for Truth: Scientific Progress During the Renaissance," in Ferguson, Six Essays, p. 57, note 3.

[22]Francis Bacon, "Of Innovations." Sidney Warhaft, ed., Francis Bacon: A Selection of His Works (New York, 1965), pp. 108-9.

Renaissance. The idea of progress may have had some individual proponents as far back as antiquity but such individuals never amounted to any established school with any significant following. Historians disagree about the origins of that faith, but they all concur with J.B. Bury that at least since the Renaissance it has been a dominant intellectual theme of the West.[23] So strong has that faith remained, despite the surfeit of anti-progressive literature in the mid-twentieth century, that to be 'unprogressive' is, in the modern dialect, a term of derision.

In place of the decay of nature and the decline of man, the optimists substituted the idea of nature's virility and plenitude. They repudiated the pessimistic contentions of man's cultural and intellectual decline and instead celebrated and extolled the achievements of the present age and the likelihood that the future would be even better. This attack on the traditional orthodoxy about the nature and course of history has important consequences for any study of historical consciousness. Progressives viewed their age as unique and separate from the past, and rejoiced in that belief.

Moderns, such as the Jacobean author and divine, George Hakewill, applauded the adage that "truth is the daughter of time." That is, through the successive contributions of each age to the storehouse of knowledge, truth would evolve. That of course contradicted the medieval belief that truth had already been revealed in all its fullness.

---

[23] W. Warren Wagar, ed., The Idea of Progress Since the Renaissance (New York, 1969), pp/ 1-5; J.B. Bury, The Idea of Progress (New York, 1932).

The factual errors discovered in the writings of such respected authorities as Aristotle and Ptolemy encouraged the belief that the ancients were not, after all, infallible gods, but guides, who needed periodic "updating" and revision. Progressives held out the incentive that man might actually serve as midwife in the birth of time's daughter. Perhaps even more significant to the optimists' cause as well as to the growth of a sense of history was the Reformation which countered the contention that religion had decayed since the accession of the great popes in the early middle ages. In fact, urged the progressives, just the opposite was true. Since the age of Wyclif and Hus, religion had steadily freed itself from the bonds of Romanist superstition. Now with Luther and Calvin, a new age of religiousity and restoration had arrived. When that idea of improvement was imparted to other secular areas, progressives came to expect improvements in all aspects of human endeavor and not just in religion.[24]

In order to hasten the arrival of the "real" Golden Age, moderns encouraged the experiment and innovation that artisans and craftsmen, who were responsible for many of the progressive elements in technology, conducted on their own. Inventions such as the compass, gunpowder, and the printing press, the three greatest technological achievements in all of history according to Bacon,[25] added not only

---

[24]Ernest Lee Tuveson, Millenium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949).

[25]Francis Bacon, The New Organon. Edited by F.H. Anderon (Indianapolis, 1960), Book I, Aphorism 129.

to the optimism of the moderns, but also to their sense of history. The modern age had discovered devices unknown to the esteemed ancients. Such technical progress reinforced their assertion that "then" and "now were two temporal entities only distantly related. All things pointed to the growing gap between the two.

Moderns believed that the next age would be even better, and further removed from the primitiveness of the past. Improvements in the future seemed almost inevitable. Hence the process of establishing truth was considered to be cumulative. Each age and culture had its own unique contribution to make. The discoveries in technology provided precedents for expected triumphs in other sectors so that, for instance, the "newly perceived infinity of worlds reinforced the belief in the possibility of infinite intellectual progress."[26]

It remains to explore the specific cultural sectors that optimists and pessimists argued about and how that debate affected the historical imagination of early modern England. Such an approach allows one to discover exactly how pessimists and progressives differed in their respective analyses of contemporary society as well as the past and future. It will provide further insights into what each group judged important. That quarrel rested on the assumption that the past and the present differed and each party sought to establish that point first.

---

[26]Thomas, Magic, p. 432.

Among those various sectors, many present observers would single out capitalism as the single most important ingredient of modern society. Some go so far as to equate the terms modern and capitalistic or insist that without that particular economic system a society can not be truly modern. Since this is an essay in intellectual history, the concern is not with capitalism as a mode of production, but rather with some components of a "spirit" of capitalism. The specific manifestations of that spirit will be limited to the idea of usury. A second, that of social mobility, although only peripherally related to a capitalistic mentality, is nonetheless one of the dominant characteristics of modern social and economic thought. Few would deny that a very distinct and distant attitude separates the medieval from the modern mind on matters social and economic.

Though often openly practiced in the medieval centuries, even by the Church itself, usury remained, on paper and in the confessional, a "sin." Aquinas and other Doctors of the Church had unceasingly denounced it as repugnant to God's will, basing their unconditional opposition to it on Biblical and moral grounds. They insisted that the taking of interest violated God's word and ought to be avoided by Christians and treated as an offense to God.[27] So despicable and unnatural was the practice of usury that Dante

---

[27] Benjamin Nelson, The Idea of Usury (Chicago, 2nd. ed., 1969), pp. 3-29.

placed moneylenders and homosexuals together in the same circle of Hell.[28]

The modern world takes an entirely different approach to the problem. Usury has been re-defined to mean not the taking of any interest at all, but the taking of exorbitant interest; that is, in excess of what the state mandates. Usury therefore is still illegal and punishable by the courts, but it means something entirely different from what it did before. In 1571, Parliament passed "An Act Against Usury," which, despite its title, permitted the taking of interest up to a maximum rate of ten per cent.[29] That law gained the moral support of many who judged it as suitable for the changed circumstances of a new world. It also gained the support of many who dismissed governmental attempts to extirpate it as futile, stifling, and "utopian."[30] How did those living through this intellectual volte-face, called by Richard Tawney a "revolution,"[31] regard that change? What impact did it have on the historical consciousness of Renaissance England?

Just as usury had been reviled in medieval times, so too had wealth. The idea of voluntary poverty on the other hand enjoyed

---

[28]Dante, The Inferno, translated by John Ciardi (New York, 1954), pp. 127-132.

[29]13 Elizabeth, C. 8 (1571), in English Historical Documents, v, pp. 1011-1012.

[30]Bacon, Essays, "Of Usury." S. Warhaft, ed., Francis Bacon: A Selection of His Works (New York, 1965), p. 153.

[31]Richard Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (New York, 1963), p. 1.

an almost cultish and mystical popularity. Preachers reminded their listeners how Christ Himself had endorsed the ideal of poverty as the surest road to Heaven. He had entered the world in a humble fashion and encouraged his apostles to give away their riches and follow Him. The saintly men and women of Christian lore rarely possessed any wealth and if they did, normally relinquished it. Monastic orders enjoined poverty on the brethren and extolled the virtues of the poor on the brethren and extolled the virtues of the poor and simple life.

A similar cultural transmutation occured vis a vis social mobility. "Mobility" implies movement and change and medieval society found little merit in change of any kind. The planets, as well as individuals had an assigned place or degree arranged by God which man should avoid tampering with, lest he upset the Creator's plan.[32]

Naturally enough, medieval man tried, just as often as his twentieth century counterpart, to ascend the social ladder, but while both men might hope to improve his place or rank, they operated from completely different preconceptions. Moderns applaud social climbing as a way of self-improvement. Mobility fit more conveniently into modern ideas about change and progress, while stability appealed more to the medieval emphasis on a changeless order.

In addition to social and economic transformations, other sectors also witnessed profound changes which provide the student with some evidence of historical consciousness, or the lack of it.

---

[32]"Take but degree away, untune that string,/ And hark what discord follows." Troilus and Cressida, I, iii, pp. 112-3. See also E.M.W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (New York, 1943), pp. 9-24.

Science and technology presently rival the "spirit of capitalism" as the hallmark of "modern" culture. Accordingly, the English historian Herbert Butterfield has demoted the Renaissance and the Reformation, traditionally seen as "watersheds," to the "rank of mere episodes, mere internal displacements" and has insisted on the primacy of the scientific revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in forming the modern world. So integral has science become to the thinking of the West that when one speaks of "westernizing" a culture, he no longer means Christianizing it, as medieval man would have thought, but of introducing the secular miracles of modern technology to it. It is here that one finds the "real origin of the modern world and of the modern mentality."[33]

Another historian of science, Antonia McLean, has likewise found sixteenth century England to have been "truly revolutionary" in the development of science. Unlike Butterfield, McLean emphasized the role of technology in that transition. She has further credited the invention of the printing press as the decisive and irreversible factor in the scientific "take-off" of that century which altered the complexion of society forever.[34]

---

[33]Herbert Butterfield, The Origins of Modern Science (New York, 1965), pp. 7-8; 190; 202. Cf. A.G.R. Smith, Science and Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London, 1972), p. 27.

[34]Antonia McLean, Humanism and the Rise of Science in Tudor England (London, 1972), Chapters 1 & 10.

In that judgement she has been joined by Elizabeth Eisenstein. In a series of seminal studies, Eisenstein has focused on the profound consequences of that single invention which other historians have inexplicably neglected.[35] She has suggested that our entire concept of periodization needs revision in order to accord the overdue and proper recognition to the printing press.[36] Like Eisenstein, early modern Englishmen had a great deal to say about the printing press and how they believed it had changed their society in so many ways and helped make their age unique in the annals of history.[37]

Gunpowder, although invented centuries earlier, only became a topic of popular discussion in the sixteenth century when its use became increasingly widespread. It changed forever the art of warfare. Strategically, it replaced the traditional English longbow, and writers such as the Elizabethan tutor, Roger Ascham, recognized that. To a number of writers its importance transcended military policy. The older weapons, strategies, and armies no longer had relevance in the new age which gunpowder symbolized. It is

---

[35]Though see C.L. Davies, Peace, Print, and Protestantism (London, 1976).

[36]Elizabeth Eisenstein, "The Advent of Printing and the Problem of the Renaissance," Past and Present, XLV (1969), pp. 19-89; "The Impact of Printing on Western Society and Thought," Journal of Modern History, XL (1968); The Printing Press As An Agent of Cultural Change, 2 vols. (New York, 1979).

[37]For example, Bacon, New Organon, Aphorisms pp.78 and 129.

particularly interesting, and indicative of the previously mentioned ambivalence of the era, to note how the respective spokesmen for progress and decay judged that new invention and how it influenced their sense of history.

Unlike both the printing press and gunpowder, the compass per se did not appear to stimulate any sense of history. However, such was not the case with the voyages of discovery that resulted from that invention. The impact of those voyages on the historical imagination will be considered. The founding of new worlds unknown to the ancients stirred the historical consciousness of early modern Englishmen. It supplied them with incontestable proof that their age surpassed all others with its creation not merely of new inventions but its discovery of worlds.

Whether they chose to praise or condemn these various technological innovations, contemporaries recognized that all three involved departures from tradition and ancient lore. The dissemination of knowledge in the classical world lagged far behind what the printing press promised. Also, much of that earlier wisdom had turned out to be inaccurate or incomplete. The Ptolemaic map of the world needed revision and artillery made Caesar's army vastly inferior to any modern one. Such conclusions had vast implications for the sense of history then emerging.

While economics and technology played a significant role in the formation of a new historical consciousness, so too did religion. Few would question its influence in defining the culture

of any Western country. The religious upheavels of the Tudor age, so unparalleled and unprecedented, have caused one authority to claim that those changes represented the decisive element in the evolution from medieval to modern England.[38] Since religion exercised such a role in the lives of contemporaries, one ought to consider their opinions about alteration in religious doctrine and practice that so characterized early modern England.

In the extant records of sixteenth century England, the Dissolution of the Monasteries in particular looms rather large, although modern historians have been less enthusiastic about its importance. Contemporaries continued to see "meaning" in it long after the time of the suppression in the first years of the Reformation. Thus, the literary reaction to the Dissolution occupies the central place in the chapter on religion in order to reflect that priority. That record attests to the profound influence on the sense of history that the Dissolution evoked.

From these varied topics one can glimpse the several areas in which a "sense of history" became increasingly common. Cultural change was increasingly apparent to many Englishmen who attempted to connect the changes in religion, the technological innovations, and the new economic ethic with the differing views of the direction in which not only England but also man himself was moving in this new age. The sources of this new awareness are as dissimilar as the cultural sectors from which they arose but, when considered to-

---

[38] Myers, Late Middle Ages, p. 245.

gether, they all manifest a sense of change, be it one of decay or growth. Included among these several sources, are the writings of artisans, poets, explorers, economists, satirists, dramatists, philosophers, translators, and preachers. Two works in particular stand out as representative and comprehensive of the new historical consciousness. Godfrey Goodman, author of the major interpretation of the pessimistic school, The Fall of Man[39] and George Hakewill, who wrote the optimistic response to Goodman, An Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World,[40] were both early seventeenth century preachers although their similarities end there. Goodman wrote of the manifold signs of decay which proved that England had entered a new and ruinous age which had cast off the learning and lessons of the past; Hakewill answered his opponent's claims and interpreted the same signs as indeed indicative of a new age, but one far more advanced and golden than any imagined predecessor. Both works serve as summaries of their respective schools of thought and point to the historical consciousness of the sixteenth century as it is revealed in the record of technological innovation, religious dissolution and transformation, and social and economic change.

---

[39]Godfrey Goodman, The Fall of Man, or the Corruption of Nature (London, 1616).

[40]George Hakewill, An Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World. 2 Vols., (Oxford, 1630). (First edition, 1627).

Chapter II

Technology: "the gifts of grief"

When surveying the evidence of change around them, many 16th century observers found in the recent technological innovations tangible proof of the forces transforming society. Unlike the amorphous shifts in thought or the myth of a lost golden age, inventions offered visible and substantive examples of change, whose reality could not be denied. Early modern men debated whether or not the inventions had benefited or ruined England, but not their critical role as agents of cultural transition.

Generally both pessimists and optimists limited their analysis to the three particular instruments they judged most dislocative: the printing press, gunpowder, and the compass and normally grouped the three together. The treatment of the three as a "triptych"[1] continued into the middle of the seventeenth century, when one William Clarke, assessing gunpowder, argued that it equalled "the other famous Inventions of this last Age, as Printing, and the Compass, with which this is usually reckon'd."[2] As noted pre-

---

[1] Roy Wolper, "The Rhetoric of Gunpowder and the Idea of Progress." Journal of the History of Ideas, 31 (1970), p. 591.

[2] Quoted by Wolper, "Rhetoric." JHI, p. 591. For all three considered together, see Bacon, New Organon, I, Aphorism 129; William Barlowe, The Navigator's Supply, (London, 1597), "Compasse in Generall; "Jean Bodin, Method for the Easy Comprehension of History. Trans. B. Reynolds, (New York, 1945), p. 302; Samuel Daniel, "The Civil Wars", Stanzas 35-40, The Complete Works in Verse and Prose, II, ed. A. Grosart, (New York, 1963); Simon Robson, The Choise of Change, (London, 1585), p. M3^{r}; Hakewill Apologie, II, pp. 275-83.

viously, in examining the compass, critics paid less attention to the compass itself than to the voyages of discovery facilitated by it. Bacon made the most comprehensive, if not the first, claim about the three which, he submitted, had

> "changed the whole face and state of things throughout the world [to the extent that] no sect, no starre seems to have exerted greater power and influence in human affairs than these mechanical devices."[3]

Few writers who addressed the issue dissented from that observation.

Historians of early modern England have been slower than contemporaries to recognize technology's revolutionary impact.[4] Normally, they have arranged events around more traditional movements such as the Reformation. Given the magnitude of that historic break from Rome, such an emphasis may seem justified. However, a noted Reformation scholar has cautioned students against a monolithic interpretation which might obscure other equally important aspects of the era including technological changes. The latter "might well be accorded an equal significance to the religious split with Rome", and hence merit further research.[5]

Despite recent efforts to redress the imbalance, a sizeable gap persists regarding both the role of technology in the transition process and in our knowledge of how Englishmen of the

---

[3]Bacon, New Organon, I, Aphorism p. 129.

[4]Eisenstein, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change, I, pp. 1-20.

[5]A.G. Dickens, "The Writers of Tudor Yorkshire." Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 12 (1963), p. 65.

time assessed that role. Given the modern consensus on the impact of science and technology in forming, or at least influencing, the intellectual outlook of early modern England, it will be useful to analyze the reactions fo contemporaries to the various mechanical advances which confronted them.[6] Their responses provide evidence of historical consciousness and of the intellectual contradictions and ambivalences which so shaped the period.

Before the idea of progress could penetrate the general consciousness, it required, as do most speculative systems, some "striking material evidence" with which to capture the historical imagination.[7] For optimists, the inventions provided just that. They enjoyed a practical and daily utility that made them accessible to all. The conclusion was clear: modern man had created things which set him apart from his less educated and less advanced ancestors.

Pessimists retorted that such innovations were indeed unprecedented and made the modern age unique, but such devices, in their estimation, resulted from contemporary arrogance, disorder, and decline and certainly not from any imagined superiority. Earlier cultures would have spurned such petty and dangerous inventions because they lived in a more "natural" environment unspoiled by the unsettling effects of "perilous change."[8] In that idyllic

---

[6]Butterfield, Origins of Science, pp. 187-202.

[7]Bury, Idea of Progress, p. 324.

[8]Edmund Spenser, The Fairie Queene, V, ii, p. 36.

time, man had no need for murderous weapons. Man was, in a word, "content".[9] In that golden age, "Mars was of no power,"[10] and man "lived simply and innocently...without quarrelling... and without further vexation for knowledge of things to come."[11]

Behind these opposing views lurks the more essential point: the inventions revealed profound differences between earlier ages and the present one which some contemporaries did recognize, although, as one historians complained,

> "their testimony has been ignored by certain latter-day scholars, predisposed to blur the historic distinctions between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance."[12]

Before one could debate the virtues of one age over another, one first had to establish their distinctness. This technology helped to accomplish. The increased activity in the sciences and in technology

> "introduced a new element into the Renaissance idea of the Renaissance. Men were aware of their era not because it was like another period which had died away and was reborn but because it was different from any other era; its uniqueness was its mark."[13]

Until, for example, the sixteenth century, the word "inventor"

---

[9]Peter Martyr, De Novo Orbe, or the Historie of the West Indies. Translated by Richard Eden and Michael Lok, (London, 1612), p. 140v.

[10]Eden, Booke of Metals, Preface.

[11]Martyr, De Novo Orbe, p. 140v.

[12]Harry Levin, The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance. (New York, 1972), p. 145.

[13]Weisinger, "Ideas of History." JHI, p. 83.

meant a person who had found something lost, and not one who uncovered or devised a new solution unknown to previous ages. By the sixteenth century, it began to imply that recent events were without precedent and could rightly be considered "news".[14]

Of the three inventions, the printing press excited the most comment. However, when it first appeared, it caused little, if any, controversy, and annalists only periodically even noted it. When they did, it was only in passing and alongside random entries of deaths, floods, and royal pageants.[15] Although William Caxton had operated his press since 1476, one of the earliest English acknowledgements of it to record more than the mere chronological and geographical facts of its invention did not appear until after the Reformation had commenced, or more than fifty years after Caxton had begun publishing.

That first surviving English commentary on the new "crafte" issued from the pen of Thomas More's brother-in-law, the printer and dramatist John Rastell. Although brief, ambiguous, and inconclusive, his mere mention of the printing press was still exceptional and prophetic. In 1529, Rastell wrote, in his Pastime of People, of the printing press with a sensitivity heretofore not in evidence.

> "Also, in this same tyme, the crafte of printing of bokes begain in the citye of Almayne, named [Mainz]

---

[14] Thomas, Magic, p. 430.

[15] Main City Chronicle in C.L. Kingsford, English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1913); pp. 99-100; The Great Chronicle of London, ed. I.D. Thornley and A.H. Thomas, (London, 1938), p. 189; The Brut of the Chronicles of England, ed. F.W. Brie, (London, 1906-8), II, p. 524.

> whiche is nowe marveylously increasyd, which hathe bene cause of great lernynge and knowledge, and hath bene the cause of many thynges and great changes, and is lyke to be the cause of many strange thynges after to come."[16]

Rastell never specified what "strange thynges" he had in mind, but he was aware of the fact that the printing press had some potential cultural signigicance, and in that awareness, he was unique among writers. His remarks are also unique in that they represent the last time that one encounters an equivocal judgement concerning the 'goodness' or 'badness' of the printing press. After his time, it became a touchstone of one's optimism or pessimism.

During the Reformation, when the press served as a weapon of religious controversy, Protestants came more and more to identify it as their ally against papist superstition. However, Roman opposition to the invention was neither inevitable nor immediate. Despite a few wistful reminiscences about the superiority of hand-copied manuscripts and the vulgarity of mass-produced ones, the Catholic world in general lauded the new achievement.[17] In fact, pre-Reformation Catholics hoped the press would become the "Church's helper" by circulating "many books of heavenly wisdom."[18] The

---

[16]John Rastell, The Pastime of People (London, 1529), [Reprinted London, 1811], p. 269.

[17]J.R. Hale, Renaissance Europe (London, 1971), p. 188; M. Gilmore, The World of Humanism (New York, 1962), p. 188.

[18]Hale, Renaissance Europe, p. 188.

reformers seized on the new instrument to disseminate their ideas so as to counter the Roman control of the pulpit. Luther himself early on sought to enlist the new craft in his own cause by referring to it as "God's highest and extremest act of grace, whereby the business of the Gospel is driven forward."[19]

No less a figure than Cardinal Wolsey thought the press, in the hands of the followers of Luther, to pose a real threat to the continuance of the Catholic religion. In a letter to Pope Clement VII, dated 1530, a concerned Wolsey wrote of the dangers created by the press to the status quo:

> "The new invention of printing has produced various effects of which your Holiness cannot be ignorant. If it has restored books and learning, it has also been the occasion of those sects and schisms which appear daily. Men begin to call in question the present faith and tenets....The mysteries of religion must be kept in the hands of the priests."[20]

In the middle of the century, an anonymous Protestant activist wrote with praise similar to Luther's of the advent of the printing press. For this anonymous writer the printing press provided a vehicle for the advancement of religion. Aware of the significance of the invention and the differences it revealed between the past and present, he wrote:

> "Thankes be to the lorde, our King's majeste may go further wyth hundreth pounde in prynting than Constatine might have done

---

[19] Quoted in Eisenstein, "Impact of Printing", pp.236-7.

[20] Ibid, p.238.

wyth thre thousande pounde in wrytynge."[21]

The press, which resulted in a reduction in the cost of reproducing texts, allowed a cheaper and quicker circulation of royal edicts and religious propaganda than previously possible. Hence a modern monarch, specifically Edward VI, could surpass in influence a wealthier predecessor such as Constantine, a possibility that had alarmed Wolsy three decades earlier. The press would restore light to the Christian religion which had lain in darkness for centuries. This new worldly ally, from the same land as Luther, would help overthrow the Antichrist.[22]

The vision of impending Apocalypse inspired more than one Tudor writer. In his popular Acts and Monuments, (1563) John Foxe awarded a place to the printing press alongside his heroic martyrs.

The martyrologist entitled one section of his lengthly work, "The Invention and Benefit of Printing." Its very title indicated its bias. Like Luther, Foxe believed that Providence had intervened directly in history and sent man "a divine and miraculous" invention of which "God Himself was the ordainer and disposer."[23] Foxe was among the first to appreciate the power of the press to transform the world, although his views remained decidely relig-

---

[21] The Olde Fayth of Great Brittayne.... Complied by R.K. (London, 1549), p. $C3^{r}$.

[22] Ibid., pp. $C3^{r}$-$C5^{r}$.

[23] John Foxe, Acts and Monuments. Edited by S.R. Cattley and G. Townsend, (London, 1837-41), III, p. 720.

ious in orientation. Ideally, Protestantism would evolve to become the faith of the new world, and would act in concert with the printing press to abolish the corrupted faith of the Romanists, which could not possibly survive the exposure of its manifold "errors" and superstition. The age of Roman hegemony was soon to end along with the thousand year reign of the Antichrist.

Foxe speculated that the Pope would ultimately have to abolish printing lest it "abolish him". As a good Protestant, Foxe knew that the success of the Papacy was based, not on God's favor, but on its control of communications. Now that God had chosen to end that tyranny and introduce a new age, papal supremacy would cease and the press would serve as the means to expedite that deposition. The priesthood of all believers needed no imprimatur, but only moveable type.

Foxe reported that during the early years of the Reformation, the orthodox vicar of Croydon had preached, at Paul's Cross, "that either we must root our printing, or else printing will root us out."[24] The biographer hoped that the vicar's fears would prove prophetic.

Due to the cheaper price of books, the Bible had become more abailable than ever. In the past, the perversions and pretensions of the Papacy had gone undetected. Now, with the increased publication of books and pamphlets, the pope would be exposed for

---

[24]Foxe, Acts and Monuments, III, p. 720.

what he was: the true Antichrist. His reign would soon end and a new age begin.[25] Revelation and the Book of Daniel informed much of Foxe's sense of history, and the printing press was to be one weapon in the battle to realize the destiny not only of England but the world.[26].

Another Protestant, the translator and clergyman Stephen Batman, welcomed the printing press as an instrument of beneficent change. In his Elizabethan version of the Apocalypse, The Doome Warning All Men to the Judgement (1581), he endorsed Foxe's evaluation of that "noble" invention. Batman expected it to help spread the Word to the unsettled and pagan regions of the new world.[27]

An Elizabethan satirist likewise counted the printing press as a distinctly Christian invention. The availability of an English Bible would free men from servitude to the superstition of the Roman Church. Thomas Bastard, a man not disposed to write favorably of anyone or anything, did find the press exceptional That singular innovation had not only restored letters which had suffered confinement and obscurity for centuries, but it had, more importantly, helped propagate the true faith. It most assuredly

---

[25] Ibid.

[26] Mozley, J.F. John Foxe and His Book. (London, 1940), passim. ; Thomas, Decline of Magic, p. 141.

[27] Batman, Stephen. The Doome Warning All Men to the Judgement. (London, 1581), pp. 1-5.

merited Christian commendation.[28]

To other supporters, the virtues of the invention lay primarily in its secular, rather than religious, uses. To such men, Bacon among them, the printing press represented the apothosis of modern culture and proved convincingly its superiority to earlier ages. If it had exposed myriad errors in religion, it could just as importantly help relieve the ignorance which had plagued learning for so long. The progress of modern culture could be attributed, in part, to the printing press which itself had fostered change. The French Protestant philosopher Jean Bodin, counted the printing press as one of the distinguishing features of contemporary civilization. Bodin, who enjoyed a considerable following among English intellectuals asserted, in 1566, that "printing alone can easily vie with all the discoveries of all the ancients."[29]

The very invention of the press, claimed the Elizabethan geographer George Best, resulted, almost inevitably, from modern ingenuity "more curious and inquisitive of new and strange devices" than earlier times. He praised it as a most "commodious" contribu-

---

[28]Thomas Bastard, Chrestoleros: Seven Books of Epigrammes Written by T.B. (London, 1598), pp. 98-99.

[29]Jean Bodin, Method for the Easy Comprehension of History. Translated by B.Reynolds, (New York, 1945), p. 302; Hakewill, Apology, II, p. 275. For popularity of Bodin in England, see Leonard Dean, "Bodin's Methodus in England before 1625." Studies in Philology, XXXIX (1942), pp. 160-166.

tion to modern culture which, he boasted, ranked far above all earlier epochs. He credited inventions such as the printing press with making the modern age unique.[30] Another geographer, contemporary with Best, Richard Eden, singled out the press as one of the main reasons why

> "This our age may seeme not only to contende with the Auncients, but also in many goodly inventions of Art and wit, farre to exceede them."[31]

Optimists wrote approvingly of the distance which printing had placed between past and present. Despite the many accomplishments of antiquity, that era had produced nothing to compete with the remarkable invention of the printing press. Appropriately, Bacon languished longest over "this most beautiful discovery" as the single greatest technological creation of the preceding millenium.[32] Earlier cultures, including antiquity, simply offered no rival to the mechanical prowess of modern man. In the future, even the technological triumphs of the present would pale into insignificance since knowledge, and with it technology, would progress beyond man's dreams,

> "There is therefore much ground for hoping that there are still laid up in the womb of nature many secrets of excellent use...which have not yet been found out."[33]

---

[30]Quoted in R.F. Jones, Ancients and Moderns: A Study of the Rise of the Scientific Movement in Seventeenth Century England. St. Louis, 1961, p. 12.

[31]Eden, The First Three English Books on America, pp. xlvi-xlvii.

[32]Bacon, New Organon, I, Aphorism 110

[33]Bacon, New Organon, I, Aphorism 109.

Bacon added

> "If again anyone ask me, not indeed for actual works, yet for definite promises and forecasts of the works that are to be, I would have him know that the knowledge which we now possess will not teach a man even what to wish....[34]

Despite the abundance of such favorable reactions to the discovery of the printing press and the general acceptance among twentieth century scholars that the press had been greeted with "almost universal delight,"[35] several intellectuals did in fact dissent from the optimistic interpretation. While reservations about the invention of gunpowder have been studied, doubts about the alleged beneficence of the printing press have been unduly ignored despite the fact that by the end of the sixteenth century, many English Protestants questioned its alleged beneficence. In fact, several denounced it outright as an instrument of the devil. The Reformation had fueled the historical consciousness of early modern Englishmen by creating a wide chasm between past and present and by organizing secular history around the various books of the Bible.[36] The extant literature of the era abounds with references to the seven ages of man and to the belief that the last and final age of

---

[34]Bacon, "Of the Interpretation of Nature," in Bacon, The History of the Reign of King Henry VII, ed. by F.J. Levy, (New York, 1972), p. 294.

[35]Hale, Renaissance Europe, p. 188.

[36]Tuveson, Millenium and Utopia, pp. 1-28; C.A. Patrides, The Phoenix and the Ladder: The Rise and Decline of the Christian View of History. (Berkeley, 1964), pp. 1-48.

the world had begun. The ending of Reformation polemics did not slow the continued growth of the new sense of history. After a half century of vigorous change, late Elizabethan England has a deepened sense of period and contemporaries often looked backwards in time to a remote and irretrievable past before the new age which the printing press had hastened.

That invention had armed "everyman" with an opinion and the pessimists found that both alarming and anarchic. In contrast to the religious zealots and secular progressives, the conservatives feared that the printing press in fact presaged evil and an undoing of custom. By the end of the sixteenth century their ranks had swollen.

In the first years of the next century, the Protestant divine, Henry Peacham, noted the new skepticsm regarding the "goodness" of the printing press for society. Not everyone, in fact not nearly everyone, according to Peacham's observations, thought the press indicative of modern cultural advance. While initially nearly everyone had welcomed it, now

> "among the learned and wise it is a great question, whether printing hath done more hurt or good in the world."[37]

"Among the learned and wise" who disputed the merits of the recent discovery was the translator and statesman, Sir Goeffrey Fenton

---

[37] Henry Peacham, The Truth of Our Times. (London,1638), p. 30.

(d.1608). In his Golden Epistles (1575), he did not object to the mechanical device itself but to the occasion for vanity which it had created and encouraged. Like fellow Protestants, Fenton intended to exploit the printing press for the service of the Reformed faith. However, writers "these dayes" failed in such didactic tasks. Printing and printers both had become reflections of worldly vanity unknown before. The Golden Epistles recorded the increased quantity of publications and a corresponding decrease in their moral quality. Fenton asserted that contemporary writers "thinke it a great testimonie of their singularity and excellence to publish matter merely vaine."[38]

Despite such serious reservations about its effects, he continued to hope that "more good than hurt" might still issue from it. In that unresolved state, he suspended further judgement.[39]

Others were less circumspect and more absolute in their denial of the virtues of the press. If Fenton amended Foxe's unqualified praise for it, the Elizabethan poet and dramatist Samuel Daniel acknowledged little, if any, redeeming features in it. Though not one to genuflect at everything that " rude Antiquitie" had created, he reacted with scorn and derision to modern claims of

---

[38]Sir Godfrey Fenton, Golden Epistles (London, 1575), "Epistle Dedicatory."

[39]Ibid.

cultural superiority as evidenced by the invention of the printing press.

In his allegorical and unfinished Civil Wars (1595-1609), he contrasted the ancient era of peace, tranquility, and harmony to the new one of wars, sects, and contentiousness, ushered in by the recent spate of inventions.[40] In that fictional account of recent history, the disruptive and cantankerous character of Nemesis ordered Pandora to end the golden age by importing to it the printing press and gunpowder in order to stir sedition and heresy. If, as Foxe maintained, the press allowed a hearing to the reformers, it did so only at the expense of Christian unity. It had, however unintentionally, fostered "impious contention" which resulted in the total disruption of social stability. That lack of balance and cohesion was the single most outstanding feature of the modern world and Daniel blamed the inventions for that instability.

The fact that the press made it possible, even easy, to disseminate ideas and doctrine did not excite optimism in Daniel the way it had in other protestants. To the dramatist, the press had hindered the progress of religion.

> "Opinion Arme against opinion growne:
> Make new-born contradiction still to rise;
> Bring new-defended Faith against Faith knowne:
> Weary the souls with contrarities;
> Till all Religion become retrograde,....

---

[40] Daniel, Civil Wars, passim. Cf. Fulke Greville, "A Treatise of Monarchy," in The Remains: Being Poems of Monarchy and Religion. G.A. Wilkes, ed., (Oxford, 1965), I, pp. 5-6; 11-12.

"And better to effect a speedy end,
Let there be found two fatall Instruments,
The one to publish, th' other to defend,
Impious contention, and proud Discontents..."[41]

Ironically, the alliance between the priesthood of all believers and the printing press could just as easily, argued Daniel, sunder the unity of both Church and state. The end would not be a universal priesthood, but an atomic society in which no bonds could regulate or tie man. With a book, the "vulgar" could pretend to wisdom, and "of deepest mysteries debate, Control their betters, censure actes of state."[42] That sad state of affairs colored Daniel's view of the historical process and caused him to look nostalgically to a more remote past.[43]

Other conservatives such as Ben Jonson and Bishop Goodman thought the press guilty of subverting the established order. Goodman, who saw only corruption and decay in time, voiced his utter disgust at the superfluity of this "new-fangled" invention. He rated his own hostility, expressed in his The Fall of Man (1616) as greater than anyone else's. So contemptible was he towards the press that the Bishop found himself in the awkward dilemma of whether or not to submit his own work to the printer.[44]

---

[41]Daniel, "Civil Wars," Book 6, Stanzas 36 and 37.

[42]Daniel, Civil Wars, Stanza 38.

[43]Arthur B. Ferguson, "The Historical Thought of Samuel Daniel: A Study in Renaissance Ambivalence." Journal of the History of Ideas, 32 (1971), pp. 185-202.

[44]Goodman, Fall of Man, "To the Reader."

Goodman insisted that any recent innovation had little to recommend it. Instead, one should look back in time for anything of merit. His opposition to the printing press and its negative effect on the education of his day made him once again long for the golden age.

> "O happie was the old world: When all things passed by word of mouth, or else a few lines subscribed with the marke of a crosse, and the seals of a tooth did suffice."[45]

In order to at least slow the growth of printed matter and to force readers to consult the more ancient authorities, Goodman urged a moratorium on new publications.[46]

A contemporary, the dramatist Ben Jonson, reserved his most stinging criticism for the new profession which the press had created: the printer. The conservative Jonson feared that tradition would no longer suffice for man's intellectual satisfaction. Men now believed whatever printing told him to be true. In The Staple of Newes, Jonson wrote,

> "See divers mens opinions! Unto some,
> The very printing of them, makes them newes;
> That ha' not the heart to believe any thing,
> But what they see in print."[47]

---

[45] Goodman, Fall of Man, p. 167.

[46] Ibid., "To the Reader."

[47] Ben Jonson, "The Staple of Newes," in Works. Edited by C.H. Hereford and P. and E. Simpson, (Oxford, 1925-52), I, v.

Although an admirer of the Greeks and Romans, Jonson nonetheless believed that the modern age did have a contribution to make. However, he charged his contemporaries with grasping too blindly and too quickly at the new. Nothing better typified the changed situation of the present than the printing press which had come to rely on "news" for its very existence. In the mind of the poet, new ideas or art forms had to first prove themselves worthy for inclusion in the staple of civilization. The press had bypassed such an evolutionary course and had substituted an instantaneous aspect to culture which repulsed Jonson. Ideas and creeds, with the aid of the printing press, would become, in fact already had become, as transitory and fickle as fashions.

> "what news would she heare?
> Or what kind, Sir? Any, any kind.
> So it be news, the newest that thou hast."[48]

Another observer, writing at approximately the same time as Jonson, wrote similarly of the fashion, even obsession, for the new. The commentator, a little-known visitor to a London book shop, noted while shopping, that

> "The first question at every stationer's shop is, what new thing? and if it smell of the press, and have a goodly title, it is a book for the nonce; but be it never so good, if once the Calendar be changed, that it bear the date of the former yeare, it is never inquired after."[49]

---

[48] Ibid., III, iii, pp. 17-19.

[49] Quoted in Anthony Esler, The Aspiring Mind of the Elizabethan Younger Generation (Durham, 1966), p. 77.

Thus, late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Englishmen were divided over the effects of the printing press on society. Most contemporaries viewed it as a technological triumph that the ancients had failed to match. Still, a minority did challenge the popular view and blamed the press, in part, for the countless and deleterious changes that characterized their world.

The second invention to consider, gunpowder, attracted far more detractors than either the press or the compass, and not just among conservatives. Its destructiveness made it a dubious friend to progressives. How could such an engine of war be a sign of progress? Conservatives reminded their detractors that during the Golden Age no such malevolent weapon existed. Not immune to such criticism, the optimists responded by dwelling on the benefits of the printing press and the compass, and defending, for a time, their inclusion of gunpowder on their list of great inventions.[50] By the mid-seventeenth century, most optimists decided to drop it from their list of great and beneficial inventions. During the sixteenth century, however, they did attempt to point out its positive features.

Richard Eden and George Best were two progressives who did not allow the negative aspects of gunpowder to deter them from praising it with the same enthusiasm they had granted the printing press.

---

[50]Wolper, "Phetoric," pp. 595-9.

The benefits from "bombaste" accruing to man negated any monor shortcomings that it might have. Supporters like Eden and Best found it ideal as a modern improvement to the art of war. So superior in fact did that invention make the modern army that progressives rated the pre-gunpowder exploits of both Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar as insignificant.[51] The arms used by the ancient armies more than one writer dismissed as "boyish toys."[52]

The bold assertion that the moderns surpassed the technical and military achievements of earlier epochs required some physical proof, and to men like Best and Eden, gunpowder provided it. In a scornful and rhetorical fashion, the Elizabethan soldier, Humfrey Barwick, asked those individuals who lamented the invention of gunpowder, or who would dispense with it altogheter: "What, shall we refuse the Cannon and fall to the Ram againe?"[53] In order to compete in the new age militarily, improvements were needed. To continue to employ "toys" would be suicidal.

---

[51]George Best, The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher in Search of a Passage to Cathaia and India by the North-West. [1578]. (London, 1867), Epistle Dedicatory.

[52]Bodin, Easy Method, p. 302. Cf. Hakewill, Apology,II pp. 319-20; Thomas Digges, An Arithmeticall Militaire Treatise (London, 1579), "To the Reader."

[53]Humfrey Barwick, A Breefe Discourse, Concerning the Force and Effect of All Manuall Weapons of Fire (London, 1594), "To all skillful Captaines....", Wolper, "Rhetoric," p. 591.

One of the first casualties of the new military emphasis on firearms was the most honored "toy" of the English past: the long-bow which had brought such glory and fame at Crecy and Poitiers. In a lively exchange between the defenders of traditional weaponry and the proponents of gunpowder, one sees the influence of the latter in formulating not only progressive ideas about modern technical superiority, but also in developing a sense of anachronism, so indispensable for a sense of history.[54]

In 1574, Barnabe Rich, in his A Right Excellent and Pleasant Dialogue Between Mercury and An English Soldier, typified the increasing historical consciousness of the Elizabethan era. In his Dialogue, Rich had Mercury thunder,

> "What hath been done in times past maketh nothing to the purpose for the time present, for the order of the wars is altogether altered."[55]

Thus, a new age called for new strategies and weapons. By alleging that, Rich joined the ranks of those who thought the canons of ancient knowledge no longer appropriate.

Robert Barret, a military and poetical writer and professional soldier (fl. 1600) who also engaged in the literary debate surrounding the merits of gunpowder versus the long-bow, wrote with a similar sense of history underlining his assumption that the "old ways" had no

---

[54]See J.R. Hale, ed., Sir John Smyth, Certain Discourses Military, [1590], (Ithica, 1964), pp. xlvi-lvi; Burke, The Renaissance Sense of the Past, pp. 1-6.

[55]Quoted in J.R. Hale, ed., Certain Discourses, p. xlvi.

relevance in the changed circumstances of the present. To the claim that Englishmen had won great victories before the age of gunpowder and had exhibited a certain military skill with the bow, Barret responded by simply dismissing such comparisons as irrelevant since "then was then, and now is now."[56] That sense of period prompted excitement in the minds of the progressives and melancholia in the hearts of the pessimists. The traditional weapons of war, and with them much else, had no place in the present scheme of things.

Despite some conservative anxiety about the invention of gunpowder, progressives continued to praise it as vastly superior to anything known before. They answered conservative misgivings about it by listing its several advantages. First, it would act as a deterrent to war since its horror would cause potential combatants to think about the consequences before embarking on a military enterprise. Secondly, by minimizing the need for close combat, it actually saved lives. Further, it was aimed at general areas and, unlike the more conventional weapons, not aimed at individuals. Also, it would protect Christians from their enemies and might even extend Christian values and faith throughout the world. With that conquest of new lands came an increase in knowledge since new phenomena would be discovered there.[57] These and other advantages caused George Hakewill to conclude:

---

[56]Robert Barret, The Theory and Practice of Modern Wars (London, 1598), pp. 2-3.

[57]Wolper, "Rhetoric," pp. 595-7.

"And verily I believe that since the invention
and use thereof, fewer have been slaine
in the warres than before."[58]

Such arguments failed to convince the pessimists. In fact, they only incited them. If the optimists were less vociferous in their praise of gunpowder than of the printing press and the compass, the pessimists were correspondingly more attentive to its several shortcomings and apocalyptic nature.

Samuel Daniel, for one, turned his literary artillery to attacking the new invention. To him, it represented not progress and certainly not a gift from God. Rather, he viewed it in fact as an "infernall instrument,/New brought from Hell."[59] The benefits that the optimists had listed on its behalf he treated as deceptions. Gunpowder, like the press, protected not lives, but contention by arming rebels and prolonging their detestable ways. Thus, it encouraged war by providing a means of unprecedented destruction for virtually anyone. In conjunction with the press, gunpowder had effectively levelled the older world view. Further, it indicated the arrogance and decadence of modern man and his proclivity for riot. It had not furthered God's word, but had aided the devil's work by disrupting the peace and concord of the golden age.

"No publique shock disjoynted this faire frame,/
Till Nemesis from out the Orient came;...
Turnes her sterne looke at last unto the West;/
As griev'd to see on earth such happy rest."[60]

---

[58]Hakewill, Apology, II, pp. 278-9.

[59]Daniel, Civil Wars, Stanza 26 Book 6.

[60]Daniel, Civil Wars, Book 6 Stanzas 29-30.

The present age had not been bequethed accumulated knowledge to improve the world; rather, it had inherited these "gifts of griefe" which would destroy it and substitute for it an iron age.[61]

Not surprisingly, the arch-conservative Bishop Goodman registered his own complaint against gunpowder. Whereas Bacon had judged it one of the greatest inventions ever, to Goodman it represented yet another symptom of man's steady decline. He found no merit whatsoever in this "late invention of man's, a cruell and mercilesse" weapon.[62]

Thomas Bastard, who had applauded the compass and the printing press, felt compelled to exclude gunpowder from the list of modern accomplishments. He expressed skepticism about its supposed benefits and compassion for its many unidentifiable victims. He allowed that it made killing much easier and more efficient "but O what needed more/To teach death more skill than it had before."[63] Bacon may have thought it a cruel device, but in his plan of progress it was, more importantly, a necessity.[64]

---

[61] Ibid., Book 6, Stanza 35.

[62] Goodman, Fall, p. 322.

[63] Bastard, Chrestoleros, pp. 98-99.

[64] "The same times that are most renowned for arms are likewise most admired for learning, so that the greatest authors and philosophers, and the greatest captains and governmors have lived in the same ages. Neither can it be otherwise." Bacon, Advancement of Learning, I, p. 181.

The final invention to consider, the compass and the consequent voyages of discovery, caused much less controversy than either the printing press or gunpowder. Initially, the voyages to the New World received only passing notice in the annals and chronicles of the time.[65]

Unlike both the printing press and gunpowder, the advantages of the compass were many and not subject to qualification. The compass enjoyed a religious as well as a secular popularity. If the press and even gunpowder could help spread God's Word, the compass too could be praised for bringing the Christian faith to foreign lands. Additionally, it had made navigation safer and thus preserved lives, in contrast to gunpowder. It had aided in the discovery of new areas for missions and also for commerce.[66] To progressives, it supplied one more example of modern superiority to ancient learning.

In 1570, Queen Elizabeth's astrologer, John Dee, lampooned the efforts of the upper and middle classes to partake, vicariously, in the now popular and successful voyages to the new world. Dee wrote of consumers who "liketh, loveth, getteth, and useth, Maps, Charts, and Geographical Globes" and house them in their study or parlor.[67]

---

[65]Thomas Lanquet, Cooper's Chronicle (London, 1565), p.269; C.L.Kingsford, ed. Chronicles of London (Oxford, 1905) introduction; Great Chronicle of London, p. 320; Hale, Renaissance Europe, p. 53.

[66]M. MacLure, The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642 (Toronto, 1958), p. 96; Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy [1621], II, p. 60; Hakewill, Apology, II, pp. 281-2; Wolper, "Rhetoric," p. 593.

[67]Quoted in E.G.R. Taylor, Tudor Geography, 1485-1583 (London, 1930), Appendix III, p. 283.

The enthusiasm of such collectors was matched by that of the optimists who found the voyages to be much more than a departure from England's coastline. For centuries, exploration had been minimal due in part to a lack of navigational skills and equipment as well as a lack of interest. Now, in 1578, according to George Best, that neglect had been relieved and the present age possessed a "perfecter knowledge of the world" than anyone before.[68] He concluded that

> "the world is waxed finer, and grown to more perfection, not only in all the speculative Arts and Sciences, but also in the practical application of the same..... This tyme only may rightly be called the liberall and flourishing age."[69]

Another geographer, Richard Willes, writing one year before Best, predicted that, thanks to the compass, "you shall heare of other landes yet altogether unknown."[70] He based his confidence not on any nationalistic impulse, but on the obvious superiority of modern technological prowess. The neglect of exploration and awareness of the world, just then receding, he blamed on the fact that "since Ptolomeus reigne [geography] lay troden under foote, and buried in dust and ashes...."[71] Now, in the Elizabethan golden age, all learning flourished on an unprecedented scale.

---

[68] Best, Three Voyages, p. 179.

[69] Ibid., p. 27.

[70] Richard Eden, History of Travayle.... (London, 1577), Preface by Richard Willes.

[71] Ibid.

In 1595, the experimenter Robert Norman authored a treatise on the invention of the compass entitled The New Attractive.[72] For Norman, the "lodestone" not only aided navigation, it helped correct ancient myths and errors about distant lands. But how, he asked sympathetically, could the ancients have known nearly as much as the present generation since, after all, they lacked the magnificent compass? Discoveries and improvements such as that would add to the inevitable and "continuall increase of knowledge...."[73]

Like Bacon, Norman understood the importance of the compass as a pre-requisite for successful exploration. He even commenced his work with a paean celebrating that invention.

> "The lodestone is the stone,
> the onelie stone alone,
> Deserving praise above the rest,
> Whose vertues are unknowne."[74]

Its supreme virtue lay in its utility, for without the compass "there could have been no discoveries by sea, nor the part of the world made known and frequented as now they are."[75] Thus the whole corpus of ancient knowledge ought to be re-searched for further corrections and emendations, for what had been a mere "romance to antiquity" had been seen and settled by modern men.[76]

---

[72] Robert Norman, The New Attractive (London, 1581).

[73] Norman, New Attractive, "To the Reader."

[74] Ibid., p. B1[r].

[75] Ibid., p. 1.

[76] Ibid., "The Magnes or Loadstones Challenge."

At the close of the sixteenth century, John Davies argued the superiority of his countrymen to not only antiquity, but to contemporary rivals as well. In The Seaman's Secrets, he compared the rest of the world with the English and found his nation far in advance of anyone else.

> "I am fully persuaded that our countrie
> is not inferiour to any for men of rare Knowledge,
> singular explication, and exquisite execution
> of the Arts Mathematicke..."[77]

Such a conclusion came as no surprise to another enthusiast for the voyages, Simon Stevin. He urged, as only a progressive could, that nature herself demanded a belief in technological progress. The compass and the discovery of new lands were only the most visible signs of that inevitability.[78] Once more, the "datedness" of the ancient wisdom had been exposed. Thus, when Doctor William Gilbert published, in 1600, his work, On the Magnet, he informed his readers that "We but seldom quote ancient Greek authors in our support" since they had nothing relevant to contribute.[79]

---

[77]Quoted in J.O. Halliwell, ed., A Collection of Letters Illustrative of the Progress of Science (London, 1841), frontespiece.

[78]Simon Stevin, The Haven-Finding Art (London, 1599) p. B2^{r}.

[79]Quoted in Robin Briggs, The Scientific Revolution of the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1969), p. 36; Cf. Norman, New Attractive, pp. 4-5.

The individual most responsible for publishing and popularizing the adventures and exploits of the explorers, Richard Hakluyt, judged his own late Elizabethan age to have outdone all previous ones in navigational pursuits.[80] Just as John Foxe had seen the hand of God in the invention of the printing press, Hakluyt wrote that God had first sent man the compass and then directed the subsequent voyages. Not one to rest on contemporary laurels, he articulated the progressive belief that knowledge would increase incrementally with the passage of time and that each era had its own contribution to make. The result of such a process would be that each succeeding generation would know more and presumably accomplish more than its predecessor.[81]

All of the above writers took pride in the conviction that their age had with its modern technical prowess discovered parts of the world never seen before by Westerners. Unlike the more controversial inventions, at least one Englishman did oppose the consequences of the invention of the compass: Bishop Goodman. He had of course rejected the printing press and gunpowder and likewise refused to acquit the compass of disrupting the world and hastening its decline. Goodman argued that the new discoveries only showed conclusively the "weaknesse and olde age of the heavens" since lands previously known by the virile and intelligent ancients to be unfit

---

[80] Richard Hakluyt, Hakluyt's Voyages (London, n.d.),I, p.3.

[81] Ibid., Epistle Dedicatory. Cf. Spenser, Fairie Queens, Prologue to Book 2.

for living had in this last inform age of the world become populated by the weaker and decadent moderns.[82]

The technological inventions, perhaps more than any other aspect of the Renaissance, gave expression to the hopes of the progressives and to the despair of the pessimists. The printing press, gunpowder, and the compass acted as agents of change and played a significant part in the collapse of the old by showing just how inadequate the wisdom of the ancients had become in the new world. Custom had been shown to have become stale and of little relevance. The corpus of early authorities lacked reference to these inventions; the globe of Ptolemy no longer represented an accurate picture of the world.

The inventions stimulated the historical consciousness of Englishmen by offering clearly defined "proofs" of the singularity of the present age. For the progressives, they proved invaluable in serving as examples of "progress." Richard Eden, translator and government official, wrote optimistically to Lord Burghley, in 1562, that

> "...it is not unknown unto your honour that once all toonges were barbarous and needie, before the knowledge of things brought in plentie of woordes and names; whereby it maye well appeare that men, in the first age of the worlde, had a shorte language consistinge of fewe woordes, which ever increased by the knowledge and invention of things."[83]

---

[82]Goodman, Fall of Man, p. 380.

[83]Halliwell, ed., Letters Illustrative of the Progress of Science, p. 3.

When considered together, the comments offered by pessimist and optimist alike point to a new way of looking not just at themselves in particular, but at history in general. Both parties regarded the inventions as distinguishing characteristics of the modern age alone. Some observers proceeded beyond the Renaissance convention of treating the present age as unique and formed a primitive concept of period with an attendant sense of anachronism. Thus, Bacon singled out his own age as a distinct world; one of the three outstanding ones in all of recorded history.[84] Religious writers aided this development by employing the Bible as a source of periodization. Writers such as the martyrologist John Foxe, the translator Stephen Batman, John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, and John Jewel included the inventions among those signs foretold in the Bible when language, knowledge, and arms would all prosper simultaneously in the time preceeding the end of the world.[85] Bacon himself concluded that

> "this proficience in navigation and discovery may plant also great expectation of the further proficience and augmentation of the sciences; especially as it may seem that these two are ordained by God to be coevals, that is, to meet in one age. For so the Prophet Daniel, in speaking of the latter times, foretells 'That many shall go to and fro on the earth, and knowledge shall be increased.'"[86]

---

[84] Bacon, New Organon, I, Aphorism 78; Bodin, Easy Method, pp. 303-333.

[85] Thomas, Decline of Magic, pp. 140-2; F.J. Levy, Tudor Historical Thought (San Marino, 1967), pp. 79-123; Bacon The History of the Reign of King Henry VII. F.J. Levy, ed., "Deaugmentis Scientiarum," p. 316; Tuveson, Millenium and Utopia, pp. 67-70.

[86] Bacon, History of the Reign of King Henry VII, p. 316.

Whatever their opinions of the individual inventions, all agreed that they made the distance between past and present more obvious. The widening of that gap encouraged progressives to approve, and conservatives to fear, the adage that Richard Eden, in his letter to Lord Burghley, quoted so approvingly:

> "He who can penetrate the depths of nature,
> is able to create new worlds."[87]

By the end of the sixteenth century, many believed that a new world had already emerged. Some observers turned to other areas, less visible than technological innovations, to show how their age differed so fundamentally from earlier ones.

---

[87] Halliwell, ed., Letters Illustrative of the Progress of Science, p. 5. "Qui potest facere mediam naturam, poes creare mundos novos."

Chapter III

Religion: "alter thes foundaytones"

In early modern England, few questioned the general observation that religion still provided "the chief bond of human society."[1] It exercised considerable influence over men's ideas about life and history, and continued to do so well after the close of the era under study. Thus, any significant changes affecting its role made an impact on the consciousness of contemporaries. The Church, the main institution of religion, was present everywhere reinforcing the routine acceptance of its hegemony over many of man's activities and beliefs. Its vast and varied holdings made it a ubiquitious force, owning as it did, more than one-fifth of all the land. Its possessions included some 800 religious houses in which more than 9000 priests and nuns, along with their lay attendants, resided. In addition to their numerical strength, the monasteries enjoyed the distinction and status of having been part of the English landscape for nearly a thousand years. The combination of their size and venerability made them an outstanding feature of English culture.[2]

---

[1] Bacon, Essays, "Of Unity in Religion", Warhaft ed., p. 51.

[2] Knowles, David, The Religious Orders in England, Vol. 1 The Tudor Age (Cambridge, 1959); G.R. Elton, Reform and Reformation, England 1509-1558, (Cambridge [MA], 1977), pp. 235-241.

Most modern authorities have xome to treat the Dissolution of the Monasteries and Chantries as but one, and by no means the pre-eminent one, of several events which together comprise the English Reformation.[3] In order to document their case, they have pointed out the relative ease with which the fall of the religious houses was accomplished, and the lack of any major long-term effects of the transfer of land. Contemporaries however, rightly or wrongly, perceived the matter quite differently. They reacted to it, in print and in deed, more actively and for a longer period of time than to, for instance, the "King's Great Matter," the Act of Supremacy, or the numerous martyrdoms of both Catholic and Protestant. In fact, in the extant writings of the period, hardly any other religious event commanded so much attention.

Such writers, as will be seen, did not call for the restoration of the abbeys to the Church nor for the re-introduction of monks into England. In that sense, they were not at all political or programmatic. Instead, they revealed a sense of history or a belief that an age had ended and that the disappear-

---

[3]See, for example, A.G. Dickens, The English Reformation, (New York, 1964), pp. 139-166; G.R. Elton, The Tudor Constitution, (Cambridge, 1960), pp. 369-374.

ance of the monasteries indicated that fact. There was among such pessimists a stoic acceptance of the end of the abbeys which made their writings even more melancholic and nostalgic. In a study of historical consciousness in early modern England, the Dissolution provides testimony of inestimable value. Therefore, this chapter will analyze how that single event influenced the growing sense of history and particularly how both pessimists and optimists sought to incorporate it into their respective visions of history.[4]

Two reasons account for the importance of the Dissolution in raising the level of historical consciousness of Englishmen. The very process of casting off the past caused a nostaligic reaction among many for its return. The Renaissance interest in locating medieval writings was accelerated in England by the danger of their wholesale destruction. The plundering and confiscation of so many venerable artifacts had the ironic effect of motivating many to attempt their recovery. The loss of so many manuscripts proved a stimulus to antiquarians such as John Leland and Archbishop Parker. Protestants not disposed to favor the cause of the abbeys did not hesitate to criticize those who would

---

[4]This discussion is indebted to the study of Margaret Aston, "English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 36 (1973), pp. 231-255.

"destroy all without consideration".[5] The monasteries had housed much valuable literature. Dr. John Dee, later to be Queen Elizabeth's astrologer and court mathematician, advanced secular reasons for retrieving the manuscripts. In a supplication to Queen Mary, dated 1556, "For the Recovery and Preservation of Ancient Writers and Monuments", Dee petitioned the monarch

> "to have in remembrance how that, among the exceeding most lamentable displeasures, that have of late happened unto this realm, through the subverting of religious houses [the most unfortunate] was the spoile and destruction of so many libraries and...treasure of Antiquity."[6]

Such antiquarian efforts and sentiments had a significant impact on the developing sense of history of the era. Such scholarly endeavors implied that such writings belonged to particular historical "periods", an acknowledgement pre-requisite for any historical consciousness.[7]

The humanists recognized the distance that separated their own era from antiquity. The actual physical remains of "Rome's sad ruine"[8] proved "peculiarly fertile in stimulating

---

[5]John Bale, The Laboryous Journey and Serche of John Leland's for England's Antiquities. London, 1549, sign. B1[r]; F.J. Levy, Tudor Historical Thought. San Marino, 1967, pp. 124-136.

[6]John Dee, The Autobiographical Tracts of Dr. John Dee. James Crossley, ed., Manchester, 1851, p. 46.

[7]Levy, Tudor Historical Thought, 81; pp. 135-7.

[8]Michael Drayton, "The Legend of Great Cromwell", edited by J.W. Hebel, Works, (Oxford, 1961), II, 1.25.

consciousness of the past".[9] Man has, from the writers of antiquity through Hildebert and Gibbon, confronted the ruins of civilization and attempted to place them in some historical context.[10] Acnient buildings and statues have stirred the imagination of poets and historians for centruies. The monasteries, however, offered a different spectacle. Unlike ancient monuments, they were not victims of time but of a deliberate and calculated act of state which sought to effect a "physical and institutional break with the past." [11] In the judgement of a recent authority, the Dissolution was a significant part of an Act of "National Amnesis" directed against Rome.[12] To contemporaries, the Dissolution came to represent "the visible sign, such as had never been seen before, of the breach with the past" which their age had achieved.[13] Long after their destruction, the "bare ruined choirs" served as daily reminders of an epoch that had faded into oblivion. Due to their stark appearance, "the ghost of medieval

---

[9]Aston, "Ruins",231; Philip Styles, "Politics and Historical Research in the Early Seventeenth Century", English Historical Scholarship in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Levi Fox, ed., London, 1956, passim.

[10]Rose Maculey, The Pleasure of Ruins. London, 1953, passim.

[11]Styles, "Politics and Historical Research", p. 651

[12]J.J. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII. Berkeley, 1968, p. 241.

[13]Styles, "Politics and Historical Research", p. 65.

monasteries remained...to haunt [England]."[14] The decaying houses caused the more reflective minds to contrast the golden age when monks occupied the buildings to the inferior present "when winds in our ruined abbeys roar."[15] Whether they lauded or cursed the earlier era is largely peripheral to the more elementary point that they recognized a fundamental difference between the two.

Due to their wealth, the monasteries made likely targets for the financially troubled administration of Henry VIII. When they were finally dismantled, few attached any historical significance to the fact. There is little evidence of any belief that an era was ending. Of course, the short-lived and unsuccessful Pilgrimage of Grace, did have elements of a protest against religious changes by those sympathetic to the old order. Still, their complaints were more immediate and particular, and not quite as relevant to a sense of history as the reflections of later writers who had time to place the Dissolution in some historical context.[16] More typically, contemporaries responded in a highly partisan fashion with local interests dominant to many of the rebels. Re-

---

[14] David Knowles, The Religious Orders in England. (Cambridge, 1948-59), III, p. 468.

[15] John Donne, English Poems, Satire 2, l. 60.

[16] M.H. and Ruth Dodds, The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536-7, and the Exeter Conspiracy, 1538, (Cambridge, 1915), I, pp. 225-6.

formers praised the measure as a means of cleansing the corrupted church while Catholics denounced it as an act of desecration and sacrilege. The lack of an accompanying sense of history at the pillaging of the abbeys is not surprising. Between event as history and event as meaning, there is a normal lag. That is, few contemporaries of any era are able to foresee the consequences of ideas or actions of their own time. Only in the years after the event does there arise a certain appreciation or realization about the importance of some events. The more normal reaction, outside the commentary from polemical religious leaders, can be seen in the correspondence between Thomas Warley and Lady Lisle, wife of Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle, Lord Deputy of Calais. On March 28, 1536, Warley reported, in a matter-of-fact way: "News here are none but that the abbeys shall down."[17]

In the decades after the espulsion of the monks however, contemporaries had a great deal to say about their fate. A more "historical" and less partisan view became the norm. The standing ruins became the subject of an increasing number of writers, mostly non-historians, who discerned a larger "meaning" in the Dissolution than had those coeval with it. The shells of the abbeys, whose doors, roofs, windows, and interiors had been stripped, left

---

[17] Lisle Letters, ed., Muriel St. Clare. (Chicago, 1981), III, pp. 238;316;289; IV, pp. 187-8. Cf. Knowles, Religious Orders, III, p. 382.

abundant testimony of change that affected the historical imagination of many Englishmen. Indeed, by the end of the sixteenth century, an attitudinal revolution had transpired. Men "unimpeachably Protestant"[18] began to lament the disappearance of the abbeys and to reminisce about the golden age in which they had flourished and to compare it to the secular decadence and impiety of "the iron age wherein we live."[19] The scattered remains of the religious houses heightened the late sixteenth century's "consciousness of historical change."[20] To the more melancholic observers, and thus of the majority, the vacant buildings seemed like romantic ruins from a distant era. Peots, dramatists, preachers, and antiquarians came to look upon them as anachronisms which had, literally, no place or function in the modern age. After having been part of the cultural and religious heritage of England, they were "in one instant grown not to less houses, but to heaps of stone."[21] To men such as Donne, writing a full 90 years after the fact, the destruction of the monasteries provided yet another example of a confused

---

[18]Aston, "Ruins", p. 234.

[19]Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy [1621] H. Jackson, ed., New York, 1964, III, p. 37.

[20]Aston, " Ruins ", p. 232.

[21]Donne, English Poems, "An Hymn to the Saints", l. pp.23-4.

and incoherent age too willing to discard tradition, too quick to dismiss custom as an "idiot".[22]

In the years preceding the Dissolution, a new critical attitude about monasticism and its place in the world was developing which may account, in part, for the facility with which a part of the past was simply set aside. Throughout the Middle Ages. monks had served as targets of satiric barbs. The literary record abounds with innumerable allegations of monkish impropriety and laziness. At the end of the medieval period, a new element entered into the criticism directed against the monks. In England at the close of the fourteenth century, the sanctity and superiority of productive labor over the contemplative life had been suggested in the poem The Vision of William concerning Piers Plowman.[23] By the time of the Reformation, that view had grown in popularity. Detractors came to regard the monk's soul and too far removed from social reality.[24] The Church itself had suffered a sizeable drop in the number of vocations in the century before the Dissolution indicating its fall from favor. Both reformers and orthodox humanists, such as Erasmus and More, viewed the monastic ideal as increasingly unsuitable to the new social and religious ethic.

---

[22]Haed-Vir, London, 1620, pp. B2^{v}-B3. Quoted in Louis B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England, (New York, 1935), p. 494.

[23]Huizinga, Waning, p. 179.

[24]Stephen Gosson, School of Abuse. (London, 1579), 14. Cf. R. Fraser, The War Against Poetry. (Princeton, 1970), pp. 52-76.

Churchmen themselves began to criticize not only the moral turpitude of the monks but their utter uselessness. Luther, himself an Augustinian, claimed that the monastic life as idle and selfish. To withdraw from it was to shirk one's responsibility to be active in this world.[25] This new attitude or outlook helps explain Henry VIII's virtually unopposed success in supressing the monasteries. In the thinking of many contemporaries, a man's duty to this world exceeded in importance any personal sanctity he might gain by renouncing it.[26] In 1514; when Bishop Fox of Winchester founded Corpus Christi College, he planned it as a house specifically for monks. His friend and colleague, Bishop Oldham of Exeter, objected to those intentions as too otherworldly.

> "What, my lord, shall we build houses and provide livlihood for a company of bussing monks, whose end and fall we may live to see? No, no, it is more meet a great deal that we should have care to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as who by their learning shall do good in the Church and Commonwealth."[27]

More specific in his suggestion as to what to do with

---

[25] Richard Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, (New York, 1963), pp. 200-201; Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. Translated by Talcott Parsons, (New York, 1958), p. 81. For the spread of Luther's ideas into England, see Dickens, English Reformation, pp. 60-9.

[26] Myers, England at the End of the Middle Ages, 241; A.F. Pollard, Henry VIII. (New York, 1966), p. 274.

[27] Quoted in Myers, England at the End of the Middle Ages, p. 241; Cf. Thomas Starkey, A Dialogue Between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset. Edited by J. Cowper, (London, 1878), pp. 140-45.

the monks was the Protestant pamphleteer, Simon Fish. Like others, he criticized the idleness and uselessness of the monk's life and several years before the Dissolution recommended setting "these study lobies a brode in the world, to get them wives of their owne, to get their living with the labooure in the swete of their faces."[28] Accordingly, the act dissolving the lesser monasteries, 27 Henry VIII, c. 28, called for the conversion of the monk's residences to "better uses".[29] The scholar Richard Braithwait summarized the new outlook in his handbook, The English Gentleman. He put the new credo succinctly: "...the Active is to bee preferred before the contemplative...."[30]

As to what exactly might qualigy as a "better use" as stipulated in the aforesaid legislation, the act of 1547, which suppressed the chantries, made specific recommendations. It suggested that all of them should be converted to "good and godly uses, as in erecting of grammar schools and better provision for the poor and needy."[31] By the time of the call for their suppression, the monks had become, in more ways than one, an "alien element" in

---

[28]Simon Fish, A Supplication for the Beggars... Edited by J.M. Cowper and F.J. Furnivall, London, 1871, p. 14.

[29]Elton, Tudor Constitution, p. 375.

[30]Richard Braithwait, The English Gentleman. (London, 1633).

[31]Elton, Tudor Constitution, p. 382.

England.[32]

In addition to the monasteries, other related "perversions" of religion had to be set aside. Charles Wriothesley, an Elizabethan chronicler, recalled the ransacking of Thomas Becket's shrine in 1538 as a positive historical event. One of the more popular visiting places of English pilgrims, both Cromwell and Cranmer owed their baptismal names to Becket's popularity.[33] To Wriothesley, as to others, the corrupted past had no place in the new and reformed England. After detailing how Becket's shrine had been vandalized, he told why it had been so treated: "so that there shall be no mor mention of him never."[34] Just as the title of "pope" had been altered to "bishop of Rome" in many Reformation chronicles such as Hall's and Holinshed's, the appellation of "saint" likewise underwent similar revision. The result of Becket's denigration was intellectual as well as nominal. "Saint" Thomas Becket had to be changed so that he " not be esteemed, named reputed nor called a saint, but Bishop Beckett and rased and put out of all books."[35]

---

[32]Myers, England in the Late Middle Ages, 240. "International monastic foundations were an anomaly within a national church." Lacey B. Smith, This Realm of England, p. 109.

[33]Elton, Reform and Reformation, p. 277, note 2.

[34]Charles Wriothesley, A Chronicle of England.... W. Hamilton, ed., (London, 1875-7), I, p. 87.

[35]Wriothesley, Chronicle, I, pp. 89-90.

Similarly, the monasteries were scorned as edifices of the past or, in the phrase of the day, "putrified oakes"[36] which needed felling. Mere reform no longer sufficed. The gross immorality and perhaps more importantly, their irrelevance, caused many to acquiesce in their fall.

In an effort to refute those who clung tenaciously to the older call for reform of the monasteries, the Protestant writer Thomas Starkey justified the act of suppression as more proper and more cleansing. Shortly after the act to abolish the smaller houses had been executed (1536), Starkey endorsed it enthusiastically.

After defending the royal effort, Starkey added that he also approved of changing the last will and testament of men already dead, who may have bequeathed monies to the monasteries before their suppression. For if the dead for whom the monks now allegedly prayed, he reasoned,

> "were now living again and saw the present state of this world in oure days, how under pretense of prayer much vyce and idulness ys nuryschyd in the monasteries and how little learning and religion is taught in the same they would...cry out with one voice...alter these foundaytyones and turne them to some better use and commodyte."[37]

---

[36]Hall, The Union of the Two, pp. 808-9; Richard Grafton, A Chronicle at Large.... London, 1568-9. Reprinted in London, 1809, I, p. 494.

[37]Starkey, Dialogue, 1v-1vi.

In effect, he suggested that while the wills of the deceased may have been admirable or at least understandable in the past, that no longer represented the present reality or religious "truth." He knew that if only the dead were alive, they would concur. Such wills, suitable in their day, should now be reversed and overturned, just like the abbeys themselves. Man's duty to the living was more important than his devotion to the dead. The wills of the dead can be, and should be, overturned if they contradicted religious "truth." Further, such reasoning implied that the past is a self-contained entity that can be set aside without disrupting society. The sense of history at work here differs profoundly in sentiment from the nostalgic view of the monasteries that soon became so popular, but similar to it in that both see the past as a unique and separate era. Men of Starkey's ilk argued that the past had no relevance to the present. They were quite willing to set aside the past, which in effect is the same thing as setting aside wills, because they viewed that era as inferior and with little to say to the changed circumstances of the present. Anything that the past might say was nothing more than, as Ralegh put it, the "counsel of the dead."[38]

The most obvious beneficiaries of the aforesaid wills were the chantries, where a small number of priests offered so many masses and prayers for the happy repose of the soul of the donor. The

---

[38]Quoted in Christopher Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution, (Oxford, 1965), p. 241.

traditional belief in purgatory provided the rationale for the existence of chantries. As the popular belief in the reality of purgatory declined, to be replaced by the reformist idea of solofideism, the chantries became vulnerable to dissolution.[39] Within a decade of Starkey's urgings, though not a direct result of them, the act dissolving chantries, Edward VI, c. 14 (1547), rendered those wills which left money for the saying of masses inoperative. By that statute,

> "all manors, lands, tenements, rents, tithes, pensions, portions and other herediments [given the monasteries] by any maner of assurance, conveyance, will [shall be awarded to Edward VI] and his heirs and successors for ever."[40]

The condescending contempt for the monks lasted little more than a generation. By the end of the sixteenth century the early Protestant antipathy towards the monasteries had been replaced by a more congenial attitude. Such revisionists wished to set aside not the wills of earlier generations but the Tudor legislation that had outlawed the abbeys. Such writers were repulsed by the iconclasm of the dissolution and the reasoning of men such as Starkey. The heritage of the past was not something to be trampled underfoot or treated as inferior. Almost a century after their fall, the monasteries managed to stimulate the memory of nostalgic Protestants who chanced upon their decayed remains:

> "I doe love these auncient ruynes:
> We never tread upon them but we set
> Our foote upon some reverend History."[41]

---

[39] Dickens, English Reformation, pp. 205-217.

[40] Elton, Tudor Constitution, p. 383.

[41] John Webster, The Duchess of Malfi, V, iii.

Even by the middle of the sixteenth century some argued that the Dissolution, if not a total sham, had serious disadvantages. Whereas Dr. Richard Layton, Dean of York and one of Cromwell's monastic visitors of 1535, had rejoiced to find "the lieffes of Dunce" [leaves of Duns scotys' writings] blowing in the courtyard wind,[42] men of the late Elizabethan era sought to recover those lost manuscripts from an age far superior to the present. The abbeys became enmeshed in the myth of a lost golden age and Protestants were most responsible for constructing that radical attitudinal shift.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, an Anglican divine, Michael Sherbrook, published his work on the consequences of the Dissolution. He sensed, like so many others of his generation, that a gulf separated his own era from earlier ones and that the suppression of the monasteries was the prime reason for that gap.[43] He wrote his The Fall of the Religious Houses to prove that contention.

Although he was but a youth when the abbeys were dissolved, Sherbrook had direct knowledge of the event. His father had purchased

---

[42] Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. J. Gairdner and R. Brodie, eds., (London, 1862-1910), ix, p. 117.

[43] Michael Sherbrook, The Fall of the Religious Houses [1569; 1591]. Reprinted in A.G. Dickens, ed., Tudor Treatises. (Yorkshire, 1959), pp. 27-142.

some confiscated goods from Roche Abbey as it was being razed. Sherbrook recalled a conversation he had with his father concerning the latter's purchases.

> "I demanded of my Father thirty years after the Suppression...whether he thought well of the Religious Persons and of the Religion then used; And he told me yea: For, said He, I did see no cause to the contrary: Well, said I, then how came it to pass you was so ready to destroy and spoil the thing that you thought well of? What should I do, said He; might I not as well as others have some Profit of the Spoil of the Abbey? For I see all would away; and therefore I did as others did."[44]

Sherbrook had of course greatly romanticized the condition of the abbeys. That fact notwithstanding, he understood that an era had ended whose only remains were vacant and stark buildings with no place or function in the new world. Although overly nostalgic, Sherbrook did not lack some sense of history, however misguided or primitive we might judge it. He lamented the passing of an institution that had been in England "by the space of a thousand years and above" or as long as Christ's faith.[45]

As for any changes that he distorted the past, the clerk simply noted an imbalance in the literary record, which he intended to correct: "it is needful that some Person speak of their Virtues, Omitted by the Protestants."[46]

---

[44] Ibid., p. 124.

[45] Ibid., p. 89.

[46] Ibid., pp. 98 and 128.

Ironically, an increasing number of fellow Protestants shared that view, as will be demonstrated, and any imbalance in the record now most certainly favored Sherbrook's assessment. In fact, by century's end, so popular had the revisionist portrayal of the abbeys become that another cleric of the Church of England felt compelled to publish a book repudiating that view. He reminded everyone of the moral depravity that had run rampant there and to reprimand those who idealized their sinful condition.[47]

Sherbrook set as his primary goal to determine, in an objective fashion, if the Dissolution had been "good" or "bad." Not surprisingly, he decided that the latter verdict had more to recommend it.[48] He preferred the ancient way to the modern one. His conservatism led him to fear the Puritans whose current radicalism and zeal he equated with the same fanaticism of those who had struck down his beloved houses earlier in the century: "Therefore to dispatch all abuses, all was plucked up by the roots; good and bad."[49] In the populace's ability to discern doctrinal essentials, he betrayed as little confidence as another conservative,

---

[47]Francis Trigge, An Apologie or Defence of Our Dayes, Against the Vain Murmurings and Complaints of Manie: Wherein is Plainely Proved that Our Dayes Are More Happie and Blessed than the Days of Our Forefathers, (London, 1589), pp. 7-8.

[48]Sherbrook, Fall, p. 90.

[49]Ibid., p. 107.

Coriolanus. He bemoaned "the inconstancy of the rude People, in whom a Man may graft a new religion every day."[50]

Sherbrook's assertive tract typified the fashionable despair and melancholia of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The effort to break with the past and to erase parts of it from memory caused men like the minister to reject the notion of modern superiority and to idealize the past.

Four years after the completion of Sherbrook's book, the anonymous Pedlar's Prophecy appeared (1595). In this play, the "pedlar" searched his memory for a recent example of the irreversible decay of the world and found it in the suppression of the abbeys thirty years earlier.

> "He saith the world is so ill it cannot be amended.
> And that we sin daily against the Holy Ghost,
> Marry one thing cometh now to my remembrance,
> He crieth out upon suppressed lands:
> The abuse of them crieth to God for vengeance."[51]

For the "pedlar" the "good old days" had passed and given way to a corrupted and inferior present. The Dissolution was a particular event that documented that claim for such pessimists despite the fact that they were Protestants as well.

Sympathy for the old institutions, such as the religious houses, implied a fondness for the old religion. Government officials feared such association especially during the era of Jesuit infiltration into England.

---

[50] Sherbrook, Fall, p. 107.

[51] The Pedlar's Prophecy, (London, 1595), l. 1465-9.

The antiquarian John Stow seemed infected, at least to some authorities, with a too-friendly attitude to not only the former abbeys but to the entire "idolatrous religion" of Rome. As early as 1569, Archbishop Grindal wrote to William Cecil, the future Lord Burghley:

> "He [i.e. Stow] hath a great sorte of Folishe fabulous books of old prynte...also a great sorte of olde written English Chronicles touching phisicke, surgerye, and herbes, with medicines of experinece, and also touching old pahntastical popishe bokes prynted in the old time....His bokes declare him to be a great favourer of papistrye."[52]

Stow gave little evidence that his attitude differed from that depicted by Grindal. The Dissolution, at least as it appeared in the pages of his Survey of London (1598), he treated as an unfortunate and sad affair for England which had separated her from her ancient heritage. The successors to the monks' land he found guilty of selfishness and greed, just as most of the writers of his era did. Where the abbeys had been places of hospitality and prayer, the moderns had converted them into sotrehouses for victuals and armor, for private residence, and lastly, for "stabling for horses."[53] Such a change in use distinguished the past from the present. Earlier, in his Annals (1592), Stow reported that the abbeys, unlike their modern counterparts, had offered "great hospitalitie" before their inglorious "putting downe."[54] The government's plan for a "better

---

[52]John Stow, A Survey of London. Reprinted with an introduction by C.L. Kingsford, Oxford, 1908, I, xvii.

[53]Sotw, Survey, pp. 125-6; 255; 294; 308-9; 328. Cf. Stephen Batman, Doome Warning All Men, Ballads from Manuscripts, I, p. 292.

[54]John Stow, The Annals of England, (London, 1605), Part 2, p. 964.

use" of the abbeys had failed. To this wandering scholar, the buildings he surveyed served as analogies for the intellectual changes transforming society. A "preposterous zeale" had motivated the ransackers of the monasteries.[55]

So unhappy was Stow with the fate of the abbeys that he neglected to include many of the recently constructed monuments in his Survey of London. He confided his reason for so doing to one John Manningham, who recorded in his diary for 16 December 1602, a conversation he had with Stow.

> "I was with Stow the antiquary, He gave me this good reason why in his Survey he omits manie newe monuments: because those men have been the defacers of the monuments of others, and so thinks them worthy to be deprived of that memory whereof they have injuriously robbed others."[56]

Roughly contemporary with Sherbrook's publication and the Pedlar's Prophecy, the little-known attorney-secretary to the Bishop of Norwich, Anthony Harison, echoed the former's theme. The Golden Age had passed and the recent age had witnessed a further deterioration in man's failing condition which the fall of the abbeys symbolized. A man of antiquarian interests, Harison reflected, in his brief ballad, De Monasteriis Dirutis, published in 1603:

> "What was good deemed Six hundred yeares now paste,
> This day esteemed is As nought and badd;
> ffor now those stately houses are laid waste,
> Which in those tymes in great accompt were had.

---

[55] Stow, Survey of London, II, p. 75. Cf. Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, I, p. 247.

[56] John Manningham, The Diary of John Manningham, edited by J. Bruce, (London, 1848), p. 103.

from good to badd this world declineth still,
from holy to profane, and passing ill."[57]

To Harrison, the world had been in decline for at least six hundred years. Thus, all "good" things were rejected in favor of ones more decadent and "bad." The proper priorities of one age had been reversed by a more secular and inferior era.

The visible sight of ruins continued to affect, some would say afflict, the Englishman's view of not only the past but the present and future as well. By themselves, the ruins may not have been so present on so many minds. When combined with other perceived changes, social and economic, the ruins inclined most minds to a sense of pessimism and nostalgia. The Protestant tutor to Oliver Cromwell, Thomas Bastard, adopted the popular "decay of nature" philosophy to explain the direction of history. Writing in 1598, he found justification for that despairing view in the "defast monuments" of his England.

"Our fathers did but use the world before.
And having used did leave the same to us.
We spill what ever resteth of their store.
What can our heirs inherit but our curse?
...
We have defast the lasting monuments
And caus'd all honour to have ende with us:
The holy temples feele our ravishments.
What can our heirs inherit but our curse?
The world must ende, for men are so accurst,
Unless God ends it sooner: they will furst."[58]

---

[57] Ballads from Manuscripts, edited by F.J. Furnivall, (London, 1868-72), I, p. 300.

[58] Bastard, Epigrams, #81 and 145.

One of the few historians to discuss the Dissolution, John Speed, also lamented the end of an era. Of Henry VIII's actions appertaining to the abbeys, Speed wrote, in 1611, with the hostility towards the Dissolution so representative of his age. The violence and destruction visited upon the monasteries during that monarch's reign was so terrible that to relate the entire episode would cause a gross interruption of his narrative. Nonetheless, "though their walls are laid waste," Speed at least decided to record the names of those religious persons displaced by the attack on the abbeys.[59] By so doing he would rescue their names from oblivion and to honor their memory.

The late Elizabethan poet, dramatist, and historian Samuel Daniel also betrayed a certain "consciousness of period" as well as an affection for the departed monasteries whose end marked a watershed in English history.[60] His pessimism allowed him to announce the new fashionable verdict that would have been unthinkable to any Protestant fifty years earlier or to any Puritan unmoved by the

---

[59]John Speed, The Historie of Great Britain. London, 1611, Part 2, 78 et seq.

[60]Arthur B. Ferguson, "The Historical Thought of Samuel Daniel." Journal of the History of Ideas, 1971, 197. Cf. William Godshalk, "Daniel's History." Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 63 (1964), pp. 45-57; R.B. Gottfried, "Samuel Daniel's Method of Writing History." Studies in the Renaissance, 3 (1956), pp. 157-74; May McKisack, "Samuel Daniel as Historian." Review of English Studies, 13 (1947), pp. 226-243.

sight of ruins. In summarizing the reign of King Stephen, Daniel found but one admirable aspect to that anarchic reign: that he had built more abbeys "in his reigne than in an hundreth years before...[61] Daniel never hid his affection for tradition in general and the abbeys in particular. To him, the ruins were reminders of an earlier "season of the world" with links to a lost Golden Age.[62]

Many Protestants of the later Elizabethan years maintained an intellectual and emotional attachment for the world of the pre-Reformation. To them, the Dissolution represented the watershed which separated the old world from the new. The former they depicted as virtuous, hospitable, and religious; the new as harsh, destructive, and secular.

Several other writers found such idealizing of the past to be a chronic psychological infirmity for many men. In writing to Edmund Spenser in the decade of the 1570s, the poet and thinker Gabriel Harvey blamed such tendencies on "sum strange melancholy conceites" that distorted more objective views of the past.[63]

Among the more optimistic spirits, Francis Trigge sought to discredit the fashionably romantic view of the monasteries articulated by the likes of Sherbrook and others.

---

[61] Daniel, History, Works, IV, p. 235.

[62] Ibid., p. 244.

[63] Gabriel Harvey, The Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey, 1573-1580, edited by Edward Scott, (London, 1884), p. 86.

Many Protestants of the later Elizabethan years maintained an intellectual and emotional attachment for the world of the pre-Reformation. To them the Dissolution represented the watershed which separated the old world from the new. The former they depicted as virtuous, hospitable, and religious; the new as harsh, destructive, and secular.

Trigge understood and rejected outright the connection that many fellow Protestants made between the suppression of the monasteries and the decay of the world thesis. He reprimanded those of his countrymen who "lament the pulling down of Abbayes, and say it was never merie world since."[64] As a progressive, he suggested that the world had actually improved since the overthrow of the religious houses. The antiquity of their scarred remains produced no admiration or sympathy from Trigge. Although "it pittieth many to see their ruines: we might say the same of Sodome."[65]

The simple-minded way in which pessimists romanticized the past and criticized the present irritated Trigge. Like fellow Elizabethan, Gabriel Harvey, Trigge rejected the myth of the golden age and dismissed it as the expression of a psychological infirmity. "Thus is the nature of man ever loathing things present... bragging

---

[64]Francis Trigge, An Apologie of Defence of Our Dayes Against the Vaine Murmurings and Complaints of Manie. London, 1589, pp. 10-12.

[65]Trigge, Apologie, p. 12.

of things past...."[66] How could one, he asked, so carelessly characterize an earlier age as virtuous and idyllic when such corrupt institutions as monasteries tainted them? In fact, just the opposite was true. The recent religious changes, especially the Dissolution, set off "our dayes" as vastly superior to earlier epochs. To those melancholic souls moved emotionally by the sight of ruins and who persisted in idealizing the old ways, he counselled: "And they which are wise will cease to complaine or murmure any more, and will say we have made a happie exchange."[67]

The radicalism of the Reformation did not frighten him into a melancholic humor as it had so many others. The euphoria of his tract should not be dismissed as an outburst of optimism following the defeat of the Armada in the year preceding the publication of his work since he alluded to that event but once. Instead, he represented one expression of the "schizophrenic" tendency of that ambivalent age, certain only that their age was unique but never in agreement about the benefits or disadvantages of that fact.

As a progressive, Trigge rejected not only the negative interpretation of the Dissolution that had beocme so popular, but also the biased nomenclature that attended such a view. For example, the suppressors of the monasteries were "not spoilers but reformers of God's house."[68]

---

[66] Trigge, Apologie, p. 2.

[67] Ibid., p. 26.

[68] Ibid., p. 13.

He even defended the religious quarrels dividing contemporary England as a further sign of progress. Such differences he attributed to the handiwork of God Himself. He regarded those disputes as a sign of modern health and contrasted such intellectual and religious vigor to the "drowsiness" of the early and contemporary Roman Catholic Church.[69] Such arguments among mortals were inevitable since perfection belonged only to God. "They are not to be condemned [for] this varitie is man's frailtie."[70]

Trigge rejected not only the abbeys, but all of the religious heresies that had plagued Christianity for the preceeding thousand years. Those centuries of perversions and ignorance had interrupted the story and progress of salvation.[71] Recent events confirmed his optimism and he prophesied only good things for the coming age. The monasteries, those centers of iniquity, had been put down. That, in conjunction with the advent of men such as Hus, Wyclif, Luther, Erasmus, Calvin, and Bullinger ahd expedited the end of the darkness that had extinguished the light of civilization for so long. Improvements in religion, portents in the heavens, and the increase in the knowledge of Hebrew and Greek (the former of which Bishop Goodman thought to be the language spoken in heaven),

---

[69]Trigge, Ibid., pp. 15-17; 19-20; 35.

[70]Trigge, Ibid., pp. 21-22. Cf. Bacon, Essays, "Of Unity in Religion," Warhaft, ed.

[71]Trigge, Apologie, p. 2.

all testified to the impending end of the world which to Trigge, ought to be welcomed as the realization of man's destiny.[72]

The immediacy of that end could not be exaggerated, for the "last moment and minute" of the world had arrived. The signs were everywhere, spilling over from the religious to the secular world. In fact, the very progress made in knowledge and learning "of wisdom in every arte, in every science, in comparison of the former times" indicated the imminence of the end.[73]

Previous times had not enjoyed the widespread prosperity of the modern age. Like Dante, Trigge extended a measure of mercy towards his forefathers who had not known the "true faith." He chose not to condemn them because they lacked the Bible. After all, they were simply born too early; that is, before the Reformation. They were ignorant, rather than obstinate.[74]

The "great light" of the present blinded him to any contemporary shortcomings. The superiority of the present he found self-evident.

> "Our Fathers, nay many Kings and Princes, nay the auncient Fathers have not seen the things that wee have seene, this great light shined not in theire days."[75]

---

[72]Trigge, Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[73]Trigge, Ibid., p. 24.

[74]Trigge, Ibid., p. 38.

[75]Trigge, Apologie, pp. 41-2.

Trigge held the achievements of the modern age in high regard and certainly not indicative of any decay process. On the contrary, he felt singularly blessed to live in such a triumphant time and castigated those malcontents who did not appreciate their good fortune. If in such a favorable environment as the present afforded, we failed, the fault, both Trigge and Cassius agreed, must lie not in the stars, but in ourselves. "They therefore that stumble in such great light, many condemne themselves, not the times: the man, not the days."[76] We should not wish for the return of the monasteries, and certainly not regret their end. Their suppression allowed Trigge to conclude: "I may justly pronounce our dayes happie."[77] Among non-Puritan Protestants, Trigge remained a minority of one.

Writing shortly after Trigge, the Protestant poet and dramatist Michael Drayton, imagined a certain historical relativity at work in the Dissolution whose impermanence dismayed him as it had Donne. In The Legend of Great Cromwell (1607), Drayton observed:

> "The wisest and most provident but build,
> For time againe but onely to destroy,
> The costly Pyles and Monuments we gild,
> Succeeding Time shall reckon but a toy.
> ...
> And what one Age did studiously maintayne,
> The next againe accounteth vile and vain."[78]

---

[76] Ibid., p. 15.

[77] Ibid., p. 14.

[78] Drayton, "Legend of Great Cromwell," Works, II, 1. pp. 753-760.

Drayton thought his age had not maintained the proper "monuments" of which the monasteries stood as figurative representations of the glorious past. The present, much to his consternation, reckoned them but "toys." Instead of the "happie" times that Trigge saw, Drayton judged the age to be "made" and "turned upside down."[79] He attributed the unhappy condition of modern England to the work of Cromwell, particularly his role in the Dissolution. It was Cromwell who overthrew those things which former ages revered.[80] Since then, everything had been inverted to the point that "this isle is a meere Bedlam."[81]

In the historically conscious literature of the era, few religious, social, economic, or technological matters loomed so large for so long as the Dissolution. Certainly nothing else generated as much sympathy or sense of the past as the abbeys in their ruinous state did. The fact that so many Protestants now regretted the effects of the Dissolution or looked upon it as a disastrous event in English history should not lead one to assume that Catholicism and the Papacy were suddenly in favor or that those who wrote favorably about the former religious houses were all crypto-Catholics. In fact, concurrent with those fond remembrances of the monks, the Elizabethan government continued to prosecute recusants while the Puritans fulminated against anything even remotely resembling Catholic practices.

---

[79] Drayton, "Letter to a Friend," Works, III, pp. 209-212.

[80] Drayton, "Legend of Cromwell," l. 57-60.

[81] Drayton, "Letter," Works, III, p. 210.

How then does one account for this revised attitude towards the monasteries in the midst of so much anti-Catholic fervor? It seems that by the end of the sixteenth century the Dissolution, originally seen as a "religious" act directed against a specific target has passed, in some mythical sense, to an "historic" event which freed it somewhat from simple religious partisanship. It became a watershed for many contemporaries which divided two ages. Little disagreement occurred on that point. Only whether the ancient or the modern age was superior remained a debatable issue. Religion receded into the background as the remaining ruins became, to most observers, not so much sacred monuments but fossil remains of a culture and age very distinct, and very inferior to, this "age of rusty iron."[82]

That verdict only added to the already fashionable despair current among so many intellectuals and so integral a part of the pessimistic sense of history. The physical remains of the religious houses offered incontrovertible evidence that at least a part of the past had been literally set aside. The growth of historical consciousness emerged when writers sought to explain the presence of artifacts of an era no longer existent. Wills and religious rites could also be set aside but they did not have the impact on the historical imagination that the monasteries provided. Englishmen seemed for the first time to beocme conscious of what they had previously taken for granted and to salute the past at the moment of its extinction.

---

[82]Donne, Satire 5, English Poems, l. 35.

Chapter IV

Economics: "Let all things be preposterously transchanged"

Less visible than either technological inventions or deserted abbeys, but no less significant, the changes in social and economic attitudes of early modern Englishmen also stimulated the belief that a new age had begun. Recent authorities have not been reluctant to identify those socio-economic changes as revolutionary in impact.[1] The roots of the economic forces that transformed Renaissance England had been planted centuries earlier but only flourished in the more congenial environment of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

One of the more popular phrases used to describe the acceleration of social and economic change, "capitalism," suffers, regrettably, from overuse and misunderstanding. Since this essay concerns itself with the intellectual recognition of, and reaction to, cultural change, the particular economics of that system has little relevance. Rather, two fundamental manifestations of a capitalist mentality will be examined, specifically, the legalization of usury and the growth of social mobility. Since both are descriptive of the modern social and economic order, contemporary reaction to both provides one with a great deal of testimony about the developing sense of history.

Although contemporaries did not, nor could not, share our periodization scheme, many of them did argue that a new and different world had emerged from the innovations in economics. Ben Jonson, after

---

[1]Meyers, England in the Late Middle Ages, pp. 223-5; Lawrence Stone, "Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700," Past and Present, 33 (1966) pp. 16-55; Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, passim.

surveying those changes concluded, disapprovingly, that they had "preposterously transchanged the world."[2] In the judgment of one authority, "Jonson was strongly conscious of living in a period of social and economic change, and he was hostile to what he saw."[3] To him, society had reversed the priorities that had guided it for so long. The social stability of the past had been subverted by the new place given the practice of usury and the unprecedented degree of social mobility.[4] In the new order, soical mobility could be quick: "... there's Gold; goe forth and be a Knight."[5]

During the medieval centuries, usury, or the taking of interest, had been generally condemned as a "sin" practiced for the most part by such outcasts as Jews and infidels. For a Christian to charge a fee, however small, for the use of money was to sell time, a commodity which, Aquinas reminded his readers, belonged exclusively to God.[6] Further, it violated the Biblical injunction, specifically, Deuteronomy xxiii: 20-21, against usury.[7]

---

[2]Quoted in E.B. Partridge, The Broken Compass (London, 1958), pp. 68-69.

[3]Isabel Rivers, The Poetry of Conservatism, 1600-1745 (Cambridge, 1973), p. 21.

[4]Ibid., pp. 1-24; Partridge, The Broken Compass, passim.

[5]Jonson, Alchemist, I, i, pp. 99-100.

[6]Nelson, Usury, pp. 1-28; Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, pp. 20-48.

[7]Nelson, Usury, xix.

Secondly, the prevailing social and political thought of the Middle Ages reinforced religious doctrine and condemned efforts to advance oneself on the social scale as a brazen and disruptive attempt to alter God's design. All creatures great and small had their assigned "place" in which to function.

One should not, of course, be so naive as to assume that usury and social mobility did not occur in the medieval world simply because the orthodoxy of that time repudiated them. Ideals, the Church recognized, were just that; hence the need for confession and atonement. Indeed, writers and preachers of the late medieval and early modern period expended much effort in denouncing those vices which were running rampant despite clerical opposition.

Modern historians, ever since Max Weber, have been equally impressed by the changes in the social and economic sectors. From them emerged a "new order" which allowed a limited interest rate and found merit in social mobility.

Usury had been practiced all through the medieval centuries. The Church itself had been a major offender. Despite such constant violations, usury was nonetheless considered as contrary to Aristotle and the Bible, the two leading sources of medieval thought. Preachers and writers both vilified usurers as blood-suckers, extortioners, or worse. The characterization of one by Christopher Marlowe was typical.

> "Than after that was I an usurer,
> And with extorting, cozening, forfeiting,
> And tricks belonging unto brokery,
> I fill'd the gaols with bankrupts in a year,
> And with young orphans planted hospitals;
> And every moon made some or other mad,
> And now and then one hang himself for grief,

Pinning upon his breast a long great scroll
How I with interest tormented him."[8]

The Church even went so far as to refuse the sacrament of Communion or Christian burial for usurers. Further, it declared the wills of usurers invalid.[9]

During the early modern transition period, usury became more and more essential to the success of European expansion and trade. As commerce increased and gold continued to pour into Europe's coffers from the new world, government and society became increasingly tolerant of usury and attempted to rationalize its practice. That was accomplished, unintentionally to be sure, by the Reformation.

In order to circumvent the traditional hostility to usury, sixteenth century writers, like some medieval canonists, distinguished among various kinds of usury, some of which they exempted from their general prohibition. They pointed to Aquinas, who had allowed man to borrow under a condition of usury without being tainted by the usurer's sin.[10]

If medieval writers tended to blur the distinction between usury and interest, the sixteenth century re-defined them as separate and distinct entities. Usury came to mean not interest, but illegal

---

[8]Christopher Marlowe, The Jew of Malta, II, iii, pp. 195-203; Cf. A.B. Stonex, "The Usurer in Elizabethan Drama," Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXXI (1916), pp. 190-210; C.T. Wright, "Some Conventions Regarding the Usurer in Elizabethan Literature," Studies in Philology, XXXI (1934), pp. 176-197.

[9]Towney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, p. 47; Stonex, "The Usurer in Elizabethan Drama," pp. 190-210.

[10]Nelson, Idea of Usury, p. 23.

interest which meant that some interest was indeed legal. If the interest rate exceeded that permitted by law, the crime (rather than the sin) of usury resulted and would be dealt with by the secular authorities. Thus the issue of usury was no longer a moral question but a political one. In the sixteenth century the question shifted from interest or no interest to how much interest. This secularization was apparent to some observers who found it indicative of the revolutionary character of the era. Contemporaries were not blind to the implications of that change and their reactions provide one with an abundance of literature that gives evidence of a certain level of historical consciousness.

Early on in the period under discussion, the government of Henry VII passed a statute, (1489) directed against usury. The document is typically medieval in its language and point of view declaring "utterly void" all "damnable bargains grounded in usury." Such despicable contracts displeased God, contradicted natural justice and impoverished the realm.[11] Not surprisingly, its passage had little effect on the continued practice of usury.

As early as 1500, just thirteen years after the promulgation of Henry's statute, an Italian visitor to England reported on the current native practice of charging interest despite laws against it. "They are so diligent in mercantile pursuits [noted the Italian] that they do not fear to make contracts on usury."[12]

---

[11] Henry VII, c. 6, in English Historical Documents, V, p. 1009.

[12] A Relation... of the Island of England About the Year 1500.., ed. C.A. Sneyd (London, 1847), p. 23.

Ten years later, Edmund Dudley, while awaiting execution in the Tower of London, wrote that usury, to his dismay, continued unabated among his countrymen. In his Tree of Commonwealth, Dudley called for its suppression. In that suggestion, he represented the thinking of not only himself, but of the orthodox thinking of his time.[13]

Later in the same century, some pioneering minds would defend the economic practice so roundly condemned by medieval and early modern writers. Apologists for usury challenged Aquinas' interpretation of the Biblical prohibition of usury as too literal and impractical, or, as Bacon would characterize it, too "utopian."[14]

The Frenchmen John Calvin and Charles DuMoulin, for example, treated some forms of usury as permissible. They rejected the traditional assertion that the Bible forbade usury in toto. "If we wholly condemn usury," wrote Calvin in 1546, "we impose tighter fetters on the conscience than God Himself."[15] Instead, God only intended to outlaw "biting" usury which contravened equity on Christian charity. As for moderate and controlled usury, God did not forbid its practice.[16]

---

[13]Edmund Dudley, The Tree of Commonwealth, (London, 1510). Edited by D.M. Brodie, (London, 1948), p. 16.

[14]Bacon, Essays, "Of Usury," p. 153.

[15]Quoted in Nelson, Idea of Usury, p. 75. Cf. Charles DuMoulin, "On Contracts and Usury," in Eugen Weber, Western Tradition, p. 309. For the influence of Calvin in England, see A.G. Dickens, The English Reformation (New York, 1964), pp. 197-201.

[16]Nelson, Idea of Usury, pp. 78-79.

The Roman Church continued to regard such reasoning as heretical. DuMoulin's work, On Contracts and Usury (1546), which articulated the same point of view as Calvin, the Church listed on the Index.[17]

Not all the reformers, it should be added, agreed with Calvin, and his arguments gained acceptance but slowly among most divines.[18] In fact, some critics, mindful of the significance of the governmental endorsement given usury in the Henrician statute of 1545, lobbied for its repeal. That statute, 37 Henry VIII, c. 9, had repealed the earlier legislation of his father and allowed a maximum rate of interest of ten per cent.[19]

The alarmed conservatives, to whom all usury remained a sin regardless of any limitation placed on it, called for the repeal of the newer statute. Accordingly, in 1552, the more austere regime of Edward VI did pass a bill, which once again outlawed all interest-taking. Unlike its predecessor, it made no distinction between usury and interest and treated both as the same hateful sin that traditionalists always had.

The preface to the new statute attempted to convince readers that the Henrician statute of 1545, despite its acceptance of a maximum rate of interest of ten per cent, ought nonetheless to be regarded as an act "against usury." In order to clarify the issue, a newer law seemed necessary. Henceforward, Henry's law was null and void.

---

[17] Nelson, Idea of Usury, p. 104, note 91.

[18] Owen Chadwick, The Reformation, (Harmondsworth, 1978), pp. 183-4.

[19] English Historical Documents, V, pp. 1010-1011.

According to 5/6 Edward VI, c. 8, any and all interest-taking was usurious and therefore illegal as well as immoral.[20]

Despite its legal proscription, usury continued unabated. Still, between 1552 and 1571 when the Edwardian law itself would be replaced and the older more moderate statute of Henry VIII revived by Elizabeth, little significant literature addressed the issue.

In attempting to create a social as well as religious via media, and to deal with the flagrant disregard of the Edwardian law, the government of Elizabeth responded with its own measure modelled after her father's law. The specific legislation, 13 Elizabeth, c. 8 (1571), allowed a maximum rate of interest of ten per cent. Anything over the legal limit of ten per cent would be prosecuted as usurious. Hence the act was entitled one "against usury." Interest and usury was now, and would remain, two distinct entities. Interest was a legal charge for the use of money; usury a rate that exceeded those limits. The morality of the issue had been set aside.

Such re-defining and rationalization caused many writers to suggest that a type of revolution had occurred. Among them was the Elizabethan preacher Henry Smith (d. 1591). He devoted two sermons to "the Examination of Usury." In them, he castigated the intellectual subterfuge that allowed the passage of the recent act. To Smith, the issue remained as it did for other conservatives: usury or no usury. It was a problem framed in black and white. "To defend usury," he thundered, "they distinguish upon it, as they distinguish of lying."[21]

---

[20] English Historical Documents, V, pp. 1011-1012.

[21] Henry Smith, Works, (Edinburgh, 1866), I, p. 97.

The most articulate and angry opponent of the new Elizabethan statute, Dr. Thomas Wilson, Master of Requests and, briefly, Secretary of State, directed a lengthy and inflammatory volume to a discussion of the question of usury in the same year in which the new law appeared (1571). In his Discourse of Usury he argued that the legalization of usury portended a new age in England and signalled the end of another.

Wilson found the vice of usury the most erosive force destroying his idyllic England. He went beyond all other social critics in recommending the death penalty for usurers.[22]

While traditionally preachers had berated their listeners to avoid usury, their very intervention in such worldly matters was, Wilson regretted, no longer solicited but actually spurned. One character in Wilson's fictional Discourse for instance, charged the cleric (through whom Wilson spoke) with interpreting Scripture too literally, a point made earlier by Calvin.

> "I thinke you divines doe not well observe circumstances, when you will that the very bare letter shalbe plainlye taken as it lieth.[23]

A merchant further rebuked the cleric for the latter's meddling in mundane affairs. Economics was no longer the province of the churchman. "Merchants doings must not be overthwarted by preachers

---

[22]Wilson, Discourse, p. 232.

[23]Wilson, Discourse, p. 243. Cf Thomas Nashe, "Alarum for Usurers," The Works of Thomas Nashe, edited by R. McKerrow, (London, 1904-10), I, p. 44.

and others, that can not skill of their dealings."[24] His polemic attained sufficient popularity and influence to be cited in the bibliographies of writers sympathetic to his point of view.[25] However, in the parliamentary debate on the proposed statute, Wilson could garner but marginal support for his cause. In fact, only one member of Parliament joined him in calling for the total prohibition of any and all interest taking.

The use of Calvin and his teachings as a rationale for practicing some form of usury troubled one Roger Fenton. Himself a cleric, Fenton argued, in his A Treatise of Usurie (1611), that while the great Reformation leader may have allowed some measure of interest-taking, his acceptance of it differed markedly from his endorsement. Calvin's writings had been distorted by pro-usurers, to make him appear sympathetic to their ignoble cause. To Fenton, such manipulation was criminal. Calvin would have, Fenton suggested, "cursed the time" to see how he had been so abused.[26] Despite the alleged distortion, Calvinism continued to serve as a prime source for the defenders of usury.[27]

---

[24] Ibid., p. 250.

[25] Thomas Pie, Usuries Spright Conjured.... (London, 1604), pp. 91-2; Miles Mosse, The Arraignment and Conviction of Usury (London, 1595), pp. $C1^{v}$-$C2^{v}$.

[26] Roger Fenton, A Treatise of Usurie, (London, 1611), p. 143.

[27] Nelson, Idea of Usury, pp. 81-2.

Indeed, proponents of the moderate Elizabethan statute enlisted the arguments of Calvin in pressing their point. During the parliamentary debate, one Mr. Molloy employed Biblical exegesis and borrowed his arguments from Calvin in supporting limited usury.

> "God did not so hate it that He did utterly forbid it, but to the News amongst themselves only.... But it may be said, it is contrary to the direct word of God, therefore an ill law; if it were to be disliked; but the difference is great between that and permitting or allowing or suffering a matter to be unpunished."[28]

Like Calvin, another colleague of Molloy's, anonymous to posterity, concluded that "God did not absolutely forbid Usury, which surely if it had been utterly ill, he would have done."[29]

One Mr. Robert Bell, representing King's Lynn, stated that "though it [usury] were a sin, yet it was to be punished here on earth according to the greater or less hurt which groweth thereby."[30]

Although only one member of Parliament joined Dr. Wilson in opposing the passage of the new statute, an unprecedented amount of literature directed against usury appeared between 1571 and the close of the period under consideration.[31] That abundance attests to both

---

[28] A Compleat Journal of the Votes, Speeches, and Debates, Both of the House of Lords and House of Commons throughout the Whole Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Collected by Sir Simonds D'Ewes. (London, 1693), pp. 171-4.

[29] A Compleat Journal, pp. 171-4.

[30] Ibid.

[31] In addition to Wilson and Fenton, see A General Discourse Against the Dammable Sect of Usurers, (London, 1578); The Ruinate Fall...., (London, 1580); Thomas Nashe, An Alarm for Usurers, (London, 1584); The Death of Usury, (London, 1594); Mosse, The Arraignment of

the vitality of the capitalistic spirit, invigorated by the recently discovered gold mines of the new world, and the awareness among several thinkers that a revolution had transpired. A similar theme united all these works. Usury, call it what you will, is sinful and the modern age is more sinful than any other because it permits, even legalizes, this sinning.

In the middle of the last decade of the sixteenth century, another minister, Miles Mosse, delivered six sermons against usury from his pulpit in Bury St. Edmunds. They served as the basis for his published work, The Arraignment and Conviction of Usurie (1595).

While politic enough not to censure openly the present Elizabethan law, Mosse made his own preference, and those of fellow traditionalists, quite clear: "I like King Edward's statute best of all," [which had forbidden all interest-taking] as more closely approximating the Biblical injunction against usury.[32] Although certain that the Bible had "plainely and just forbidden" usury, Mosse nonetheless did allow some exceptions.[33]

Mosse did so not out of moderation but simply because "the times are so bad" that it would be virtually impossible to ban all usury or to enforce such a ban. Behind the minister's passion was the

---

Usurie; Pie, Usueries Spright. For these directed specifically against 13 Elizabeth, c. 8, see M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism, (London, 1939), pp. 417-23; H. White, Social Criticism.... (New York, 1944), pp. 189-223.

[32]Mosse, Arraignment, p. 106.

[33]Ibid., p. 76 et seq.

consciousness of changing circumstances which is the first prerequisite of historical consciousness. Man's declining morality forced the government to make the necessary adjustments in its policy.

The way in which the government and its supporters allowed the practice of usury by calling it something else amused one social critic. Thomas Adams, in his Mystical Bedlam (1615), pointed out that the debate over names and definitions clouded the real issue. It also indicated how insane the world had become, for "give usury what name you please, (for what usurer is not ashamed to bee called so?) it is meere madnesse." He added an apocryphal tale to illustrate his point.

> "Thus have I read of the people in Bengala, who are so much afraide of Tygers, that they dare not call them Tygers, but give them other gentle names."[35]

Interest and usury were one and the same animal.

In the same year, a satirist known only by the initials H.J. exposed the deceit by which a "usurer" could, within legal limits, practice a "laudable" vocation. Such had not been the case in the 'good old days' when a usurer had no place in social ranking.[36]

The controversy surrounding usury, both in Parliament and in print, left many Englishmen believing that their world had changed.

---

[34]Mosse, Arraignment, p. 160. Cf Robert Burton, Anatomy Of Melancholy, I, p. 106. The Anatomy of Melancholy [1621] edited by H. Jackson (New York, 1964), I. p. 106.

[35]Adams, Mystical Bedlam, p. 59.

[36]J.H., This World's Folly (London, 1615), p. $A4^{v}$.

Some took comfort from that belief and employed it in arguing for a new economic theory which would free them from the tyranny of earlier times.

Conservatives however, found in the legalization of usury yet another instance of how the world had degenerated from the Golden Age which, presumably, knew no such complications. Usury had helped secularize and disrupt the world. Behind the conservative opposition lurked the fear that modern innovations, such as the legal acceptance of usury, had upset the stability and order typical of the Golden Age. The traditions of centuries no longer suited the changed circumstances of the present argued the opponents of the conservatives. The Church had been the premier guardian. Now, even its customary role was challenged. Modernists and religious thinkers, such as Melanchthon, argued that preachers ought not to presume to sit on judgement on political issues. The question of usury was en economic issue and not a religious one; thus, preachers should not interfere in those decisions.[37] The issue was successfully secularized and removed from the arena of religious debate. In an era of cultural transition, the debate over usury showed "how quite out of joint" the world had become.[38]

---

[37]Wilson, Discourse Upon Usury, p. 250.

[38]Donne, First Anniversary, 1.192.

Social mobility, or the idea that an individual could "improve himself" or raise his status by educational or economic means, accelerated at an unprecedented speed during the early modern period. Several contemporaries recognized that fact, and most repudiated it as a sign of disorder and chaos. In fact, the significant amount of literature that noted this aspect of English culture causes one to question the reality of the Elizabethan world picture of order and degree so often sketched for students of the era.[39]

Spokesmen for that static view likened society to the human body and individuals in that society to the various parts of the human anatomy, each with its own function and responsibility. For any one part to abdicate his responsibility or to try to do another's job was to destroy the delicate and precarious balance.

Like alms-giving, the theory of order and degree was certainly advocated but rarely attained. The concept of "degree," if it was ever anything more than a theory, had already begun to deteriorate by the late fifteenth century. The poet laureate of Henry VII's court, John Skelton, gave his views on social aspirations in a phrase that would recur throughout the period. The acerbic Skelton wrote with contempt of every "Jak [who] would be a jentylman, that late was a grome."[40]

---

[39]Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture, passim. Victor Harris, All Coherence Gone, (Chicago, 1941), passim.

[40]John Skelton, The Poetical Works of John Skelton. Edited by A. Dyce, (London, 1843), I, p. 16. Cf. Thomas Starkey, Dialogue, pp. 108-112.

The satire of Alexander Barclay in the Ship of Fools (1508) marked another early example of the traditional hostility to social climbers and their newly acquired accoutrements which supplied them with the appearance of nobility.

> "Who that new garments loves or devyses
> Or weryth by his simple wit, and vanity
> Gyveth by his foly and unthrifty guises
> Much yl example to young Comontye.
> Such one is a Fole and skant shal ever thee
> And comonly it is sene that nowe a dayes
> One fole gladly follows another's wayes."[41]

Barclay thought this boded ill for the future of his country.

> "O England England amende or be thou sure
> Thy noble name and fame can not endure."[42]

The Reformer, and future Marian exile, Robert Crowley, in his The Voyce of the Last Trumpet (1550), admonished his readers to

> "First walke in thy vocation
> And do not seke thy lotte to chaunge."[43]

Such sentiments were typical of conservative thought which opposed all manifestations of change. To them, change was simply a synonym for decay. Having accepted the doctrine of order and design in the heavens and seeing it subverted by the "new philosophy" of Copernicus, they likewise accepted the doctrine of correspondence

---

[41]Alexander Barclay, The Ship of Fools, (London, 1509), I, p. 34.

[42]Barclay, Ship of Fools, p. 39.

[43]Robert Crowley, "The Voyce of the Last Trumpet," Works (London, 1872), p. 57.

between the heavens and earth. Events on one had their corollary on the other. Thus their age was plagued by decay and disorder in both realms.

Thomas Wilson, nephew of the learned Doctor of the same name and opponent of usury, gave a piercing assessment of his contemporaries who, he found, were

> "not contented with the estates of their fathers to be counted yeomen and called John or Robert... but must skip into his velvet breeches and silken doublett... must after thinke skorne to be called any other than gentilman."[44]

The playright Thomas Nashe agreed with that verdict. Nashe, who also took part in the debate over usury on the side of the conservatives, expressed equally traditional sentiments concerning social mobility. In his Anatomie of Absurditie (1589) he complained of the new class of educated men who, he complained, "begine to counterfeit that which they are not, and to be ashamed of that which they are..."[45]

The same freedom, or license, that allowed the practice of usury was the same that permitted the movement of individuals in and out of the class to which they rightfully belonged. An abuse of liberty, both social and economic, had caused, and would continue to cause, severe problems for England in the estimate of Dr. Wilson. Usury and liberty had conspired to put new wealth and political power into the hands of the untrained amateurs. Wilson recognized that

---

[44]Sir Thomas Wilson, The State of England in 1600. Edited by F.J. Fisher, (London, 1936), p. 19.

[45]Thomas Nashe, Anatomie of Absurditie. Works (London, 1904-10), I, p. 44.

development and generalized about its probable impact. Democracy, he regretted (and exaggerated) had replaced aristocracy:

> "Unhappy is the country where the meanest sort has the greatest sway.... The state is unfortunate in which nothing is permitted to anybody, but much more unfortunate in which everything is permitted to all.... The world is not governeed by wisdom or policy, but by a secret purpose or fatal destiny. Fatum regit mundum."[46]

The doctrine or order could never be as repressive or damaging as that of liberty.

While John Donne believed that the Copernican system had removed coherence from this world, lesser lights intimated the same fear concerning social mobility. The movements of individuals on the social front proved as chaotic and traumatic for some as the earth's revolutions had for that great poet. If Copernicus dimmed the distinction traditionally given earth among the stars, mobility levelled the honor usually given place and status. It was becoming impossible to tell a lord from a lout, a lady from a laundress, or to "discerne between Nobilitie and Servilitie."[47]

The anonymous author of the Pedlar's Prophecy (1595) offered his own diagnosis of the feverish discontent:

> "He saith so much untruth and mutual hate,
> And no man contented with his vocation:
> He saith men degenerate from humane state,
> Therefore from kinds, he feineth an alteration,
> I confesse many things to be out of frame...."[48]

---

[46] Wilson, Discourse Upon Usury, Introduction, p. xli.

[47] Barnabie Rich, The Honestie of This Age (London, 1614), p.65.

[48] The Redlar's Prophecy (London, 1595). Reprinted by the Malone Society, n.p., 1914, l. 1465-1469.

Occasionally, the student of a period confronts a piece of literature that somehow manages to encapsulate a certain milieu and illustrate the antithetical minds of a generation. Robert Greene's A Quip for an Upstart Courtier (1592) provides just that for the student of early modern England.[49]

The setting for this work is a dream, though from Greene's standpoint, perhaps a nightmare. In it, he narrates a fictional dialogue between two opposites: "Cloth-breeches" and "Velvet-breeches." 'Velvet' represented everything that was wrong with England: liberty, luxury, decadence, 'newfangledness,' and riotous social mobility. In contrast, 'Cloth' symbolized everything that had been lost: tradition, hard work, and order. He reminded readers of the way things used to be before 'velvet' had corrupted them. The crimes of the latter were not unique; they had caused the decline of Rome a thousand years ago and they would have the same effect on English Culture.

Greene's own bias one can glean from the dedication of the work by the author to one Thomas Barnabie, whom Greene honored as,

> "a father of the poore, a supporter of auncient hospitalitie, and enemie to pride, and, to be short, a maintainer of Cloth breeches, I meane of the olde and worthye customes of the gentilitie and yeomanrie of England."[50]

The two protagnaists argue which is more ancient and (therefore ?) more honorable in England. They agree that a jury

---

[49]Robert Greene, A Quip for an Upstart Courtier (London, 1592).

[50]Greene, Quip, p. 216.

ought to be convened to hear testimony from either side. That in itself becomes a sub-plot since it proved quite difficult to find a sufficient number of men "good and true" to fill a jury box in contemporary England. Representatives of various trades and professions of contemporary England suffer rebuke at Greene's hands as they pass.

'Velvet' defended the new and improved order of things. He proclaimed the modern faith, as it was understood by conservatives like Greene:

> "The world's are chaungde, and men are grown
> to more wit, [and] time hath set a new edge
> on gentlemen's humors, and they show them as
> they should be in velvets, satins, cloth or gold,"

and not in simple coarse attire.[51]

After mentioning some current abuses, Greene interjected a remembrance of the golden age, an integral part of the conservative imagination. In that idyllic and stable time, men attired themselves in dress proper to their station. "Beggars then feared to aspire," and sons were content to live as their fathers had done. So topsy-turvy had the world become that "every lowt" would "presume to wear on their feet what kings have worne on their heads."[52]

The conspicuous consumption of the nouveau riche received a devestating portrayal by Greene in one of the more humorous settings of the work.

> "he [Velvet-breeches] sits down in the
> chaire, wrapt in fine cloathes, as though
> the barber were about to make him a footcloth

---

[51] Greene, Quip, p. 223.

[52] Ibid., p. 226.

> for the vicar of Saint Fooles; then begins he to take his sissars in his hand, and so to swap with them, as if he meant to give a warning to all the lice in his nitty locks, for to prepare themselves, for the day of their destruction was at hande."[53]

Finally, the jurors reached a verdict which required much less time than the finding of the jury itself.

> "Whereas Velvet-breeches is an upstart come out of Italy, begot of pride, nursed up by self-love, and brought into this country by his companion newfangledness."[54]

The corrupting philosophy of 'Velvet' threatened England's well-being if not salvation and represented a radical departure from the golden age which, happily, had not known such disorder.

The more progressive thinkers judged such moralistic pleas and denunciations as anachronistic and out of tune with the new social reality. Men such as Sir Thomas Smith, author of De Republica Anglorum (1565), John Hales, Thomas Starkey, and other mid-century reformers applauded the "career open to talents" approach to governmental service and social advancement encouraged by Henry VIII's regime as a progressive measure. The pessimists did not deny the charge that their philosophy was out of tune with the modern ethic. For them, society was a well-tuned instrument, that a disharmonious age had tampered with. The consequences worried them. "Untune that string, and hark what discord follows."[55]

---

[53] Ibid., p. 230.

[54] Ibid., p. 249.

[55] Troilus and Cressida, I, iii, pp. 112-3.

Progressives of course found conservative fears about the present economic and social changes and fond reminiscences about a past golden age uninformed and misdirected. In all of this rhetoric about social mobility and the trifles such as fashions that accompanied it lurks a more elemental point about the nature of cultural transition. Buoyed by a sense of independence, the optimists found little in ancient dogma relevant to the changed circumstances of the present. Ancient economic theory and practice had no more to recommend it than did the technical knowledge of that inferior era.

Economic and social change provided further evidence to progressives of the differences between various historical periods. Recognizing that, Bacon told his followers that "We must begin anew from the very foundations."[56] New problems required new solutions. The concern over those changes in the economic and social sphere indicate a degree of restlessness that may express itself in such frivolous things as fashion. A society fickle enough to change costumes as well as the social order is one which is ready to break with all of its traditions.[57] The conservatives who opposed those aspects of early modern England were calling for the maintenance of order and continuity. The most conservative forces of society, the Church and the Monarchy, continued to dress themselves in unchanging garb and to maintain the ancient hierarchy.[58]

---

[56]Bacon, New Organon, I, Aphorism, p. 31.

[57]Fernand Braudel, The Structures of Everyday Life, (New York, 1981), pp. 321-325.

[58]Ibid.

The conservatives, with their unremitting pessimism, judged that their cause, and with it all of mankind's, had already been lost. Their wistful melancholy as well as their satirical barbs give the impression of writers feeling both their ideas and themselves to be strangers in a strange land. Their remedies, which really weren't remedies at all, were dismissed as anachronistic and/or superstitious. Such arguments introduced the concept of period into the social and economic sector just as it had in the cultural areas. That awareness of time provided the main ingredient in the debate between the progressives and the pessimists. The decadent moderns practiced things like usury, social mobility, and sought to accumulate tremendous wealth, which had heretofore been relegated to pagan or foreign cultures and certainly had been absent during the golden age which had not been plagued with the "use of pestiferous money."[59]

The love of money was the root of the modern world and all of its assorted ills. Usury and social mobility were acceptable in the new environment. Thus, Ben Jonson began Volpone not only with the credo of the protaganist, but also of the age itself:

> "Good morning to the day; and next, my gold;
> Open the shrine, that I may see my sainte."[60]

A contemporary, Robert Burton, author of the mammoth Anatomy of Melancholy, shared the poet's view. In summarizing the mind of his own epoch, he wrote:

---

[59]Peter Martyr, De Novo Orbe. Trans. by Richard Eden and Michael Lok, (London, 1612), p. 15r.

[60]Jonson, Volpone, I, i, pp. 1-2.

> "In a word, every man for his own ends. Our summum bonom is commodity, and the goddess we adore Dea Moneta."[61]

To such conservatives the ideal of St. Francis had been replaced by that of Mammon. The pessimists were certain that they lived in a new and inferior age and that usury and unbridled social mobility bore much of the responsibility for that misfortune.

---

[61] Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, I, p. 65. Dr. Wilson echoed that fear by characterizing the worship of money as the "credo of the world at this time." Wilson, Discourse, p. 189.

Chapter V

Conclusion: "The Thing is Without Precedent"

Despite some minor disagreement over particulars, modern historians have reached a certain unanimity in their judgement that the England of 1620 differed fundamentally from that of 1480. Within these broad temporal limits debate continues as to which year (or decade or reign) played the pivotal role in signalling the end of medieval and the beginning of early modern England. Partisans have adduced several reasons and marshalled much evidence to support their individual preferences for the "turning point" in this transition, all with varying degrees of emphasis and success.

However, much less attention has been paid to what contemporaries thought of such "turning points." To what extent did they share the modern consensus? Did they see their world as unique or different from previous ages, and if so, when and why did they believe that a "new age" had begun? To what specific events did they assign pre-eminence? Finally, did they judge the new era as one of progress or decadence?

The evidence submitted reveals that an appreciable number of Englishmen, particularly from the mid-sixteenth century on, though possessing neither the hindsight nor the research tools of modern scholars, recognized that their culture had diverged from an earlier and more static one. The spate of technical inventions gave visible proof of the uniqueness of the present from the past. In religion, reformers made much of the differences between the

primitive church and the modern Roman institution and were displeased with the comparison. Words and terms such as "antiquated," "epoch," and "out-of-date," entered the language and reflected this new awareness.[1] Further, by the late sixteenth century, writers began to divide the past into defined periods of time. Thus, Samuel Daniel outlined the plan for his projected History (1612) which he intended to divide into three sections, "according to the Periods of those Ages that brought forth the most remarkable changes."[2]

A couple of reasons account for the noticeable rise in the sense of history during the early modern period. First, the sheer acceleration of change, especially from the mid-sixteenth century on, presented contemporaries with an unprecedented amount of evidence of cultural transformation. Previously, change had proceeded more slowly and was, therefore, more difficult to detect. During the early modern centuries, the rate of change increased to the point that a new world, a new religion, and a new cosmography had rocked the cultural foundations of society. In addition, these changes made their impact felt not only intellectually, but in daily life as well.

---

[1] R. Fraser, The War Against Poetry. (Princeton, 1970), p. 181.

[2] Daniel, History, Works, IV, pp. 76-7.

Secondly, before the invention of the printing press, history had been written, for the most part, by and for churchmen. Given their Augustinian vision, earthly events per se had little or no significance. They formulated the idea of a changeless order which placed a premium on custom, tradition, and fixed verities and attached but little importance to the vicissitudes of fortune, except as they related to the story of salvation. Consequently, most clerics who wrote history concentrated on the timeless in their work.[3] With the introduction of moveable type, a new generation of secular authors expended more effort on researching 'timely' matters for the lay reader who demanded more and more works of history.[4] Even the fact that each book had a date of publication emphasized the differences between past and present.[5] Beginning in the early modern era, the intellectual emphasis shifted, gradually, from the permanent to the temporary, from the absolute to the relative, from the static to the mobile.[6]

---

[3]Burke, Renaissance Sense of the Past, pp. 1-16; Denys Hay, Annalists and Historians, (London, 1977), pp. 19-20.

[4]Louis B. Wright, "The Elizabethan Middle Class Taste for History," Journal of the History of Ideas, 3 (1931), pp. 175-197.

[5]Thomas, Decline of Magic, p. 430.

[6]Franklin L. Baumer, Modern European Thought: Continuity and Change in Ideas, 1600-1950. (New York, 1977), pp. 20-23.

The third, and perhaps most important, reason for the increase in the level of historical consciousness during the period of transition resulted from the polemical use to which history itself was put. The many religious, social, economic, and cultural disputes of Tudor and Stuart England, employed history as arbiter in their respective causes.

As one student of English historiography recently pointed out, modern historical consciousness arose from the efforts of early modern minds to discover the origins and trace the development of those aspects of history which seemed important to them. A sense of the past revealed itself in areas where history was used to illuminate particular issues rather than when it was written as an end in itself.[7] From such individuals the idea emerged that cultural change merited the attention of historians. Men began to look at the non-political past as a valid and proper area for historical inquiry. In fact, those with a sharpened sense of history spent little time on the more traditional chronicling of _res gestae_. Since the Renaissance, the investigation of cultural change has become the hallmark of modern historical consciousness.[8] These factors together account for the impressive amount of historical consciousness one finds in the literary record of early modern England.

---

[7]Arthur B. Ferguson, _Clio Unbound: Perception of the Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England_, (Durham, 1979), pp. xi-xiii.

[8]Ferguson, _Clio Unbound_, p. xiv.

Among the many sources of this sense, dramatists, poets, satirists, artisans, churchmen, and 'articulate citizens'[9] in general dominate. These writers did not confine themselves to just one area nor did they write with sensitivity about only their selected area of expertise. For instance, in examining the historical consciousness resulting from the effects of the Dissolution, churchmen did not by any means monopolize the discussion. Poets and dramatists especially found it a fertile field in which were rooted some of the seeds of a new world. A noted secular Elizabethan, Gabriel Harvey, scolded those who "makest a jest of monuments, and carest not for a thousand yeares."[10] The general thrust of such literature about the fall of the abbeys had become, by century's end, pessimist and conservative in tone. In fact, the intellectual contribution made by anti-progressives reached its peak in their melancholic reflections on the fall of the monasteries. Whatever the tone, the presumption was that the world had changed and done so for the worse. The standing ruins served as daily reminders of a lost age. The reminiscenses about that age had little to do with religion or doctrine per se but rather with a way of life and a tradition attached to that faith.

Rivalling the Dissolution in its effect on the sense of history of early modern Englishmen, the new technology received a

---

[9]Ferguson, Articulate Citizen, passim.

[10]Harvey, Letter-Book...1573-1580, p. 69.

more balanced assessment from contemporaries. The age never reached a consensus on the "goodness" or "badness" of the inventions of the era. In fact, the debate continues in our own day. Nothing made a greater impression on the historically conscious mind than the printing press, gunpowder, and the compass. They had altered, for better or worse, the pace of change, the nature of war, and the map of the world.

Just as the Dissoultion eventually found few defenders, usury and social mobility elicited little support. Those, like Bacon and Burton, who did accept the new social ethic did so reluctantly with a kind of resignation. Bacon, who wanted to limit the interest rate to five per cent, appeared almost conservative on the issue. It is interesting to note that many of those who wrote against the taking of interest also defended the cause of the monks. No one who supported the lost world of the abbeys defended the legislation allowing usury. That is ironic in that the monks and the Church practiced usury on a grand scale.

A final conclusion to note is the gap which existed between event as history and event as meaning. That is, some time had to elapse before contemporaries recognized the importance of a certain event. For example, the invention of the printing press was noted, uncritically, by chroniclers. Almost a century passed before it became significant to intellectuals who debated its merits and saw in it a harbinger of a new world. Writers began to pay attention to changes when they revealed differences between

their own age and earlier ones. So too with the Dissolution of the Monasteries; the fact of suppression was everywhere visible, but only a generation later did contemporaries attribute any "meaning" to it, or see it as a "turning point."

It was the evidence of profound change in so many disparate fields which produced a measure of historical consciousness among Renaissance Englishmen. The heavens, submitted to investigation by the newly invented telescope, revealed new worlds and mutability in the heretofore unchanging heavens. The ocean voyages uncovered new worlds right here on earth. The visible remains of the monasteries gave proof of another world, yet even closer, that no longer existed. The growth of utopian literature theorized that the future could be even more different.[11] In response to this quickened tempo of change when

> "there's scarce one found that now
> Knowes what to approve, or what to disallow,
> All arsey-varsey, nothing is its owne,
> But to our proverbe, all turned upside downe;"[12]

men began to "study the past on principles which assumed its unlikeness to the present.[13] The progressives did so by transferring their interest from the permanent to the changing, or from the world of "being" to that of "becoming." The pessimists, with a

---

[11] Burke, Renaissance Sense of the Past, p. 149.

[12] Drayton, "To My Noble Friend Master William Browne," [1607] Works, III, p. 209.

[13] J.G.A. Pocock, The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law. (New York, 1957), p. 10.

heightened sense of time brought on by their melancholic disposition, did so by dwelling on the past and idealizing it into a Golden Age, an epoch that no longer existed. Thus, John Donne lamented that "the golden laws of nature are repealed."[14] Both optimists and pessimists played a distinct role in the growth of historical consciousness during the tumultuous early modern era. Both recognized that they couldn't go home again; what they debated was the desirability of that return trip.

---

[14]Donne, "Elegy 17," English Poems, p. 121.

Bibliography

PRIMARY:

Adams, Thomas. Mystical Bedlam, or the World of Mad-Men. London, 1615.

Allott, Robert. England's Parnassas: or the Choysest Flowers of our Moderne Poets... [1600]. Edited by J.P. Collier, London, n.d.

Arnold's Chronicle: From 1189 to 1520. Edited by T. Dibdin. London, 1811.

Ascham, Roger. The Whole Works of Roger Ascham. 4 vols. Edited by J.A. Giles. London, 1864; reprinted, New York, 1965.

Ashby, George. George Ashby's Poems. Edited by Mary Bateson. London, 1899.

Bacon, Francis. Francis Bacon: A Selection of His Works. Edited by S. Warhaft. New York, 1965.

_____. The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh. Edited by F.J. Levy. New York, 1972.

_____. Selected Writings of Francis Bacon. Edited and Introduced by Hugh G. Dick. New York, 1955.

Bale, John. Select Works. Cambridge, 1849.

Ballads From Manuscripts. Edited by F.J. Furnivall. 2 vols. London, 1868-1872.

Banister, John. The Historie of Man, Sucked from the Sappe of the Most Approved Anathomists. London, 1578. Reprint ed., New York, 1969.

Barclay, Alexander. The Ship of Fools. 2 vols. London, 1509. Reprint ed., New York, 1966.

_____. The Ecologues of Alexander Barclay. Edited and Introduced by Beatrice White. London, 1928.

Barret, Robert. The Theorike and Practike of Modern Warres. London, 1598.

Bastard, Thomas. Chrestoleros. Seven Books of Epigrammes Written by T.B. London, 1598.

Batman, Stephen. The Doome Warning All Men to the Judgement. London, 1581.

Beard, Thomas. The Theatre of God's Judgements. London, 1597.

Best, George. The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher in Search of a Passage To Cathaia and India by the North-West. [1578]. London, 1867.

Bishop, John. Beautiful Blossomes. London, 1577.

Blundeville, Thomas. The True Order and Method of Writing and Reading Histories. Edited by Hugh G. Dick, Huntington Library Quarterly, 3 (Jaunary, 1940), pp. 149-170.

Bodin, Jean. Method for the Easy Comprehension of History. [1566]. Translated by Beatrice Reynolds. New York, 1945.

Boorde, Andrew. Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge. [1547]. Edited by F.J. Furnivall. London, 1870.

Bostock, Robert. The Difference betwene the Auncient phisicke... and the Latter Phisicke...And Wherein the Naturall Philosophie of Aristotle doth Differ from the Trueth of God's Worde, and is Injurious to Christianitie... London, 1595.

Braithwait, Richard. The English Gentleman. London, 1633.

Breton, Nicholas. The Works in Verse and Prose. 2 vols. Edited by A.B. Grosart. London, 1879.

A Breviat Chronicle Contayntnge All the Kinges From Brute to this Daye.... London, 1552.

Bright, Timothy. A Treatise of Melancholie. London, 1586.

Brinkelow, Henry. The Lamentacion of a Christian Against the Citie of London. Edited by J.M. Cowper. London, 1874.

The Brut or the Chronicles of England. 2 vols. Edited by F.W.D. Brie. London, 1906-8.

Buckminster, Thomas. An Almanack and Prognostication for the Year 1598. London, 1935.

Burton, Robert. The Anatomy of Melancholy [1621]. 3 vols. Edited by H. Jackson, New York, 1964.

Calendar of State Papers. [Domestic Series, I, 1547-1580]. London, 1856.

Camden, William. The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princes Elizabeth. 3rd ed., London, 1675.

Campion, Thomas. Observations on the Art of English Poesie. London, 1602.

_____. The Works of Thomas Campion. Edited by Walter Davis. New York, 1967.

Cavendish, George. The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey. Edited by R.S. Sylvester. London, 1959.

The Cely Papers...1475-1488. Edited by H.E. Malden. London, 1900.

Chapman, George. The Shadow of Night. London, 1594.

Chauncy, Dom Maurice. The Passion and Martyrdom of the Holy English Carthusian Fathers. Edited by G.W.S. Curtis. London, 1936.

Chronicle of Calais. [1540 c.]. Edited by J.G. Nochols. London, 1846.

The Chronycle of Englonde with the Fruyte of Tymes. London, 1515.

Chronicle of Henry VI. Edited by J.A. Giles. London, 1846.

Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England; Being a Contemporary Record... written in Spanish. Translated by Martin A. Sharp Hume. London, 1889.

A Chronicle of London, From 1089 to 1483; written in the fifteenth century. London, 1827.

Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary and especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyat. Edited by J.G. Nichols. London, 1850.

Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London. [to 1556]. Edited by J.G. Nichols. London, 1852.

Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire, 1470. Edited by J.G. Nichols. London, 1847.

Chronicles of London. Edited by C.L. Kingsford. Oxford, 1905.

The Chronicles of the White Rose of York. London, 1845.

Clapham, John. The Historie of England. London, 1602.

Clark, A., ed. The Shirburn Ballads, 1585-1616. Oxford, 1907.

Clifford Letters of the Sixteenth Century. Edited by A. G. Dickens. London, 1962.

The Cobler's Prophecy. London, 1594. Reprint ed. London, 1914.

Collier, J.P. Illustrations of Old English Literature. 3 vols. London, 1866.

Cooper, Thomas. Epitome of Chronicles.... London, 1549.

Cotton, Roger. A Spirituall Song: conteining an historicall discourse from the Infancie of the World. London, 1596.

Cowell, John. The Pnterpreter. Cambridge, 1607.

Coxe, Francis. A Short Treatise Declaring the Detestable Wickedness of Magicall Sciences, as Necromancie. London, 1561.

Crotch, W.J.B., ed. The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton. London, 1928.

Crowley, Robert. The Select Works of .... Edited by J.M. Cowper. London, 1872.

Daniel, Samuel. The Complete Works in Verse and Prose. 5 vols. Edited by A.B. Grosart. New York, 1963.

Davies, John. The Complete Works. Edited by A.B. Grosart. Edinburgh, 1878.

The Death of Usury, or the Disgrace of Usurers. London, 1594.

De, John. The Autobiographical Tracts of Dr. John Dee. Edited by James Crossley. Manchester, 1851.

_____. The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee. London, 1842.

Dent, Arthur. The Ruine of Rome: or An Exposition upon the Whole Revelation. London, 1603.

Digges, Leonard. A Prognostication Everlasting. London, 1556.

A Discourse of the Common Weal of This Realm of England [1581]. Edited by Elizabeth Lamond. Cambridge, 1893.

Donne, John. The Complete English Poems. Edited by A.J. Smith. New York, 1975.

_____. The Complete Poetry and Selected Prose. Edited by C.M. Coffin. New York, 1952.

Drayton, Michael. The Works of Michael Drayton. 5 vols. Edited by J.W. Hebel. Oxford, 1961.

Dunham, W.H. and Pargellis, Stanley, eds. Complaint and Reform in England, 1436-1714. New York, 1938.

Du Moulin, Pierre. The Accomplishment of the Prophecies. Translated by J. Heath. Oxford, 1613.

Eden, Richard, ed. The First Three English Books on America.... Edited by Edward Arber. Birmingham, 1885.

_____. The History of Travayle.... London, 1577. Preface by Richard Willes. Finished and Augmented by him./

Elyot, Thomas. The Boke Named the Governour [1531]. 2 vols. Edited by H.S. Croft. London, 1883.

An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard III...Written before.. 1471. Edited by J.S. Davies. London, 1856.

Fabyan, Robert. The New Chronicles of England and France. [1516]. Edited by Henry Ellis. London, 1811.

Favour, John. Antiquitie Triumphing Over Noveltie. London, 1619.

A Faythfull and True Prognosticatio upon the yeare 1548. London, 1547.

Fenton, Sir Godfrey. Golden Epistles. London, 1575.

Fenton, Roger. A Treatise of Usurie. London, 1611.

Fish, Simon. A Supplicacyon for the Beggars, written about the year 1529. Edited by F.J. Furnivall and J. Meadows Cowper. London, 1871.

Flenley, R., ed. Six Town Chronicles. Oxford, 1911.

Ford, Thomas. Newes from the North. London, 1585.

Fouleweather, A. A Wonderful, Strange and Miraculous, Astrologicall Prognostication for this Year of Our Lord God 1591.... London, 1591.

Four Supplications. Edited by J.M. Cowper. London, 1871.

Fox, Richard. Letters of Richard Fox, 1486-1527. Edited by Percy S. and Helen M. Allen. Oxford, 1929.

Foxe, John. Acts and Monuments. 8 vols. Edited by S.R. Cattley and G. Townsend. London, 1837-41.

Galvano, Antoinie. The Discoveries of the World. Translated by Richard Hakluyt. London, 1601.

Gascoigne, George. The Complete Works of George Gascoigne. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1910.

A General Discourse Against the Damnable Sect of Usurers, grounded upon the Word of God. Translated by Thomas Rogers. London, 1578.

Geveren, Sheltoo a. Of the Ende of this Worlde and the Second Commyng of Christ. Translated by Thomas Rogers. London, 1577.

Gibbon, Charles. The Remedie of Reason. London, 1589.

Gilbert, Sir Humphrey. A Disxourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia. London, 1576.

Goodman, Godfrey. The Fall of Man, or the Corruption of Nature. London, 1616.

Gosson, Stephen. The Schoole of Abuse. [1579]. Edited by J.P. Collier. London, 1841.

Grafton, Richard. A Chronicle at Large.... London, 1569; 1568. 2 vols. Reprint ed., London, 1809.

Gransden, K.W., ed. Tudor Verse Satire. London, 1970.

The Great Chronicle of London. Edited by I.D. Thornley and A.H. Thomas. London, 1938.

Greene, Robert. Menephon. London, 1589. Edited by E. Arber. London, 1880.

_____. A Quip for An Upstart Courtier. London, 1592.

Gregory's Chronicle: The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London. Edited by James Gairdner. London, 1876.

Greville, Fulke. The Remains: Being Poems of Monarchy and Religion. Edited by G.A. Wilkes. Oxford, 1965.

H., J. This World's Folly. London, 1615.

Hakewill, George. An Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of Gid in the Government of the World. 2 vols., Oxford, 1630. (1st. ed. 1627).

Hakluyt, Richard. Hakluyt's Voyages. 8 vols. London, n.d.

Hall, Edward. The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies York and Lancaster.... London, 1548; 1550.

Hall, Joseph. Biting Satires. London, 1598.

_____. Satires, and Other Poems. London, 1838.

_____. The Discovery of a New World. London, 1605. Edited by H. Brown. Cambridge (MA), 1937.

_____. Heaven Upon Earth. [1616]. Edited by R. Kirk. New Brunswick, 1948.

Halliwell, J.O., ed. A Collection of Letters Illustrative of the Progress of Science. London, 1841.

The Harleian Miscellany. 12 vols. London, 1808-11.

Harpsfield, Nicholas. The Life and Death of St. Thomas More.... Edited by E.V. Hitchcock. London, 1932.

_____. A Treatise on the Pretended Divorce Between Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. Edited by N. Pocock. London, 1878.

Harrison, G.B. ed. An Elizabethan Journal: Being a Record of Those Things Most Talked About During the Years 1591-1594. New York, 1929.

_____. A Jacobean Journal. London, 1946.

_____. A Last Elizabethan Journal.... London, 1933.

_____. A Second Elizabethan Journal.... London, 1931.

_____. A Second Jacobean Journal.... Ann Arbor, 1958.

Harrison, William. The Description of England. London, 1878; 1877.

Harvey, Gabriel. Letter-Book...1573-1580. Edited by Edward Scott. London, 1884.

Harvey, John. A Discoursive Problem Concerning Prophesies. London, 1588.

Harvey, Richard. An Astrological Discourse. London, 1583.

Hassall, W.O., ed. They Saw It Happen: An Anthology of Eye-Witnesses' Accounts of Events in British History 55 B.C. - A.D. 1485. 2 vols. Oxford, 1957.

Hawes, Stephen. The Pastime of Pleasure. [1555]. Reprint ed., London, 1845.

Haydn, Hiram, ed. The Portable Elizabethan Reader. New York, 1946.

Hayward, Sir John. Annals of the First Four Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Edited by John Bruce. London, 1840.

The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century. Edited by James Gairdner. London, 1876.

Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV.... Edited by J. Bruce. London, 1838.

Holinshed, Raphael. Holinshed's Chronicles.... 6 vols. Edited by H. Ellis. London, 1807-8.

Holme, Wilfride. The Fall and Evil Sucesse of Rebellion. 2 vols. London, 1572.

Hooker, Richard. Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. 2 vols. London, 1907.

Jonson, Ben. Works. Edited by C.H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson. 11 vols. Oxford, 1925-52.

The Journals of All the Parliaments During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Collected by Sir Simonds D'Ewes. London, 1682; reprint ed., Shannon [Ireland], 1973.

Kingsford, C.L., ed. Two London Chronicles from the Collections of John Stow. London, 1910.

Lanquet, Thomas. Cooper's Chronicle. London, 1565.

Leland, John. A Learned and True Assertion.... Translated by Richard Bobinson. London, 1582.

Le Roy, Louis. De la Vicissitude ou Variete des Choses en L'Univers. Translated by R.A. London, 1594.

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. 21 vols. Edited by J. Gairdner and R.H. Brodie. London, 1862-1910.

Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII. 2 vols. Edited by J. Gairdner. London, 1861-63.

Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain.... 3 vols. Edited by Mary Anne Everett Wood. London, 1846.

The Letters of Stephen Gardiner. Edited by J.A. Muller. Cambridge, 1933.

Letters of Thomas Wood, Puritan, 1566-77. Edited by Patrick Collinson. London, 1960.

Letters to Cromwell and Others on the Suppression of the Monasteries. Edited by George Cook. London, 1965.

Lipsius, Justus. Two Books of Constancy. Translated by Sir John Stradling. London, 1594. Edited by Rudolf Kirk, New Brunswick, 1939.

Lloyd, Ludowick. The Consent of Time, Deciphering the Errors of the Grecians in Their Olympiads. London, 1590.

Lodge, Thomas. Works. 5 vols. Glasgow, 1883.

London Chronicle During the Reigns of Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth. Edited by C. Hopper. London, 1859.

Machyn, Henry. The Diary of Henry Machyn...1550-1563. Edited by J. G. Nichols. London, 1848.

Mancini, Dominic. The Usurpation of Richard III. Edited by C.A.J. Armstrong. Oxford, 1936.

Manningham, John. The Diary of John Manningham. Edited by J. Bruce. London, 1868.

Marlowe, Christopher. The Complete Plays. Edited by J.B. Steane. Baltimore, 1969.

Maxwell, James. Admirable and Notable Prophesies Uttered in Former Times by 24 Romain Catholickes.... London, 1615.

A Mery Prognosticacion for the yere...[1544] N.p., n.d., STC 20422.

Mirror for Magistrates. London, 1587. Edited by L.B. Campbell. Cambridge, 1938.

More, John. A Table From the Beginning of the World to This Day. London, 1593.

More, Thomas. The Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation. London, 1534. Edited by Leland Miles. Bloomington, 1965.

_____. The Complete Works of St. Thomas More. Ed. J.H. Hexter and Edward L. Surtz. New Haven, 1961-.

_____. The History of King Richard III and Selections from the English and Latin Poems. Ed. Richard Sylvester. New Haven, 1976.

_____. Selected Letters. Edited by Elizabeth F. Rogers. New Haven, 1961.

Morison, Sir Richard. An Exhortation to Styrre All Englysshemen to the Defence of Theyr Countrye. London, 1539.

_____. An Invective Against Treason. London, 1539.

Mosse, Miles. The Arraignment and Conviction of Usurie. London, 1595.

Munday, Anthony. A Briefe Chronicle... to This Instant. London, 1611.

Nashe, Thomas. The Works of Thomas Nashe. 5 vols. Edited by R. McKerrow. London, 1904-10.

Norden, John. Vicissitudo Rerum.... London, 1600. Reprinted with an introduction by D.C. Collins in Shakespeare Association Facsimiles, No. 14, London, 1931.

Norman, Robert. The Newe Attractive. London, 1581.

Nugent, Elizabeth M., ed. The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance: An Anthology of Tudor Prose, 1481-1555. Cambridge, 1956.

Obedience in Church and State; Three Political Tracts by Stephen Gardiner. Edited by Pierre Janelle. Cambridge, 1930.

The Olde Fayth of Greate Brittayne.... Compiled by R.K. London, 1549.

Original Letters Illustrative of English History.... 11 vols. Edited by H. Ellis. London, 1824; 1827; 1846.

Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries. Edited by H. Ellis, London, 1843.

Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation.... Edited and translated by Hastings Robinson. Cambridge, 1842-5.

The Owles Almanac. [1618 prognostications in England]. Edited by D.C. Allen. Baltimore, 1943.

Parkyn, Robert. "Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation." Edited by A.G. Dickens. English Historical Review, 62 (January, 1947), pp. 58-83.

The Paston Letters (1422-1509). 6 vols. Edited by J. Gairdner. London, 1910.

Peacham, Henry. The Truth of Our Times. London, 1638.

The Pedlar's Prophecy. London, 1595; reprint ed., London, 1914.

Peele, George. Works. 2 vols. Edited by A.H. Bullen. London, 1888.

Penry, John. The Notebook of John Penry, 1593. Edited by Albert Peel. London, 1944.

Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son (1450 c.). Edited by C. d'Evelyn. Boston, 1935.

Pie, Thomas. Usuries Spright Conjured.... London, 1604.

Pont, Robert. A New Treatise of the Right Reckoning of Years and Ages of the World, And Men's Lives.... Edinburgh, 1599.

Price, Douglas, ed. English Historical Documents, 1558-1603. New York, 1968.

Prior, Oliver H., ed. Caxton's Mirror of the World. London, 1966.

Proctor, Thomas. Of the Knowledge and Conducte of Warres. London, 1578. Reprint ed., New York, 1970.

Rastell, John. The Pastime of People.... London, 1529. Edited by T.F. Dibdin, London, 1811.

The Register or Chronicle of Butley Priory, Suffolk, 1510-1535. Edited by A.G. Dickens. Winchester, 1951.

A Relation...of the island of England...About...1500. Translated by C.A. Sneyd. London, 1847.

Reliquiae Antiquae.... 2 vols. Edited by Thomas Wright and James Halliwell. London, 1841; 1843.

Rich, Barnabie. The Honestie of This Age.... London, 1614. Reprint ed., London, 1844.

_____. A Path-Way to Military Practise. London, 1587. Reprint ed., Amsterdam, 1969.

Robson, Simson. The Choise of Change. London, 1585.

Rogers, Thomas. The General Session...concerning the End of This World. London, 1581.

Rollins, H.E., ed. Old English Ballads, 1553-1625. Cambridge, 1920.

Roper, William. The Life of More. Edited by E.V. Hitchcock. Oxford, 1935.

Routh, C.R.N. They Saw It Happen: An Anthology of Eye-Witnesses' Accounts of Events in British History, 1485-1688. Oxford, 1956.

The Roxburge Ballads. 9 vols., Hertford, 1871-99.

The Ruinate Fall of the Pope Usury.... London, 1580.

Ryan, Patrick, S.J., ed. Some Correspondence of Cardinal Allen, 1579-1585; From the Jesuit Archives. Catholic Record Soc., Misc., IX, London, 1911.

Sander, Nicholas. A Briefe Treatise of Usurie. Louvain, 1568.

_____. Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism. Cologne, 1585. Translated and introduced by David Lewis, London, 1877.

Saunders, Laurence. A Trewe Mirrour or Glase Wherin We Maye Beholde the Wofull State of....England. London, 1556.

Secular Lyrics of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Edited by R.H. Robbins. Oxford, 1955.

Shakelton, Francis. A Blazing Star.... London, 1580.

Sherbrook, Michael. The Falle of Religiouse Howses.... London, 1591. Reprinted in A.G. Dickens, ed., Tudor Treatises. Wakefield, 1959, pp. 27-142.

Silver, George. Paradoxes of Defence. London, 1599.

Skelton, John. The Complete Poems. London, 1959.

_____. The Poetical Works of John Skelton. 2 vols. Edited by A. Dyce. London, 1843.

Smell-Knave, s. Fearefull and Lamentable Effects of Two Dangerous Comets.... London, 1590.

Smith, G. Gregory, ed. Elizabethan Critical Essays. Oxford, 2 vols. 1904.

Smith, Henry. Works. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1866.

Smyth, Sir John. Certain Discourses Military. London, 1590. Edited by J.R. Hale. Washington, 1963.

Speed, John. The History of Great Britaine. London, 1611.

Spenser, Edmund. The Works of Edmund Spenser. 11 vols. Edited by E. Greenlaw et.al. Baltimore, 1966.

Spingarn, J.E., ed. Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century. I, 1605-50. Oxford, 1908.

Stansby, W. Usurie Araigned and Condemned. London, 1625.

Starkey, Thomas. [A Dialogue Between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset]. Edited by J.M. Cowper. London, 1878.

Stevin, Simon. The Haven-Finding Art. London, 1599.

The Stoner Letters and Papers, 1290-1483. 2 vols. Edited by C.L. Kingsford. London, 1919.

Stow, John. The Annales of England.... London, 1605.

_____. A Survey of London [1603]. Reprinted with notes and introduction by C.L. Kingsford. Oxford, 1908.

Stubbs, Philip. Philip Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses in England in England in Shakespeare's Youth, A.D. 1583.... Edited by F. J. Furnivall. London, 1877-1882.

Tanner, Robert. Probable Conjectures from the Course of Tymes. London, 1583.

Tarlton, Richard. A Very Lamentable and Wofull Discours of the Fierce Fluds Whiche Lately Flowed.... Edited by J.O. Halliwell. London, 1844.

Tawney, R.H. and Eileen Power, eds. Tudor Economic Documents. London, 1924. 3 vols.

Terilo, William. Friar Bakon's Prophesie: A Satire on the Degeneracy of the Times, A.D. 1604. Edited by J.O. Halliwell. London, 1843.

Three Chapters of Letters Relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries. Edited by Thomas Wright. London, 1843.

Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles. Edited by J. Gairdner. London, 1880.

Trigge, Francis. An Apologie or Defence of Our Dayes, Against the Vain Murmurings and Complaints of Manie: Wherein is Plainly Proved that Our Dayes Are More Happie and Blessed than the Dayes of Our Forefathers. London, 1589.

Turner, Wylliam. A Comparison Betwene the Olde Learnynge and the Newe. London, 1537.

Twyne, Thomas. A Shorte and Pithie Discourse.... London, 1580.

Vaughn, William. The Spirit of Detraction. London, 1611.

Vergil, Polydore. The Anglica Historia, A.D. 1485-1537. Edited and translated by Denys Hay. London, 1950.

_____. De Inventoribus Rerum. Translated by John Langley. New York, 1868.

Wager, William. The Longer Thou Livest the More Fool thou Art. London, 1564. Edited by J.S. Farmer, London, 1910.

Walsingham, Francis. Journal. London, 1870.

Warkworth, John. A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth. Edited by J.O. Halliwell. London, 1839.

Warner, William. Albion's England. London, 1612.

_____. Syrinx; or A Sevenfold History. London, 1598.

Webbe, William. A Discourse of English Poetrie. London, 1586.

Whetstone, George. The Englysh Myrror. London, 1586.

Wilbraham, Sir Roger. Journal. Edited by H.S. Scott. London, 1902.

Williams, C.H., ed. English Historical Documents, 2485-1558. New York, 1967.

Wilson, Thomas. Arte of Rhetorique. London, 1560. Edited by G.H. Mair. Oxford, 1909.

Wilson, Sir Thomas. A Discourse Upon Usury.... London, 1572. Reprinted with an introduction by R.H. Tawney. New York, 1965.

Wilson, Thomas. Rule of Reason. London, 1551.

Wilson, Sir Thomas. The State of England in 1600. Edited by F.J. Fisher. London, 1936.

Wright, Thomas, ed. Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History.... 2 vols. London, 1859-61.

_____. Songs and Carols. London, 1847.

Wriothesley, Charles. A Chronicle of England.... 2 vols. Edited by W.D. Hamilton. London, 1875-7.

Secondary: Books.

Adams, Robert P. The Better Part of Valor: More, Erasmus, Colet, and Vives on Humanism, War, and Peace, 1496-1535. Seattle, 1962.

Allen, D.C. Doubt's Boundless Seat Skepticism and Faith in the Renaissance. Baltimore, 1964.

_____. The Star-Crossed Renaissance: The Quarrel About Astrology and Its Influence in England. Durham, 1941.

Armytage, W.H.G. Heavens Below: Utopian Experiments in England 1560-1960. London, 1961.

_____. Yesterday's Tomorrows: A Historical Survey of Future Societies. Toronto, 1968.

Aston, Margaret. The Fifteenth Centory: The Prospect of Europe. London, 1968.

Aurner, Nellie. Caxton: Mirror of Fifteenth Century Letters. Boston, 1926.

Baker, Herschel. The Race of Time: Three Lectures on Renaissance Historiography. Toronto, 1967.

_____. The Wars of Truth. Cambridge (MA), 1952.

Barbu, Zevedei. Problems of Historical Psychology. New York, 1960.

Baumer, Franklin L. The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship. New Haven, 1940.

_____. Modern European Thought: Continuity and Change in Ideas, 1600-1950. New York, 1977.

Bennett, H.S. English Books and Their Readers, 1475-1557. Cambridge, 1952.

Berdan, J.M. Early Tudor Poetry, 1485-1547. New York, 1920.

Bindoff, S.T. Tudor England. Middlesex, 1972.

Black, J.B. The Reign of Elizabeth: 1558-1603. Oxford, 1936.

Blench, J.W. Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons, 1450-1600. Oxford, 1964.

Braudel, Fernand. The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible. New York, 1979.

Briggs, Robin. The Scientific Revolution of the Seventeenth Century. New York, 1969.

Buckley, G.T. Atheism in the English Renaissance. Chicago, 1932.

Bury, J.B. The Idea of Progress. New York, 1932.

Butterfield, Herbert. The Englishman and His History. Cambridge, 1944.

_____. The Origins of History. New York, 1981.

_____. The Origins of Modern Science: 1300-1800. New York, 1957.

_____. The Whig Interpretation of History. Cambridge, 1929.

Campbell, Lily Bess. Shakespeare's 'Histories': Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy. San Marino, 1947.

_____. Tudor Conceptions of History and Tragedy in 'A Mirror for Magistrates. Berkeley, 1936.

Carpenter, Nan Cooke. John Skelton. New York, 1967.

Carre, Meyrick. Phases of Thought in England. Oxford, 1949.

Caspari, Fritz. Humanism and the Social Order in England. New York, 1954.

Chambers, E.K. English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages. Oxford, 1945.

Chambers, R.W. Thomas More. New York, 1935.

Coffin, Charles M. John Donne and the New Philosophy. New York, 1937.

Craig, Hardin. The Enchanted Glass: The Elizabethan Mind in Literature. New York, 1936.

Crutwell, Patrick. The Shakespearean Moment. New York, 1960.

Cunningham, J.V., ed. The Renaissance in England. New York, 1966.

Dales, Richard. The Scientific Achievement of the Middle Ages. Philadelphia, 1973.

Dickens, A.G. and Dorothy Carr, eds. The Reformation in England to the Accession of Elizabeth I. New York, 1968.

Dickens, A.G. The English Reformation. New York, 1964.

_____. Reformation and Society in Sixteenth Century Europe. London, 1966.

Dodds, M.H. and Ruth. The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536-7, and the Exeter Conspiracy, 1538. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1915.

Driver, T.F. The Sense of History in Greek and Shakespearean Drama. New York, 1960.

DuBoulay, F.R.H. An Age of Ambition: English Society in the Late Middle Ages. New York, 1970.

Einstein, Lewis. Tudor Ideals. New York, 1921.

_____. The Italian Renaissance in England: Studies. New York, 1902.

Eiseley, Loren. The Man Who Saw Through Time. New York, 1973.

Eisenstein, Elizabeth. The Printing Press as an Agent of Cultural Change. 2 vols. New York, 1979.

Elliot, J.H. The Old World and the New, 1492-1650. Cambridge, 1970.

Elliot-Binns, Leonard E. England and the New Learning. London, 1937.

Elton, G.R. England 1200-1600. London, 1969.

_____. England Under the Tudors. London, 1954.

_____. Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell. Cambridge, 1972.

_____. Reform and Reformation: England, 1509-1558. Cambridge (MA), 1977.

_____. The Tudor Revolution in Government. Cambridge, 1953.

Erickson, Carolly. The Medieval Vision: Essays in History and Perception. New York, 1976.

Esler, Anthony. The Aspiring Mind of the Elizabethan Younger Generation. Durham, 1966.

Ferguson, Arthur B. The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance. Durham, 1965.

_____. Clio Unbound: Perception of the Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England. Durham, 1979.

_____. The Indian Summer of English Chivalry: Studies in the Decline and Transformation of Chivalric Idealism. Durham, 1960.

Ferguson, Wallace K., et. al. Facets of the Renaissance. New York, 1963.

_____. The Renaissance: Six Essays. New York, 1953.

Fish, S.E. John Skelton's Poetry. New Haven, 1965.

Fletcher, Anthony. Tudor Rebellions. London, 1973.

Forbes, Thomas R. Chronicle from Aldgate: Life and Death in Shakespeare's London. New Haven, 1971.

Fox, Levi, ed. English Historical Scholarship in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. London, 1956.

Franklin, Julian H. Jean Bodin and the Sixteenth-Century Revolution in the Methodology of Law and History. New York, 1963.

Fraser, Russell. The Dark Age and the Age of Gold. Princeton, 1973.

_____. The War Against Poetry. Princeton, 1970.

Fussner, F. Smith. The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought, 1580-1640. London, 1962.

_____. Tudor History and the Historians. New York, 1970.

Gardner, Helen. The Limits of Literary Criticism. London, 1956.

Gilmore, Myron P. Humanists and Jurists. Cambridge (MA), 1963.

_____. The World of Humanism, 1453-1517. New York, 1962.

Gordon, G.S. Medium Aeuum and the Middle Age. Oxford, 1925.

Greenlaw, Edwin. Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory. Baltimore, 1932.

Greenleaf, W.H. Order, Empiricism and Politics: Two Traditions of English Political Thought, 1500-1700. London, 1964.

Hale, J.R. Renaissance Europe. London, 1871.

Hallam, Henry. Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sexteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries. 4 vols., Paris, 1837-9.

Haller, William. Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation. London, 1963.

Hanson, Donald. From Kingdom to Commonwealth: The Development of Civic Consciousness in English Political Thought. Cambridge (MA), 1970.

Harris, J.W. John Bale: A Study in the Minor Literature of the Reformation. Urbana (IL), 1940.

Harris, Victor. All Coherence Gone. Chicago, 1941.

Hay, Denys. Annalists and Historians. London, 1977.

_____. Polydore Vergil: Renaissance Historian and Man of Letters. Oxford, 1952.

Haydn, Hiram. The Counter Renaissance. New York, 1950.

Heath, Peter. The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation. London, 1968.

Heilbroner, Robert. The Future as History. New York, 1959.

Hexter, J.H. The History Primer. New York, 1971.

_____. The Vision of Politics on the Eve of the Reformation: More, Machiavelli, and Seyssel. New York, 1973.

_____. More's Utopia: The Biography of An Idea. New York, 1965.

Hill, Christopher. Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England. (Cambridge (MA), 1975.

_____. Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution. Oxford, 1965.

Hodgen, Margaret. Change and History: A Study of the Dated Distributions of Technological Innovations in England. New York, 1952.

Huizinga, Jan. The Waning of the Middle Ages. Garden City, 1954.

Hurtsfield, Joel and A.G.R. Smith, eds. Elizabethan People: State and Society. London, 1972.

Hurtsfield, Joel and A.G.R. Smith, eds. Elizabethan People: State and Society. London, 1972.

Hurstfield, Joel. Freedom, Corruption, and Government in Elizabethan England. London, 1973.

James, M.E. Change and Continuity in the Tudor North. New York, 1965.

Johnson, Francis R. Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England: A Study of the English Scientific Writings from 1500 to 1645. Baltimore, 1937.

Jones, R.F. Ancients and Moderns: A Study of the Rise of the Scientific Movement in Seventeenth-Century England. St. Louis, 1961.

Jones, Rufus M. Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries. New York, 1914.

Keen, Maurice. The Pelican History of Medieval Europe. Middlesex, 1968.

Kendall, Paul Murray. The Yorkist Age. New York, 1962.

Kendrick, T.D. British Antiquity. London, 1950.

Kinghorn, A.M. The Chorus of History, 1485-1558: Literary-Historical Relations in Renaissance Britain. New York, 1971.

Kingsford, C.L. English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century. Oxford, 1913.

_____. Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth-Century England. Oxford, 1925.

Klibansky, R. and H.J. Paton, eds. Philosophy and History. Oxford, 1936.

Knowles, Dom David. The Religious Orders in England. Vol. I: The Tudor Age. Cambridge, 1959.

Kocher, Paul H. Science and Religion in Elizabethan England. San Marino, 1953.

Kristeller, Paul Oscar and Philip Weiner, eds. Renaissance Essays. New York, 1968.

Lander, J.R. Conflict and Stability in Fifteenth-Century England. 2nd ed., London, 1974.

Laslett, Peter. The World We Have Lost. New York, 1965.

Leff, Gordon. The Dissolution of the Medieval Outlook: An Essay on the Intellectual and Spiritual Change in the Fourteenth Century. New York, 1976.

Lehmberg, Stanford E. Sir Thomas Elyot: Tudor Humanist. Austin, 1960.

Levin, Harry. The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance. New York, 1969.

_____. Shakespeare and the Revolution of the Times. New York, 1976.

Levine, M. Tudor England. Cambridge, 1968.

Levy, F.J. Tudor Historical Thought. San Marino, 1967.

Lewis, Bernard. History: Remembered, Recovered, Invented. Princeton, 1975.

Lewis, C.S. The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature. Cambridge, 1964.

_____. English Literature in the Sixteenth Century. Oxford, 1954.

Little, David. Religion, Order, and Law: A Study in Pre-Revolutionary England. New York, 1969.

Loades, D.M. Two Tudor Conspiracies. Cambridge, 1965.

Lovejoy, Arthur O. The Great Chain of Being. Cambridge (MA), 1976.

Lowers, James K. Mirrors for Rebels: A Study of Polemical Literature Relating to the Northern Rebellion of 1569. Berkley, 1953.

Lowith, Karl. Meaning in History. Chicago, 1957.

Lukacs, John. Historical Consciousness. New York, 1968.

Lyons, Bridgett G. Voices of Melancholy: Studies in Literary Treatments of Melancholy in Renaissance England. New York, 1971.

Mackie, J.D. The Earlier Tudors; 1485-1558. Oxford, 1957.

McLuhan, Marshall. The Gutenberg Galaxy. London, 1962.

Macray, W.D. Manual of British Historians to 1600. London, 1845.

Mattingly, Garrett. Catherine of Aragon. New York, 1941.

McKisack, May. Medieval History in the Tudor Age. Oxford, 1971.

McLean, Antonia. Humanism and the Rise of Science in Tudor England. London, 1972.

MacLure, M. The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642. Toronto, 1958.

Meyerhoff, Hans. Time in Literature. Berkeley, 1955.

Miles, Leland. John Colet and the Platonic Tradition. London, 1962.

Morrall, John B. The Medieval Imprint: The Founding of the Western European Tradition. New York, 1967.

Morton, A.L. The English Utopia. London, 1952.

Mueller, William R. The Anatomy of Robert Burton's England. Berkeley, 1982.

_____. The Prophetic Voice in Modern Fiction. New York, 1959.

Mueller, J.A. Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction. London, 1926. (Rep. New York, 1970).

Myers, A.R. England in the Late Middle Ages. Middlesex, 1972.

Neale, J.E. The Elizabethan House of Commons. New Haven, 1950.

_____. Queen Elizabeth I: A Biography. Garden City, 1957.

Nelson, Benjamin. The Idea of Usury. 2nd ed., Chicago, 1969.

Nisbet, Robert. Social Change and History. New York, 1969.

_____. History of the Idea of Progress. New York, 1980.

Nugent, Elizabeth. The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance: An Anthology of Tudor Prose, 1481-1555. Cambridge, 1956.

Ortega, Jose y Gasset. History as a System.... New York, 1962.

Owst, G.W. Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England. Cambridge, 1923.

Patrides, C.A. The Phoenix and the Ladder; the Rise and Decline of the Christian View of History. Berkeley, 1964.

Partridge, E.B. The Broken Compass. London, 1958.

Patch, Howard R. The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature. Cambridge (MA), 1927.

Peter, John. Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature. Oxford, 1956.

Pocock, J.G.A. The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century. New York, 1967.

_____. Politics, Language, and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History. New York, 1971.

Pollard, A.F. Henry VIII. New York, 1966.

Pollet, Maurice. John Skelton: Poet of Tudor England. Trans. by John Warrington. Lewisburg (Pa.), 1971.

Ponsonby, A.P. English Diaries; A Review of English Diaries from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century.... London, 1923.

_____. More English Diaries.... London, 1927.

Popper, Karl. The Poverty of Historocism. New York, 1964.

Quinn, D.B. England and the Discovery of America. New York, 1974.

Reese, M.M. The Cease of Majesty. London, 1961.

Reeves, Marjorie. The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages. Oxford, 1969.

Rice, E.F. The Foundations of Early Modern Europe, 1460-1559. New York, 1970.

Rivers, Isabel. The Poetry of Conservatism, 1600-1745. Cambridge, 1973.

Rupp, E.G. Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition. Cambridge, 1947.

Russell, J.G. The Field of Cloth of Gold.

Scarisbrick, J.J. Henry VIII. London, 1968.

Scattergood, V.J. Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century. New York, 1971.

Simon, Joan. Education and Society in Tudor England. Cambridge, 1966.

Smalley, Beryl. Historians in the Middle Ages. New York, 1974.

Smith, A. G.R. Science and Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. London, 1972.

Smith, Lacey Baldwin. The Elizabethan World. Boston, 1972.

_____. Henry VIII: The Mask of Royalty. Boston, 1971.

_____. Tudor Prelates and Politics, 1536-58. Princeton, 1953.

Spencer, Theodore. Shakespeare and the Nature of Man. 2nd ed., New York, 1949.

Steinberg, S.H. Five Hundred Years of Printing. Bristol, 1961.

Stone, Lawrence. The Causes of the English Revolution, 1529-1642. New York, 1972.

_____. Social Change and Revolution in England, 1540-1640. New York, 1965.

Streuver, Nancy S. The Language of History in the Renaissance: Rhetoric and Historical Consciousness in Florentine Humanism. Princeton, 1970.

Surtz, Edward, S.J. The Works and Days of John Fisher. Cambridge (MA), 1967.

Tawney, R.H. Religion and the Rise of Capitalism. New York, 1963.

Taylor, E.G.R. Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography. London, 1934.

_____. Tudor Geography, 1485-1583. London, 1930.

Taylor, Rupert. The Political Prophecy in England. New York, 1911. Rep., 1967.

Thomas, Keith. Religion and the Decline of Magic. New York, 1971.

Tillyard, E.M.W. The Elizabethan World Picture. New York, n.d.

_____. Shakespeare's History Plays. London, 1944.

Toulmin, Stephen and Goodfield, June. The Discovery of Time. London, 1965.

Trapp, J.B., et.al. Background to the English Renaissance. London, 1974.

Tuveson, Ernest Lee. Millenium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress. Berkeley and L.A., 1949.

Tytler, P.F. England Under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary. N.p., 1839.

Wagar, W. Warren, ed. The Idea of Progress Since the Renaissance. New York, 1969.

Waugh, Evelyn. Edmund Campion. Garden City (N.Y.), 1956. (orig. publ. 1946).

Weaver, F.J. The Material of English History. London, 1938.

Weber, Max. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. New York, 1958. Translated by Talcott Parsons. (orig. English trans. pub. 1930).

Wedel, T.O. Medieval Attitude toward Astrology. New Haven, 1920.

White, Helen C. Social Criticism in Popular Religious Literature in the Sixteenth Century. New York, 1944.

White, Lynn. Medieval Technology and Social Change. Oxford, 1966.

Williams, Neville. Henry VIII.

Wilson, F.P. Elizabethan and Jacobean. Oxford, 1946.

Woodward, G.W.O. The Dissolution of the Monasteries. London, 1966.

Wright, Louis B. Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England. New York, 1935.

Yates, Frances A. Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition. New York, 1964.

Zeeveld, W.G. Foundations of Tudor Policy. Cambridge (MA), 1948.

Articles:

Adams, R.P. "Designs by More and Erasmus for a New Social Order," Studies in Philology, 42 (1945), pp. 131-145.

Allen, Don C. "The Degeneration of Man and Renaissance Pessimism," Studies in Philology, 35 (1938), pp. 202-227.

Aston, Margaret. "English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 36 (1973), pp. 231-255.

Bainton, Roland. "Changing Ideas and Ideals in the Sixteenth Century," Journal of Modern History, 8 (1936), pp. 417-443.

Bateston, Mary. "Archbishop Warham's Visitation of Monasteries, 1511," English Historical Review, 6 (1891), pp. 18-35.

Baumer, Franklin Le Van. "The Conception of Christendom in Renaissance England," Journal of the History of Ideas, 6 (1945), pp. 131-156.

_____. "The Church of England and the Common Corps of Christendom," Journal of Modern History, 16 (1944), pp. 1-21.

_____. "England, the Turk and the Common Corps of Christendom," American Historical Review, 50 (1944-5), pp. 26-48.

Benbow, R.M. "The Providential Theory of Historical Causation in Holinshed's Chronicles: 1577 and 1587," Texas Studies in Literature and Language, 1 (1959), pp. 264-276.

Benjamin, Edwin. "Fame, Poetry, and the Order of History in the Literature of the English Renaissance," Studies in the Renaissance, 6 (1959), pp. 64-84.

Blissett, William. "Samuel Daniel's Sense of the Past," English Studies, 38 (1957), pp. 49-63.

Bosanquet, E. "English Printed Almanacks and Prognostications. Corrigenda and Addenda," The Library, 8 (1927-8), pp. 456-477.

Bowker, Margaret. "The Henrician Reformation and the Parish Clergy," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 50 (1977), pp. 30-47.

_____. "Lincolnshire 1536: Heresy, Schism or Religious Discontent," in D. Baker, ed. Studies in Church History. Cambridge, 1972.

Buell, L.H. "Elizabethan Portents: Superstition or Doctrine," Essays Critical and Historical Dedicated to Lily Bess Campbell. Berkeley, 1950.

Bush, Douglas, "Science and Literature," in H.H. Rhys, ed., Seventeenth Century Science and the Arts. Princeton, 1961.

_____. "Tudor Humanism and Henry VIII," University of Toronto Quarterly, VII (1938), pp. 162-177.

Campbell, Lily Bess. "Richard Tarlton and the Earthquake of 1580," Huntington Library Quarterly, 3 (1941), pp. 293-301.

_____. "The Use of Historical Patterns in the Reign of Elizabeth," Huntington Library Quarterly, 1, pp. 135-168.

Capp, Bernard. "Godly Rule and English Millenarianism," Past and Present, 52 (1971), pp. 106-117.

_____. "The Millenium and Eschatology in England," Past and Present, 57 (1972), pp. 156-162.

Chambers, E.K. "The Disenchantment of the Elizabethans," in Sir Thomas Wyatt and Some Collected Studies. New York, 1965.

Chapman, Raymond. "Fortune and Mutability in Elizabethan Literature," Cambridge Journal, 5 (1952), pp. 374-382.

Chester, Alan. "The 'New Learning': A Semantic Note," Studies in the Renaissance, 2 (1955), pp. 139-147.

Chilbnall, Marjorie Morgan. "The Suppression of the Alien Priories," History, 26 (1941), pp. 204-212.

Clanchy, M.T. "Remembering the Past and the Good Old Law," History, 55 (1970), pp. 165-176.

Clark, Stuart. "Bacon's Henry VII: A Case-Study in the Science of Man," History and Theory, 13 (1974), pp. 97-118.

Cooper, P. "A Revolution in Tudor History," Past and Present, 26 (1963), pp. 110-112.

Crehan, J.H. "The Return to Obedience: New Judgement on Cardinal Pole," Month, new series, 14 (1955), pp. 221-229.

Davies, Gordon. "The Concept of Denudation in Seventeenth Century England," Journal of the History of Ideas, 27 (1966), pp. 278-284.

Davies, S.L. "The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered," Past and Present, 41 (1968), pp. 54-76.

Davis, J.C. "More, Morton, and the Politics of Accomodation," Journal of British Studies, 9 (1970), p. 27.

Dean, Leonard F. "Bodin's Methodus in England before 1625," Studies in Philology, 39 (1942), pp. 160-166.

_____. "Sir Francis Bacon's Theory of Civil History-Writing," Journal of English Literary History, 3 (1941), pp. 161-183.

Dean, Leonard F. "Tudor Theories of History Writing," University of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philology, I (1947).

Dickens, A.G. "Aspects of Intellectual Transition Among the English Parish Clergy of the Reformation Period: A Regional Example," Archiv Fur Reformationsgeschichte 43 (1952), pp. 51-69.

_____. "Secular and Religious Motivation in the Pilgrimage of Grace," Studies in Church History, 4 (1967), pp. 39-64.

_____. "Some Popular Reactions to the Edwardian Reformation in Yorkshire," Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 34 (1938-9).

_____. "The Writers of Tudor Yorkshire," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 13 (1963), pp. 49-76.

Dodds, M.H. "Political Prophecies in the Reign of Henry VIII," Modern Language Review, 11 (1916), pp. 276-284.

Dodson, Sarah. "Holinshed's Sources for the Prognostications About the Years 1583 and 1588," Isis, 38 (1947).

Doran, Madeleine. "The 'Credulity' of the Elizabethans," Journal of the History of Ideas, I (1940), pp. 151-176.

Eccleshall, Robert. "Richard Hookers's Synthesis," Journal of the History of Ideas, 37 (1976), pp. 111-124.

Edelman, N. "The Early Uses of "Medium Aevum," Moyen Age, Middle Ages," Romanic Review 29 (1938), pp. 3-25.

Eisenstein, Elizabeth. "The Advent of Printing and the Problem of the Renaissance," Past and Present, 45 (1969), pp. 19-89.

_____. "Clio and Chronos: An Essay on the Making and Breaking of History-Book Time," History and Theory, Supplement 6 (1966), pp. 42-64.

_____. "Some Conjectures About... The Impact of Printing on Western Society and Thought," Journal of Modern History, 40 (1968), pp. 1-56.

Elton, G.R. "Sir Thomas More and the Opposition to Henry VIII," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 41 (May, 1968), pp. 19-34.

_____. "The Tudor Revolution: A Reply," Past and Present, 29 (1964), pp. 26-49.

Ferguson, A.B. "'By Little and Little': The Early Tudor Humanists on the Development of Man," Florilegium Historiale: Essays Presented to Wallace K. Ferguson. In J.G. Rowe and W.H. Stockdale, eds., Toronto, 1971.

_____. "Circumstances and the Sense of History in Tudor England: The Coming of the Historical Revolution," Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 3 (1968), pp. 170-205.

_____. "The Historical Perspective of Richard Hooker: A Renaissance Paradox," Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 3 (1974), pp. 17-49.

_____. "The Historical Thought of Samuel Daniel: A Study in Renaissance Ambivalence," Journal of the History of Ideas, 32 (1971), pp. 185-202.

_____. "Fortescue and the Renaissance: A Study in Transition," Studies in the Renaissance, 6 (1959), pp. 175-194.

_____. "John Twyne: A Tudor Humanist and the Problem of Legend," Journal of British Studies, 9 (1969), pp. 24-44.

_____. "Reginald Pecock and the Renaissance Sense of History," Studies in the Renaissance, 13 (1966), pp. 147-165.

_____. "Renaissance Realism in the 'Commonwealth' Literature of Early Tudor England," Journal of the History of Ideas, 16 (1955), pp. 287-305.

_____. "The Tudor Commonweal and the Sense of Change," Journal of British Studies, 3 (1963), pp. 11-35.

Funkenstein, Amos. "Periodization and Self-Understanding in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times," Medievalia et Humanistica, 5 (1974), pp. 3-23.

Gilmore, Myron P. "Freedom and Determinism in Renaissance Historians," Studies in the Renaissance, 3 (1956), pp. 49-60.

_____. "The Renaissance Conception of the Lessons of History," in W. Werkmeister, ed., Facets of the Renaissance, New York, 1959.

Godshalk, William L. "Daniel's History," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 63 (1964), pp. 45-57.

Goldberg, S.L. "Sir John Hayward, 'Politic' Historian," Review of English Studies, 6 (1955), pp. 233-244.

Goring, J.J. "Social Change and Military Decline in Mid Tudor England," History, 60 (1975), p. 185.

Gottfried, Rudolf B. "Samuel Daniel's Method of Writing History," Studies in the Renaissance, 3 (1956), pp. 157-174.

Grislis, Egil. "Richard Hooker's Image of Man," Renaissance Papers, (1963), pp. 73-84.

Harrison, G.B. "An Essay on Elizabethan Melancholy," appended to Nicholas Breton's Melancholike Humors [1600]. Edited by Harrison, London, 1949.

Harriss, G.L. "A Revolution in Tudor History: Medieval Government and Statecraft," Past and Present, 25 (1963), pp. 8-22.

Hattaway, Michael. "Paradoxes of Solomon: Learning in the English Renaissance," Journal of the History of Ideas, 29 (1968), pp. 499-530.

Haugaard, William P. "Katherine Parr: The Religious Convictions of a Renaissance Queen," Renaissance Quarterly, 22 (1969), pp. 346-359.

Hay, Denys. "History and Historians in France and England During the Fifteenth Century," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 35 (1962), pp. 111-127.

_____. "Late Medieval-Early Modern," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 25 (1952), pp. 26-27.

Hexter, J.H. "Thomas More: On the Margins of Modernity," Journal of British Studies, 1 (1961), pp. 20-37.

Hicks, Leo. "Elizabethan Royal Supremacy and Contemporary Writers," Month, 184 (1948), pp. 216-228.

James M.E. "The Concept of Order and the Northern Rising, 1569," Past and Present, 60 (1973), pp. 49-83.

_____. "Obedience and Dissent in Henrician England: The Lincolnshire Rebellion, 1536," Past and Present, 48 (1970), pp. 3-78.

Johnson, Francis R. and Larkey, Sanford V. "Thomas Digges, the Copernican System, and the Idea of the Infinity of the Universe in 1576," Huntington Library Quarterly, 5 (1934), pp. 69-117.

Jorgensen, Paul. "Theoretical Views of War in Elizabethan England," Journal of the History of Ideas, 13 (1952), pp. 469-481.

Kearney, Hugh F. "Richard Hooker: A Reconstruction," Cambridge Journal, 5 (1952), pp. 300-311.

Keller, A.C. "Zilsel, the Artisans, and the Idea of Progress in the Renaissance," Journal of the History of Ideas, 11 (1950), pp. 235-240.

Kelley, Donald. "Clio and the Lawyers: Forms of Historical Consciousness in Medieval Jurisprudence," Medievalia et Humanistica, 5 (1974), pp. 25-50.

_____. "Legal Humanism and the Sense of History," Studies in the Renaissance, 13 (1966), pp. 184-199.

Kelly, Robert. "Hugh Latimer as Piers Plowman," Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900, 17 (1977), pp. 13-26.

Kirkwood, James J. "Bacons's Henry VII: A Model of a Theory of Historiography," Renaissance Papers, (1965), pp. 51-56.

Knights, L.C. "Seventeenth Century Melancholy," The Criterion, 13 (1933), pp. 97-112.

Koller, Katherine. "Two Elizabethan Expressions of the Idea of Mutability," Studies in Philology, XXXV, (1938), pp. 228-237.

Kracauer, Siegfried. "Time and History," History and Theory, Beiheft 6 (1966), pp. 65-78.

Kurze, D. "Prophecy and History," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 21 (1958), pp. 63-85.

Larkey, S.V. "Astrology and Politics in the Years of Elizabeth's Reign," Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine, 3 (1935), pp. 171-186.

Lear, Floyd S. "The Medieval Attitude Toward History," The Rice Institute Pamphlet, 20 (1933), pp. 156-177.

Levine, Joseph M. "Ancients, Moderns and History: The Continuity of English Historical Writing in the Later Seventeenth Century," in Paul Kurshin, ed. Studies in Change and Revolution, Menston, 1972.

Levy, Fritz. "The Elizabethan Revolution in Historiography," History, (1961), pp. 27-52.

_____. "Sir Philip Sidney and the Idea of History," Bibliotheque d' Humanisme et Renaissance, 26 (1964), pp. 608-617.

Leyden, W. von. "Antiquity and Authority: A Paradox in the Renaissance Theory of History," Journal of the History of Ideas, 19 (1958), pp. 473-492.

Lilley, Samuel. "Robert Recorde and the Ideas of Progress," Renaissance and Modern Studies, 2 (1957), pp. 3-37.

Lockwood, Dean P. "it is Time to Recognize a New 'Modern Age,'" Journal of the History of Ideas, 4 (1943), pp. 63-65.

McGee, Eugene F. "Cranmer and Monimalism," Harvard Theological Review, 57 (1964), pp. 189-216.

McKisack, May. "Samuel Daniel as Historian," Review of English Studies, 23 (1947), pp. 226-243.

Mason, S.F. "The Scientific Revolution and the Protestant Reformation," Annals of Science, 9 (1944), pp. 64-87.

Metz, R. "Bacon's Part in the Intellectual Movement of His Time," in Seventeenth Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert Grierson. Oxford, 1938.

Miles, Leland. "Protestant Colet and Catholic More: A Study of Contrast in the Use of Platonism," Anglican Theological Review, 33 (1951), pp. 29-42.

Millican, C.B. "The First English Translation of the Prophecies of Merlin," Studies in Philology, 28 (1931), pp. 720-729.

Mommsen, Theodor E. "St. Agustine and the Christian Idea of Progress: The Background of the City of God," Medieval and Renaissance Studies. In Eugene Rice, ed., Med... New York, 1966.

Mosse, George L. "Change and Continuity in the Tudor Constitution," Speculum, 22 (1947), pp. 18-28.

Munz, Peter. "Hooker's Historical Sense," in The Place of Hooker in the History of Thought, London, 1952.

Murphy, James J. "Caxton's Two Choices: 'Modern' and 'Medieval' Rhetoric in Traversagni's Nova Rhetorica and the Anonymous Court of Sapience," Medieval and Humanist: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture, new series, No. 3 (1972), pp. 241-255.

Murray, Robert H. "The Conception of Progress in Classical and Renaissance Writers," in Erasmus and Luther: Their Attitude to Toleration. London, 1920.

Nadel, George H. "Philosophy of History before Historocism," History and Theory, 2 (1964), pp. 291-315.

Nicolson, Marjorie. "The 'New Artronomy' and the English Literary Imagination," Studies in Philology, 32 (1935), pp. 428-462.

Oberman, H.A. "Some Notes on the Theology of Nominalism: With Attention to Its Relation to the Renaissance," Harvard Theological Review, 53 (1960), pp. 47-79.

Patrides, C.A. "The'The Bloody and Cruell Turke': The Background of a Renaissance Commonplace," Studies in the Renaissance, 10 (1963), pp. 126-135.

_____. "The Numerological Approach to Cosmic Order During the English Renaissance," Isis, 44 (1958), pp. 391-397.

_____. "Renaissance and Modern Thought on the Last Things," Harvard Theological Review, 51 (1958), pp. 169-185.

_____. "The Renaissance View of Time: A Bibliographical Note," Notes and Queries, 10 (1963), pp. 408-410.

Pellegrini, Angelo M. "Bruno, Sidney, and Spenser," Studies in Philology, 40 (1943), pp. 128-144.

Pineas, Rainer. "George Joye's Exposicion of Daniel," Renaissance Quarterly, 28 (1975), pp. 332-342.

_____. "Robert Barnes's Polemical Use of History," Bibliotheque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 26 (1964), pp. 55-69.

_____. "Thomas More's Utopia and Protestant Polemics," Renaissance News, 17 (1964), pp. 197-200.

_____. "William Tyndale's Use of History as a Weapon of Religious Controversy," Harvard Theological Review, 55 (1962), pp. 121-141.

Pocock, J.G.A. "England," in Orest Ranum, ed., National Consciousness, History, and Political Culture in Early Modern Europe. Baltimore, 1975.

Pollard, A.W. "The Unity of John Norden: Surveyor and Religious Writer," The Library, 7 (1926), pp. 233-252.

Preston, Joseph H. "Was There An Historical Revolution?" Journal of the History of Ideas, 38 (1977), pp. 353-364.

Quinn, Michael. "Providence in Shakespeare's Yorkist Plays," Shakespeare Quarterly, 10 (1959), pp. 45-52.

Raitiere, Martin N. "More's Utopia and The City of God," Studies in the Renaissance, 20 (1973), pp. 144-168.

Reeves, Marjorie. "History and Eschatology: Medieval and Early Protestant Thought in Some English and Scottish Writings," Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture, 4 (1973), pp. 99-123.

_____. "History and Prophecy in Medieval Thought," Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture, 5 (1974), pp. 51-75.

_____. "Some Popular Prophecies from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries," Studies in Church History, 8 (1972), pp. 107-134.

Ribner, Irving. "The Idea of History in Marlowe's Tamburlaine," Journal of English Literary History, 20 (1953), pp. 251-266.

_____. "Sir Philip Sidney on Civil Insurrection," Journal of the History of Ideas, 13 (1952), pp. 257-265.

Rickert, R.T. "That Wonderful Year - 1596," Renaissance Papers, (1963), pp. 53-62.

Rowse, A.L. "Sir Thomas Wriothesley," Huntington Library Quarterly, 28, (1965), pp. 105-130.

_____. "Tudor Expansion: The Transition from Medieval to Modern in History," Essays in American Colonial History. In Paul Goodman, ed., New York, 1967.

Scarisbrick, J.J. "Robert Person's Plans for the 'true' Reformation of England," Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in Nonor of J.H. Plumb. Neil McKendrick, London, 1974.

Schmidt, A.J. "Thomas Wilson, Tudor Scholar-Statesman," Huntington Library Quarterly, 20 (1957), pp. 205-218.

Seronsky, Cecil C. "The Doctrine of Cyclical Recurrence and Some Related Ideas in the Works of Samuel Daniel," Studies in Philology, 54 (1957), pp. 387-407.

Shinn, Roger L. "Augustinian and Cyclical Views of History," Anglican Theological Review, 31 (1949), pp. 133-141.

Siegel, Paul N. "English Humanism and the New Tudor Aristocracy," Journal of the History of Ideas, 13 (1952), pp. 450-468.

Smith, Lacey Baldwin. "Henry VIII and the Protestant Triumph," American Historical Review, 71 (1966), pp. 1237-1264.

_____. "The Last Will and Testament of Henry VIII: A Question of Perspective," Journal of British Studies, 2 (1962), pp. 14-27.

_____. "The Reformation and the Decay of Medieval Ideals," Church History, 24 (1955), pp. 212-220.

Snyder, Susan. "The Left Hand of God: Despair in Medieval and Renaissance Tradition," Studies in the Renaissance, 12 (1965), pp. 18-59.

Sondheim, Moriz. "Shakespeare and the Astrology of His Time," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 2 (1938-9), pp. 243-259.

Southern, R.W. "History as Prophecy," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society [Presidential Address], 22 (1972), pp. 159-180.

_____. "The Elizabethan Malcontent," John Quincy Adams Memorial Studies, in James G. McManaway, ed., Washington, D.C., 1948.

Spitz, Lewis. "Periodization in History: Renaissance and Reformation." The Future of History. In Charles Delzell, ed., Nashville, 1977.

Starr, Chester G. "Historical and Philosophical Time." History and Theory, Beiheft 6 (1966), pp. 24-35.

Staton, W.F., Jr. "Roger Ascham's Theory of History Writing," Studies in Philology, 56 (1959), pp. 125-137.

Stone, Lawrence. "The Educational Revolution in England, 1540-1640," Past and Present, 28 (1964), pp. 41-80.

_____. "Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700," Past and Present, 33 (1966), pp. 16-55.

Stone, W.B. "Shakespeare and the Sad Augurs," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 52 (1953), pp. 457-479.

Stonex, A.B. "The Usurer in Elizabethan Drama," Publications of the Modern Language Association, 31 (1916), pp. 190-210.

Strathmann, Ernest A. "The Idea of Progress: Some Elizabethan Considerations," Renaissance News, 2 (1949), pp. 23-25.

Swales, T.H. "The Opposition to the Suppression of the Norfolk Monasteries," Norfolk Archaeology, 33 (1962-65), pp. 254-265.

Sypher, G. Wylie. "Similarities Between the Scientific and the Historical Revolutions at the End of the Renaissance," Journal of the History of Ideas, 26 (1965), pp. 353-368.

Tillemans, Thomas. "John Skelton, A Conservative." English Studies, 28 (1946), pp. 141-149.

Torrance, T.F. "The Eschatology of the Reformation," Scottish Journal of Theology, Occasional Paper, No. 2, n.d., pp. 36-62.

Trimble, W.R. "Early Tudor Historiography, 1485-1548," Journal of the History of Ideas, 11 (1950), pp. 30-41.

Wagar, W.Warren. "Modern Views of the Origins of the Idea of Progress," Journal of the History of Ideas, 28 (1967), pp. 55-70.

Washburn, Wilcomb. "The Meaning of 'Discovery' in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," American Historical Review, 68 (1962), pp. 1-21.

White, Lynn. "Cultural Climates and Technological Advances in the Middle Ages," Viator, 2 (1971), pp. 171-202.

Wilkinson, Bertie. "The Historian and the Late Middle Ages in England." Essays on the Reconstruction of Medieval History. In V. Murdoch and G.S. Couse, eds., Montreal and London, 1974.

Wilson, F.P. "Some English Mock-Prognostications," Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, 19 (1938), pp. 6-43.

Williams, Arnold. "A Note on Pessimism in the Renaissance," Studies in Philology, 36 (1939), pp. 243-246.

Williams, G. "Some Protestant Views of Early British Church History," History, 38 (1953), pp. 219-233.

Williams, Henry. "A Revolution in Tudor History? Dr. Elton's Interpretation," Past and Present, 25 (1963), pp. 3-58.

Williamson, George. "Mutability, Decay and Seventeenth-Century Melancholy," English Literary History, II (1935), pp. 121-150.

Wolper, Roy. "The Rhetoric of Gunpowder and the Idea of Progress," Journal of the History of Ideas, 31 (1970), pp. 589-598.

Wright, C.T. "Some Conventions Regarding the Usurer in Elizabethan Literature," Studies in Philology, 31 (1934), pp. 176-197.

Wright, Louis B. "The Elizabethan Middle Class Taste for History," Journal of Modern History, 3 (1931), pp. 175-197.

_____. "The Significance of Religious Writings in the English Renaissance," Journal of the History of Ideas, I (1940), pp. 59-68.

Yost, John K. "William Tyndale and the Renaissance Humanist Origins of the English via media," Nederlands Archif voor Kerkgeschiedenis, 51 (1970), pp. 167-186.

Zilsel, Edgar. "The Genesis of the Concept of Scientific Progress," Journal of the History of Ideas, 6 (1945), pp. 325-349.

VITA

Michael Francis Doyle is one of five children of Edward and Elizabeth Doyle. He was born and raised in Philadelphia and attended high school there. He received both his B.A. and M.A. from West Chester State College. From 1967-70 he served in the U.S. Army.

While a graduate student at Lehigh, he served as teaching assistant for two years and also was the recipient of a university scholarship and fellowship. He was additionally awarded a grant from the Institute for Eighteenth Century Studies.

Presently, he is employed in the casino industry. He and his wife, Ali, make their home in Atlantic City.