4. PRINTING & PUBLISHING

The printing and publishing history of the poetical 'Miscellanies', no less than critical history explodes the common assumption that these collections were meant for the general readers, and, with the publication of Tottel's Miscellany (155?) commenced the democratization of poetry.¹ The circulation of the collections from the beginning was confined to a limited public of educated readers—those who were in the court and courtly circles or, wanted to be there.² These people were leaders as well as models for society. The poetical collections of miscellaneous poems could be means for qualifying to enter the charmed circle for the aspirants

¹ "Tottel was a well-known publisher who, realizing the possibilities of the private collections of favourite poems which educated people kept in their scrap-books, conceived the idea in 1557 of publishing such a collection as a popular anthology. His Miscellany is the first attempt to popularize serious verse in print, and his choice of materials is calculated to interest as wide a public as possible" Maurice Evans, op.cit. P.25

and satisfied the cultural needs and tastes of those who were already there. The poetical Miscellanies rightly stated to appear when the 'gentlemanly' class of expanding rapidly and the newly arisen gentry under the Tudors already there jealously wanted to stabilise their positions as the rightful heirs of the old that had mostly disappeared.

"Never in any age were books more sought for and better esteemed than this our flourishing age. There are more in number than the leisure of any man of calling will permit him to read, or the strength of any ordinary memory can be able to bear away," so commented F. Sansovino in The Quintessence of Wit, 1590. 3

At the time of the incorporation of the Stationers' company in 1557 its members could feel assured that a considerable and eager reading public was awaiting its activities, and there is every reason to believe that this public increased during the next half-

3. F. Sansovino : The Quintessence of Wit 1590.
   Quoted, H.S. Bennett : English Books and Readers (1558 - 1603) Chapter I. P. 3
-century, Apart from the educated elite who were always there and whose numbers increased considerably after 1550, there were many who never went further than learning to read and write but who knew enough, however, to make a valuable portion in the book-seller's clientele and widened the range of prospective customers. It must be noted, nevertheless, that the mere increase in the number of books published fails to reflect the degree to which all classes of the society were being catered for; or that for one such work as the 'Arcadia' there were a dozen ballads, or news pamphlets available for those whose ability to read and to reach any serious intellectual level was limited.

The increase was various. To the demand of an ever-widening range of publications, the book-sellers increased their activities, and no where was this more noticeable, to take an example, than in their provision of reading matter of a literary interest for the bourgeoisie. Dr. Louis B. Wright has shown how this interest

5. Ibid.
was catered for in such detail. A few lines from his conclusions may be usefully quoted:

"The Elizabethan middle-class had an eager craving for stories, a craving which was satisfied by a voluminous literature of fiction that ranged from chivalric romance to realistic tales of London life... Entertaining stories, then as now, were abundant, and those which received the greatest acclaim were filled with a multitude of incidents, for the Elizabethans relished action. One quality more obvious in Elizabethan fiction than in modern novels and short stories was the didactic element which occupied such a conspicuous place in the literature appealing to the bourgeoisie intent upon improvement. Some of the most popular fiction professed to improve the mind, help the purse, and save the soul... Surely even the grimmest puritan could laugh in defence of his health. Given proper justification for the reading of stories, the Elizabethan middle-class reader consumed fiction as voraciously and as uncritically as his modern
If this extract tells us the kind of literature enjoyed by the middle-class readers, the lower-class readers according to H.S. Bennett, eagerly fed upon exciting, event-packed, frightening short stories and news pamphlets mostly in ballad form. The enormous ballad output testify to the largeness and eagerness of the audience, among the lower classes. The gentlemanly class had their own special taste and interests. This higher section of the reading public to cite Bennett again was satisfied with the sonnet sequences, the poetical anthologies, the books of Lyly and the like, of his followers. Their formal \textit{ritual} and such other qualities obviously could be appreciated only by sophisticated tastes of the upper sections of the society.

A notable feature of the increased demand of that it was the written-matter was selective. Some forms of writing

6. L.B. Wright: \textit{Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England}. Chapter X "Stories for Amusement and Edification". P. 417

that had hitherto been popular were going out of favour. In particular the day of the medieval romance was coming to an end. It is true that a few still survived, like the Bevis of Hampton, Blanchardine, Guy of Warwick, Heron of Bordeaux, Octavian etc., and romance never wholly ran out of favour, but most of these only appeared once during the whole of the period. It was a striking contrast with the earlier part of the century, when at least fifty editions of various romances had been published since Caxton's time. It may not be an unsafe guess that the gap, left by the end of the vogue of romances (which were read by courtly readers among others), Tottel felt like filling up when he published his Miscellany for readers of the courtly circles.

An interesting feature of this period which is reflected in the field of printing & publishing to which Prof. Lathorp points in his admirable resume of the translations of the classics from Caxton to Chapman is that the literature of delight takes precedence over the

8. Ibid. P. 250
literature of instruction; and the centre of interest turns from didactic essays on conduct to imaginative works, dealing with adventurous or amatory subjects, whether in prose or verse ... The change in interest involves not merely the selection of new authors and books for translation, but expresses a different view about the classics from that held by the graver humanists of the earlier era. It turns to the classics for variety and for excitement, for colour, for the enrichment of life, and not for its guidance and restraint. The better translators wrote in that flush of joy at the revelation of the world of poetic delight which a long succession of youths, acolytes of verse, have felt first of all when Virgil's magic revealed it to their enlightened eyes. The new translators were not in general men of affairs... They were students, young professional men, enthusiastic for letters, or elder pedants, with dry and warped interest in crotchets which marks the tribe.' (H.B. Lathrop, Translations from the classics into English PP. 105-6).\(^9\)

\(^9\) Quoted by H.B. Bennett  P. 251.
The element of delight which came to be recognised in the literary compositions in the renaissance is invariably referred to in the prefaces / addresses to the readers of all the Miscellanies, - indicating that the miscellanies were thought to be in the mainstream of the literary tradition by the editor / publishers. Generally, the word 'pleasure' is stated together with 'profit'. Obviously edification had not as yet been divorced from pure literary 'delight'; and the term could also be used as a ploy by the editor/publishers to push up their sales in an age when religion dominated the every day life of the people.

The authors, or translators, or publishers who have put on record, the impulsions to print advance three reasons for their undertakings. The three points, are mentioned so repeatedly that they should be taken as


_Tottel's Miscellany_, set the trend that continued to be followed by the editor/publishers of the subsequent miscellanies

cf. Evans, M. op. cit. P. 26
constituting the salient characteristic of the publishing/ 
printing vocation. First is the original desire of the 
writer to keep his work for the eye of a limited circle.
This, of course, was not a desire confined to the writers 
of literary works only, since there was a widespread 
reluctance to have one's work hawked around to become 
the target of malign critics. Some of these disclaimers 
were not really serious, but even so, it is probable that 
some sonnet sequences such as those 'To the fairest 
Coelia', were as the author said, 'a private matter: I 
was fully determined to have concealed my sonnets, as 
things privy to myself'. Similarly, Abraham Fraunce 
declares that his version of Tasso's Amyntas 'was first 
prepared for one or two, and was afterwards by the means 
of a few made common to many, and so pitifully disfigured 
by the barbarous handling of unskilful pen men that his 
own Phillis would never have taken him for Amintas',
and there is no reason to believe that he is not telling 
the truth. There is plenty of evidence that much writing 

11. Bennett, P. 257
circulated in manuscript. In the courtly circles, in fact, it was in manuscript form that most of the poems changed hands. Mostly, before publication, the works were known amongst the friendly circles of the author in manuscripts form. All the miscellanies under study were transcripts for the most part from the manuscripts which the printer-publisher editors somehow could acquire.  

Secondly, writers were at pains to emphasize the practical, didactic and moral nature of their writings. The translator of Amadis of France, for instance, says that it is put out as a means 'where-at men may learn to be noble orators, wise and prudent counsellors, excellent rhetoricians, expert captains, amorous companions fervent and honest lovers, secret messengers...''

A little familiarity with the comments of the authors

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13. Ibid.
14. Bennet, P. 257
wherein they adduce the reasons for writing, suffices to make it clear, even to the point of disgust, that instruction of the readers was their main object. The fact that in each of the forewording notes to the Miscellanies, 'profit' of the readers is never left out to be mentioned, indicate how much the poetical collections were in tune with the common demand of the time. If 'pleasure' of the reader is stated to be the aim it is always qualified by 'profit'. 15

Lastly, one cannot fail to notice the number of times, when either printer or publisher or editor addresses his readers as men of some education and 'gentlemen'. 'Learned (or courteous) Gentlemen readers, members of the inns of court and, universities are frequently asked for support; the approach of the Term encourages the book-seller to get ready new work. 16

N. Breton in the Preface to The Arbour of Amorous Devices (1597) writes: "Your absence this long time of vacation


16. Bennett, P. 258
hindered my poor press from publishing any pleasant pamphlet to recreate your minds as it was wont ...

Such as are in the country God send them a happy and speedy return to London"17 which reminds readers that the work was promised by Easter Term. Some of this is but fashion, and is inveighed against by Dekker when he writes, 'To keep custom in reparations, he must be honeyed, and come over with Gentle Reader, Courteous Reader, and Learned Reader, though he have no more Gentitites in him than Adam had (that was but a gardener) no more civilitie than a Tartar and no more Learning than the most errand stinkard, that (except his own name) could never find anything in the Horne -book!18 Nevertheless, for certain kinds of book support of an educated and sophisticated reading public was a necessity and it was but prudent of the book-sellers to flatter and cajole them.

All the 'Miscellanies' are addressed to in this manner. Tottel while introducing his 'Miscellany'

17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
addresses the prospective customer as 'gentle reader'.

'A Handful of Pleasant Deliles', (tells 'The Printer to the Reader') contains 'pleasant songs' 'fine Histories' 'pretie things as women much desire'.

'Pleasant songs' were for court gallants; "fine Histories" interested the wise sort i.e. learned ones; and 'pretie things' were 'desired' by court ladies and courtiers who often used them as tokens of love. In the words of the printer, Henry Disle, The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576) has 'songs by writers both of honour and worship; besides that our owne countrey men, and such as for their learnyng and gravitie, might be accounted of among the wisest'. Further the Printer, invokes a courtly patron, 'The Right Honorable Syr Henry Compton Knight, Lorde Compton, of Compton.' A.M. 'in commendation of his Gallery and workmen there of', addresses the miscellany 'Vnto all yong Gentilmen'. Richard Jones, the Printer presents 'Brittons Bowme of Delights' 'To the Gentlemen

21. Franklin Dickey op. cit. P. 38
Readers, and commences his Preface by stating:

'Gentlemen, I present you here ... with the sundry fine devices, and rare conceits, in English verse':

The *Phoenix Nest* is the most courtly of the anthologies points out Mr. Franklin Dickey. The title-page reveals, it was written by 'Noblemen, worthy Knights, gallant Gentlemen, Masters of Arts, and brave scholars', and was "set forth" by 'R.S. of the Inner Temple Gentleman'.

The emphasis on the gentility of the readers continues to be insisted upon in *England's Helicon* and, *Davison's Poetical Rahposdy* 1602. L.N. ends the prefatory note to *England's Helicon* with the words "Thus gentle reader, I wish thee all happiness".

In his address to THE READER, Francis Davison states: 'Being induced by some private reasons, and by the instant entreaty of special friends to suffer some of my worthless poems to be published, I desired to make some written by my dear

23. Ibid
24. Dickey, P. 44. op. cit.
   cf. Rollins (ed) Introduction PP. XXVI - XXVII
25. A.H. Bullen ed. (1887) Introduction P. 5
friends Anonymoi and my dearer Brother, to bear them
company: both without their consent..." The 'special
friends' at whose entreaty the poems have been set forth,
must have been gentlemen like the author\textsuperscript{26b} and his
brother who was soldier and wrote poetry as it was fash­
ionable for all soldier-gentlemen.

When Tottel published the 'Miscellany' in June
1557 English book-trade was no longer in its swaddling
clothes; and the publisher in all likeli-hood made
calculation of all the related aspects before deciding
to bring out the collection.\textsuperscript{27}

The English book industry had three quarters of
the century's printing and publishing history behind it
and by the epochal year of 1557, more or less 6000
volumes had been published. In view of the times it is
a considerable out-put and bespeaks a relatively large
reading public. Books and pamphlets of every descrip­tion
to cater to the variety of needs and tastes were coming

\textsuperscript{26.} ed. Bullen, P. 3
\textsuperscript{26b} Vide infra PP. 328-29
\textsuperscript{27.} From this point on to the end of the paragraph the
contents are an adaptation from H.S. Bennett's
\textit{English Books and Readers} (1558-1603)
Introduction PP. XIII to XVII.
out of the press every year and the demand and supply were expanding so rapidly that control of book industry was felt to be necessary. As compared to half a dozen printers before, at least 35 hitherto unknown printers were busy by 1557. The Stationers Company was incorporated (ed 1557) to regulate the burgeoning book-trade. Spread of education, religious controversy, intensified Reformation movement, expanding economic and political activities of the new era and the stimulating influences of the renaissance may be cited as reasons leading to the expansion of the book industry. In the great out-put, religious books out-numbered all other varieties of publications. For the sober-minded were a number of works from which to obtain guidance in their quest for the good life. The learned professions other than the clergy, like lawyers found ready to hand volumes of the statues of the Realm. Medical books of all kinds were constantly being printed and many of them were meant for the layman, some to be used 'in time of necessity when no learned physician was at hand'. There were books on arithmetic and geometry, the use of the spheres, the compass and
astrology. Manuals of seamanship were at hand for those trading in home waters and further afield. Though travel was reserved for the few, the printing press opened up the way to Cathy, the North-West passage, the Spanish Main and many other places. The old-fashioned encyclopaedias were not much in use. Most men found it more convenient to ask for a small book dealing with the subject in which they were interested, so that they could study at leisure, such subjects as how to keep bees or silk worms; how to ear and serve at table, or how to make dyes and paints. Cookery books helped the housewife, while almanacs and prognostications contained much useful information, not only on the dates of various events, but also, how to judge the weather or when it was suitable time for bloodletting and so on. It is apparent, no man could complain in Elizabethan England that knowledge was hidden from him. Once one had learned to read the way was open, and, much that had hitherto been available in foreign tongue only was given in an English dress, for the translator was very much in evidence throughout the
reign. Nor did events nearer home went unrecorded. Many ballads and pamphlets enlightened them, as did others in the stirring days of the summer of 1588 when the Armada made its abortive attempt. News of other kind was also much in demand, and the ballad writers and the cheap pamphleteers poured out a supply of pieces of writing in which were set forth things as monstrous births, strange creatures, or unusual happenings which could only be attributed to supernatural powers. The doings of those possessed, the evil practices of witches and their exposures and punishment made popular reading. There was a steady out-put of works dealing with the apprehension, trial and execution of traitors and other enemies of the state.

It goes without saying that the people at the time did not spend all their time in the pursuit of salvation, or of knowledge, or of health. Commodity or 'profit', of course, but pleasure, then as now, could not be divorced from diurnal existence. They turned, from time to time, to poetry and romance, song and dance; to

28. Ibid. P. XVIII.
revel and plays, to realistic fiction and improving stories. We have only to turn to the variety of works, that they produced, to see this, while the lower sections of the society were entertained by ballads and verses of little literary merit, but sufficing to hold an audience of 'the children from play, and the old men from the chimney corner', the more educated classes filled some leisure hours with anthologies, long and short poems, translations of some of the classical works, and later in the reign sonnet—sequences, long romantic stories such as the Arcadia or Euphues and a whole series of the great Spanish chivalric romances.28

The period before 1557, when Tottel brought out his Miscellany, is not one of the great eras of literature in English. Hence its fame in all probability when it did come out. Neither in verse nor in prose are we confronted with an outstanding work, although the names of Skelton, Wyatt, More, Tyndale, Elyot and Berners will remind us that we need not take too sombre a view of the matter. In any case we must remember that the early

28. Ibid. P. XVIII.
16th century reader started well nigh from scratch. His library was all to be formed, and he was only too ready to stock it with pieces old and new. This was particularly true of literary works. But however meagre the out-put, all educated men knew by repute, of the great ones of the past - 'worthy Chaucer glorious'²⁹ and many others.

It was entirely reasonable of Caxton to respect the feeling, and to print the works of three outstanding medieval poets - Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate, as well Malory's great prose romance. The work began by Caxton was continued by his successors who extended their search for master-pieces of English literature so that by 1557 the printers could feel that they had done fully as much as could be expected of them in providing the public with a variety of verse and prose by English authors.³⁰ Tottel must have felt that it was something novel in literature he was offering to the public when he decided to publish the 'Miscellany'; he could understand that a market might

²⁹. *Book and Readers* (1475-1557) Chapter VI P. 146
³⁰. Ibid.
be awaiting for such a work.

In addition to the big three referred to above, Langland, modern authors, Hawes, Barclay and Skelton too had been given to the public.\(^{31}\) Verse of satirical and humorous nature dealing with domestic and general affairs, the most lively series of which concerned with women were also there to meet the contemporary bourgeois taste.\(^{32}\) 'To while away the long nyghtes blak' with Caxton's long romances, many octavo editions of short romances, by de Worde had been brought out to satisfy the enthusiastic educated readers.\(^{33}\) Dramatic pieces, in the form of Interlude instinct with morality.\(^{34}\) Enough humour was also in circulation not very long before the 'Miscellany. Ballads that provided reading matter of the cheaper sort,\(^{35}\) of course, eclipsed in popularity all other literary forms. Their production was really vast. The small body of literature

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31. Ibid P. 148  
32. Ibid, P. 148  
33. Ibid, P. 149  
34. Ibid, P. 150  
35. Ibid, P. 151.
left to us is only a meagre part of the enormous produce. To satisfy the hunger for the regard of moral and civic values sufficient reading material was in circulation.

36. 'Sir Thomas Elyot expressed the widdly held view of his era, in the Preface to his translation of The Image of Governance compiled of the actes of Alexander Seuerus (1541) when he speaks of his own labours as author and translator as follows:

My boke called the Governour instructinge men in such vertues as shalbe expedient for them which shall have authority in a wele publicke. The Doctrinal of Princis, which are counsayles of Wyse Isocrates, inducing into noble means Wittes honest opinions. The Education of Children, which also I translated oute of the Wise Plutararbe making men and women, which will follow those rules, to be wel worthy to be fathers and mothers. The little Pasquill, although he be mery and playne, teaching as well serventes how to be faithful unto their masters, as also masters how to be circumspect in espying flatterers. Semblably theothioe of a good counselor, with magnanimity and good courage in tyme of adversity, may be apparently founden in my book called of the knowledge belonging to a wiseman. In reading the Sermon of Saint Cyprian by me translated the devout reader shall find no little comfort in plages and calamities. The banquet of Sapience is not fastidious, and in little room sheweth out of holy scripture many wise sentences. The Castel of Helth being truly red shall long preserve men (being some phisiciss... never so angry) from perilous sicknesses. My little boke callid The defense of Good Women, not only confoundeth villainous report, but also teacheth good wives to knowe well their duties". Quoted by H.S. Bennet's English Books and Readers (1475-1557) P. 157
In view of this literature of many sorts, it looks, the type of the poems as found in the Miscellany was the only thing that so far had not been provided to the readers.

Richard Tottel or Tothill who was born in 1530 and started publishing about 1550, was the most notable publisher of law books, of his time - he was granted patent in 1553 which was renewed in 1556 for seven years, and ultimately on 12th January 1559 was granted for life. It seems, like a true business-man he could gauge at the growing interest in humanist studies and works of literature which he began to publish starting with More's Dialogue of Comfort in 1553. In the next year he brought out a folio edition of John Lydgate's Fall of Princes; in 1555 he published Stephen Hawes' Pastime of Pleasure. Surrey's translation of the second and fourth books of Virgil's Aeneid, the earliest known specimen of the blank verse in English, was given to the public by Tottel himself. He also printed the first edition of the translation of Cicero's De Officiis by N. Grimald, in 1566,
and Arthur Brookes Romeus and Juliet in 1562. From his press came also Thomas Tusser's rhymes on 'husbandry' and house-wifery (1557-77) and other works of Thomas More in addition to the 'confutation. Richard Grafton's Chronicles of England, William Painter's Palace of Pleasure and Sir Thomas North's Dial of Princes - followed again in 1562-72, 1566-67, 1588. Tottel's Miscellany appears quite in accord with our publisher's policy of publishing literary works of the last generation. On June 5th, (1557) as the 18th book from his press, a collection of verse was issued with the title: "Songes and Sonnettes written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Howard Earle of Surrey, and other'.

The Preface illustrates the awareness of the Publisher of the factors conducive to sale. forces of patriotism, so characteristic a trait of Tudor England, are invoked. Pride in English whose improvement was so passionate a concern is flattered. Interest in rhetoric discipline most zealously pursued - is sought to be satisfied for 'profit of the studious of English eloquence'.
Its full title stresses the collection's prestige value. The verse is in 'small parcelles,' so that it is easy to read, is memorable and capable of being sung if one so liked. This characteristic was in tune with the spirit of the times because the days of old romances were over and the readers preferred small droughts of reading matter. Biggest factor favourable to the publisher for bringing out the publication and earn profit appears to be the anticipated demand due to the rapid rise in the number of the gentry by 1550 - for the satisfaction of whose tastes and needs the Tottel's Miscellany and later on other 'miscellanies' were meant.37 Address to the 'gentlemen' or the 'gentle Reader' in Tottel's, and the subsequent miscellanies each is not mere a matter of convention or fashion. The connexion of these poetical collections with the 'gentleman class' was real. -On their

37. "The middle and later Tudor poets who were dealing with elevated subjects or who were in the court or hoped to be there used the 'Songes and Sonettes' as exemplar and guide". Vere L. Rubel Poetic Diction .... Chapter VI, P. 50.
number and, needs depended the fortunes of the publishers of the collections. The question of the number of the copies published of each of the editions and the, probable price of each of the volume further strengthen the impression that the 'miscellanies' circulated amongst the higher, well-to-do, strata of society

How many copies should he print? was then as now, the constant question in the mind of every printer.

40 Religions works were the only one class (although the largest) of books which were put into print

38 A.L. Rowse (The England of Elizabeth Chapter VI, Social Classes P. 225) remarks: "Behold the consequences of the Dissolution at Work, building up the gentry, recruiting their numbers adding to their estates ... it offered wonderful opportunities for increasing wealth and social advancement, the rewards of enterprise, industry, shrewdness.. or mere luck, the groundswell that bore up a whole class. It greatly accelerated the rate of expansion of the gentry; one can trace that in every county".

39 cf. Ibid.

40 English Books and Readers (1475-1558-1603) Chapter V. P. 247
more or less directly because authors and printers
felt that there was need to be met. The fields of law,
education and information were profitable areas for
publishing; and many writers and readers must have brought
pressure to bear on the printers to set out works of
these kinds. Literature counted for only 12 to 13 percent
of all the classes of printed matter up to 1557. The
printers must have proceeded to the publishing of the
material of literary value with abundant caution especially
when it was something new.

From the death of de Worde (1535) to the
incorporation of the Stationers Company (1557), was a
period of growing prosperity for the printers. They were
freed of much foreign competition just at the moment when
the King's quarrel with the Pope presented them with
magnificent opportunities for developing their trade in
religions and controversial literature. The out-put of
books steadily rose. For the years 1520-9, 550 titles of
the books have been recorded; in the next decade this rose

41. *English Books/Readers* (1475-1557) Chapter VIII. P. 193
It was by the later half of the 16th century that comparatively larger editions were allowed, for from 'A Copie of certen orders concerning printing' made by the Stationers' Company in 1588, we learn that 'no book is to be printed in numbers exceeding 1250 or 1500 in one impression except non-pareill brevier (Bibles), and four impressions a year of the Grammar and four of the Accidence severally quarto and Octavo, and also all prymers and catechisms, and that every one of these and of all books in non-pareille and brevier do not exceed 2500 or 3000 copies at the most, except statues and proclamations.'

In other words, the ordinary edition of books, except certain religious and educational ones, was limited to 1500 copies or less. This was in order to protect workmen, and was made at a time when the demand for books was far greater than it had been say fifty years before. We shall not be far wrong in thinking that very special

42. Ibid P. 194
43. op. cit. P. 228
reasons were required to persuade a printer to print more than 600-700 copies of any ordinary work in the first 75 years of printing in England. 44

Now Tottel's Miscellany and other 'miscellanies' that followed, as illustrated in previous pages, cannot be taken as works of the common run. 'Gentle Reader' or gentlemen readers are the people invariably addressed to. The style and the subject-matter of the collections point to their circulation within the courtly circles. When we learn that even ordinary religions impressions did not exceed 1500 at a time, and that very special reasons were necessary to print more than 600-700 of any ordinary work before 1557, the number of the copies of Tottel's Miscellany, and others in each impression in view of the relatively limited circles of the court, must have been considerably less than 600-700. It is only when, as in the case of Tottel, the first impression was too quickly sold, the printers of the Miscellanies might have decided to print more copies - but that too certainly less than the 600-700 impressions which was

44. Ibid
the ordinary member of an ordinary work under special circumstances.

When we turn from numbers to prices of books we are almost as much in the dark. A very few individual prices are known to us, some because they are stated in print on the volume itself; others because they are written in a contemporary hand on the title-page, or elsewhere on the book others that are mentioned as the price at which the book changed hands at the stationers, or as the value attached to the book in inventories of various kinds.

From an analysis of the prices of several hundreds of books Prof. Johnson concludes that there was very little change of prices throughout the period, and shows that certain kinds of books such as small pamphlets, or volumes of poetry, or law books within their restricted market and difficulty of setting demanded a higher price than other kinds of books.

45. Ibid P. 229
46. Books and Readers (1558-1603) P. 300
The price of a whole book of J. Rastell, 1516, which boke containeth III volumes, a folio of 798 leaves of contracted French Law in small type was XI s(hillings) it must have been a considerable tax on Rastell's printing house. Another work to bear its price "A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christian man (1543)" by T. Berthlet whose editions varied from 180 to 280 pages - not to be sold above xvi d; while the octavo edition of 318, not above 12, 13, 14 pence; another edition by J. Mayler not above xii d. These prices are a fair reflection of the current rates for the ordinary run of books.

From the booksellers accounts those of Dorne's are the most illuminating we learn that the ruling price in Oxford at the time for broad-sheets of ballads and the like was a half-penny; that a single leaf of carols, or of popular lives of saints, or prognostications, or books on carving and husbandry will cost a penny. Similarly we can see the cost of many sort of books: from the rhyme of Robin Hood for 2 d., or the romances of

47. Books and Readers (1475-1557) P. 231
Sir Eglamour, or Robert the Devil for 3d. or 3½ d. and so up to the massive volume of The Golden Legend for 3 s. 4d. or 3 s. 8d. or Lydewade's constitutions bound in leather for 6 s. 8d.

H.S. Bennett in Notes on English Retail Book prices, 1480 - 1560 observes that Precepts of Cato the Sage (1553) cost 4 d. Chaucer's works 1542 (bound) cost 5 s. 8d. the same (1545) 5 s. And the Canterbury Tales (1492?) bound 5 s.

The second account of most value is that of 1535. This gives us the prices of 170 items of which school books and a number of other works are sold at prices which agree well with those in Dorne's list. The other two fragments of account books of about 1510 and 1557 add a little additional information, but do not alter the general picture; nor do the two book-bills of Katherine Parr, dated 1544 and 1548.

Most of the 'Miscellanies' except the 'Handful and the 'Britton's Bowre' are of relatively good

size in volume. Of course, they cannot be put up with the class of H. John Rastell's three volume, 798 page work that cost XI shillings. Neither by any means with the slender ballads of mass consumption that served the need of the moment and cost half a penny each. They can roughly be placed in between G. Chaucer's editions of his works costing the relatively high price of 5 shillings and those of T. Berthlet's editions of Christian doctrine containing 180 to 280 pages which had assured market and were not to be sold above xvi d. The 'Miscellanies' being not bound 50 (like those of Chaucer's works) and of not so large volume as Chaucer's certainly cost considerably less, but definitely good deal more than Berthlet's editions of popular cast. If they appear to be

50. In none of the accounts about the price etc. of the books of the period, I have come across either the prices of the miscellanies or the fact of their being 'bound'. H. S. Bennet (The Library Fifth Series, Vol. V. No. 3 December 1950) is particular to point out whichever title is 'bound' or not. According to his books of high price, i.e. G. Chaucer's Works, were usually 'bound'.
of quite more value than Beethlet's books of xvi d. each, the 'Miscellanies must be considered costly works and capable of being purchased by munificent persons in view of the fact that most of the people might not be earning lod. daily which was considered 'a good day's wage'.

The popularity or neglect of the 'Miscellanies' depended on the liking or disliking of the 'sophisticated' 'gentlemanly' class. Most of the collections, except perhaps, the Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Invention (1578), were popular; some of them really so. The great popularity of Tottel's Miscellany (1557-87) was partly due its novelty, partly to the variety of its contents and not the least due to the rapid expansion of the educated gentry after 1550. From the outset it acquired surprising success. Within 56 days the first edition (published 5th June 1557) ran out of stock. The second edition was brought forth on 31st July, and seven more followed: the second setting of the second edition 31 July 1557.
itself, 1559, 1565, 1567, 1574, 1585, and 1587. This enormously popular work taught succeeding publishers of the *Miscellanies* about how to exploit the new market, and established the 'miscellany' as a conspicuous form of publication for the next 50 years.  

'The Handful of Pleasant Delites' (1566), written as the title-page tells us, 'by Clement Robinson and divers others' has no record of more than two editions: 1566, 1584. It might not have been as popular as Tottel's, but its popularity may be assumed "because of frequent references to its poems by Shakespeare and others. It is possible that we have only one copy intact (1584) because the others were read to bits". Of The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576), nine extant editions, and a tenth now lost, testify to its astonishing popularity between 1576 and 1606. Its didactic tone seems to have struck the religions temperament of the upper classes amidst fierce sledge-hammer controversy between the

52. Evans, Maurice, op. cit. P. 26
54. Dickey, P. 38
Puritans and the Anglicans that raged during last quarter of the 16th century. Rhetorical figures of speech (in place of verbal aureation of the early 'Miscellanies') which characterises its style and marked feature of last two decades interested no less, than its didacticism, the same class.

"The Gorgeous Gallery of the Gallant Inventions" (1578) was the least popular of the 'Miscellanies'. Its first edition (1578) was its last edition. Considering the poetical taste of the time - prolific use of the devices of alliteration, consonance and assonance, dictional aureation, verbal mannered ingen... the employment of various metrical and verse forms - that is surprising. The lack of the use of tropes, scarcity of the figures of speech - wherein the writers of the courtly verse were deeply interested during the time of its publication, may possibly explain the unpopularity of the volume. 55

There is a long gap (1578-91) before the next major collection of miscellaneous poems came out, unless

55. Rubel, op. cit. P. 199
there were editions we know nothing of. In 1591 "Britton's Bowre of Delights" appeared. The second edition was published in 1597. Rollins is of opinion that 'other editions may have been published between 1591 & 1597, without leaving a trace. Nicholas Breton about whom we know mainly from this collection was classed by Meres in Palladis Tamia (1598) 'as one of the best English lyric poets along with Daniel, Drayton, Spenser, and Shakespeare'. Notwithstanding Nashe's hostile reference to its first appearance, 'the Bowre seem to have been popular as evidenced by allusions, borrowings, in other printed anthologies, and the number of poems which reappear in manuscript common place books'. Similar seems to be the case with 'The Phoenix Nest' 1593. It, too, did not receive a second edition. A big cause might be the nature of its contents which comprises of relatively large number of sonnets. Contemporaneously with it the rogue of the sonnet was at its peak and numerous individual sonnets and sonnet sequences were pouring out of the press which seem to have 'usurped its rightful

56. Rollins ed. Introduction P. XXIX
place'. A likely cause for the sophisticated readers might be also the great popularity with the court followers of poems such as Venus and Adonis, whose stanza appears in the collection in 23 out of the total 80 poems. As compared with Shakespeare's 'finest phrase' and heady eroticism the Phoenix poems looked not so attractive. Rollins, however, comments, "Perhaps after all, it WAS popular. Other editions might easily have been published after the first without leaving a trace... it was widely used... There are numerous manuscript copies of single poems taken from the book." England's Helicon (1600) 'the greatest storehouse of Elizabethan pastoral lyric' and one of the most beautiful of the poetical collections with its charming lyrics needs no defence for its popularity. Hallett Smith aptly remarks, '... The volume has remained popular from 1600 to the present time", and quoting Rollins, remarks, "... it would be hard for any one to compile a better anthology of the period without lavish use of Shakespeare

57. Rollins ed. Introduction P. XII
58. Ibid.
and Jonson. The last major anthology Davison's Poetical Rhapsody 1602, in terms of poetica perhaps the best, testifies to the persistence of rhetorical / eloquent, and court tastes of the by gone century. It enjoyed four editions. Franklin Dickey in view of the richness of poetic forms it reflects thinks it to be a fitting conclusion to the poetical activity of the Sixteenth Century.

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   cf. Rollins (ed) PP. 3-4.

60. Dickey, Franklin op. cit. P. 49