

ENGLISH TRANSLATORS AND THEIR PROJECT
IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH I

- By

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ABSTRACT

The subject of this study is the translation into English of French Protestant works on religion in the last three decades of the sixteenth century. The study focuses on the translators and the religious impulse underlying their translation work. This translation project represents one aspect of a large and varied translation industry at work in England in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

There are several reasons for this study's particular focus. First, religious works constitute the single largest category of works in translation. Second, the largest number of such translations appear in the late sixteenth century, and of these, French Protestant works predominate. Third, the unique nature of the translators' prefatory epistles (the dedicatory epistles and 'Prefaces to the Reader') in this period allow for a close examination of the motivational drive behind such activity. These epistles are distinct from the more conventional prefatory epistles of the earlier sixteenth century and (to an even greater extent) those of the early seventeenth century. The prefatory epistles, therefore, constitute the primary source material for this study; the paper's methodology involves a close examination of these epistles.

The study shows that the translators share a common religious program. This program involves the "englishing" of foreign religious works in order to provide religious

instruction for the common people. The paper explores both the translators' strong commitment to this project and their common concerns regarding the state of religion in England--concerns that are used by the translators as a justification for their translation work.

Finally, the paper places this activity in the broader context of late sixteenth century English Protestantism. One finds that the translators' project ties in with more recent scholarship emphasizing the pastoral concerns of English Protestants in this period.

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PREFACE

In the year 1580, John Field, an English minister, complained bitterly about the state of religion in England. He stated "that Sathan the father of lies, and aduersary of Gods euerlasting trueth, bestirred himselfe neuer more busily." "[T]here neuer liued more vnthankful wretches in the worlde than wee", Field also claimed. "[T]hese many gracious years of peace...should haue drawen vs forward and aduanced vs in the schole of God", yet, Field asserted,

wee are farre worse than we were in the
beginning...duller, farther of[f] from knowledge,
and more ignorant, then little children.

Consequently, Field warned:

Let the world...in that same godles contempt
of God and his diuine iudgement, see what
fel vpon their predecessors the wicked, that
liued in Sodom and Gomorrhe.l.

These passages, which might well have been taken from a sermon, are actually drawn from an Epistle Dedicatory for an English translation Field made of a work by Theodore Beza. The concerns articulated by Field, specifically, his bleak assessment of the state of religion in England, and his use of an Epistle Dedicatory as a platform for expressing such views is typical of a group of translators committed to the "englishing" of French Protestant works on religion in the last three decades of the sixteenth century. This study involves a close examination of these translators' prefatory epistles (i.e. dedicatory epistles and, to a lesser extent,

'Prefaces to the Reader') in order to understand the religious impulse behind their translation activity.

Aside from a few studies, the large and varied translation industry operating in England in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries has been given limited attention by historians. Among the studies undertaken in this area is a work entitled: John Florio, the life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England, by Francis A. Yates. Florio is best known as the translator of Montaigne's Essays. Yate's study, however, rather than concentrating on Florio's translation work, attempts a "reconstruction" (Yate's term) of Florio's life. Two other studies focussing exclusively on the subject of translation are Renaissance Translations of Erasmus. A bibliography to 1700, by E.J. Devereux, and The First English Translators of the Classics, by C.H. Conley. The latter is nearest in approach to the present study: both take as their subjects a group of translators responsible for the translating of a particular type of work.

One type of translation activity occurring in this period that has been given fairly extensive analysis involves the translation of the Bible into English. Such studies include: English Biblical Translations, by A. C. Partridge, Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation. Some Reformation Controversies and their Background, by W. Shwarz, The Making of the English Bible, by G. Hammond, The English Bible. A History of Translations, by F.F. Bruce, The King James Bible Translators, by Olga S. Opfell, and Translating for King

James, by John Bois (translated and edited by Ward Allen). The interest in Biblical translation is due to its involvement in Reformation and post-Reformation religious controversies, in particular, debate over rival interpretations of Scripture and disagreement over the place of vernacular translations within the Christian community.

This paper can be distinguished from other studies in two respects. First, the study employs a different methodology, utilizing, more or less exclusively, the prefatory epistles to explain the motivational drive behind the translations. Second, this study concerns a translation project that has been, until now, ignored as a subject for systematic investigation.

As this research explores more or less uncharted territory, it is important at the outset to indicate the broader context or framework for this type of translation work. Chapter One provides such an introduction. It also explains the methodology employed in this paper. Overall, the chapter explains the study's focus.

The next two chapters deal with the religious impulse behind this type of translation work. Chapter Two outlines the translators' commitment to a commonly shared religious program. Chapter Three explores the translators' messages for their prospective readers, as conveyed in the prefatory epistles to the translations. Such messages reveal the concerns underlying and driving the translators' religious program.

Finally, the concluding chapter considers this translation activity in the broader context of late sixteenth century English Protestantism. It will be evident that this translation activity is closely related to some of the religious issues permeating English society at the time, and provides insight into aspects of English religious sentiment in this period.

In regard to the use of footnotes, page references will only be given for larger prefatory epistles (over five pages). Unless otherwise indicated, these footnotes refer to the translators' epistle dedicatories (some translations have both epistle dedicatories and 'Prefaces to the Reader').

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

There was a significant translation industry operating in England in the sixteenth century and early seventeenth centuries. This is evident from a close examination of the Short-Title Catalogue of English Books...1475-1640, which has been used extensively in determining the context and parameters of this research. For the years between 1520 and 1640, taking into account only French works in English translation, there are over 650 entries listed in the Short-Title Catalogue. It should be pointed out that this figure is conservative, as it is difficult to determine the nationality of the many anonymous works translated from Latin. In addition to French works, there are numerous English translations of other foreign works from Latin, Dutch, Italian, German, and other languages, as well as translations from Latin of English writers.

This list of over 650 French works represents writings on a broad range of topics: political and military theory, medicine and diseases, surgery and anatomy, history, philosophy, the occult, prognostications, "wonders" of the world, travelogues (including accounts of recent discoveries in the New World), literature (chivalric tales, poetry, drama), instruction in foreign languages, guides to good manners and social graces, guides to courtly conduct, and in

fewer numbers, books on music, art, fireworks, gardens, silk-worms, marriage, and husbandry. Aside from these, two broad categories of works in English translation predominate: works dealing with political and military events, and works dealing with religious matters.

It should be pointed out that the translation activity examined in this paper coincides with the Wars of Religion in France. Such conflict and upheaval furnished the impetus for many of the works written at this time. Not surprisingly, many French works combine religious and political themes, and as such, the task of distinguishing religious works from other translations is often difficult. ('Appendix A' shows works deemed more political than religious, and consequently not included in this paper).

The single largest category of translations (almost half the total) deal with religious topics. Between 1520 and 1640, the printing of religious works (as with works in general) increases quantitatively with each successive decade (there are two exceptions as regards religious works: the decades 1590-1599 and 1630-1639). These trends are shown below in Table One.

This table, as well as Tables Two and Three, are based on a sample consisting of entries in Volume 1, Sections 'A' to 'G' of the Short-Title Catalogue of English Books...1475-1640. The statistics derived from this sample group require two qualifications. First, as already noted

the distinction between 'religious' and 'non-religious' works in this period is not always clear, and therefore the categorization here is imprecise. Second, in the case of Tables Two and Three, the numbers provided for translations are low, as the Short-Title Catalogue does not always indicate that works have been translated. The sampling technique utilized in these tables is only intended to show general trends.*

TABLE 1.-----

DECADE:	TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKS: (incl. translations)	RELIGIOUS WORKS:
1520-1529	82	27
1530-1539	126	62
1540-1549	191	103
1550-1559	233	115
1560-1569	295	133
1570-1579	417	197
1580-1589	556	265
1590-1599	603	259
1600-1609	776	366
1610-1619	930	490
1620-1629	1057	492
1630-1639	1035	430

Table Two, below, focusses on the production of works in English translation. One finds that the largest number of religious works in English translation occur in the 1570's and 1580's.

 *Note: the sample does not include the following sections:
 'Bookplates', 'England - Proclamations and Statutes',
 'England, Church of'.

TABLE 2. -----

DECADE:	TOTAL NO. OF WORKS IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION:	RELIGIOUS WORKS IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION:
1520-1529	26	9
1530-1539	53	29
1540-1549	51	27
1550-1559	66	35
1560-1569	104	51
1570-1579	128	78
1580-1589	123	74
1590-1599	121	49
1600-1609	86	42
1610-1619	123	59
1620-1629	122	60
1630-1639	131	59

It is apparent from the above table that translation activity does not follow the same general trend or pattern indicated in Table One. Beginning in the 1570's, there is a general levelling off in translation activity. Religious works in translation, due to the large number of such works in the 1570's in 1580's, begin to level off later, starting in the 1590's.

In terms of the production of works in English translation, there is a marked contrast between the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. While a greater number of works are printed in the first four decades of the seventeenth century (as indicated in Table One), English translations account for a smaller percentage of the total. This pattern also applies specifically to religious works printed in this period. These trends are shown in Table Three.

TABLE 3. -----

	ENGLISH TRANS. AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL NO. OF WORKS:	ENGLISH TRANS. AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL NO. OF REL. WORKS:
1520-1529	32%	33%
1530-1539	42%	47%
1540-1549	27%	26%
1550-1559	28%	30%
1560-1569	35%	38%
1570-1579	31%	40%
1580-1589	22%	28%
1590-1599	20%	19%
1600-1609	11%	11%
1610-1619	13%	12%
1620-1629	12%	12%
1630-1639	13%	14%

In terms of these percentages, the 1570's and 1580's do not stand out as numerically significant when compared to the preceding decades. Looking only at religious works, the above percentages are fairly consistent in the sixteenth century (with the exception of the 1590's): the period 1520-1569 averages thirty-five percent while the period 1570-1599 averages thirty-four percent. By contrast, the percentages for the first four decades of the seventeenth century are more than twenty percent lower (the average percentage is just over twelve percent).

The above statistical findings show the importance of English translation work in the sixteenth century. The concentration in this paper on late sixteenth century translations is due, in part, to the large number of such works printed at this time. Due to this large volume, the study has narrowed its focus to those works penned by French authors. Of the many English translations of religious works

printed in the last three decades of the sixteenth century, works by French writers predominate. Of these French works, as with religious works in general, the majority are by Protestant authors. Between 1520-1640, and considering only French religious works in translation with identifiable authors, there are approximately forty-five Catholic works compared to over 230 Protestant works. The same basic proportion of Catholic to Protestant works is found in the period 1570-1599.

This study, therefore, has concentrated on this large group of French Protestant works. Leaving aside anonymous works in translation, there are over one hundred of these works printed in the last three decades of the sixteenth century (an average of 3.4 translations per year). This includes around seventy-five translations in the 1570's and 1580's. The most popular author is Jean Calvin: in this period, there are twenty-seven different writings of Calvin translated into English.

By contrast, and in keeping with the trends indicated above, there are far fewer such translations in the early seventeenth century. There are about sixty-five such works printed throughout the period 1600-1640 (approximately 1.6 per year). Interestingly, when one narrows the focus to French Protestant works, there is an even sharper contrast with the translations of the earlier sixteenth century: there are only twenty-one such translations between 1540 and 1569 (about .7 translations per year) -- about one-fifth of the

number of works appearing in the last three decades of that century.

In the preceding statistical analysis, French Protestant religious works in translation in the late sixteenth century stand out as numerically significant. Upon closer examination, one finds these translations have an additional peculiarity: this involves the nature of their dedicatory epistles. As these epistles constitute the main source material for this study, it is important to understand something of this commonplace literary practice. Moreover, as it is to be argued that the dedicatory epistles of this period are unique, it is necessary to establish a standard against which these epistles might be judged.

The Epistle Dedicatory, in its rudimentary form, is simply the dedication of a given work to a particular patron or group of patrons by the work's author, printer, or (as in the present instance) translator. These epistles adhere to certain literary conventions. These can be reduced to a few basic components found in all such dedications.

The most important component involves the formal offering or dedicating of the work to a patron, or patrons, by the translator. This almost always involves the acknowledgment of past "debts" or "favours" owed the patron. Thomas Wilcox's expression of gratitude is typical of such acknowledgements. He refers to

...the christian fauors, which you (right honorable, right worshipfull, and my verie deere friends) haue carried towards me, and the memorie of some benefits that I haue receiued from you....

Occasionally, a translator is specific about the nature of such past "benefits". Thus, John Harmar claims he decided to dedicate his translation of Calvin's Sermons...vpon the X. commandments (1579) to the Earl of Leicester for the following reason:

Your Honours good procurement of her Maiesties gracious fauour, whereby I first became a scholer in Winchester Colledge, afterward too bee remoued to the New Colledge of Oxford...I could neuer since forget....1.

Also, in dedicating these works, translators show great humility, beseeching their respective patrons to excuse the poor quality of their efforts (the translations are usually referred to as "rude", "simple trauels", or "poore labours").

The translators also note the benefits to be derived from such patronage. Often, it is the need for protection, to be defended, as Nathaniel Baxter expresses it, from "the venomous darts of slanderous tongues." As Baxter explains to his patronesse, Ursula Walsingham, concerning his translation: "as it seeketh to be shrouded vnder [your] name, so vouchsafe to harbor and shielde it." Often, translators note that the lustre of the patron's name will entice potential readers. Thus, Thomas Tymme tells his patrons:

For what English man is there which will not thinke it a Booke most worthy the reading, which he seeth warranted by your Names.2.

Also, patrons are always praised for their many virtues,

as well as for various laudatory actions. For example, there is Christopher Fetherstone's praise of his patron, the Earl of Huntingdon:

...your especiall care to aduauunce Gods glory, and to roote out papistrie, your faithfulnessse towarde your Prince haue been suche, that this Realme generally...haue and shall haue great cause to prayse God for you....3.

The final formal component of the Epistle Dedicatory is the commendation of the work itself. This usually entails praise of both text and author. Thomas Tymme's comments are typical in this regard: he maintains his translation is both "necessar ye and profitable to [the] church", and for the benefit of his countrymen. Robert Vaux, in commending his translation, indicates the author's "godlinesse in life, excellencie in knowledge, and painfulnesse in vtteringe the truth."4.

These epistolary conventions constitute deeply entrenched practises. This is illustrated by an Epistle Dedicatory written by the translator Eusebius Pagit. Pagit observes that individuals utilize the Epistle Dedicatory,

either in the commendation of the worke, or in the prayse of their patrone, or in the discharging of themselues of the discredite which their enemies would lay vpon them.

Pagit requests his patron's forgiveness for not doing so in his own dedication, but the work and its author, he asserts, "yeeld more credite and commendation to the matter, then all that I can say of it all the dayes of my life."5. Pagit, however, despite claims to the contrary, proceeds to

recommend the work, praise his patron, and "discharge" himself.

The above outline of this epistolary form is derived from an examination of all available dedicatory epistles of French religious works in English translation printed between 1520 and 1640. The epistles' various components have been illustrated with passages from the dedicatory epistles of translations from the last three decades of the sixteenth century. One could just as easily illustrate such conventions with quotations from the epistles of translations printed in the earlier sixteenth century or the first four decades of the seventeenth century. The basic epistolary form remains unchanged throughout this period.

In the Index of Dedications and Commendary Verses in English Books before 1641, one finds the following statement:

The editor refrains without reluctance from discussing the conventions of dedicatory epistles and their contents, all too often hackneyed and monotonous.⁶

As a broad generalization, this observation is valid, but in the present context requires certain qualifications.

One can separate the dedicatory epistles into two distinct groups. Type A epistles offer little more than the conventional components outlined above. Such epistles are marked by a formal prose style. In other words, these epistles are "hackneyed and monotonous." On the other hand, Type B epistles treat the conventional epistle form merely

as a skeletal framework. Using this framework as a platform, a wide range of ideas are expressed and explored. It should be noted that this division of the dedicatory epistles is not always so clearly marked--some epistles do not neatly fall into either category. However, as a general rule, and for the purpose of this discussion, the distinction holds true.

Dedicatory epistles are often used by historians for attaining certain kinds of information. The epistles occasionally reveal details concerning the nature of patron-client relationships. Also, the epistles often provide other kinds of background information on the translators. This is especially useful as many of the translators examined here are obscure figures. Some of the translators are anonymous, or only known by their initials. Others, who can be identified by name, nevertheless have little or no other available documentation of their life and works. Sometimes, the only information available on a translator is what is provided by his prefatory epistles.

Type B epistles also provide another kind of information. In a sense, these epistles build on one of the conventional features of the Epistle Dedicatory. In the dedicatory epistles, one invariably finds remarks expressing love of church and country, as well as indicating the "profit" or "benefit" specific translations will accrue to God's Church, its members, and the English nation. Type A epistles do not elaborate on such points. Type B epistles, however, usually explain, often in some detail, why the translations are

perceived to be "profitable" and "necessary" to the religious community.

This study is dependent on the existence of a large number of the latter type of epistle, for only these answer questions concerning the motivational drive behind the translations. Indeed, these epistles provide the only available discourse on such translation work, and moreover, discuss such activity from the translators' perspective. In the last three decades of the sixteenth century, one can find many Type B dedicatory epistles. By contrast, there are very few such epistles in the period 1600-1640. Thus, a similar study of translation activity for the early seventeenth century would be virtually impossible. Similarly, there is a limited number of Type B epistles in the earlier sixteenth century (although they are more common than in the early seventeenth century).

Due to their more substantive content, Type B epistles are usually longer than Type A epistles. Thus, one finds early seventeenth century epistles are normally between two and four pages long, while late sixteenth century epistles tend to average at least double that amount, and some are as long as twenty or thirty pages.

Another characteristic of Type B epistles is their impassioned tone. The prefatory epistles examined in this paper are suffused with forceful language and a sense of urgency. The epistles reveal pious indignation and outrage on the part of their authors. Thus, the epistles frequently

sound more like fiery sermons than formal dedications. ('Appendix B' illustrates this point by furnishing samples of both Type A and Type B dedicatory epistles).

In order to get the fullest account of the translators' ideas, all their prefatory epistles for translations of religious works have been utilized. Consequently, while the study is limited to translators responsible for French Protestant works in translation, non-French works translated by the same individuals have also been included (in most cases, however, the translators have concentrated on French works). In a few cases, the translators original writings have been used in order to give a fuller treatment of particular ideas. (For the list of translations belonging to this research project, see 'Appendix C').

This paper's methodology obviously places limitations on the scope of its enquiry. Only translations with prefatory epistles can be considered. One is further limited to translations with Type B epistles. Thus, of the known translators of works examined in this paper, approximately half meet the above criteria. Many translators, therefore, fall outside the framework of this study.

The translators examined in this paper form a distinct group. They are all involved in the same sort of translation work and in the same period. They also share a similar utilization of the Epistle Dedicatory form. Most importantly, these translators share common concerns in regards the state of religion in England--concerns which ultimately explain the

motivational force behind their translations. It is to an examination of these commonly held concerns that the discussion now turns.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TRANSLATORS AND THEIR COMMITMENT TO RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

I.

The translator John Field (quoted at the beginning of the Preface) not only expressed views shared by his fellow translators, but by many other English Protestants in this period. The Englishmen examined in this paper are unique in their attempts to rectify such shortcomings within the religious community by the "englishing" of foreign (for the most part, French Protestant) religious works for their countrymen.

There are two main audiences for which these religious works are intended: the translators' respective patrons (in most cases this includes the given patron's household), and the "vulgar" or "common sort" of Englishmen. Each translator's prospective readers are generally easy to identify, as the prefatory epistles, with few exceptions, explicitly discuss such intentions.

While most translations considered here are publicly offered by the translators to a particular patron, or patrons, through the Epistle Dedicatory, it is only a minority of such works that have patrons, and other learned individuals as their primary (or exclusive) audience. One such work is Anthony Gilby's translation of Calvin's Commentaries vpon the Prophet Daniell (1570). On its title-

page, it is stated: "translated into Englishe, especially for the vse of the family of the ryght honorable Earle of Huntingdon" (Gilby's patron). Even when such individuals are singled out as intended readers, it is often so that they might act on behalf of the "common sort" (as will be seen in Chapter Three).

The translators are primarily concerned with the state of religion amongst the "common sort" of Englishmen. It is this lower social stratum that constitutes the primary audience for these translations. One can define the translators' religious program as an effort to create, through religious instruction, a truly godly community. Such instruction is to be provided by their translations into the English vernacular, commonly referred to as the "vulgar tongue"--the language of the common people.

II.

To speak of this religious program as belonging to the translators presupposes these individuals initiated the translations, or at least willingly engaged in such activity. Indeed, it appears to be unlikely that the translators were acting primarily as the clients of patrons or other unidentified authorities. It is difficult, however, to determine the precise extent to which patrons and other social superiors encouraged or commissioned these translations. There are, however, indications that at

least a few works were translated at the request of patrons. It is known, for example, that French works were sometimes transferred to England through diplomatic channels, and through such means came into the possession of patrons. One entry in the Calendar of State Papers (dated 4 May 1585, Stafford to Walsingham) also makes reference to the proposed translation of such a work, written by Philippe de Mornay:

This little book I sent you is of Plessy's doing
...Navarre's agent wishes it might be set out in
English and Flemish.1.

It seems likely that Walsingham preceded to commission its translation into English.

Most of the translators' patrons are lay officials (including many high-ranking political figures), but there are also some bishops patronizing these works. There is reason to believe that they too may have commissioned certain of these translations. Of two works by Beza in Latin (unidentified), John Strype, in giving an account of the year 1568, writes:

...it was thought convenient by the bishop of London, with the advice, as it seems, of other of the Queen's Commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, to have them put into English....2.

There is, therefore, a precedent for this type of involvement on the part of bishops.

An examination of the prefatory epistles, however, reveals only one instance in which a work was probably translated and printed at the request of a patron. This passage is found in the Epistle Dedicatory of Laurence Tomson for his

translation of Pierre de La Place's A treatise of the Excellencie of a Christian Man (1576). Tomson tells his patron:

According as your worships pleasure was, I haue perused this booke, and as wynde and weather would serue for passage, haue brought it out of France into England.³

It is more common to find the prefatory epistles indicating that translations were undertaken on the initiative of the translators. One finds statements such as the following by Nathaniel Baxter: "I then endeauored...to make that common to others, which first I priuately red for mine owne commodity." Or this comment by John Stockwood:

Perusing this shorte and learned treatise of Master Beza...I thought with my selfe, that I could not be better occupied, then at such times as I had leysure...to turne it intoo our mother tongue....

There is also the following statement by John Harmar concerning his translation of Beza's Sermons vpon the first three chapters of the Canticle of Canticles (1587). He refers to having translated a work which "I had little before receaued from the Francfort Mart in French."⁴

Other prefatory epistles indicate translators were encouraged or convinced to occupy themselves in such endeavors by friends and associates. For example, Nathaniel Baxter claims Calvin's Lectures or Daily Sermons (1578) were "at the earnest sute of some of my dere frendes...turned into our English tongue." Christopher Fetherstone consistently refers to such encouragement by "godly friends", of which the

following passages are representative:

Being instantly requested (Gentle Reader) by my godlie zealous friendes to enterprize the translation of the most learned commentarie of M. Iohn Caluin, and being persuaded thereunto by manie godlie reasons, whereof Gods glory and the profite of his Church should be the chiefe, I could not, nor woulde not refuse....

I was the unmeettest to attempt this trauell: yet such was the earnest request of my godlie friendes that unlesse I should haue take[n] it in hand, I should haue seemed voide of courtesie, and also of care to profite God his church.⁵

One finds in both cases that Fetherstone has been convinced of the benefit to be gained by such translations, and has thus acted out of a sense of obligation or duty. The impetus for translation, then, originates in such cases with the translators and their peers, or co-religionists.

Finally, it is the extent of the translators' commitment to the religious program outlined above that suggests these individuals were not simply acting upon the wishes of their social superiors. The remainder of this chapter will examine the translators' strong commitment to this translation work.

III.

It is known that translation was not the primary occupation for most of these translators. The Short-Title Catalogue reveals that eighteen of these individuals are each responsible for only a single English translation. Also, many translators listed in Table Four (below) have only a few

translations attributed to them. The part-time nature of much of this translation activity is also revealed by comments found in the prefatory epistles. William Hopkinson states: "I employed mine endeauor by all the spare time that I had from other necessarie affaires...." John Stockwood, referring to Bullinger's Common places of Christian Religion (1572), writes:

I haue imployed all the spare time that I could
get from other busines, to the turning of it
into our English tung....

And Edward May has decided, "in those voide times which I found to translate this worke, to expel idlenesse."6. Similar comments can be found in the epistles of other translators.

What then can be said about these individuals' other pursuits? What background information is available concerning these translators? As indicated in the preceding chapter, many of the translators are obscure or, in a few cases, unknown figures. Conversely, certain aspects of other translators' lives are quite well documented, due to their known involvement in certain activities other than translation (as will be discussed in Chapter Four). One is limited, therefore, in the generalizations that can be made about this group as a whole, and can at best give only a very uneven account of these translators.

What these individuals do have in common, however, is a strong commitment to the religious program outlined above. The following discussion, therefore, will limit itself to a few generalizations about the translators pertaining to this

shared commitment.

It is important to note that many translators have limited their translation work to religious texts, suggesting a special interest in this type of writing (those with original writings also tend to concentrate on religious topics). This can be seen in Table Four.

TABLE 4.*

TRANSLATOR:	TOTAL NO. OF TRANS.:	TOTAL NO. OF RELIGIOUS WORKS IN TRANS.:	NO. OF RELIGIOUS WORKS IN TRANS. BETWEEN 1570-'99:
A. Golding	30	17	12
T. Stocker	12	10	9
T. Tymme	12	7	6
J. Field	9	9	9
T. Wilcox	8	7	7
J. Stockwood	8	7	7
T. Twyne	8	2	2
C. Fetherstone	7	7	7
J. Brooke	6	6	6
J. D.	6	2	1
A. Gilby	5	5	5
R. Vaux	5	4	4
J. Shute	5	4	3
J. Golburne	5	4	1
L. Tomson	4	4	4
J. Eliot	4	1	1
W. Phiston	4	1	1
J. Coxe	4	4	3
J. Stubbs	3	3	2
P. Allibond	3	3	2
T. G.	3	1	1
W. Chauncie	3	3	2
R. B.	2	2	1
J. Harmar	2	2	2
H. Holland	2	2	1
M. Herbert	2	1	1
W. Watkinson	2	2	2
W. Whittingham	2	2	1

* One should be cautious when considering such statistics for individuals only known by their initials: different translators sharing the same initials are sometimes incorrectly treated as one individual in the S.T.C.

Also, most (around seventy-five percent) of the translators are clergymen; as such, they would have a professional interest in religious instruction. Some translations were probably undertaken by ministers out of a sense of duty for their respective congregations. For example, John Stockwood says that he hopes his translation will be of benefit to

those of Battel, ouer whom as unworthy it hath
pleased God to appoint me minister, whose
saluation by al means bindeth me to seke.⁷

Stockwood adds that his translation is for the profit of these individuals, as well as for the public at large.

Also, some ministers associate their preaching with the ideas conveyed in the works they have translated. Speaking to certain "worshipfull knightes and Christian gentlemen", Baxter writes:

...the moste parte of you haue hearde my lectures
or readinge vppon Iosue, Daniell, Ionas and
Malachie you might also by readinge this booke,
call to remembraunce, to youre comfortes, some of
the thinges which then you hearde at my mouthe.⁸

It must be stressed that a few of the more important translators for this study are exceptions to the above generalizations. Three such individuals (Arthur Golding, Thomas Stocker, and Laurence Tomson) are lay translators. Also, Table Four (above) reveals that Golding in his translation work did not concentrate on religious works (the Short-Title Catalogue indicates that Golding translated works on a variety of subject matters). The prefatory epistles, however, suggest that these individuals were very committed

to the translation project examined here. It is, in fact, the prefatory epistles that offer the most compelling proof of the translators' commitment to this religious program.

IV.

The prefatory epistles often have an important expository function (this, in part, accounts for the length of the epistles). The translators demonstrate great concern that such a simple and unlearned audience might not fully comprehend the works they have "englished." Translators often indicate that they have refrained from using difficult language in translating the works. Thus, Anthony Gilby, referring to his translation of Beza's Psalmes of Dauid (1580), states:

I haue sincerely performed the dutie of a faithfull Interpreter, rather indeauering too lay foorth things plainlye (yea and sometimes also homely and grossely) too the understanding of many, then too indyte things curiously too the pleasing of a few.

Likewise, in the 'Admonition to the Reader' for Francois Du Jon's Apocalypsis (1592), the unknown translator writes:

For the translation...of the text, I haue in a maner wholly used that which is most common and in euery mans hand....

He apologizes that "certaine words...and some other unwonted speech" could not be avoided.⁹

The prefatory epistles are often used by translators to render the texts more comprehensible for their readers. The translators sometimes point out to their audience that

marginal notes (written either by the author or translator) are provided in the text. For example, the translator of Du Jon's Apocalypsis (1592) has notated chapters and verses from Scripture, along with Tables containing "briefe notes of Beza and others" to assist the reader.¹⁰ Moreover, the translator goes even further than most: he also provides the reader with detailed advice on how to read such a work.

Furthermore, translators often provide summaries of the texts and/or the parts of Scripture dealt with in the works. For example, for his translation of the Sermons of Iohn Caluin, vpon the Booke of Iob (1574), Arthur Golding describes his Epistle Dedicatory as being, in part, a "briefe abstract" of the work. Thus, in the epistle, one finds the following concise overview of the subject:

God...knowing the forwardnesse of mankinde,
and minding either to bring vs home to himselfe,
or to leaue vs vtterly vnecusable, doth in this
booke purposely aboue all other partes of holye
scripture, both defende his owne Maiestie...and
also set downe a perfect patterne of patience,
containing the due obedience and subiection of the
creature to his maker. These are the two chiefe
points whereupon the whole booke of Iob is
grounded....¹¹

Certain works have been selected for translation due to their accessibility--the ease with which they might be read by the unlearned. In the 'Admonition to the Reader' for Francois Du Jon's Apocalypsis (1592), the unknown translator writes:

Many I know haue written more largely of this
book...Here breuity was sought...that all things
being in a maner at once set before thine eye,
thou mightest both more easily comprehend that
which is sayd, and better imprint it in thy memory.

Christopher Rosdell notes that his translation of Calvin's Commentaries upon the epistle of Saint Paul to the Romanes (1583) might seem superfluous; as he observes, there is already Peter Martyr's commentaries on the same subject. However, Rosdell maintains the latter is difficult for the "simpler sort." Calvin, by contrast, is particularly able to draw "forth the true sense of deepe mysteries", and to "always match his faithfull sinceritie with a plaine briefnesse."12.

Not surprisingly, then, abridged works are preferred by some translators. Anthony Gilby, referring to his translation of Calvin's Commentaries...vpon the Prophet Daniell (1570), writes:

Good reader, blame not this thyng I besech thee,
which I haue done in this plaine and rude sort,
for the commoditie of the simple and vnlearned:
whom I did thinke vnable to comprehend in
theyr mindes, and apply vnto their consciences
these learned commentaries of this divine Caluine,
unles they were somethyng abridged and [the]
expositions of the Hebrue wordes...omitted.

The work, Gilby hopes, will be

most comfortable to their conscience, and least
tedious to such simple persons as are not able to
comprehend all his large and learned discourses.

Edward May refers to his translation of Calvin's Institution of Christian Religion (1580) as a "compendium", intended for "those godly disposed brethren that are not of abilitie to

buile the whole Institutions." And although "all places of scripture are not there expounded", May continues, there is sufficient "light...as may easily shew the way to the true meaning of many other places , not there contained."13.

Another indication of the translators' commitment to this project is their general agreement with the ideas conveyed in the works that they translate. This is revealed in assorted passages from the prefatory epistles. Thus, after noting he has translated an abridged version of Calvin's Commentaries...vpon the Prophet Daniell (1570), Gilby goes on to say:

...I do professe myself to bee one of his scholars...so I do not of arrogauce alter or chaunge any thing in his writynges.

Some of the older generation of translators as exiles during the reign of Queen Mary, made important contacts with leading reformers on the Continent. John Harmar, many years later, in the epistle to a translation of Beza, writes:

[I] found him [Beza] no lesse then a father vnto me in curtesie and good will, when I liued as a stranger in Geneua, and enjoyed the benefite of hearing him in lectures and sermons.14.

Fetherstone's translation of Francois Hotman's The brvtish thunderbolt (1586) provides the best illustration of this close association between translator and author. Fetherstone tries to dissociate himself from one element in Hotman's book: he apologizes to the reader for the author's "tedious narrations of Dominick and Francis." Fetherstone enjoins his readers to not let this "keep thee backe", for

the author, Fetherstone assures his readers, was no doubt "halfe ashamed to make recitall of such grosse stuffe, and absurd follies." Hotman did so, Fetherstone suggests, "partly in respect for the present Pope", "and partly bicause such beastly [subjects]...are highly esteemed in the church of Rome." Fetherstone, for his part, associates saint Dominic and saint Francis with the corrupt Jesuits: underneath they are all "birds of the same nest."¹⁵ By his objections, Fetherstone reveals a close involvement with the material he is translating.

V.

A deeply held conviction, the idea of Christian duty, underlies and drives much of the translation activity considered in this paper. It has already been noted how translators express feelings of obligation to re-pay, through their dedications, past "fauours" and "benefits" proferred by their respective patrons. Another sense of obligation, one given considerable emphasis in some prefatory epistles, involves broader civic duties--duties based on one's standing as a Christian, and directed towards one's fellow man.

John Stockwood makes reference to this notion in several epistles. A Christian's first and primary duty is, of course, to God. Stockwood writes: "the whole christian man should bind all his endeavor vnto the honoring of the name of God." One can honor God through sharing His Word with those that

are yet ignorant of holy truths. Thus, Stockwood claims, while others might have done a better job of translation "both by reason of their greater leasure and greater skil", Stockwood felt an obligation to undertake the task. This is because many hide their gifts and talents, allowing them to "perish within themselves"; and consequently, often the least talented "must hold the candel."16.

Laurence Tomson also speaks of Christian "duetiffulnesse", which, Tomson asserts, means "to meditate upon God's Word both for our selues, and for our children, for our brethren, for our families." And with this in mind, Tomson writes:

if wee will seeme to make a propertie of that
which ought to be common, and to keepe it to
our selues as our owne, which is not ours, but
our brethrens, the Lord is faithfull, who will
not bee slacke to punish our vnfaithfulnes....17.

A sense of public duty, therefore, leads such translators to eliminate the barrier of language, rendering God's Word the common property of all Englishmen.

Such "dutifulness" is the dominant theme in the Epistle Dedicatory for Yves Rouspeau's A treatise of the preparation to the holy Supper (1578?). Its translator, known only by the initials 'R.B.', begins his epistle:

Amongst the sundry works of many ancient,
learned and wise men...I find no one thing more
generally commended then the trauel that procureth
profit and vtilitie to the common welth.

In this life, the translator continues, "our whole indeauour should be imploied to the benefit of our countrey in some respect." From Scripture, he points out, one learns

with what vigor God punished the vnprofitable
seruant, how he commaunded that euery tre which
brought not forth good frute, shud be hewed down
and cast into the fire.

"These warnings", the translator notes,

should stir vp euery man to make some increce
of these talents which God hath lent him, rather
then through slouthfulnes to bury them in
obscurity....

Bearing this in mind, the translator concludes, "I thought it
good to imploy my diligence in translating this small
Treatise...." "[D]esiring", the translator continues, "to bee
accounted a profitable Bee: then to be suspectful for a
hurtfull Drone...."18. Other translators (for example, Arthur
Golding and John Stockwood) also express concern at the
prospect of appearing "drone-like."

The "englishing" of religious works hitherto inaccessible
to the masses does not only serve an important spiritual
function, but is also a pious gesture, the expression of the
translator's devotion to his community. Thus, Thomas Wilcox,
aside from instructing the unlearned, so that they are not
"carried away into vntruth", states another reason for his
translation:

...by reaching them my weake hand and feeble arme,
if not altogether pull some out of that
puddle...yet let them behold my loue and sound
affection for the effecting thereof to my
uttermost.19.

There are a few especially powerful passages in which such
translation activity is fervently praised as a most pious
enterprise. The duty of rendering holy truths accessible to
the people, that is, to make them the "common property" of

all humanity, was one reason, Tomson claims

which moued the Fathers in olde time, and our good Fathers of this our blessed age, yet liuing amongst vs, to do as they did, and do still, by publishing those things which they haue receiued of God for vs...not only satisfied to put these his notes forth in the Latine tongue, but desired also some of our godly brethren to communicate them with his Countrie men in their owne language.

Similarly, Edward May writes:

...we haue much to praise God our heauenly Father for his great blessings bestowed vpon vs, by the worthy trauel of godly learned men, in setting forth and translating diuerse and learned bookes into our vulgar tongue, to the encreasing of the knowledge of the almightie God in them, that haue not the knowledge of tongues....20.

Elsewhere, translations into English are defended against the criticisms of papists. Christopher Rosdell in defence of his translation of Calvin's A commentary upon the epistle to the Romanes (1583), attacks those individuals who

labour to persuade the vnlearned, that the Epistles of Paule are harde to bee understoode and obscure...and therefore are not to bee read of the common sorte; but rather to bee restrayned and forbidden.

Rosdell then asks:

shall all the writings of Paule bee taken away from the people and Church of God, because of the difficulties and hardnes of certayne places.....?

Such parts, Rosdell continues, "should bee faithfully, and sincerely expounded, that the simple might vnderstand them." The Scriptures, Rosdell notes, were not written just for Bishops and ministers!21.

VI.

The translators' belief in Christian duty, as well as their conviction that the word of God should be accessible to all, only partially accounts for the extent of such translation activity in the late sixteenth century. These principles alone do not account for the sense of urgency and alarm that characterize the translators' prefatory epistles. Their religious program is to a large extent motivated by what they perceive as the immediate, pressing needs of the English religious community. Such concerns, alluded to before, must now be looked at in detail.

CHAPTER THREE

THE TRANSLATORS' MESSAGES TO THE READER

I.

"A very lamentable and pitiful thing to consider", Thomas Wilcox writes in one Epistle Dedicatory,

howe much blindnesse and ignoraunce
prevaileth in these dayes, wherein the Lorde
hath giuen suche great light of his trueth,
both by preaching and writing.

And worse still, according to Wilcox, is "the horrible heapes of transgressions, and the worlde of wickednesse, that generally...ouerfloweth all."¹ The prevalence of "ignoraunce" and "wickednesse" throughout the country are notions expressed or tacitly assumed in all the epistles treated in this chapter. In the epistles, the concept of ignorance is equated with a lack of understanding of true religion (sometimes referred to as a "blindness" to God's Word). Its close connection with the notion of wickedness will be obvious from this chapter.

All the epistles examined in this chapter, then, have one common feature: they express dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the state of religion in England. As a result, most of the messages are negative in tone, pertaining to particular problems or conflicts in the realm. While ignorance and wickedness constitute common elements in the epistles, individual translators differ in their treatment of these issues, exploring different aspects of such problems and with varying emphases. One can view these separate lines

of thought as distinct channels, all flowing from a common source. Such channels take a variety of routes and intersect at various points. The task of disentangling and grouping these lines of thought is the objective of this chapter.

The messages of interest here are those that represent recurring themes in the epistles. These messages will be grouped in two ways. First, recurring opinions or commentaries on particular aspects of religious life will be identified. Second, common uses or functions attributed to translations will be indicated. Both types of message are used to explain and justify the translation and publication of particular works.

II.

Thomas Wilcox is among those translators who paint a particularly negative picture of the populace as a whole, offering harsh condemnations of their attitudes and actions. Wilcox stresses that the Gospel has "taken good roote" in only a few individuals. Wilcox refers to a "proud and thanklesse generation", many of whom are hypocritical (that is, only outwardly Christian). The masses are described as "blind, wilfull, and superstitious." People are generally negligent or indifferent in regards to matters of faith.² Comparable statements can be found in the epistles of other translators.

Some offer more extensive discussion of specific

problems associated with the blindness of the "common sort." One such problem is the masses' inordinate concern for worldly possessions and pursuits. Nathaniel Baxter writes:

[the people] being vtterly vnskilfull of God
and godliness, do yet apply their myndes to
the vaine delightes of this flattering world.

Baxter proceeds to elaborate on the theme of the "pride of life", which he views as a widespread problem: "who is he almoste that is not infected with it? What nation is voyde of it?" Another translator, Anne Prowse, writes in a similar vein, referring to worldly-minded people and their deep attachment to the pleasures of this world. She then proceeds to underscore the vast inferiority of "earthlie" to "heauenlie" things.³

For Baxter, such fixation on "vaine delightes" is made manifest in the neglect of godly books:

We see some men bestowe their time in writing,
some in printing, and mo[re] men in reading of
vile and blasphemous, or at lest of prophan and
friulous bokes....

Good books are usually overlooked by printers, Baxter contends, who prefer to "take in hande rather those thinges that are profitable to the purse...", those being works that are "ridiculous" and "satisfie mens humors."⁴

A couple of translators are especially severe in their evaluation of the populace, emphasizing that there is no excuse for their ungodliness. Wilcox speaks of mankind's corrupt nature, what he calls the "malice and rebellion of our own hearts." Rejection or indifference to God's truth,

however, cannot be excused on such grounds. For, as Wilcox argues, "we haue so much light and clearenesse within us (notwithstanding our originall sinne)." John Stockwood notes that "wee [are] dayly taught our duties out of euery pulpit." Moreover, he observes that "the price of a Bible in these dayes is not so great...[f]or the value of ten shillings a man may bye a faire Bible." A "lack of time" is no excuse either, according to Stockwood:

...if he bestowed but the one half of the time that he applyeth unto vanity, upon the reading of... the Bible, it would in short space make him a good scholler in gods heauenly mysteries.⁵

One very important function of the translations is to rectify the peoples' blindness in such matters by providing rudimentary religious instruction in the basic tenets of Christianity. As Stockwood observes, it is only through Scripture that one might attain knowledge of God and Christ. Stockwood utilizes a ship metaphor to make his point. It is like "a mariner", Stockwood suggests,

to thinck that he wil guide a Ship in the midst of the vnquiet and raging sea, in a night as dark as pitch...without a Starne, Oares, Sayles, and without the obseruing of the starres, windes and direction of the compasse....

Moreover, it is out of Scripture that men "haue...drawen sundrie most excellent and profitable works"--works to be receiued "as meanes and helps to the better understanding of Gods woord."⁶

Works for religious instruction are of essentially two types. Some works, such as Calvin's Aphorismes of Christian

Religion (1596), offer, as its translator Henry Holland expresses it, "a synopsis or short view of the whole bodie of Gods holy truth...." Another such work is A Catechisme or playne instruction for all children (1580), by Robert Le Macon, which its translator, Thomas Wilcox, refers to as "conteyning the summe of Christianitie."7.

The purpose of other translations is to provide religious instruction in one specific area. An example of this is Thomas Stocker's translation of Calvin's An excellent treatise of the immortalytie of the soule (1581). Stocker refers to a past discussion with a friend upon "the loosenes and dissolutenes of this age." Stocker's friend concluded "that a great part, euen of such as beare the name of Christians, doth suppose the soules of men to be mortall." Consequently, Stocker claims, his friend wished him to "take the paynes to translate into English this pamflet of M. Iohn Caluine."8.

Some translators observe with trepidation a broadly based attitude of complacency amongst the populace. John Field commences one epistle:

It may bee...that men will maruayle, whye I shoulde publishe these foure excellent Sermons of Maister Iohn Caluines, the Argumentes whereof bee not fitte and agreeable (as they thinke) in these times....

For, as Field proceeds to note, there is peace, "libertie from the Romish yoke", and the Gospel "spread far and wide."9. Others echo these sentiments. Most give special emphasis to the relative peace and tranquility enjoyed under

Queen Elizabeth. However, as Field also notes, there is still much darkness upon the land. People should be thankful for those blessings that God has bestowed upon them, but not, as a result, made careless and negligent in regard to matters of faith. Ignorance and vice stems, in part, from the tendency of people to be complacent in such matters.

Employing the idea of sleep as a metaphor, some translators offer messages intended to warn their countrymen against a false sense of security. Typically, the warnings are equated with bells or trumpets sounding, and their purpose with waking the masses from their slumbers. Eusebius Pagit writes:

...I beseech the mighty Lord to...raise vp
them that fell away for feare of troubles,
and to awaken those which in this quiet and calme
time do sleep in securitie, or waxe wanton with
the wealth of the world....

The consequence of not being awakened is clearly spelled out by Pagit: God, he maintains, must

...bee intreated to continue his mercies toward
vs, least He turn his correcting rod...into a
deuouring sword to consume vs.10.

In some cases it is the work itself that provides the warning. Baxter declares that he will "ring the Alarum bel together, with al godly preachers, vnto our sleepe countrymen", his objective being to turn the peoples' attention from the vain pleasures of this life to contemplation of God's Word. John Calvin, "the Lordes vigilant watchman", through his work, The lectures or daily sermons...upon the prophet Jonas (1578), will "sound the

trumpe", and therby "geue them [the people] warning before their fall..."¹¹. This 'security theme' will be seen again in other, specific contexts.

III.

Another important type of message revolves around the concept of religious duty. As already discussed (see Chapter Two), the translators' own activity of "englishing" foreign texts is based on a strong sense of duty to Church and country. Similar duties are often extended to the Christian community as a whole. John Stockwood, for example, admonishes those that hide their gifts and talents, and rather than share their learning, let it "perish within themselues." He refers to Plato, who teaches: "men...are not born only for themself, but also for the benefit and commodity of others." Stockwood emphasizes the necessity of being "well instructed in matters of religion and [G]ods holy word", so that one might comprehend and fulfill one's duties. The duty Stockwood is particularly concerned with is that all Christians "bee ready to render an accompt of our fayth to euery one that demaundeth the same of vs."¹².

It is therefore sad to behold, Stockwood declares, "the darke ignorance of the greatest parte of the people in this behalf." "Amongst a thousand nowe a daies", Stockwood enquires, "where shall ye...finde one, that is able promptly to gyue a reasonable aunswere of his fayth?" Such a situation

is blamed on peoples' "great negligence and dronish sluggishnes in hearing and reading of the worde of God."13.

Stockwood's translation of Bullinger's Common places of Christian Religion (1572) is intended to help rectify this situation. In this work, there

is purely and sincerely taught whatsoeuer is necessarie to be known of a Christian man or woman vnto godlines and saluation.

Through the comprehension of this work, the reader will be able to defend and spread the word of God.14.

Aside from the population at large, two specific segments of society are singled out as having especially important duties to fulfill. One such group is preachers. Wilcox feels it necessary to remind ministers of their responsibilities:

...it is not sufficient to preache now and then, as once in a quarter, once in a moneth or so: but as the Apostle saith, in season and out of season, and labour not only publikely, but goe priuately from house to house....

To this end, Wilcox advises preachers to "chiefly giue your selues to catechisms."15. Wilcox notes that there are many catechisms available and allowed: that of the Church of England, Calvin's, and now his translation of Robert Le Macon's A catechisme and playne instruction for all children...to communicate in the Holy Supper (1580).

A few translators are also highly critical of ministers. Wilcox writes:

And what I pray you is the cause, of this so great disorder and licentiousnes? Is [it] not ignorance and negligence in Priests (as they call them) and people....

Not only have ministers not been preaching "in season and out of season", but preachers do not have sufficient knowledge of God's Word to carry out such an endeavor. Anne Prowse has translated Jean Taffin's Of the markes of the children of God (1590), in part, to awaken those

...abounding both in knowledge and other graces, whom notwithstanding, Satan...hath so rockt a sleepe, that they seeme almost as they that are diseased with the Lethargie, to haue forgotten both themselues, their holie calling and profession.

Here, one finds the metaphor of sleep applied specifically to those with a "holie calling." Prowse, unlike Wilcox, does not consider preachers ignorant (they are said to be "abounding...in knowledge"), but she does find them to be negligent in their duties, having forgotten their "calling and profession."16.

Stocker, however, in direct opposition to translators like Wilcox and Prowse, has nothing but praise for English ministers:

...the church of England, hath greatly to thanke the Lorde our God, in that hee hath furnished it, with such a number of godly, faithful and sound Ministers....

They preach God's truth to the people, Stocker continues, "soundly, perfectly, truely, verie reuerently, and without falsifying...."17.

There is a general consensus amongst translators, however, on the essential role played by the preacher in the religious life of the community. Hopkinson declares that "where there is no preaching the people perish." Similarly, Stocker

maintains "that without hearing of the word preached, there can be no fayth, and consequently, no saluation."18.

Many translators also use the prefatory epistles as platforms for reminding those in positions of power of their duties. Wilcox writes:

You Magistrates...and men of publike charge, set
vp, and keepe continually in repaire amongst you
these two strong pillers, pietie towards God,
and iustice or righteousnesse towards men....

Such figures must shirk "priuate gain and wealth", Wilcox contends, and be "good commonwealthsmen." Stockwood, by contrast, limits his comments to duties towards one's household. He reminds his patron: "God wil require an account of maisters for the bringing vp of their seruantes." Stockwood tactfully adds that he is certain that his patron is not ignorant of such things, and that as far as possible, he will "be carefull to haue [his]...household instructed in matters of religion, and concerning their saluation...."19. Stockwood's translation of Bullinger's Common places of Christian Religion (1572) is apparently intended, in part, to help his patron in this capacity.

Translators frequently, in fact, utilize the epistles as platforms for exhorting their respective patrons. John Field's comment to his patrons, the Earl of Bedford and his wife, exemplifies this sort of exhortation. Field writes:

And I beseech your honours, as God hath called
you to the knowledge of his glorious Gospel...
so goe forward more and more in the growth
therof...Stand fast in his trueth in these
slipperie daies...delight you in his lawe, and
be good examples to others.

Others are careful to first praise their patrons' virtues, before reminding them of their duties. Fetherstone speaks of his patron's "godlie magnanimitie", with which he maintains the Lord's truth and defends the realm, as well as supporting and enforcing "good causes" amongst lowly ministers. Fetherstone then concludes his epistle with the statement:

The Lord of heauen blesse you...so you may
continue to the glorie of God, the increasing of
his church, and the profite of this common
wealth.20.

In both cases, patrons are being carefully reminded of their duties. It is assumed that the translations will arm and inspire the patrons in such endeavors.

IV.

So far only broad admonitions and warnings concerning the permeation of ignorance and wickedness amongst the populace have been considered. The process of educating and edifying the masses, however, is complicated by the presence of organized opponents of the true Church. Some translators only make brief reference to such groups, focussing more on blanket criticisms of society. Many others, however, concentrate their messages on, and sometimes deal exclusively with, purveyors of false doctrines. The urgent need to have the people properly instructed in matters of faith is better understood when placed in the context of the threat posed by the formidable enemies of God's Church.

The sense of turmoil, the idea of profligacy enveloping

society, is intensified by references to the very embodiment of Evil, Satan, omnipresent and lurking, it would seem, in every crack and crevice in the common weale. Satan is depicted as an active force or presence, working his various machinations upon the common people, undermining the pure light of the Gospel and threatening the true Church of God. The notion of Satan as the traditional enemy of Christianity is evoked by William Hopkinson, who speaks of Satan having

through all ages...laboured, to haue and
holde captiue in the bond of intollerable
seruitude and spirituall slauerie...the whole
multitude of men.

Thus, apart from whatever shortcomings exist amongst the populace at large, individuals must endure and withstand what another translator calls "the many assaultes of Sathan."21.

Satan works his evil designs through a variety of means. Thomas Wilcox refers to these as "stumbling blocks, cast by Satan and his seruants in our waies."22. Often, the kinds of vices and deficiencies found amongst the people, and outlined above, are blamed, in part, on Satanic interference. Usually, Satan works through human agents and institutions. He is usually linked by translators with particular religious opponents, and thus manipulated as a powerful rhetorical device.

Of the various "stumbling blocks" cast by Satan, the worst and most insidious, according to Wilcox is

...that miserable sect of seduced Papists...
whoe willingly embrace vnder the title of the
Churche, euery fabulous falsehood and corruption
whatsoever....

Christopher Fetherstone in a more expansive diatribe against the "papists", labels them "deuowed vassals of that beast".²³ Indeed, while a variety of heretics are identified in the epistles, the chief target of the translators is the Catholic Church and its adherents.

Beginning in the 1570's, English priests, trained at the English Seminary at Douai, were returning to their homeland to spread the Roman Catholic faith.²⁴ Their pastoral aims were of great concern to many English Protestants. Some translators make reference to this situation which they perceive as an immediate threat to the godly community in England. John Swan, in making the commonplace association between Pope and Antichrist, refers to King Henry VIII., "(w)home it pleased God to vse as the chiefest instrument to dismount the monster, and giue him his deadly wound." "[T]o haue seen then", he continues,

the zeal and forwardnes that was in the
Nobilitie, the painefulnes of the Cleargie,
both by pen and in pulpit, the triumphes and
ioyfull acclamations of the people he would
haue thought that neither Antichrist himself would
euer haue looked back, with hope to haue set foote
in amongst vs againe, nor that in the heart of any
one true English-man...hee might finde any
residence or fauourable entertainment.

Unfortunately, Swan observes that it is apparently "an easier matter to hurle out the Pope than poperie at a suddaine." Swan refers to "the Jesuites and Seminarie Priests sent ouer

unto vs, and...the hollow harted and trayterous subiects fostered amongst vs." Swan also claims that "the Pope himselfe hath long since cast more than a glancing eye toward England." John Field, writing ten years before Swan, in 1579, also notes the increased threat posed by the papists in this era:

Our cold starued Papistes, I cannot tel what warmeth hath drawn them out of their holes, but now they begin a litle to shew themselues...and their...looks shew what malice lurketh in their cankred harts....25.

Interestingly, both the nobility and clergy are singled out by Swan as having played vital roles in the Antichrist's expulsion during King Henry Vlll's reign. Swan, having observed the recent activity of papists in the realm, is perhaps offering an implicit criticism of nobles and clergy for not remaining vigilant and committed to the cause of true religion.

Swan's translation of A treatise, touching Anti-Christ (1589), by Lambert Daneau, is not, Swan stresses, for the learned, but for those unable to read this work in its original language:

And they be the men that be most endaungered, as not being able to discerne the Beast though daily they see his footing before their face.

This translation, then, will enable them "withstand (the Beast's) infection." Similarly, Field's translation of Foure Sermons of Iohn Caluin (1579), in an age of conflicting ideas and heretical teachings, will help the "common sort" distinguish between "falsehood or trueth, light or darknesse,

religion or superstition."26. Many translations are intended to protect and arm the faithful against the true Church's enemies.

There are a great number of translations of anti-papal works. Some are comprehensive in scope, dealing with most of the major areas of disagreement between Catholics and Protestants, such as Stocker's translation The popes canons: wherein the masters of Sorbone are confuted (1585?), by Theodore Beza. On the title-page, all the subjects handled in the work are identified:

Of the holy Supper, Of the one and only Mediator,
Of Purgatory,...Of the Confession vnto God, Of the
Church, Of freewill, Of marriage and voves,
Of fasting and meates, Of images.

Other translations focus on specific issues, or areas of controversy, the most popular being the Mass and the doctrine of predestination.

Wilcox, in his translation, Two very lerned sermons of M. Beza, together with a short sum of the sacrament of the Lordes Supper (1588), deals with a subject he says is

controuerted, not onlie betweene the
superstitious papists and vs, in the
question of transubstantiation, but with such
also as...we charitably take for our brethren....

Wilcox feels that it is necessary

in the daies of so great blindnesse and
ignorance...to instruct the simple...in the sound
knowledge of these most holie mysteries.

Wilcox, like Swan and Field, wants to ensure that the "common sort" will not "be deceived and carried away into untruth", on such a disputed topic, by either "the idle and vnskilfull

conceits of their owne heads, nor with the superstitious and erronious opinions of other men...."27.

There are also a number of translations of works reporting on foreign religious conflicts: these are often employed as anti-Catholic propaganda. Christopher Fetherstone is responsible for translating two such works: The brvtish thunderbolt: or rather feeble fier-flash of Pope Sixtvs the fift, against Henrie the most excellent King of Navarre (1586), by Francois Hotman, and the anonymous A Christian and wholesome Admonition, directed to the Frenchmen, which are reuolted from the true religion, and haue polluted themselues with the superstition and idolatrie of Poperie (1587). The propaganda value of such translations is suggested in their titles. Unlike most of the translations of this type of work, both Fetherstone's translations include prefatory epistles. Referring to The brvtish thunderbolt, Fetherstone notes that "the Italianate atheists and discontented Papists" will not like this book, for it deals with such things as the Pope's "pretended supremacie ouer Gods Church", and what Fetherstone calls the "AntiChristian synagog", ready to fall but kept alive by treachery and assorted "cruell practices". The "villanies", "usurpations", and "outrages" committed by the papists, reported separately in other books, are here drawn together "into one entire body." Concerning his translation, Fetherstone writes:

my onely drifte and purpose in translating
this Treatise, was to acquaint my cuntrymen, who
are not skilfull in the Latine toong, with such
papall practices as are heerin described.28.

Fetherstone does not elaborate on his intentions in translating this work. The purpose of such works is apparently to engender in the people animosity towards Catholicism.

The concept of Christian duty, discussed earlier, is often applied to the conflict between the true Church and its opponents. Patrons, for example, in upholding God's truth, are expected, as Fetherstone expresses it, to "subdue those proud aspiring papists", or "to roote out papistrie." Elsewhere, again addressing his patron, Fetherstone offers a call to arms:

Now, seeing God hath dealt so mercifully with
you, it is your H[onour's] part, to behaue your
selfe valiantly, and to fight the Lords battels
with courage.

This type of message is given its fullest treatment in an epistle by Arthur Golding. He notes his patron's "martial" background and how he might be interested in engaging in a different kind of warfare. This type of conflict is spiritual, in which one "must maintayne battell both against visible and inuisible enimies." The stakes in such combat are much higher, for to lose is "to be plunged in euerlasting darknes, torment, confusion, sorow, and shame." "This is the war", Golding contends, "that becommeth a noble minde, a wise minde, a valeant minde, a godly minde."29.

While many translations are exclusively for "those godly

disposed brethren", other translations attempt to convert papists and other heretics to the true faith, as evidenced in the case of Golding's translation of A Woorke concerning the trewnesse of the Christian Religion (1587). Golding maintains its author, Philippe de Mornay, has so effectively carried out his plan that "any Atheist Infidel or Iew hauing read this his work", if not totally lacking in common sense or stubbornly determined to "impugne the manifest trueth", would be forced to concede the Christian religion as the "only path way to eternall felicitie." The work is intended to both increase the "felicitie" of the faithful and "reforme the malicious and stubbornhearted."30.

Similarly, there is John Harmar's translation of Beza's Sermons vpon the three first chapters of the Canticles of Canticles (1587). The polemical function of the work is indicated by the remainder of its title: Wherein are handled the chiefest points of religion controversed and debated betweene us and the aduersarie of this day, especially touching the trve Iesus Christ and the trve Church. While Harmar notes that his translation is for "the vtility and profite of manie", the sermons are chiefly "aimed...to conuincing of the aduersarie" (that is, the papists, as well as other "craftie Heretiques") in the fundamental points of religion.31.

Finally, John Field, also interested in the "conuincing of the aduersarie", offers a message of warning:

These men must be warned not to abuse the Gospel
...who whilst they speake of Christ should
indeauor to knowe him as he is: that his...name
deceaeue them not, too lull them a sleepe in
sinne...to continue in their cursed securitie and
fleshly libertie.32.

Here, once again, is the 'security' theme, with its attendant metaphor. This time rather than the masses, or preachers, the message is applied to Roman Catholics.

V.

So far, a number of warning messages have been identified. There are explicit and implicit warnings to the masses, preachers, and patrons, warnings against the dangers of false religions, and warnings directed towards heretics to mend their ways. Some translators, however, go even further: they see in the ignorance and wickedness that engulf society evidence that the end of the world is at hand. Consequently, they want to warn their countrymen about the impending Apocalypse. Some translators intimate, or fall just short of expressing this idea.³³ Several other translators, however, explicitly state this theme in their epistles.

The Apocalyptic theme is perhaps given its most extensive treatment by Arthur Golding. According to Golding, God has given men the "light" of the Gospell, by which "we myght walke without stumbling as in the open daylight." This is because through the Scriptures, God

...hath armed vs ageinst all temptations,
hartbytings and stumblingblocks, by warning
vs aforehand what thinges should happen to his
Churche from tyme to tyme too the end of the
worlde....

The importance of his translation is thus apparent, for God has given important warnings "specially in this presente Reuelation to his holie seruant Saincte Iohn." Moreover, God uses diverse individuals to disseminate such "knowledge and understanding"; in this case, it is Marlorat's commentary on this part of Scripture (Golding also notes Englishmen already have, in this area, those "mystical reuelations" by Heinrich Bullinger).³⁴.

Such warnings, furthermore, have still greater import as Golding perceives his present age to be the last, the time of the Apocalypse. Consequently, this work, he concludes,

...is so muche the more needeful, bicause
that mannes nature growing dayly more and
more into decay with the perishing worlde
nowe hasting too his ende, is more subiecte
too corruption....

"And the diuell", Golding continues,

perceyuing his Kingdome uppon earth draye
apeare too utter ruine, laboureth the more
earnestly to worke all the more spight and
mischief he can to Christ and his members.³⁵.

His translation is thus necessary and timely for its explication of Biblical prophecy.

In one of his own works, A discourse vpon the Earthquake that happened throughe this Realme of Englande, and other places of Christendome, the first of Aprill. 1580, Golding warns of mankind's false sense of security and the many

tokens or signs of God's displeasure and wrath. Although Golding does not specifically refer to this as the last age of the world, he does state that if people's ways are not amended, God, on the day of Judgement, shall declare:

Depart from me ye workers of wickednesse, which
hardened your harts against me...at such time as
my long sufferance wayted for you by mildnesse
and patience to ammendement.36.

Another translator, John Coxe, succinctly expresses the same apocalyptic theme, asserting

that in these our dayes, beeing the laste,
and therefore the moste perillous and dangerous
dayes, for so our sauour Christ him selfe
teacheth vs, wherein we haue great neede to be
furnished against the assaultes of the enimies
of true Religion....

His translation, however, is not intended as an explication of Biblical prophecy (as in the case of Golding's translation). Instead, in such "perillous and dangerous" times, Coxe maintains, the common sort are in even greater need of works such as this, which contain "the whole summe of our Christian Religion", as well as effectively answer the objections of the papists ("the enimies of true Religion").37.

Anthony Gilby offers an interesting variation on the Apocalyptic message. He begins by stressing the importance of knowing the "holy histories." One historic episode in particular interests Gilby, who uses it to draw a comparison with his own age. Gilby speaks of Monasses,

that idolatrous and cruel king, who had brought
on Idolatrie againe after...his father Hezekias
had reformed religion....

After Monasses' death, Amon reigned for two years, at which time "God in mercie stirred up good Iosias, who restored the religion, and brought it againe to full perfection." However, God, angry with Iudah for having so provoked Him under Monasses, declared: "I will put Iudah also out of my sight, as I haue sent away Israel..." "The which terrible wordes and threatenings against Gods chosen people, when I read them", Gilby confesses, "cause me to tremble and feare for our state here in Englande."38.

Gilby, writing in the year 1580, states that England's religion "is not yet brought to full perfection in these 21. years", and moreover, "the horrible sinnes of former times are not yet purged with the teares of repentaunce." Many, he contends, still "carie their Idols in their heartes, many waite for the occasion to shew the like cruelty they did before...." Few people realize "how horribly they did offend Gods sacrate maiestie in erecting of Idoles contrary to Gods holy commandement." Consequently, Gilby fears

the like punishment will come vppon vs for
the sinnes committed in these dayes of Q. Marie,
for all our outward shew of religion, as came vppon
Iudah for their former sinnes committed in the time
of Monasses.

People must therefore pray for God's mercy, either to "turne his fearce wrath from vs altogether, or at least...obteine that it come not in our dayes."39.

Interestingly, Gilby later contradicts the former of the two possibilities, when he declares: "we can not turne away the generall plagues that are threatened and seene to hang

ouer England." It is only possible for people to be granted God's mercy, and therefore be "marked to saluation, when the plague cometh, as [G]od himself promised."40.

It is in the above context that Gilby believes his translation of Beza's The Psalmes of Dauid (1580) to be "most necessarie for euerie Christian":

For whereas all other Scriptures doe teach us
what God saith unto us, these prayers...doe teach
us, what we shall say unto God and how we must
prepare our selues to appeare before his
maiestie....

For in meditating upon these psalmes, as expounded in this book, "and so by earnest and continual inuocation and hearty prayers", God might be moved to have mercy upon us.41.

Fears concerning an impending Doomsday are more widespread amongst translators than the epistles might suggest. This can be demonstrated by considering the case of Thomas Tymme (or Timme). His belief that the world is in rapid decay and the Apocalypse imminent is only clearly articulated in his original writings. Tymme's concerns over the Apocalypse are disclosed in two original writings: The figure of Antichriste, with the tokens of the end of the world... (1586), and A Preparation against the prognosticated dangers of this yeare, 1588. In the former, Tymme, having mentioned the various "blessings" God has bestowed on England (that is, the peace and prosperity enjoyed under Queen Elizabeth), warns:

...it is to bee feared that our ingratitude and
contempt of these his mercies, will turne
away his goodness, and fatherly kindnes from us.

Even more ominous and pointed is the following statement from the same work:

To conclude, let us all amend our lyues, and turne to the Lorde...that those plagues which wee haue deserued, and are now ready to fall vppon us, may bee turned away.⁴²

Finally, intimating rather than dealing directly with the question of the Apocalypse, there is Tymme's A Silver Watch Bell (1605), which offers a strong message of warning to his contemporaries. His use of the 'security' theme is even suggested by its title. Employing verbatim the language found in epistles already examined, Tymme, in his preface, laments:

...the greater number of men at this day, are so lulled asleep in the chaire of securitie, by the loue of the world, by the sinfull delights of flesh, and by the subtile suggestions of Sathan ...that they can hardly be awakened....

And as suche, there is

[i]n the one eare Security sounding. It is not yet time to repent. In the other eare, presumption singing. It will be time still.

As for the work's purpose:

The consideration heereof moved me...to frame this booke, as a Watch-bell, to sounde in the ears of all men...thereby to awake the most drowsie hearted sinners...to enter into a consideration how their case standeth with God.

The very same language and message can be found in The Figure of Antichriste. In the Epistle Dedicatory, he says that he wishes "to awaken carelesse Atheistes, which are lulled asleep with worldly pleasure in the cradle of security."⁴³

Turning to Tymme's translations, one finds only one

reference to the troubles and dangers of his age. Tymme commences one Epistle Dedicatory with the following:

When I had wel waied with my selfe...the
diuers happe and chaunce incident, and appertayning
to the painefull pilgrims and trauelers in the
troublesome sea of this world, I was not a litle
abashed. But being encouraged againe, and with the
spurre and pricke of good successe,...I launched my
shippe at the laste from shore...and loused to the
wynde.

Tymme utilizes the metaphorical language of sea and vessel to describe his undertaking. Continuing with the metaphor, Tymme refers to

the rocke, the raging sea, and sands, are now
in sighte, notwithstanding they made me not
so muche afraide, as the maner and disposition
of the countrey where I arrive.

The ship metaphor is employed again in one of his original works:

And seeing God hath placed us English men in
one common wealth, also in one Church, as in one
ship together: and no storme so dangerous to a
shippe on the sea, as is discorde in a weale
publique.⁴⁴

Like Stockwood (quoted earlier), Tymme uses the metaphor, in part, to suggest a hostile or dangerous environment. Tymme, unfortunately, does not expand on these perceived dangers in the dedication to his translation.

It is a matter of conjecture whether or not the concerns expressed in his original writings also motivated Tymme's translations. It is evident, however, that Tymme does share the other translator's bleak assessment of the state of religion in England, and more specifically, the belief of a

handful of such individuals in an impending Doomsday. Possibly, Tymme simply chose not to use the epistles for his translations as vehicles or platforms for such views, but rather, opted for a more conventional use of the Epistle Dedicatory.

Vl.

In Chapter One, it was noted that what stands out in many of the prefatory epistles is a sense of urgency--an intense, sermon-like tone. One need only read the dedicatory epistles of John Field for his translation of Beza's The other parte of Christian Questions and Answers (1580), or of the translator known only by the initials W.H. for his translation of Calvin's The commentaries...vpon the first epistle of Saint Iohn, and vpon the epistle of Jude (c.1580) to appreciate the manner in which translators often convey their messages to the reader. Driven by religious zeal and concern over the excessive ignorance and wickedness of their countrymen, it is perhaps not surprising translators would adopt such an impassioned tone. Several factors are particularly important to bear in mind in this matter.

First, there is a feeling of frustration with the rate of change, with the shortcomings of the English Reformation in creating a godly society. It is interesting to note that three different translators, all writing within a year of each other, make specific reference to the last twenty year

period (the period beginning with the succession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne). All three offer the same conclusion. In 1579, Field observes the lack of "instruction" amongst the people despite being taught for twenty odd years "in Gods Schole." Wilcox, echoing Field's comments, writes:

...after twenty yeeres publique preaching and professing of the Gospel...the people are verie litle, or no whit at all edified in the knowledge of fayth, and lesse builded vp... in the frutes of obedience and holy life.

Finally, also in 1580, Anthony Gilby, laments "that our religion is not yet brought to full perfection in these 21. yeares...."45.

Second, the translators reveal considerable consternation over the presence of various opponents of the true Church in England, who want to subvert the true faith and entrap the "common sort" with their blasphemous doctrines. The translators perceive an immediate and dangerous threat to the religious community.

Finally, they are fearful of God's displeasure and wrath, brought on by the indifference or open hostility to God's word by many Englishmen. This fear finds its ultimate expression in the Apocalyptic messages of some translators.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

Much of the research on late sixteenth century English Protestantism focuses on the crisis within the Church of England. Many of the religious controversies in this period revolve around aspects of this conflict. Essentially, certain English Protestants, often referred to as "puritans" or "non-conformists", wanted further reforms in the Church of England. The "puritans" wished to remove what they perceived as lingering "popish" elements from the church. The main criticisms of the Church of England in this period involved the liturgy and church polity. A detailed account of this subject is provided by Patrick Collinson in his book The Elizabethan Puritan Movement. Collinson charts the course of religious dissent and non-conformity during Queen Elizabeth's reign.

More recent scholarship gives greater attention to the pastoral concerns of English Protestants in this period. Peter Lake begins his work Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church with the following proposition:

Puritanism is normally defined in negative terms. Puritans were people who, with varying degrees of intensity, disliked the Elizabethan Settlement. Puritanism was a series of negative gestures directed against that settlement and the church it created.

Such "negative gestures" Lake continues, involved efforts to "dissociate the godly elements in the English church from

popish corruption." Lake argues in his book that puritanism cannot be viewed strictly in terms of these "negative gestures." Lake points out that "puritans" were also interested in religious edification for the masses. Lake's book focuses on "the positive evangelical protestant aims that lay behind puritan attacks on, and rejections of, the established church."¹ Also, a more recent work by Collinson, The Religion of Protestants pays considerable attention to popular religious practices and the attempts of English ministers to supply effective religious instruction for the common people.

This present study has arrived at its conclusions, which involve aspects of English Protestantism in the late sixteenth century, independently of other research. It has focussed on a different kind of source material (prefatory epistles) and examined a different kind of activity (English translations of French Protestant works on religion). It is the nature of such translation activity in the last three decades of the sixteenth century (the large number of translations and the unique use of prefatory epistles, as outlined in Chapter One), that has led to a closer examination of this material. This, in turn, has led to findings consistent with those found in other studies on the ideas and attitudes of English Protestants in this period.

This paper, like recent studies by Lake and Collinson, demonstrates the importance to English Protestants of educating and edifying the masses. It reinforces, therefore,

the current emphasis of historians on the pastoral aims of English Protestants in this period. A different (although overlapping) group of individuals has been identified here, and it has been their religious program -- their collective agenda of providing religious instruction for the "common sort" (outlined in Chapter Two), that has been shown to constitute the primary drive behind their translation work. The precise nature of these pastoral aims is explored in Chapter Three.

Also, the examination of this activity has resulted in the discovery of Apocalyptic ideas amongst certain of the translators. As noted, such beliefs were an important motivational force behind some of the translation work examined in this paper. Detailed accounts of Apocalyptic thought in this period are provided in Reformers and Babylon: The English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War, by Paul Christianson, and The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645, by Katharine Firth. It is evident from these studies that the translators' concerns reflect beliefs shared by a significant number of their countrymen.

It should be pointed out that many of the most important translators for this present study were also active in the religious conflicts indicated above and examined in Collinson's book on The Elizabethan Puritan Movement. In fact, two translators, John Field and Thomas Wilcox, are at the center of this debate within the Elizabethan Church.

Field and Wilcox, like some of their fellow translators, are best known as "non-conformist" ministers. Their translation work, which has been more or less ignored, is, as already noted, an expression of their pastoral concerns, and as such constitutes a separate religious program. Their translations are for a potentially vast audience rather than for ideological opponents within the church.

It is clear that most of the translations belonging to this present study are not intended as polemics against perceived corruptions in the English Church. In fact, the only direct attack on the Church to be found in any of the prefatory epistles belongs to Thomas Wilcox. Wilcox refers to certain "excellent matters", involving

the reformation of such corruptions as yet
remain amongst vs, either touching the ministrie
or the discipline of the church.²

"Such corruptions" are not elaborated on by Wilcox.

It should be stressed that the works translated are by foreign authors, and consequently, with few exceptions, they do not directly deal with issues peculiar to the Elizabethan Church, and its unique situation. The translations, of course, can be manipulated in much the same way as Scripture, with arguments being drawn from the texts and applied to immediate circumstances. In general, for those wanting to criticize or, conversely, to defend the established Church, writings specifically penned for such purposes would naturally be preferred.

Thus, Peter Milward's Religious Controversies of the

Elizabethan Age, lists only a few English translations of French Protestant works among the literary contributions to the religious debates being waged within the English Church. They include: Treatise of the Church (1579), by Philippe de Mornay, Iudgement of the most reuerend and learned man...concerning the threefold order of bishops (1580), by Theodore Beza, Treatise of the Church (1581), by Bertrand de Loque, and A defence of the olde, and true profession of christianitie, against the jesuites (1581), by Pierre Boquine.

The translation project examined in this study does not seem to have elicited a hostile response from Church authorities. There are, of course, in the prefatory epistles, commonplace requests to patrons for protection. Who these individuals are that threaten the security of the translators is not revealed in the prefatory epistles. Those translators who were also "non-conformists" might well have been requesting protection as a result of their other activities. It is known, for example, that some of the translators, for their non-conformist stances, were suspended or deprived of their livings.

This is not to say that their translation activity is entirely separate from the religious controversies of the day. It is evident from Milward's study that a major area of conflict in this period is the religious controversy that he labels: "Papists vs. Protestants." As seen in Chapter Three of this paper, the threat of Roman Catholics to the Christian

community was a primary concern of the translators. Instead of writing invectives against "popish" corruptions within the Church, the translators are concerned with Catholics and other heretics who pose an external threat to godly thought and behavior amongst the masses. The translators are interested in both protecting the godly from such a menace and refuting (and possibly converting) "papists", as well as other heretics. It is this threat, along with concern over the general ignorance, and sometimes hostility, of the common people in regard to the true Christian faith that lies behind this translation work.

NOTES

Preface

1. John Field, trans., The other part of Christian Questions and Answers (1580), by Theodore Beza, Sig.*3.r, sgg.*6.v-*7.v.

Chapter One

1. Thomas Wilcox, trans., Two very learned sermons (1588), by Theodore Beza, Sig. 2.r.; John Harmar, trans., Sermons...vpon the X. commandments (1579), by Jean Calvin.
2. Nathaniel Baxter, trans., A[n]...exposition vppon the two last Epistles of Iohn (1578), by Augustine Marlorat; Thomas Tymme, trans., A[n]...exposition of the holy Gospel after S. John (1575), by Augustine Marlorat.
3. Christopher Fetherstone, trans., The Actes of the apostles (1578), by Jean Calvin.
4. Thomas Tymme, trans., A[n]...exposition after S. Marke and Luke (1583), by Augustine Marlorat; Robert Vaux, trans., A commentarie...vpon the Epistle to the Galathians (1581), by Jean Calvin.
5. Eusebius Pagit, trans., A harmonie vpon the three euangelists (1584), by Jean Calvin.
6. Franklin B. Williams, Index of Dedications and Commendary Verses, p.ix.

Chapter Two

1. Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series...Aug. 1584 - Aug. 1585, p.462. For other references to French works being transferred to England see: Ibid, p.574; Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series...June 1586 - June 1588, p.347; Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series...Jan.- June 1588, p.533.
2. John Strype, The Life and Acts of Archbishop Grindal, p.195.
3. Laurence Tomson, trans., A treatise of the Excellencie of a Christian Man (1576), by Pierre de La Place, Sig.*iij.r.
4. Nathaniel Baxter, trans., The lectures or daily sermons (1578), by Jean Calvin, Sig.A.ij.r.; John Stockwood, trans., A pithie treatize of the plague (1580), by Theodore Beza, Sig.3.r.; John Harmar, trans., Sermons vpon the first three chapters of the Canticle of Canticles (1587), by Theodore Beza.

5. Nathaniel Baxter, trans., The lectures or daily sermons (1578), by Jean Calvin, Sig.A.iii.j.v; Christopher Fetherstone, trans., A harmonie vpon the three euangelists (1584), by Jean Calvin; Christopher Fetherstone, trans., The Actes of the apostles (1585), by Jean Calvin.
6. William Hopkinson, trans., An euident display of popish practises (1578), by Theodore Beza; John Stockwood, trans., Common places of Christian Religion (1572), by Heinrich Bullinger, Sig.*ii.r.; Edward May, trans., The Institutions...abridged, by Jean Calvin.
7. John Stockwood, trans., Common places of Christian Religion (1572), by Heinrich Bullinger, Sig.*v.v.
8. Nathaniel Baxter, trans., The lectures or daily sermons (1578), by Jean Calvin, Sig.B.i.r.
9. Anthony Gilby, trans., Psalmes of Dauid (1580), by Theodore Beza, Sig.*v.r.; Anon trans. ('Preface to the Reader'), Apocalypsis (1592), by Francois Du Jon.
10. Anon. trans. ('Preface to the Reader'), Apocalypsis (1592), by Francois Du Jon.
11. Arthur Golding, trans., Sermons...vpon the Booke of Iob (1574), by Jean Calvin.
12. Anon. trans. ('Preface to the Reader'), Apocalypsis (1592), by Francois Du Jon ; Christopher Rosdell, trans., Commentaries vpon the epistle to the Romanes (1583), by Jean Calvin, Sig.C.4.v.
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18. R.B., trans., A treatise of the preparation to the holy Supper (1578?), by Yves Rouspeau, sgg.A.ii.r.-A.iii.r.
19. Thomas Wilcox, trans., Two very lerned sermons (1588), by Theodore Beza, Sig.4.r.
20. Laurence Tomson, trans., The New Testament (1576), Sig.a.ii.j.r.; Edward May, trans., The Institutions...abridged (1580), by Jean Calvin.
21. Christopher Rosdell, trans., A commentary vpon the epistle to the Romanes (1583), by Jean Calvin, Sig.C.3.r.

Chapter Three

1. Thomas Wilcox, trans., A catechisme and playne instruction (1580), by Robert Le Macon, Sig.Aij.r.
2. Thomas Wilcox, trans., Three propositions or speeches (1580), by Jean Calvin, sgg.*2.v.-*4.r.; Thomas Wilcox, trans., The true and visible markes of the catholique church (1582), by Theodore Beza.
3. Nathaniel Baxter, trans., The lectures or daily sermons(1578), by Jean Calvin, Sig.Aij.v.; Anne Prowse, trans., Of the markes of the children of God (1590), by Jean Taffin, sgg.A.4.r.-A.5.r.
4. Nathaniel Baxter, trans., The lectures or daily sermons (1578), by Jean Calvin, SigAij.r., Sig.Aiij.r.
5. Thomas Wilcox, trans., A catechisme and playne instruction (1580), by Robert Le Macon, Sig.Aiij.r., Sig.Aiij.r.; John Stockwood, trans., Common places of Christian Religion (1572), by Heinrich Bullinger, Sig.*iii.r.
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8. Thomas Stocker, trans., An excellent treatise of the immortalytie of the soule (1581), by Jean Calvin, Sig.Aii.r.
9. John Field, trans., Foure Sermons (1579), by Jean Calvin, Sig.2.r.
10. Eusebius Pagit, trans., A harmonie vpon the three Euangelists (1584), by Jean Calvin.
11. Nathaniel Baxter, trans., The lectures or daily sermons (1578), by Jean Calvin, Sig.Aij.v.
12. John Stockwood, trans., Common places of Christian Religion (1572), by Heinrich Bullinger, Sig.*v.r.
13. Ibid, Sig.*ij.v.
14. Ibid, Sig.*iiii.v.
15. Thomas Wilcox, trans., A catechisme and playne instruction (1580), by Robert Le Macon, Sig.Av.v.
16. Ibid, Sig.Av.v.; Anne Prowse, trans., Of the markes of the children of God (1590), by Jean Taffin, sgg.A.3.r.-A.3.v.
17. Thomas Stocker, trans., Diuers sermons (1581), by Jean Calvin.
18. William Hopkinson, trans., An euident display of popish practises (1578), by Theodore Beza; Thomas Stocker, trans., Diuers sermons (1581), by Jean Calvin.
19. John Stockwood, trans., Common places of Christian Religion (1572), by Heinrich Bullinger, sgg.*6.r-*6.v.

20. John Field, trans., Thirteene sermons (1579), by Jean Calvin, sgg.B.2.v.-B.3.r.; Christopher Fetherstone, trans., A harmonie vpon the three euangelists (1584), by Jean Calvin.
21. William Hopkinson, trans., An euident display of popish practises (1578), by Theodore Beza; W.H., trans., The first Epistle of Saint John (1580), by Jean Calvin, Sig.A1j.r.
22. Thomas Wilcox, trans., The true and visible markes of the catholique church (1582), by Theodore Beza, Sig.7.r.
23. Ibid, Sig.6.v.; Christopher Fetherstone, trans., The brvtish thunderbolt (1586), by Francois Hotman, Sig.A.5.r.
24. Peter Milward, Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age, p.39.
25. John Swan, trans., A treatise, touching Anti-Christ (1589), by Lambert Daneau; John Field, trans., Foure sermons (1579), by Jean Calvin, Sig.3.r.
26. John Swan, trans., A treatise touching Anti-Christ (1589), by Lambert Daneau; John Field, trans., Foure Sermons (1579), by Jean Calvin, Sig.>2.v.
27. Thomas Wilcox, trans., Two very lerned sermons (1588), by Theodore Beza, sgg.3.r.- 3.v.
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30. Arthur Golding, trans., The trewnesse of the Christian Religion (1587), by Philippe de Mornay, Sig.*3.r.
31. John Harmar, trans., Sermons vpon the three first chapters of the Canticles of Canticles (1587), by Theodore Beza.
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33. For example, see: Thomas Wilcox, trans., Three propositions or speeches (1580), by Jean Calvin, Sig.*2.v.; Anne Prowse, trans., Of the markes of the children of God (1590), by Jean Taffin, Sig.A.2.r.
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35. Ibid.
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37. John Coxe, trans., Questions of Religion (1572), by Heinrich Bullinger, sgg.*1j.r-*11j.v.
38. Anthony Gilby, trans., The Psalmes of Dauid (1580), by Theodore Beza, sgg.1j.v-11j.r.
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APPENDIX A

The following list represents French works in English translation that contain both political and religious themes. These works are not included in this paper as they were deemed more political than religious. Judging by the size of the list, which is not exhaustive, there was considerable interest in England in this period in works dealing with such matters (there is also a considerable number of such translations in the early decades of the seventeenth century). If one compares this group of translations with the group of translations that form the subject of this paper (see 'Appendix C'), one finds a greater number of anonymous translations among the works listed below. Also, only a minority of works in the list below contain prefatory epistles by their translators. Consequently, a similar study of the works contained in the list below would be difficult. One finds two translators involved in both translation projects: Thomas Tymme and Arthur Golding.

Anon. A discourse of the Ciuile warres...in Fraunce (1570). Translated by Geffray Fenton.

Hotman, Francois, A true and plaine report of the furious outrages of Fraunce, and the horrible and shameful slaughter of Chastillion the admirall, and diuers other noble and excellent men, and of the wicked and straunge murder of godlie persons, committed in many cities of Fraunce (1573). Anon. translation.

Serres, Jean de, The fyrst parte of commentaries, concerning the state of religion, and the common wealthe of Fraunce (1573). Translated by T. Tymme.

Serres, Jean de, The three parts of Commentaries, containing the whole and perfect discourse of the ciuill warres of Fraunce (1574). Translated by T. Tymme.

Pithou, Pierre, A mervaylous discourse vpon the lyfe, deedes, and behaiours of Katherine de Medicis, Queene Mother: wherein are displayed the meanes which she hath practised to attayne vnto the vsurping of the Kingedome of France, and to the bringing of the same vnto vtter ruine and destruction (1575). Anon. translation.

Gentillet, Innocent, A declaration concerning the needfulnesse of peace to be made in Fraunce, and the meanes of the makinhg of the same: exhibited to...Henrie the second of that name...vpon two edictes put forth by His Maiestie...1574 (1575). Translated by G. Harte.

Hotman, Francois (or, Serres, de Jean), The lyfe of the most godly, valeant and noble capteine and maintainer of the trew Christian religion in Fraunce, Iasper Colignie Shatillon, sometyme greate admirall of Fraunce (1576). Translated by A. Golding.

Serres, Jean de, The fourth parte of Commentaries of the ciuill warres in Fraunce, and of the lowe countrie of Flaunders (1576). Translated by T. Tymme.

Regnier, Louis, sieur de La Planche, A legendarie, conteining an ample discovrse of the life and behaviour of Charles cardinal of Lorraine, and of his brethren of the house of Guise (1577). Anon. translation.

Gentillet, Innocent, Apology or defense of the Christians of Fraunce which are of the euangelicall or reformed religion...Written to the king of Navarre (1579). Translated by I. Bowes.

Casmir, John, Certaine orations and answeres made vnto the French king in defense of peace (1579). Anon. translation.

Estienne, Henri, The stage of popish toyes...With a friendlie forewarning to our Caetelin Catholikes: and a brief adminition, of the sundrie benefites we receiue by Hir Ma: blessed gouernment ouer vs... (1581). Anon. translation.

Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot de, Cardinal, Letters conteyning sundry deuices, touching the state of Flaunders and Portugall: written by cardinal Granvelle and others, and lately intercepted and published (1582). Anon. translation.

Mornay, Philippe de, An advertisement from a French gentleman, touching the intention and meaning which those of the house of Guise haue in their late leuying of forces and armes in the realme of France: written as an answere to a certaine Declaration published in the name of the Cardinal of Burbon (1585). Anon. translation.

Erondelle, Pierre, A declaration and catholicke exhortation to all Christian princes to succour the church of God and realme of France... (1586). Anon. translation.

La Noue, Francois de, The politicke and militarie discovrses of the Lord de La Noue. Whereunto are adioyned certaine obseruations of...things happened during the three late ciuill warres of France... (1587). Translated by E. Aggas.

Hurault, Michel, A discourse vpon the present state of France [Together with a copie of the Kings letters...declaring his mind after his departure from Paris. Whereunto is added two Letters by the Duke of Guize... (1588). Anon. translation.

Anon., A Politike Discourse most excellent for this time present: Composed by a French Gentleman, against those of the League (1589). Anon. translation.

Anon., The Contre-Guyse: Containing the entry of the sayde Family into Fraunce, with their ambitious pernicious practises for the obtaining aspirings, and of the crowne thereof (1589). Anon. translation.

Daneau, Lambert, A treatise, touching Anti-Christ...published for the encouragement of those which loyne in the intended actions against the Spaniard (1589). Translated by J. Swan.

Mornay, Philippe de, A letter written by a French Catholike gentleman, to the maisters of Sorbonne. Concerning the late victories obtained by the king of Nauarre (1588). Anon. translation.

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Mornay, Philippe de, A letter, written by a French Catholike gentleman. Conteyning a briefe aunswere to the slaunders of a certaine pretended Englishman [Louis d'Orleans] (1589). Anon. translation.

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Viques, Captain, A letter written by a catholicke gentleman, to the lady Iane Clement, the hauling princesse of the League. From saint Denis (1590). Anon. translation.

Viques, Captain, The rodomantades of captayne Viques...a traytour to his king, slayne in fight under the banner of the Leaguers. Wherein is expressed, the desire of a bloudy minde, and the reward of a false traitour (1591). Anon. translation.

Hurault, Michel, A coppie of the anti-Spaniard, made at Paris by a Frenchmen, a catholique. Wherein is directly proued how the Spanish king is the onely cause of all the troubles in France...(1590). Translated by A. Munday.

Colynet, Antony, The true history of the ciuill warres in France, betweene king Henry the 4. and the Leaguers. Gathered from 1585 vntill the present October 1591 (1591). Anon. translation.

Digiueres, Monsieur de, A most excellent exploit perfourmed by monsieur de Digiueres, vpon the popes armie. With a discourse of the ouerthrow of the duke of Sauoyes army (1591). Translated by E. Aggas.

Hurault, Michel, An excellent discovrse vpon the present estate of France (1592). Translated by E. Aggas.

Lauziere, Pons, Marquis de Themines, The copy of a letter written by the Lord of Themines. Also a decree of the court of Parliament sittinge at Chaalons (1593). Translated by E. Aggas.

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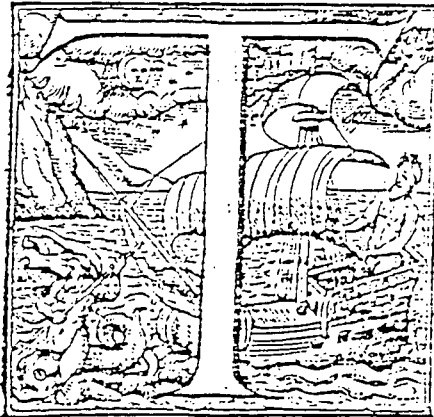
APPENDIX B

In order to illustrate the marked differences between the two types of Epistle Dedicatory discussed in Chapter One, two prefatory epistles have been copied from the micro-film and included here. The first epistle is a typical Type A Epistle Dedicatory. It is from Thomas Tymme's translation of An catholike exposition vpon the twoo last epistles of Iohn (1578), by Augustine Marlorat. One would find similar Type A epistles in the early seventeenth century. The second example is representative of the Type B dedicatory epistles used in this paper. It is from Anne Prowse's translation Of the markes of the children of God, and their comforts in afflictions (1590), by Jean Taffin.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
 Lorde Thomas Earle of Suffex, Vicount Fitzwalter,
 Lorde of Egremont, and of Burrell, one of the Quenees Maiesties
 Honorable priue Counsaile, and Lorde high Chamberlayne of hir house,
 of the noble order of the Garter Knight, Justice of Dyer of the Forrests,
 Parkes, V Varraynes, and Chales from Trent Southward,
 and Captayne of the Gentlemen

Pentioners:

And to the right honorable Lady his wyfe, entreate
 of honour and true knowledge, in
 Christ Iesus.



THE GREAT PRO-
 fit which the Christiā minde
 is to receyue by reading this
 Booke, was the cause why I
 tooke the paynes to Translate
 it out of Latin into the En-
 glish tounge: and the Recom-
 mending therof the more di-
 ligently to haue it read, was


the occasion which moued me to Dedicate my parte
 therein to your Honors. For what Englishe man is
 there which will not thinke it a Booke most worthy the
 reading, which he seeth warranted by your Names?
 The honorable and generall report whereof hartneth
 me to present it vnto you: wherein ye shall finde the
 deepe and deuine Euangelist *Saint Iohn*: the marrow
 of all Commentaries vppon him, vnder the name of
Marlorates Collection: last, and least, my faythfull tra-
 uell to turne them bothe to the vse of my Countrey.
 The thing I know your Honors will like well, bicause,
 as I heare, you can skilfully iudge, so I doubt not but
 you haue made your choyce what to reade, which so
 muche bruteth the credite of your abilitie, founde out
 by

THE EPISTLE.

by effect. As for my labor, may it please your Honors to like it, as comming from one, which caught with the commendation of your Learning and Wisdome generally noyzed, could not but offer my selfe to you, as the wondering Queene of *Saba* could not rest tyll she had scene *Salomons* person, of whose wisdome she had hard so much. And withall I thought it good in offering my labor to your Honors, to ioyne you both together, thinking with my selfe that it must needs follow, that suche skill and iudgement beeing in so Honorable a man, must needs by societie of matche worke like effect in so honorable a Mate. Wherefore not to trouble your Honors with longer speache, I take my leaue, Recommending my poore *Paynes* to your Honors protection, the recompence whereof you shall receiue in your reading of the booke, whose fruite will bring, by Gods grace, health to your soules, and continuance of your Honor.

Your Honor's most humble,
Thomas Timme.

To the right Honorable
and Vertuous Ladie, The
Countesse of War-
wicke.

 Orasmuch as it hath pleased almightie God of his infinite goodnesse, to giue vnto the glorious Gospell of his eternall sonne, so long & prosperous successe in this our Countrey: it is now time (right Honorable and my verie good Ladie) for euerie one that is a true professor of the same, all carnall perswasions of humane reason deluding the soule being set aside, to prepare our selues to the day of trial. For although it pleaseth God sometimes, for the gathering of his Church, to giue vnto it as it were *Halcyon* daies: yet common it is not, that it should any long time continue in rest and pleasure. Nay, by the word of GOD wee

A 2

know

THE EPISTLE

know, & by experience sometimes of our selues (her Maiesties royall person not excepted) and now of our neighbours round about vs we see, that the Church of God in this world, as it euer hath bin, so must it euer be vnder the crosse. And therefore if wee will bee compted of the Church indeede, and glorie in that excellent name of a Christian, let vs knowe assuredlie, that vnto vs, euen vnto vs (that haue so long liued in rest and pleasure, if wee be the children of God) in some sort and measure a triall must come. For, if God chastise euerie sonne whom he receiueth, and euerie member of Christs body must be fashioned like vnto the head, if the afflictions of this world are manifest tokens to the children of God, of his fauour and loue towards them, and sure pledges of their adoptiō: how can we looke, or how can we desire to bee exemp-

ted

DEDICATORIE.

ted from this common condition of God his owne children and household? To this end therefore (right Honorable Ladie) I haue translated this little booke, first to admonish some (who for lacke of experience, neuer feeling other daies than these full of peace and quietnes) that they learne to applie vnto themselves whatsoeuer they heare or reade of the triall of GOD his children, least falselie imagining it to appertaine either to the times that are past, or to other Nations, it fall sodainlie vpon them as a theefe in the night, & they be destitute of all hope and comfort. Secondlie, to awake others abounding both in knowledg and other graces, whom notwithstanding, satan (by the deccaucable lusts & vaine pleasures of this wicked world) hath to rockt a sleepe, that they seeme almost, as they that are diseased with the Lethargie, to haue forgottē both

A 3

them-

THE EPISTLE

themselves, their holie calling and profession. Last of all, to comfort an other sort, whome it hath pleased GOD so to presse downe with sorrowes, and to exercise with the continuall afflictions and calamities of this mortall life, as no times seeming fauourable vnto the, they can scarce receiue the words of any comfort. And because your Honor hath been of long time, not onlie a professour, but also a louer of the truth, whom the Lord (exalting to an higher place of dignitie than many other) hath set vp, as it were a light vpo an high candlestick, to giue light vnto manie, I haue especiallie dedicated vnto your Honour this my poore trauaile, humbly beseeching the Lord to make it no lesse comfortable to your Honour, and to those that shall reade it, than it hath been vnto me who haue translated it. Euerie one in his calling is bound to doo some-
what

DEDICATORIE.

what to the furtherance of the holie building; but because great things by reason of my sex, I may not doo, and that which I may, I ought to doo, I haue according to my duetie, brought my poore basket of stones to the strengthening of the walles of that Ierusalem, whereof (by grace) wee are all both Citizens and members. And now to returne to those who experience hath not yettaught, and whom prosperitie will not suffer to awake: I earnestly beseech them both in the Lord, no longer to deceiue themselves with vaine imaginations, neither to suffer their hearts so to be tied to earthlie vanities, that they should despise or neglect those things that can truly make them happy indeed. When it shall please GOD to open their eyes to discern betweene heauenlie and earthly, betweene things transitorie, and things eueralasting, I know they
A 4 will

THE EPISTLE

will of themselves bee ashamed of this their negligence. For what are all the pleasant things of this world, which most bewitch the minds of men, if they be compared with heauenlie and eternall things? If statelie & sumptuous buildings do delight; what building is so statelie and glorious as newe Ierusalem? If riches; what so rich as that, whose pauement is of pure gold, whose foundations and walls of precious stones, & gates of orient pearles? If friends, kinsfolke and neighbours; what Citie so replenished as this, where God himselfe in his Maiestie, Iesus Christ the head of the Church in his glorie, & all the holie Angels, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Martirs do dwell together in happinesse for euer? If honor; what honor comparable to this, to be the seruant and child of so mightie a King, and heire of so glorious a kingdome; where neither
time

DEDICATORIE.

time doth consume, nor enuie de-
priue of honour, nor power of ad-
uersarie spoyle of glorie, that is end-
les & incōprehensible? If then there
be no comparisō betweene things
heauenlie and things that are earth-
lie, and no man can attaine to the
things that are heauenlie, but by the
same way that Christ himselfe at-
tained vnto them; which was by the
crosse: why (casting off all impedi-
ments that presseth downe) doo we
not runne on our course with chere-
tulnes and hope, hauing Christ so
mightie a King, for our Captaine &
guide, who (as the Apostle saith) for
the glorie that was set before him,
indured the crosse, and despising the
shame, sitteth now at the right hand
of the throne of God? How slowe
and dull of heart are wee, if as *Esau*,
(who for a messe of pottage sold his
birthright) wee are contented for a
small and short pleasure in this wic-
ked

THE EPISTLE

ked world, to leese that incōparable and euerlasting glorie, which Christ the sonne of GOD with so great a price hath purchased for vs. The Lord giue vs wisdom to vnderstand, & grace to heare his voice while it is saide to day, that when daies and nights & times shall cease, wee may (without time) enter into his ioye and rest which neuer shall haue end. The Lord euer preserue your Honor; and adde vnto a multitude of happie yeares spent in his feare, a continuall increase of all spiritual graces to his glorie, and your endles comfort.

Your Honors in the
Lord

most humble A.P.

APPENDIX C

The following list includes all religious works by French Protestant authors translated into English and printed between 1570 and 1599. Some of their translators are also responsible for the translations of other (non-French) religious works in this period. These works have also been included. Works have been arranged alphabetically by translator.

KEY:

(*): Translations which include prefatory epistles.

(+): Translations which are unavailable for examination.

*A., E., trans., The defence of death (1576), by Philippe de Mornay.

+Peter Allibond, trans., Comfort for an afflicted conscience (1591), by Jean de L'Espine.

*_____, A confutation of the Popish Transubstantiation (1592), by Jean de L'Espine.

*Anon. trans., An excellent and learned treatise of apostasie...Directed against the apostates in the churches of France (1587), by Jean de L'Espine.

*_____, Apocalypsis. A briefe and learned commentarie vpon the Reuelation of saint John (1592), by Francois Du Jon, the Elder.

*_____, The christian disputations (1579), by Pierre Viret.

_____, Job expounded...partly in a commentary, partly in a paraphrase. (Ecclesiastes. With a paraphrase.) (1589?), by Theodore Beza.

_____, A little catechisme, that is to say, a short instruction touching christian religion (1578), by Theodore Beza.

*_____, A moste plaine and profitable exposition of the Booke of Ester, deliuered in 26. sermons (1599), by Pierre Merlin.

_____, A sermon of the famous and godly learned man, conteining an exhortation to suffer persecution for followinge Jesus Christe (1581), by Jean Calvin.

*_____, A treatie of the good and euell tounge...with a discourse of the punishment which the Lord hath shewed on al those which through swearing and periuring themselues, haue broken God's commandments (1594?), by Jean de Marconville.

_____, A treatise of the sin against the holy ghost (1570), Augustine Marlorat.

_____, Two treatises of the Lord his holie supper: one instrvcting the servants of God how things should be prepared when they come to the Holy supper:the other setting forth...the whole vse of the Supper: whereunto also is adioyned a...treatise of the true sacrifice and true priest (1584), by Yves Rouspeau.

*B., R., trans., A treatise of the preparation of the Holy Supper...Also a dialogue containing the principall points whiche they that receiue the Supper uoght to knowe and understand (1570?), by Yves Rouspeau.

*Barbar, Thomas, trans. The Apocalyps, or reuelation of S. John. With a methodicall exposition vpon euery chapter (1596), by Francois Du Jon, the Elder.

*Baxter, Nathaniel, trans., The lectures or daily sermons...vpon the prophet Jonas...Whereunto is annexed an exposition of the two last epistles of S. John...by A. Marlorat (1578), by Jean Calvin.

*Becket, Nicholas, trans., A preparation to the most holie ministrie: wherein is set downe the true means to be well prepared to the same (1593), by Pierre Gerard.

*Becket, William, trans., A commentarie...vppon the epistle to the Philippians (1584), by Jean Calvin.

+Brooke, John, trans., A briefe and cleare confession of the christian fayth. Containing an hundreth articles, after the reede of the apostles (1579), by Jean Garnier.

*_____, A christian discourse vpon certeine poynts of religion (1578), anon.

+_____, A faithful and familiar exposition (1582), by Pierre Viret.

*_____, Of the two woonderful popish monsters, to wyt, of a popish asse and of a monkish calfe (1579), by Philipp Melanchthon.

*_____, The staffe of Christian faith gathered out of the works of ancient doctors (1577), Guy de Bres.

+Chapelin, George, trans., The christian combat: wherein is set downe that daungerous fight whereunto all the elect are called (1591), by Pierre Merlin.

*Chauncie, William, trans., A familiar and christian instruction vpon the Lordes prayer (1582), anon.

*_____, The worlde possessed with deuils, conteinyng three dialogues. [The second part translated by T. Stocker] (1583), by Pierre Viret.

Coxe, John, trans., An exhortation to the ministers of Gods word that they set aside all mutuall discord, and preache the onely true faith in Christe (1575), by Heinrich Bullinger.

*_____, Questions of Religion cast abroad in Helvetia by the aduersaries of the same: and answered by M. H. Bullinger of Zvrich: reduced into 17. common places (1572), by Heinrich Bullinger.

_____, A treatise touching the word of God written against the traditions of men...where also is set downe a true method to dispute diuinely and schoollike (1583), by Antoine de Chandieu.

+D., J., trans., A catholike and ecclesiasticall exposition vpon the epistle of S. Jude (1584), by Augustine Marlorat.

*Egerton, Stephen, trans., A learned and excellent treatise, containing all the principall grounds of Christian religion (1596), by Mathieu Virel.

+Eliot, John, trans., The sicke mans comfort, against death (1590), by Jean de L'Espine.

*Fetherstone, Christopher, trans., An abridgement of the Institution of christian religion. Wherein briefe aunsweres to the obiections of the aduersaries are set downe. By W. Lawne (1585/1586?), by Jean Calvin.

*_____, The brvtish thunderbolt: or rather feeble fier-flash of Pope Sixtvs the fift, against Henrie the most excellent King of Navarre (1586), by Francois Hotman.

*_____, A Christian and wholesome Admonition, directed to the Frenchmen, which are reuolted from the true religion, and haue polluted themselues with the superstition and idolatrie of Poperie (1587), anon.

*_____, The commentaries...vpon the Actes of the apostles (1585), by Jean Calvin.

+_____, Haggeus the prophet. Where-unto is added a commentary, gathered out of J.J. Gryneus (1586).

+_____, The Lamentations of Jeremie (1587).

+Field, John, trans., Christian meditations, vpon the sixt, twentie, fiue, thirtie, two and thirtie psalmes...And moreouer, a meditation vpon the 137. psalme by P. Pilesson (1587?), by Philippe de Mornay.

_____, An excellent treatise of Christian righteovsnes (1577), by Jean de L'Espine.

*_____, An exposition of the symbole of the apostles (1580), by Olevian Caspar.

*_____, Foure sermons...entreating of matters very profitable for our time, with a brieve exposition of the LXXXVII. psalme (1579), by Jean Calvin.

_____, The iudgement of a most reuerend and learned man from beyond the seas, concerning a threefold order of bishops (c.1585), by Theodore Beza.

*_____, The other parte of christian questions and answeares (1580), by Theodore Beza.

*_____, Thirteene sermons...entreating of the free election of God in Jacob, and of reprobation in Esau (1579), by Jean Calvin.

*_____, A treatise of the Church (1579), by Philippe de Mornay.

+_____, Two Treatises: the first of christian friend ship: the seconde of dice play (1579), by Lambert Daneau.

Fulke, William, trans., A commentarie...vpon the booke of Josue (1578), by Jean Calvin.

*G., T., trans., A defence of the olde, and true profession of christianitie, against the iesuites (1581), by Petrus Boquinus.

*Gilby, Anthony, trans., Commentaries...vpon the prophet Daniell (1570), by Jean Calvin.

_____, A paraphrastical explanation or opening of fourteene holie psalmes chosen out of the old and new Testament (1581), by Theodore Beza.

*_____, The psalmes of David, truely opened and explained (1580), by Theodore Beza.

_____, The testaments of the twelue patriarches, the sonnes of Iacob (1574), anon.

*_____, The treasure of trueth, touching the groundes worke of man his saluation, and chieftest pointes of christian religion...Whereunto are added, these godly treatyses. One by J. Foxe. The other of A. Gylbie (1576), by Theodore Beza

*Golburne, John, trans., A discourse vpon the catelogue of doctors of God's church...together with the continuall succession of the true church of God vntill the yeare 1565 (1598), by Simon de Vyon.

+Golding, Arthur, trans., The benefite that christians receiue by Jesus Christ crucified (1573), by Antonio dalla Paglia.

*_____, A booke of christian questions and answers (1572), by Theodore Beza.

*_____, A confutation of the popes bull against Elizabeth queene of England (1572), by Heinrich Bullinger.

*_____, A postill or exposition of the Gospels that are vsually red in the church of God (1570), by Niels Hemmingsen.

*_____, The psalmes of Dauid and others. With Caluins commentaries (1571), by Jean Calvin.

*_____, The reuelation of Sainct John (1574), by Augustine Marlorat.

*_____, Sermons...vpon the booke of Job (1574), by Jean Calvin.

*_____, The sermons...vpon Deuteronomie: gathered as he preached them (by D. Raguenier) (1583), by Jean Calvin.

*_____, The sermons...vpon the epistle too the Ephesians (1577), by Jean Calvin.

*_____, Sermons...vpon the epistle to the Galathians (1574), by Jean Calvin.

_____, A tragedie of Abrahams sacrafice (1577), by Theodore Beza.

*_____, The Warfare of Christians: Concerning the conflict against the Fleshe, the World, and the Deuill (1576), anon.

*_____, A woorke concerning the trewnesse of the Christian Religion (1587), by Philippe de Mornay.

+H., F., trans., An epistle to the faithfull, necessary for all the children of God: especially in these dangerous dayes (1582), by Pierre Viret.

*H., W., trans., The commentaries...vpon the first epistle to saint John, and vpon the epistle of Jude (c.1580), by Jean Calvin.

*Harmar, John, trans., Sermons...vpon the X. commandementes (1579), by Jean Calvin.

*_____, Sermons vpon the three first chapters of the Canticles of Canticles (1587), by Theodore Beza.

Herbert, Mary, the Countesse of Pembroke, trans., A discourse of life and death (1592), by Philippe de Mornay.

*Holland, Henry, trans., Aphorismes of christian religion: or, a verie compendious abridgement of J. Caluins Institutions, set forth by J. Piscator (1596), by Jean Calvin.

*Hopkinson, William, trans., An euident display of popish practises, or patched Pelagianisme (1578), by Theodore Beza.

*May, Edward, trans., The institutions of christian religion, compendiously abridged by E. Bunnie (1580), by Jean Calvin.

*Pagit, Eusebius, trans., A harmonie vpon the three euangelists. With the commentarie of J. Caluine (translated by C. Fetherstone) (1584).

*Phiston, William, trans., A testimonie of the trve church of God...Wherein is manifestly shewed how that God hath in asll eyes raysed vp some...which haue been faithfull stewards, and true dispencers of his will (1580?), by Simon de Vyon.

*Prowse, Anne, trans., Of the markes of the children of God, and of their comforts in afflictions (1590), by Jean Taffin.

*Rosdell, Christopher, trans., A commentarie vpon the epistle to the Romanes (1583), by Jean Calvin.

S., H., trans., The consolation of the soule, being an assurance of the forgiuenesse of sinnes, with the most notable promises of God conteined in Holy Scripture (1590), by Jean Chassanion (La Chasse).

*Shute, John, trans., A christian instruction, conteyning the law and the gossell (1573), by Pierre Viret.

*_____, The principal points which are at this daye in controuersie, concerning the holy supper and of the masse (1579), by Pierre Viret.

+_____, A sweete consolation for all such as are afflicted and oppressed with the weight and burden of their sinnes (1580), anon.

+Smyth, Edward, trans., A very excellent and learned discourse, touching the tranquillitie of the minde (1592), by Jean de L'Espine.

*Stocker, Thomas, trans., The cauteles, canon, and ceremonies, of the popish masse (1584), by Pierre Viret.

*_____, Diuers sermons...concerning the diuinitie, humanitie, and natiuitie of Christe: as also touching his passion (1581), by Jean Calvin.

*_____, An excellent treatise of the immortalitie of the soule (1581), by Jean Calvin.

+_____, The holy loue of heauenly wisdom. With many other godly treatises (1594), by Guillaume Du Vair.

+_____, The lamentations and holy mournings of the prophet Jeremiah, with a paraphrase (1587?), anon.

*_____, The popes canons: wherein the masters of Sorbone are confuted (1585?), by Theodore Beza.

*_____, The second part of the demoniacke worlde, conteining three dialogues (1583), by Pierre Viret.

*_____, Sermons...on the historie of Melchisedech (1592), by Jean Calvin.

*_____, Two and twentie sermons...In which is handled, the hundreth and nineteenth psalme (1580), by Jean Calvin.

*Stockwood, John, trans., Common places of Christian religion (1572), by Heinrich Bullinger.

*_____, A fruitfull commentarie vpon the twelue small Prophets (1594), by Lambert Daneau.

*_____, A godlie and learned Commentarie vpon Ecclesiastes (1585), anon.

*_____, A right godly and learned discourse vpon the booke of Ester (1584), by Johann Brenz.

*_____, A shorte and fruitefull treatise of the profite and necessitie of catechising (1580), by Robert Cawdry.

*_____, A shorte learned and pithie treatize of the plague (1580), by Theodore Beza.

+_____, A verie profitable and necessarie discourse concerning the keeping of the sabboth (1584), by Zacharias Ursinus.

*Stubbs, John, trans., Christian meditations vpon eight psalmes (1582), by Theodore Beza.

*_____, The life off the 70. archbishop off Canterbury (1574), anon.

*Swan, John, trans., A treatise, touching Anti-Christ...published for the encouragement of those which ioyne in the intended actions against the Spaniard (1589), by Lambert Daneau.

*Tomson, Laurence, trans., The Bible [Geneua, with the New Testament in L. Tomson's revision] (1587).

*_____, The New Testament...translated out of Greeke by Theod. Beza. Whereunto are adioyned briefe Summaries of doctrine (1576).

*_____, Sermons...on the epistles to Timothie and Titus (1579), by Jean Calvin.

*_____, A treatise of the Excellencie of a Christian Man (1576), by Pierre de La Place.

*Twyne (Twine), Thomas, trans., The wonderfvll workmanship of the world: wherein is conteined an excellent discourse of Christian naturall philosophie...specially gathered out of the fountaines of Holy Scripture (1578), by Lambert Daneau.

_____, The tragedies of tyrantes. Exercised vpon the church of God, vnto 1572 (1575), by Heinrich Bullinger.

*Tymme (Timme), Thomas, trans., A catholike and ecclesiasticall exposition of the holy Gospell after S. John (1575), by Augustine Marlorat.

*_____, A catholike and ecclesiasticall exposition after S. Marke and Luke. Gathered out of the singular and approved deuines... (1583), by Augustine Marlorat.

*_____, A catholike and ecclesiasticall exposition of the holy Gospell after S. Mathewe (1570), by Augustine Marlorat.

*_____, A catholike exposition vpon the twoo last epistles of Iohn (1578), by Augustine Marlorat.

*_____, A commentarie...vpon the first booke of Moses called Genesis (1578), by Jean Calvin.

*_____, A commentarie vpon S. Paules epistles to the Corinthians (1577), by Jean Calvin.

*_____, Newes from Ninive to England, brought by the prophet Jonas: plainlve published in the exposition of J. Brentius (1570), by Johann Brenz.

*Vaux, Robert, trans., A commentarie...vpon the epistle to the Colossians (1581), by Jean Calvin.

*_____, A commentarie...vpon the epistle to the Galathians (1581), by Jean Calvin.

+_____, A discouerie and batterie of the great sort of vnwritten traditions: otherwise an examination of the counsell of Trent, touching the decree of traditions (1582), anon.

*_____, A sermon made in latine in Oxenforde, in the raigne of K. Edwarde the sixt (1581?), by John Jewel.

*W. A., trans., A christian and godly view of death and life, as also of human actions (1593), by Philippe de Mornay.

Watkinson, William, trans., The Moste excellent Meditations vpon the xxxii. Psalme (1579), by Antoine de Chandieu.

+_____, A notable discourse of the happyness of this our age, and of the ingratitude of men to God (1578), by Johannes Rivius.

Whittingham, William, trans., A briefe declaration of the chiefe poyntes of christian religion, set foorth in a table (1575?), by Theodore Beza.

+Wilcox, Thomas, trans., The art or skill, well and fruitefullie to heare the holy sermons of the church (1599), by Wilhelm Zepper.

*_____, A catechisme and playne instruction for all children...to communicate in the Holy Supper...according to the order of the Frenche church of London (1580), by Robert Le Macon.

*_____, A discourse, of the true and visible markes of the catholique church (1582?), by Theodore Beza.

_____, Meditations upon psal. 101 (1599), by Philippe de Mornay.

*_____, Three propositions or speeches (on John i.1-5; Gal. ii.11-16 and 15-21.) To which is added, an exposition vpon parte of the catechisme (1580), by Jean Calvin.

_____, A treatise of the Church (1581), by Bertrand de Loque.

* _____, Two very lerned sermons of M. Beza, together with a short sum of the sacrament of the Lordes supper...whereunto is added a treatise of the Lords supper. By T.W. (1588), by Theodore Beza.