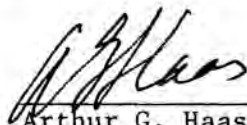


To the Graduate Council:

We are submitting herewith a dissertation written by Susan Agnes Stussy entitled "Michael Sparke, Puritan and Printer." We have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in History.

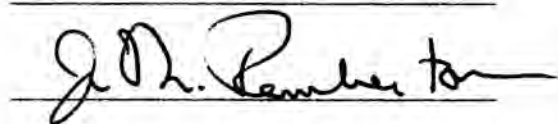
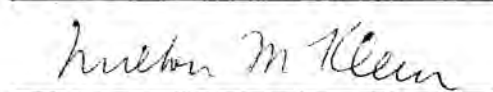
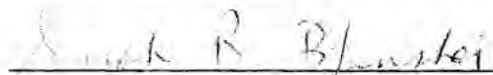


Arthur G. Haas, Major Professor



Paul J. Pinckney, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:



Accepted for the Council:



Vice Chancellor
Graduate Studies and Research

MICHAEL SPARKE, PURITAN AND PRINTER

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Susan Agnes Stussy

March 1983

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ABSTRACT

This combined biographical and bibliographical study of the life and publications of the London stationer Michael Sparke (1588-1653) attempts to determine the importance of his career as a printer-publisher, writer, compiler-editor, and promoter of conservative Puritan political and religious views. During a professional career lasting from his apprenticeship in 1603 until his death, Sparke published 171 generally high quality titles despite his frequent conflicts with the leadership of the Stationers' Company and with political and religious authorities. He was the author or compiler-editor of ten of these works, and he contributed introductions to ten more.

Sparke published more titles in the field of religion than in any other field, but he is probably best remembered today for the forty-two highly controversial political and religious works he published for William Prynne. The anti-theater polemic Histrion-mastix, which Sparke published for Prynne in 1633, created serious legal difficulties for both men as Archbishop Laud regarded the book as a serious challenge to the government of Charles I.

To most of his contemporaries, Sparke's most notable contribution was probably his role as compiler-editor of Crums of Comfort. This collection of prayers provided its readers with guidance on how to face crises such as death, poverty, and war through faith in God. It found great popular favor and went through forty-four editions before its last publication in 1755.

Among early Stuart printers, Sparke achieved notoriety through his opposition to printing monopolies and his leadership of an unsuccessful effort in 1645 to democratize the Stationers' Company. Scintilla (1641) was a bitter attack on printing monopolies. A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla (1652) provided some autobiographical information on Sparke as well as giving his views on changes in the printing trade during his lifetime.

To instruct those of his contemporaries interested in public policy, Sparke wrote two pamphlets advocating humane treatment of the poor. Greevos Grones for the Poore (1622) and The Poore Orphans Court (1636) both advocated humane treatment of the involuntarily poor and condemned voluntary idleness. The Poore Orphans Court showed a special concern for the welfare of children.

PREFACE

The selection of the life and professional achievements of Michael Sparke as a dissertation topic is the result of a search for a Puritan printer whose career and professional achievements would help to illuminate the political, social, and religious controversies of early Stuart and Interregnum England. Since Sparke took a prominent part in the political and religious controversies of his day and demonstrated exceptional courage in using his press to promote Puritan ideas, his fifty year career as a stationer and writer provides rewarding material for a case study concerning the printing trade's role in disseminating guidelines for Puritan thought and action. This type of study is needed because middle class printers like Sparke have been neglected both by traditional historians focusing on the lives of great figures and by recent innovative historians dedicated to reconstructing the lives of the unskilled laboring classes at least on a large group basis.

No one deserves more credit for aiding this study than Dr. Paul J. Pinckney, my academic advisor for more than four years and co-chairperson of my dissertation committee. I sincerely appreciate his approval of a topic that combines my interest in history and bibliography, although his own research interests lie in other directions. In 1980, he personally introduced me to key London research centers such as the British Library, the Guildhall Library, and the Public Record Office. He has read several drafts of each chapter, and has provided critical assistance in reading a difficult seventeenth

century manuscript from the Public Record Office that provided new information concerning Sparke's character.

All of the members of my dissertation committee have generously given time and effort toward bringing this manuscript to its final form. Dr. Arthur G. Haas has my special thanks for serving as co-chairperson and for excellent editing. Other committee members in alphabetical order are Dr. Sarah R. Blanshei, Dr. John Bohstedt, Dr. Milton M. Klein, and Dr. J. Michael Pemberton.

In addition to my committee members, I would like to thank the staff of The University of Tennessee Main Library Microform Department. It is important to note that I received significant library service from the staffs of the British Library and the Public Record Office on both trips to England. During my stay in London early in 1982, I received valuable advice from Miss Robin Myers, Archivist of the Stationers' Company, and Mr. Peter Hennessey of the Economist.

Sparke is still remembered with respect in his native town of Eynsham, Oxfordshire, and I have profited from corresponding with the local rector, Reverend Peter J. Ridley, and the local historian, Mrs. Lillian Wright. The author hopes that this inquiry will broaden interests in Sparke's work as a writer and printer-publisher.

To help make the text easy to read and understand, this study has consistently modernized the spellings in quotations from seventeenth century sources in certain respects. It has changed f to s, i to j, u to v, v to u, and vv to w as needed, in order to conform to modern usage. In all other cases, quotations appear in the form in which they were written.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

PRO	Public Record Office.
PROB	The collection of wills in the Public Record Office.
STC I	Pollard and Redgrave's <u>A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640.</u>
STC II	Wing's <u>Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-1700.</u>
WARD	The Court of Wards category in the Public Record Office.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Early Stuart England experienced extensive political and religious turmoil that eventually caused a Civil War in the 1640s. The London stationer Michael Sparke (1588-1653) played an active, if minor, part in his generation's political and religious conflicts. Throughout the last twenty-six years of his career, Sparke used his small, successful printing and publishing business to advocate a limited monarchy, based on the principle that the English government properly consisted of the rule of King-in-Parliament, and a church of England which would be Calvinist in doctrine and Presbyterian in organizational practice. In addition to his involvement in political and religious controversies, he also demonstrated a strong interest in the social problems caused by poverty.

Although Sparke's career has never received the full length study it deserves, his life has been the subject of two brief sketches that provide an introductory examination of his career and a tentative assessment of his importance. These studies consider his social role both within his trade as a printer-publisher and in a larger context as a key inculcator of a conservative Puritan response to the major public issues confronted by Englishmen of his generation. Henry R. Plomer made the first attempt to reconstruct Sparke's life in a very brief 1902

article.¹ Sixty-three years later, Leona Rostenberg substantially enlarged Plomer's picture of Sparke in her lengthier essay.² When considered together, Plomer and Rostenberg's efforts provide a good case for a more detailed study of Sparke as an important influence on early Stuart thought, but neither writer more than touched the most obvious and easiest to document elements of Sparke's fifty year career as a stationer. Neither examined more than a small fraction of the 171 titles Sparke published, and they neglected to give him the credit he deserved as the writer and compiler of ten of these titles.

Even though it was clear from the works of Plomer and Rostenberg that Sparke merited additional study, the feasibility of a comprehensive study of his career was far less certain. Sparke attained notoriety, not fame, and he remained quite insignificant as an individual even while his pen and press had a marked impact on the thought of his contemporaries. Since Sparke left no diary or letters and only the bare outlines of his personal life are known, the source materials to construct a traditional narrative biography do not exist.

As a result of the limited source material, it became necessary to employ new methods to give his career the in depth examination it warranted. A combined biographical and bibliographical study appeared

¹Henry R. Plomer, "Michael Sparke, Puritan Bookseller," The Bibliographer 1 (1902):409-19.

²Leona Rostenberg, Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious & Legal Publishing, Printing & Bookselling in England, 1551-1700: Twelve Studies, 2 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1965), 1:161-202.

to be the best way to examine Sparke's life and work.³ Documentary evidence is sparse for a traditional biography, so this study employs bibliography as a supplement to biography and examines all 171 titles credited to Sparke's press by standard, modern bibliographical sources.⁴

Through this combination of biographical and bibliographical methods, it becomes evident that Sparke used his press to mold opinion. Both Sparke's actions and the works he produced were dedicated to the advocacy of a conservative Puritan world view. In his life, publications, and writings, Sparke was an able servant of conservative, middle class, urban Puritanism,⁵ and he used his press to expand the horizons

³This combined biographical and bibliographical study has concentrated on biography in Chapters II and III and on bibliography in Chapters IV through VI. Chapters I and VII serve to unify the twin components of this work.

⁴Alfred William Pollard, A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640, comps. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1950); Donald Goddard Wing, Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Wales and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-1700 (New York: Printed for the Index Society by Columbia University Press, 1945-1951); and Paul G. Morrison, Index of Printers, Publishers and Booksellers in A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640 (Charlottesville: Bibliographic Society of the University of Virginia, 1950).

⁵Puritanism held a Calvinistic, predestinarian religious view. Most simply stated, Puritans were extreme Protestants. While Puritans wanted a Calvinist Church of England, some Puritans insisted on greater reforms in the national church than others. Many Puritans eventually left the Church of England, although only the most radical were willing to take this step before 1640. As a "conservative Puritan," Sparke wanted only limited reforms in the Church of England. In the context of the 1640s, "conservative Puritan" is often used as a synonym for Presbyterian. Sparke's economic position made him "middle class" and

of this group as well as to advocate the political and religious principles to which it adhered.

This treatment of Sparke's life uses a convenient outline for the periodization of his career. The years before 1627 were years of preparation for Sparke when he acquired professional skills, established his business, and began to write. The years between 1627 and 1640 were years of trouble for Sparke. At this time he formed an effective working alliance with William Prynne to oppose the political and religious policies pursued by the government of Charles I and Archbishop William Laud, and he experienced severe legal difficulties because of the controversial books he published for Prynne and other notable Puritan figures. In comparison to the years between 1627 and 1640, the years between 1640 and 1645 were years of triumph for Sparke, who saw the political and religious principles he had long supported succeed and shared in some of the official recognition given his more influential ally Prynne by the Long Parliament. After this brief period of exceptional hope, Sparke faced difficult new challenges between 1646 and 1649, when he mobilized his press to aid his old associate Prynne in opposing the increased demands for extensive political, religious and social change that characterized these years. While he continued to

"urban." Although not a gentleman, Sparke earned respect as a successful small-business man with some capital. While he did not belong to the nobility or gentry, he can fairly be described as "middle class," since he was neither rich nor poor and held an intermediate social rank between the elite and the laboring masses. As a citizen of London, Sparke belonged to the small minority of nonrural Englishmen. London was the only real city, and most of the other large towns were very small by modern standards.

publish in the years between 1649 and 1653, these four years were years of denouement and a relative absence of controversy in Sparke's life, although there is some evidence that he was disillusioned with politics and shared Prynne's conservative opposition to the anti-monarchical stance and relatively tolerant religious views of the victorious Commonwealth government.⁶

While the major proportion of this text has necessarily centered on a description of Sparke's life and publications, it has also attempted to place his career in the historical context of early Stuart England. To accomplish this, certain related problems concerning how representative a figure Sparke was needed examination. Sparke probably saw himself as more representative than unique in his actions and views. Evidence has therefore been sought to determine to what extent Sparke's actions and beliefs revealed more than his own character and principles and to what extent Sparke was typical of the basic outlook of a large proportion of his urban, middle class, English Puritan contemporaries.

Since all of Sparke's achievements were made possible by his long term success as a small businessman in the highly influential printing trade, Sparke's attitude toward business and his business practices have to be seen as central in any attempt to place his role as a publisher in historical context. To discuss the problem of how representative an economic figure Sparke was, this study has posed several basic

⁶The periodization outline for Sparke's life developed in Chapter I has been employed in Chapter III to describe the Sparke-Prynne relationship. Sparke's ties with Prynne were important in all phases of his life except the years of preparation before 1627.

questions. These questions have included such related economic problems as: whether Sparke's business was similar to other contemporary small businesses in financing, organization, and operation; the nature of Sparke's attitude toward money and credit; and whether Sparke belonged to that social class of yeoman farmers and small businessmen that Christopher Hill described as the "industrious sort."⁷ Since religious beliefs exerted a strong influence on early seventeenth century attitudes toward business, the relationship between Sparke's Church of England Calvinism and his economic ideas and practices has crucial importance to this study. Finally, this text has examined Sparke's economic impact on his profession to determine whether his opposition to monopoly patents in the printing trade was an individual crusade or embodied the hopes of many stationers for more fair and open competition among the members of the Stationers' Company.

It was also crucial to ask how politically representative a figure Sparke was to see his career in the context of his generation. Sparke shared Prynne's desire for a limited monarchy dedicated to the advancement of Puritanism both at home and abroad. While both men showed no hesitation in claiming that Parliament was sovereign enough to fight the king if necessary, neither Sparke nor Prynne favored destroying the monarchy or other bastions of hereditary privilege like the House of Lords. In view of the increased demands for political and social change

⁷Christopher Hill, Society & Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London: Secker & Warburg, 1964; 2nd ed., New York: Schocken Books, 1967), pp. 124-44.

that were advanced during the course of the English Revolution, determining what segment of the English public shared the political attitude advanced by Sparke and Prynne was an important question for this study.

Despite the fact that Sparke seldom shirked political controversy, religion was always more central in his life than politics. Because of Sparke's extensive publication of religious works, this overview was unable to avoid asking how representative his religious opinions were. Sparke's writings and publications consistently favored a strong Calvinist Church of England organized along Presbyterian lines, although he had clear respect for some Church of England bishops, and he probably favored tolerating the more moderate Independents in order to form an English national church that was as broadly representative and inclusive as possible. Since Sparke found a consistent, ready market for publications advocating his religious principles, his religious views were certainly shared by a committed organized minority, if not by the majority, of his contemporaries. Since he mirrored the religious thought of at least a substantial segment of his contemporaries, the composition and size of Sparke's religious market has therefore received detailed consideration.

Furthermore, did Sparke consciously and consistently use his press to spread his own views on economic, political, and religious issues? Although Sparke clearly desired and achieved financial success, evidently profit was never his first concern in the conduct of his small business. He consciously chose to put his press at the service of his ideas and the individuals whose message he supported. Probably no

financial reward could have induced him to print Roman Catholic or Anabaptist literature or even the political literature produced by radical groups like the Levellers.

Sparke's press did not exist for the sole purpose of producing political and religious statements. The whole corpus of books and pamphlets he produced offer an internally consistent perspective on early Stuart life, and his books display an amazing degree of relationship to one another. With few exceptions, Sparke's products were clearly aimed at the conservative, middle class, urban Puritan readership whose outlook he knew best from his personal experience. He served this selected readership by providing informational literature as well as by the publication of controversial works.⁸

This study will use a number of terms that require clear understanding. The five most important of these terms are Arminian, Calvinist, Independent, Presbyterian, and Puritan. All of these terms are closely tied to the early seventeenth century background of this work. The term Arminian refers to the followers of the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), who questioned the doctrine of double predestination,⁹ and did not accept the comforting belief that those who were part of God's predestined elect could be certain of their salvation. Although James I took a strong anti-Arminian position, an

⁸Christopher Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1965). See Chapters III, IV, and V of the present study.

⁹The doctrine of double predestination held that men were predestined before birth to either salvation or damnation.

Arminian party gained strength in the Church of England in the late 1620s and the 1630s. Through the efforts of Archbishop Laud and his supporters, the Church of England shifted from a predestinarian position to an Arminian one in this period.¹⁰

Calvinist is a term which denotes the theological position of those, like Michael Sparke, who accepted the influential form of Protestantism first elaborated by the French reformer John Calvin (1509-1564). Although the word Calvinist meant different things in different countries and its meaning changed over time, in the context of this work Calvinist describes those holding a strong belief in the central Protestant doctrine of justification by faith coupled with a belief that true faith would come only to those whom God has predestined to salvation through no merit of their own.¹¹

In its use of the term Independent, this work has accepted the dual definitions offered by Christopher Hill. He contrasted the Independents as a political group to the Presbyterian supporters of Parliament as a political group by stating, "The 'Independents' were those who wanted an all out war fought to a decisive conclusion."¹² Concerning the religious use of Independent, he said, "The Independents also favored a state church, but with very loosely defined doctrine, with tithes

¹⁰Conrad Russell, The Crisis of Parliaments: English History 1509-1660 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 210-17.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 168-69.

¹²Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution, 1603-1714 (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1961: reprint ed., New York: The Norton Library, 1966), p. 127.

maintained or replaced by some other form of maintenance for ministers, and with toleration of law-abiding sects."¹³

Hill's dual definition of the term Presbyterian is also convenient. In defining the political meaning of the term Presbyterian, he says, "In political usage, 'Presbyterian' meant conservative Parliamentary."¹⁴ In explaining the religious meaning of the term Presbyterian, he expresses his belief that it implied Presbyterian rather than episcopal forms of church government, and he adds that the Presbyterians tended to be relatively well-off individuals who were opposed to the concessions to religious toleration made by the Independents.¹⁵

Although the term Puritan has long been used in connection with seventeenth century English history, some recent historians have contended that it has become so vague that it has lost all meaning.¹⁶ Since Sparke would probably have joined Prynne in reluctantly admitting to being a Puritan by the late 1620s and the 1630s, this text has employed Conrad Russell's definition of Puritan as, "A member of the Church of England who believed that it was unsufficiently reformed: one of the 'hotter sort of Protestants.'"¹⁷

¹³ Ibid., p. 166.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 165.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 165-73.

¹⁶ C. H. George, "Puritanism as History and Historiography," Past & Present: A Journal of Historical Studies 41 (December 1968):77-104; and William M. Lamont, "Debate: Puritanism as History and Historiography: Some Further Thoughts," Past & Present 44 (August 1969):133-46.

¹⁷ Russell, The Crisis of Parliaments, p. 414.

This study owes a very real debt to Henry R. Plomer and Leona Rostenberg for their brief but informative earlier investigations of Sparke's career and to Christopher Hill and William Haller, in its attempt to determine to what extent Sparke was a representative figure. Hill's use of the phrase "industrious sort" has served as a guideline for judging Sparke's economic role,¹⁸ and his description of the intellectual precursors of the English Revolution has provided some assistance in the evaluation of the degree of internal consistency found in Sparke's works and clues to the nature of his market.¹⁹ Haller's discussion of what he sees as Puritanism's causal relationship to political liberty has helped make clear to what extent Sparke's political and religious views were shared by his contemporaries.²⁰ To supplement these four major influences, this inquiry has also used the work of many other historians, and these influences will become apparent in the body of the text and especially in the concluding chapter, which will consider this study's findings in the light of previous historical scholarship.

¹⁸Hill, Society & Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England, pp. 124-44.

¹⁹Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution.

²⁰William Haller, Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955); and William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism: or, The Way to the New Jerusalem as Set Forth in Pulpit and Press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938; reprint ed., New York: Harper Torch Books, 1957).

CHAPTER II

SPARKE'S LIFE AND CAREER

Unfortunately, only very meager information exists about Sparke's origins and youth, family life, and interpersonal relationships. In contrast, Sparke's public life is much easier to document. His notably contentious nature, frequent business quarrels, and legal difficulties created a very substantial record of his professional career as a stationer from the late 1620s to his death in 1653. This record shows that Sparke's success as a stationer placed him within the upper layer of that broad social category which Christopher Hill labels the "industrious sort."¹

The initial concern in writing this chapter was to obtain new information concerning the birth and youth of Michael Sparke. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to discover any significant new information that was not available earlier.² Only scraps of information

¹Christopher Hill, Society & Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London: Secker & Warburg, 1964; 2nd ed., New York: Schocken Books, 1967), p. 133.

²Henry R. Plomer, "Michael Sparke, Puritan Bookseller," Bibliographer 1 (December 1902):409-419; and Leona Rostenberg, Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious & Legal Publishing, Printing & Book-selling in England, 1551-1700: Twelve Studies, 2 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1965), 1:161-202.

Since both Plomer and Rostenberg gave only a tentative 1588 birth date to Sparke, I attempted to secure a baptismal record that would provide definite proof of his date of birth. I wrote to the Rev. Peter J. Ridley, Anglican vicar of the village of Eynsham, Oxfordshire, for further information. In his October 27, 1982 reply, Ridley stated, "Unfortunately our Baptism Registers . . . date only from

are available to provide clues to illuminate either Sparke's very humble family background or his years as an apprentice stationer.

Due to the absence of documentation concerning Sparke's birth, his origins are very obscure. There is even disagreement concerning the Christian name of Michael Sparke's father. Plomer identifies Sparke as "the son of Richard Sparke, husbandman."³ Rostenberg provides conflicting information by speaking of "his father, Thomas, a husbandman . . ."⁴ There is impressive documentary evidence to indicate that Plomer is correct. Stationers' Company records show that, "Michaell Sparke son of Richard Sparke of Ensham in the county of OXON husbandman hath put himself an apprentice vnto Symon pauley citizen and stacioner of London for the term of Seven yeres from this day [7 June 1603] . . ."⁵

As a "husbandman," the social status of Richard Sparke was probably quite low. He may have been a prosperous "husbandman," however, for he was probably the same Richard Sparke who had given himself the next higher rank of yeoman under similar circumstances a year and a half

1653, the year you give as that of Sparke's death. This means that there almost certainly does not exist anywhere a registrar's record of his birth or baptism--it is likely that earlier records were destroyed during the civil war." Miss S. J. Barnes, Oxfordshire County Archivist, confirmed Ridley's opinion in her October 29, 1981 letter, and as a result I am certain that documentary evidence of Sparke's birth has been lost for more than three centuries.

³Plomer, p. 409.

⁴Rostenberg, 1:162.

⁵London Stationers' Company, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D., ed. Edward Arber, 5 vols. (London: Privately printed, 1875-1877; Birmingham, 1894), 2:272.

earlier. One can still observe a crossed out entry in the Stationers' register for December 25, 1601, which reads, "William Sparke sonne of Richard Sparke of Enisham in the Countie of Oxon y[e]oman hathe put himself an Apprentize to John Barnet Citizen and Staconer for Seaven yeres from this Daye viz 25^{to} Decembris 1601 44^{to} Regin[a]e." William Sparke, who later left the Stationers' Company for "another trade," was probably an older brother of Michael Sparke.⁶

There is almost no evidence available to reconstruct the life that Sparke knew as a boy at Eynsham. Sparke's general level of literacy and his clear ability to write acceptable, if not outstanding, Latin have led several modern scholars to surmise that he received a good grammar school education. If this assumption is correct, Sparke's grammar school background gave him an average or slightly above average education for a stationer's apprentice in 1603.⁷

Sparke's career as a stationer's apprentice was far from being a smooth or an uncomplicated one. Although he was originally apprenticed to Symon Pauley in 1603, he did not serve his full term as an apprentice stationer with Pauley. On July 13, 1607, after Sparke had served just slightly more than four years with Pauley, his apprenticeship was shifted by new articles that bound him to Joseph Day. On October 23, 1609, Sparke's apprenticeship terms changed again, and he was bound to

⁶Ibid., 2:260.

⁷Plomer, pp. 409-410; Rostenberg, 1:162.

Bartholomew Downes, who less than a year later made Sparke free of the Stationers' Company as a journeyman on June 18, 1610.⁸

The modern historian can probably never uncover the reasons which lay behind Sparke's dual change of masters during his apprenticeship. Since an aging Sparke recorded very bitter complaints about Symon Pauley's Roman Catholicism in A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla,⁹ there is ample room to suspect that religious conflict played at least some part in Sparke's change of masters from Pauley to Day. There is, however, no similar ground to suspect that religion played a part in Sparke's transfer from Day to Downes, which took place strikingly near the conclusion of his term as an apprentice. One cannot help but speculate, however, that even as a young man Sparke had already begun to demonstrate the tendency to bitter professional quarrels that characterized his later career as a stationer, when he moved from youthful obscurity to professional preeminence.

Sparke's private life as an adult is almost as difficult to document as his family background and his experiences as a youthful apprentice. This author has employed two new sources of useful information and made much more extensive use of a third than former scholars. Unfortunately, all the evidence uncovered to illuminate

⁸Donald Francis McKenzie, Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1605-1640 (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1961), p. 64.

⁹Michael Sparke, A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla (London: 1652; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 104 Thomason Tracts), STC II S 2259, pp. 5-6.

Sparke's family life dates from 1640 or later, and it thus disproportionately reflects Sparke's later years.

The first major source concerning Sparke's family life is a lawsuit. This lawsuit, which Sparke filed on October 31, 1640, in the Court of Wards at Warwick, resulted from Sparke's desire to gain legal custody of the person and property of the lunatic Elizabeth Austen or Austin. Since this lunatic woman was a relative of Sparke's wife Elizabeth, the petition was filed in the name of both Sparke and his wife. Under the direction of Francis, Lord Cottington, the Court of Wards created a commission to study the case on November 2, 1640. This commission was returnable on the third sitting in the next Hilary term.¹⁰

Action on this case continued in 1641. Sparke and his wife did not find their petition uncontested, since there was another claimant for the legal custody of Elizabeth Austen, who had some claim to the substantial estate of her brother Sir Nicholas Petty. On February 3, 1641, Richard Canning petitioned Lord Cottington to grant custody of Elizabeth Austen to him. Canning's petition said:

Petitioner prays you to give order for staying the grant of said lunatic, that petitioner may be heard, for he can make it appear that he is the nearest of kin, to whom the land and the estate of the lunatic cannot descend, and it is desired by her friends to preserve her estate, and also does not doubt to entitle her to a far greater estate than Spark has by his late office.¹¹

¹⁰Great Britain, PRO, State Papers Domestic 16/470.

¹¹Ibid., 16/477.

Canning's legal challenge to Sparke failed, and the Court of Wards resolved this case in Sparke's favor on June 16, 1643. The court gave its decision in a manuscript which fully explains the detailed and complex financial and legal issues dividing Canning and Sparke.

This manuscript reveals that the fate of the deranged, unfortunate Austen was not the real issue between Canning and Sparke. The Court of Ward's decision in the Austen case determined not only the future of Austen but also the final disposition of the estate of Sir Nicholas Petty. Petty, who was Austen's brother, died on October 24, 1640, leaving a four thousand pound estate. Canning and Sparke each claimed to be the rightful executor of Petty's estate as well as to be Austen's guardian. Canning claimed that he should act as executor under a 1638 will in which Petty named Austen as his major heir. Sparke defended a 1640 will Petty made on his deathbed, which Canning maintained was a forgery designed by Sparke with the aid of other conspirators. The 1640 will made Sparke the executor of Petty's estate and essentially disinherited Austen in favor of Sparke, his family, and his associates.

If Canning's charges were correct, Sparke was guilty of serious dishonesty in this case of a disputed will. Austen would clearly have been better off if Sparke had lost this case despite Sparke's claims that he had generously spent some of his own money to maintain her. Since the Court of Wards found for Sparke, however, he must be presumed innocent in this case, which provides interesting evidence of his family connections with the Warwickshire gentry.¹²

¹²Great Britain, PRO, Ward 9/102A.

The Austen lawsuit opened what was clearly a stressful old age of personal crises for Sparke. Elizabeth Sparke predeceased her husband Michael, since the widow named in Sparke's will is Isabel Sparke.¹³ Michael Sparke, Jr., who showed some promise and was in business with his father, died in December 1645 at the hand of a relatively obscure brother, Philip. The story of Cain and Abel was tragically reenacted in Sparke's family, and the last decade of his life must have been a very bitter one. Sparke faced personal upheaval at the same time that he experienced the economic, political, and religious upheaval caused by the Civil War.

Another major source dealing with Sparke's adult family life comes from an examination of his relationship with Michael Sparke, Jr. The older and younger Sparke were business partners at the former's business premises at the Blue Bible in Green Arbour Court, Old Bailey, from 1638 to 1645. Their closeness is demonstrated by the fact that Sparke served as executor of his son's will despite the fact that this led to a lawsuit filed against Michael Sparke by his son's unhappy widow.¹⁴

The younger Sparke probably shared his father's political and religious leanings, since the material they published or considered for publication tended to be similar in intellectual outlook. In the field of politics, there is good evidence to show that both men detested the constitutional Leveller John Lilburne. On August 25, 1645, Michael

¹³Great Britain, PRO, PROB 11/236; Michael Sparke, Sr., "Will."

¹⁴Plomer, p. 417.

Sparke, Jr., registered at Stationers' Hall a small tract, which bore the title, A just defence of John Bastwick, D^r in Phisick ag^t the Calumnies of John Lilbourne, Leiften^t Coll. & C.¹⁵ On October 13, 1645, his father entered Prynn's The lyar confounded, or a brief refutation of John Lilborne's miserably mistated case, & c at Stationers' Hall to serve a similar purpose.¹⁶ In the field of religion, the son showed his approval of this father's brand of Puritanism by willing the poor children of the parish of St. Sepulchre copies of his father's best selling collection, Crums of Comfort.¹⁷

The father and the namesake son were so closely associated that it would be quite helpful to know more about their obviously strong ties. In addition, Sparke's family life would also be easier to understand if more was known about the very obscure second son who killed Michael Sparke, Jr., and the reasons behind this tragic event. Unfortunately, however, these reasons remain unknown, since no documentary evidence has yet been found.

The most important evidence for Sparke's adult personal life is drawn from his four-page manuscript will. This will reflects Sparke's family connections as well as his social and religious outlook shortly

¹⁵ London Stationers' Company, A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; from 1640-1708 A.D., ed. G. E. Briscoe Eyre, entries transcribed by H. R. Plomer, 4 vols. (London: Privately printed, 1913-14; reprint ed., New York: P. Smith, 1950), 1:188.

¹⁶ Ibid., 1:196.

¹⁷ Great Britain, PRO, PROB 11/199, 407A; Michael Sparke, Jr., "Will."

before his death on December 26, 1653, when he was about sixty-five years of age, old by the standards of early Stuart England, and worn-out by many personal and political battles. The will was proved before the Judges of Probate on March 3, 1654, and the administration of Sparke's estate was entrusted to Sparke's son-in-law and sole executor, Humphrey Baskerville, a London vintner.

In expressing his feelings toward his family in his last will and testament, Sparke shows special concern for the welfare of his widow, Isabel Sparke. Although Sparke requests burial next to the remains of his first wife in the parish of St. Sepulchre, he shows a marked interest in the welfare of Isabel, whom he must have married sometime after 1640. In addition to receiving a house, other valuable goods including furniture, plate, animals, and maintenance in the body of the will, Isabel also benefits from a September 26, 1653, codicil which left her a further bequest of £140. In addition to providing for his widow, Sparke's will also provides for three daughters, Elizabeth Baskerville, Mary Sutton, and Sarah Hutton, and their children. Although Sparke leaves nothing to the widow of Michael Sparke, Jr., he leaves a bequest to his son Philip's widow, Isabel Sparke, who resided in Scotland. He stresses that Isabel Sparke's children should have an inheritance equal to that given to his other grandchildren in England.

Sparke's will not only shows his attitude toward his immediate family, but he also remembers a large extended family. He leaves legacies to two brothers, Richard and Thomas Sparke, as well as to a sister Elizabeth Macock, who was the wife of a London printer, John

Macock, with whom Sparke often had business dealings. Thomas Sparke receives the forgiveness of an unpaid debt. Both Richard Sparke and Elizabeth Macock receive twenty shillings. In contrast to these bequests to siblings, Sparke's will cuts off George and William Sparke with token cash bequests of one shilling in order to show his displeasure with them, although he fails to name their relationship to him. It is probable that William Sparke was the brother whose name is crossed out in the Stationers' Company register in 1601, and at least one modern authority claims that George Sparke was also a brother of Michael Sparke.¹⁸

Sparke's will also discloses some of the personal friendships that undoubtedly were a significant part of his private life. The bequest of a gold seal ring to his "friend" Prynne shows the great value Sparke placed on his publishing relationship with Prynne. Clearly on Sparke's side at least, their long standing relationship had become more than a professional and business one. Sparke also apparently valued the friendship of Anthony Hudson and his son Nathaniel Hudson. Both these obscure figures received the right to select a book of their own choosing from Sparke's shop with the proviso that the right of first selection belonged to Anthony Hudson.

In this will Sparke displays his Puritan convictions before dividing his substantial estate among his family and friends. He expresses his basic religious beliefs by saying:

¹⁸ McKenzie, p. 64.

. . . I recommend my Soul unto the power of Almighty God my creator and of Jesus Christ my only Saviour and redeemer verily believing by his meritts, death, and Suffering to have free pardon and forgiveness of all my sinns, and to . . . inherit eternall life with the elect children of God.

While this traditional statement of faith and his desire for a very modest funeral without sermon can be dismissed as convention by the skeptical reader, Sparke's will also contains several additional impressive signs of his practical application of his religious beliefs. Remembering his youth at Eynsham, Oxfordshire, Sparke includes a bequest which he hopes will lead to the establishment of a grammar school there. There is no evidence that this bequest, which seems to indicate Sparke's support of the Puritan-inspired movement to make good grammar school education available throughout England and is typical of Puritan wills, was ever carried out. Sparke also expresses his devotion to Puritanism by ordering the distribution of Calvinist literature, including his own popular collection, Crums of Comfort. As well as clearly indicating Sparke's commitment to education, his will demonstrates his concern for the poor through his gift of bread to the impoverished of the Old Bailey district of the parish of St. Sepulchre. Such bequests of bread were a commonplace but important way of showing a testator's concern for his unfortunate neighbors.

A detailed examination of Sparke's will has produced additional suggestions about his adult family life, important personal friendships, and basic convictions. Sparke displays his capacity both for strong loyalty and bitter antagonism by his decisions on who would receive important legacies and who would be cut off in his will. His use of

books as legacies makes clear how important Sparke's trade was to him. In facing death, Sparke's Puritan faith clearly comforted him with the belief that he was one of God's elect, who was predestined to enjoy eternal salvation. Sparke's will also demonstrates his strong religious commitment to the advancement of public welfare through aid to education and help for the poor.¹⁹

In very sharp contrast to the paucity of information concerning either Sparke's early or his adult private life, there are relatively abundant documents to illuminate his professional career as a printer. The official records of the Stationers' Company have provided evidence concerning the nature of Sparke's membership in that corporate body which had the legal authority to regulate his business and that of all other private printers and publishers.

Sparke became controversial early in his career, since he had involved himself in apparently serious legal quarrels by 1615. He paid a five shilling fine on February 20, 1615, for arresting Thomas Archer without the permission of the Stationers' Company.²⁰ Although the causes of Sparke's conflict with Archer are unknown, it is significant that Sparke had begun to make enemies even before he registered his first book at Stationers' Hall on January 20, 1617.²¹

¹⁹Great Britain, PRO, PROB 11/236.

²⁰London Stationers' Company, Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1602-1640, ed. William A. Jackson (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1957), p. 457.

²¹Rostenberg, 1:168.

Although he made enemies early, Sparke apparently experienced only minor problems with the Stationers' Company before he was suspended from the livery of the company in 1634 due to the furor surrounding his publication of William Prynne's Histrion-mastix. Although the Court of the Stationers' Company imposed two additional fines on Sparke during the years between 1616 and 1633, neither fine resulted from a serious incident. On September 3, 1627, Sparke was one of the five men who paid a five shilling fine for not attending the funeral of Edward Allde.²² On October 15, 1633, Sparke paid a fourteen pence fine for being one of at least seven men who had not been present at the preceding quarterly meeting.²³ Except for these minor and commonplace fines, Sparke's relationship with the Stationers' Company was at least superficially problem free before 1634. His surrender of his yeomanry part or full membership in the English Stock on June 7, 1630, may, however, have resulted from financial or political pressure unknown to us through the surviving records. The English Stock members were an important subgroup of the Stationers' Company, who controlled the right to print almanacks, prognostications, psalters, psalms, and primers, and Sparke's surrender of membership in this group may have indicated some decline in his professional status.²⁴

With the controversy surrounding the publication of Histrion-mastix, Sparke found that his years of peaceful membership in the Stationers'

²²London Stationers' Company, Records of the Court, 1602-1640, p. 475.

²³Ibid., p. 481.

²⁴Ibid., p. 217.

Company came to an end. In order to appease Archbishop Laud and the Court of High Commission, the company had to disassociate itself from Sparke. On May 10, 1634, the Court of the Stationers' Company suspended Michael Sparke from the livery. It said:

Censure was this present day executed accordingly. Now that no scandall may come or accrue to the society here [by]. And for other his great offences, the Court thought fitt and soe Ordered that the Said Michaell Sparkes shall from henceforth be Suspended from the Livery & not bee warn'd to attend and bee present with y^e rest of the livery at any time.

This judgment unquestionably represented public professional censure.²⁵

Despite the probable disgrace that Sparke experienced as a result of his suspension from the livery, his connections with the Stationers' Company clearly were not severed for long. Although there is no record of Sparke's being readmitted to the Stationers' Company, he paid a fine on February 6, 1636, for "binding his appr' fore he was p^resented."²⁶ In 1638, Sparke paid a fine for binding Francis Backle as his apprentice at the rival Scriveners' Company.²⁷ While the record of Sparke's fine payments provides conclusive proof that he did not suffer professional ruin after his publication of Prynne's Histrion-mastix, his relationship with the Stationers' Company undoubtedly continued to be very strained and difficult.

When the Civil War neared, Sparke must have rejoiced in the newly available opportunity to attack the printing monopolies he had long detested as well as the leadership of the Stationers' Company. In 1641

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 256-57.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 484.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 487.

Sparke published his important pamphlet Scintilla in order to urge the Long Parliament to end printing monopolies and to make the leadership of the Stationers' Company both more democratic and more responsive to the wishes of all printers and publishers.²⁸ This pamphlet, which Sparke cautiously published anonymously, had an important impact on public policy, and it will receive detailed treatment later.

Although Sparke may have hoped for dramatic changes in the organization of the Stationers' Company after 1641, he found that he was unable to overthrow its oligarchic and privileged leadership. He was one of the five leaders in an abortive 1645 attempt to do so. Together with Henry Featherstone, James Thompson, John Partridge, and Thomas Underhill, Sparke directed a minority group attempt to weaken the powers that were allotted to the elite-dominated Court of the Stationers' Company and to increase the power of the company's general membership.²⁹

Excellent contemporary documentation of Sparke's role in the attempted 1645 revolution within the Stationers' Company can be found in company records.³⁰ There are four crucial documents which clearly illustrate the upheaval within the Stationers' Company in June 1645 and also provide an account of the events which preceded the crisis. The earliest document gives a very brief June 13 request to attend a "Common Hall" of the Stationers' Company on June 23, 1645. The next document consists of the platform of the reform party as drawn up by Sparke and

²⁸Rostenberg, 1:193-97.

²⁹Ibid., 1:198-99.

³⁰London Stationers' Company, Transcript of the Registers, 1554-1640, ed. Arber, 2:589-94.

other leading rebels on June 21, 1645. The reformers demand a new election of company officials, better financial accounting by the leaders of the company, and the printing of a new broadly financed and controlled edition of the Bible. A rebuttal to the reform platform appears in a document stating the conservative position issued on June 14, 1645. The final document is a June 26, 1645, minute passed by the Mayor and Court of Alderman of the City of London. After condemning those who desired change in the internal organization of the Stationers' Company, the minute states that:

. . . master ffetherston master Sparkes master Tompson Master Patridge and master Underhill are Actors for the said innovacon. This Courte takinge this businesse into consideracon as a matter of ill consequence tendinge not only to the distracon and confusion upon the said company But upon the good and peacable government of all other companies Doth order that the said parties be summoned to appeare before this Courte on Tewesday next [1 July 1645] to answer the contempt of said petitioner³¹.

The failure of his attempt to reform the organization of the Stationers' Company did not cause Sparke to withdraw from active participation in the affairs of the company despite his advancing years and the tragic death of his son Michael in December 1645. Sparke received election as a Stationers' Company Renter Warden in 1646, and he may have enjoyed this post, which carried with it the right to collect the quarterly subscriptions from all company freemen, despite the undoubted sting of an unsuccessful attempt to gain company office as a reform party candidate in 1645. It is even possible that the long-time

³¹Ibid., 2:594.

rebel Sparke was at least partially co-opted by the victorious establishment.³²

Although his 1646 election as Renter Warden was certainly the greatest recognition that Sparke received from the Stationers' Company during his long career, Sparke had received other small signs of recognition earlier. Sparke had gained a minor office in March 1622, when he was elected a stockkeeper of the company's English Stock.³³ On October 29, 1627, Sparke was on good enough terms with the leaders of the Stationers' Company to be selected as one of the three stationers appointed to attend the Lord Mayor's yearly feast.³⁴ Along with these minor but nonetheless important signs of respect, Sparke obtained financial assistance from the Court of the Stationers' Company on at least two unrelated occasions. On August 2, 1619, the Court decided that, "It is ordered that Geo. Fairebird shall pay unto Michell Sparkes a debt that he oweth unto him by x⁵ eu'ye fortnight the debt is confessed to amount to 4^p16s."³⁵ Just over nine years later on November 3, 1628, the Court ordered Francis Coules to pay Sparke a ten shilling fine for unfairly printing "Verses of mans mortalitie: with another of the hope of his ressurection." These verses were a selection

³²Rostenberg, 1:198.

³³London Stationers' Company, Records of the Court, 1602-1640, p. 155.

³⁴London Stationers' Company, Transcript of the Registers, 1554-1640, ed. Arbor, 3:323.

³⁵London Stationers' Company, Records of the Court, 1602-1640, p. 111.

from Sparke's popular best seller Crums of Comfort, and Coules had infringed on Sparke's officially recognized registration rights to print this collection.³⁶

An examination of Sparke's recorded relationship to the Stationers' Company also provided evidence of his directly personal relationships with other stationers both as friend and foe. Although Sparke often played the part of the courageous loner, he did enjoy lasting friends and business allies as well as create bitter antagonists, who frequently took him to court.

Sparke's 1653 will offers impressive evidence concerning Sparke's adult personal life and suggestions concerning his political and religious convictions near the time of his death. It also throws some light on his most enduring business alliances. In addition to remembering his sister Elizabeth Macock, whose printer husband frequently worked with him, Sparke's will also mentions the widows of Thomas Cotes and William Jones, two other printers who had also worked often with him.³⁷ In addition to these provisions for the survivors of two printers who had been professionally associated with him, Sparke also remembers with bequests the chapmen who had helped him to sell his books outside London.³⁸

Although he clearly managed to maintain these lasting professionally-based friendships, due to his contentious nature and passionate

³⁶ Ibid., p. 476.

³⁷ Great Britain, PRO, PROB 11/236.

³⁸ Ibid.

convictions, Sparke unfortunately often made more enemies than friends, and many of his professional enemies were counted among the most influential and respected members of the Stationers' Company. Sparke's conflict with Robert Barker was a typical example of his tendency to antagonize the most powerful members of his trade. In addition, Sparke's tenacious struggle against Barker and his silent partner Martin Lucas, who were King's Printers and monopolized the printing of officially approved editions of the Holy Bible, was a particularly explosive demonstration of how far Sparke pursued professional antagonisms. The serious legal difficulties which were involved apparently did not serve to deter Sparke from strenuously contesting the monopoly privileges held by Barker and Lucas, since Sparke sought both profit in illegally importing Bibles and the chance to fight monopoly patents.

As early as July, 1630, Barker received a Privy Council warrant to seize the Bibles imported by Sparke at Bristol and to bring the contraband Bibles to London. Since he was thwarted by the use of the royal prerogative, Sparke countered by suing Barker in a common-law court in retaliation. On February 15, 1631, the Privy Council responded to Barker's complaint that its orders were not being obeyed, and two days later the rebellious Sparke was jailed by a Privy Council angered that he had been daring enough to hire attorneys to contest its orders at common law.³⁹

³⁹ Great Britain, Privy Council, Acts of the Privy Council of England, 4 vols. (London: H. M. Stationary Office, 1960), 2:229.

Sparke proved unable to win his contest against the officially supported Barker in the 1630s, but his experiences in this case were the foundation of his strong and principled stand against royal grants of monopoly printing rights. He clearly drew upon these experiences in his 1641 pamphlet Scintilla, which spoke out strongly concerning the high prices and other evils created by the existence of a monopoly patent in Bible printing. From a practical point of view, Sparke was exceptionally courageous in the 1631 Barker case, since the legal risks he incurred in the illegal importation of Bibles outweighed any possible financial gain.

Sparke's legal problems with Barker were only one example of the numerous legal difficulties which he encountered in the ten years between 1627 and 1637. He was repeatedly called before Archbishop Laud's Court of High Commission during these years as a result of his opposition to the government political and religious policies, and the courageous printer became increasingly familiar with Fleet Prison as a result of repeated jailings. Sparke always justified his actions during this period by clear statements of principle, and he showed himself to be a very dedicated Puritan propagandist in his passionate arguments that the Church of England should be strictly Calvinist in doctrine and that the royal prerogative should be limited by subjects' rights as guaranteed in Magna Carta and the Petition of Right.

Because of the political and religious importance of Sparke's role as the printer or publisher of many highly controversial works during the years between 1627 and 1637, a thorough case by case study of his

legal problems during this period has provided some very valuable insights into both the significance of Sparke's life and the nature of his character. At this point, this chapter will describe Sparke's legal battles during this period with the exception of those cases which involve Sparke's role as Prynne's publisher, since these cases will be treated in Chapter III.

In 1627, Sparke's ten year period of almost continuous legal confrontation with the ecclesiastical and secular authorities began with the printing of the recently deceased Bishop Lancelot Andrewes' Seven sermons on the wonderfull combate betweene Christ and Sathan by Sparke and Isaac Jaggard. The ecclesiastical authorities were angered by the publication of these collected sermons, for they planned to issue an approved edition of the bishop's entire theological corpus in cooperation with other more favored printers. The ensuing controversy resulted in Sparke's delayed jailing in April 1629. In his statement petitioning for release from the Fleet Prison, Sparke justified his reprinting of the Seven Sermons which had been out of print for more than thirty years. In his own defense, Sparke said:

. . . , he was induced to reprint it; before, however, it could come out, the press was stayed for a while by command of Bishop [Laud] of London, upon the information of some who labor to have the printing of the whole of the late Bishop's works. Hearing no more of this business for nine weeks and pressed to pay for the paper, and being much in want of money, he disposed of these books for which he is committed to the Fleet Prison by your lordships.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Great Britain, PRO, State Papers Domestic 16/350.

In this statement Sparke made a generally convincing argument for his contention that he had innocently stumbled into difficulties over Andrewes's Seven Sermons. After finding himself the unwary victim of significant ecclesiastical privileges granted to other printers, Sparke undoubtedly reacted with bitterness, and this case may have helped to set in motion his long struggle against more favored printers. The case certainly illustrates the power Laud exercised even before he became Archbishop of Canterbury.

Sparke experienced even more serious legal difficulties as a result of his printing several inflammatory theological works by a controversial Puritan divine, the Reverend Henry Burton, in 1628. By this time Sparke had clearly dedicated his press to the advancement of the Puritan cause, and he could not hope convincingly to claim that the unauthorized works that he printed for Burton were the mere innocent product of an honest misunderstanding. Although Burton's October 29, 1628, testimony before the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical may not have been entirely correct, Burton's contention that Sparke had printed three stridently Puritan books for him was certainly not entirely without factual foundation. Burton claimed, "And lastly saith that the books entituled Israelle fast That of the tryall of private devotions, and that also of the Conflicte and Comforte of Consience were respectively printed by Michael Sparkes . . ."⁴¹ Of these three works, however,

⁴¹Walter Wilson Greg, A Comparison to Arber: Being a Calendar of Documents in Edward Arber's "Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640" with text and calendar of supplementary documents edited by W. W. Greg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 243.

careful examination has been able to assign only A tryall of private devotions, or a diall for the houres of prayer definitely to Sparke. The other two works are probably his, but it can not be proven.

Sparke's connection with Burton continued and deepened in 1629, when Sparke published Burton's Babel no Bethel, in which Burton contended that the Roman Catholic Church was not a true Christian church. Since the Church was moving away from its Calvinist traditions, this seemingly unobjectionable, orthodox Protestant contention sent Burton to Fleet Prison and also caused his suspension from his benefice. As printer and publisher of this work Sparke also faced severe penalties from the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, who accused Sparke of having published between one and two thousand copies of it. Unintimidated by the actions of the authorities, Sparke made a determined constitutional defense of his position on May 5, 1629. He denied the validity of the time-honored 1586 Star Chamber decree for the regulation of printing, and he proudly claimed that he had acted within his rights under both Magna Carta and the 1628 Petition of Right. He added that Babel no Bethel was a defense of sound, orthodox Church of England doctrine against the innovating Arminians. Sparke sincerely believed that he was defending established tradition in both church and state policy, although the authorities regarded him as a radical rebel.⁴²

Sparke's radicalism temporarily cooled somewhat in 1630, when he answered charges made by the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical

⁴²Ibid., p. 248 and Nicholas Tyacke, "Puritanism, Arminianism, and Counter Revolution," in Conrad Russell's The Origins of the English Civil War (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1973), pp. 199-243.

with what was for him a remarkably conciliatory and submissive statement. In a January 15, 1630 document, Sparke claimed that he had anonymously received forty-one unordered, unlicensed, and heretical books. He claimed that he had voluntarily turned in the most explosive of these books, which had the title of Christ's Confession and Complaint. In view of his past record, his testimony was certainly open to at least some reasonable question, but the authorities apparently could prove nothing against him.⁴³

If Sparke's ardor for confrontation had declined somewhat in 1630, he was once again very clearly courting official displeasure in 1631. Highlights of Sparke's activities in this year included his part in the publication of Rome's Ruin and the culmination of his association with the Oxford University printer William Turner, who was not subject to the regulations of the Stationers' Company and therefore enjoyed more freedom than London printers.

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners apparently regarded the publication and distribution of Rome's Ruin, which appeared in an edition of from one thousand to fifteen hundred, as a serious attack upon both church and state. Sparke apparently did not act alone in the publication of Rome's Ruin, since the authorities also charged James Bowler, Nicholas Bourne, and Henry Overton with complicity in its production. The worried authorities summed up their alarm over Rome's Ruin with the statement that it contained, ". . . passages taxing not

⁴³Great Britain, PRO, State Papers Domestic 16/158.

only the whole state but also some particular Bishops and persons of eminent place in the Church."⁴⁴

Although Sparke had undoubtedly angered the authorities as a result of his part in the publication of Rome's Ruin, Sparke's most serious legal difficulties in 1631 stemmed from his relationship with William Turner, the Oxford University Printer. On April 2, 1631, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners took action against Sparke and Turner as well as James Bowler and Solomon Turner, two London booksellers who were associated with them in the publication and distribution of at least eight unlicensed and unapproved controversial books. Since Prynne was the author of two of these eight unlicensed books, this text has postponed discussion of the publication of Prynne's The Antithesis of the Church of England (2nd ed.) and Lame Giles His Haultings until Chapter III. The official charges concerning the remaining six books were summarized as follows:

. . . ; also that, without authority, they procured to be printed at Oxford by William Turner The Book of Promises, Markham's Method, Dent's Sermon of Repentence, five sermons of Dr. Preston, Dent's Sermons in Welsh, and Ferrard's Prayers, books entered at Stationers' Hall to other men;
 . . .⁴⁵

The official complaint concluded with the damaging assertion that Sparke had become an habitual offender against the legal rules and regulations governing the printing trade. In addition to questioning the registration rights of other printers to the exclusive publication of

⁴⁴ Greg, A Companion to Arber, p. 84.

⁴⁵ Great Britain, PRO, State Papers Domestic 16/188.

works that they had entered at Stationers' Hall, Sparke showed exceptional courage by his unexpected refusal to submit to arrest and by his daring in seizing Richard Tomlins, who had been sent by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to arrest him and confiscate the contested edition of The Book of Promises.⁴⁶ Few of his contemporaries would have dared to emulate his defiance.

Sparke's relationship with William Turner floundered under official pressure. On May 6, 1631, Turner gave an official statement denying that he was Michael Sparke's partner. Turner refused to admit any business relationship with Sparke except that he:

. . . ; within the last half year printed the "Book of Promises" . . . of which he had printed 1,500 copies; "Dent's Sermon," of which he had printed 3,000; and Five Sermons of Dr. Preston, of which he had printed 2,000; all which he believes were Michael Sparkes own copies and licensed books.⁴⁷

Turner did not share Sparke's courage, and his attempt to disassociate himself from Sparke may have induced him knowingly to give false testimony. Despite his denials, Turner almost certainly knew that the printing he did for Sparke was to some extent of dubious legality and that he risked official censure.

Sparke's May 10, 1631, statement to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners differed factually from Turner's only in regard to the printing of one book. Sparke maintained that he and Turner had been partners in the printing of a book which was entitled The Optic Glass of

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Great Britain, PRO, State Papers Domestic 16/190.

Humours. Sparke's very telling defense of his actions centered on his dual contention that Turner as Oxford University Printer was legally entitled to print any lawfully licensed book and he, Sparke, held legal copy or partial copy (i.e., copyright) to all the titles which Turner had printed for him. To justify his impassioned claim that he had not violated any man's "copy," Sparke gave a detailed explanation of several current lawsuits, which found him pitted against influential stationers for the ownership of copy privileges in Markham's Method, Dent's Sermon of Repentence, and the Book of Promises. Whether his statement was accurate or not, Sparke's argument revealed some significant facts about the nature of his professional status in 1631. Sparke's many quarrels with the leadership of the Stationers' Company in London almost surely were the major motivating force that induced him to take his printing orders to Turner at Oxford. In addition, Sparke probably had a strong, if not unclouded, claim to the legal ownership of all the works which he had Turner print for him. In this case, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners must have thought that his claims were not totally without factual merit, since the serious charges against Sparke were not pursued any further after his defense of his position was recorded.⁴⁸

While Sparke had clearly established a pattern of repeated and serious conflict with both the ecclesiastical and secular authorities in the five years from 1627 to 1632, his difficulties with the law finally reached a climax in 1633 and 1634. During these crucial years, Sparke's

⁴⁸Greg, A Companion to Arber, pp. 268-73.

penchant for controversy led him to the brink of both financial and professional ruin with his publication of Prynne's vitriolic, Puritan, anti-theater polemic Histrion-mastix in 1633, which contended that Christians should not patronize the theater. Sparke himself probably recognized that he had gone too far in provoking the authorities in this case, since he withdrew from further provocative participation in political and religious controversy until the calling of the Long Parliament.

Using the preceding analysis of Sparke's personal and professional life as a basis, one can both assess his social role as a successful small businessman and give an estimate of the significance of his professional career in seventeenth century English history. Although Sparke both sought and achieved substantial worldly success, he was not a businessman in the modern capitalist-inspired sense of the word despite the similarities which can be found between Sparke's career and that of today's successful self-made small entrepreneur. For Sparke, his printing and publishing business was a Christian vocation in which he wished to serve both God and the general public welfare as well as to make a good living for himself and his family. Although Sparke did not always live up to the highest possible moral and ethical standards in the conduct of his business, he had an active Puritan conscience, which made him aware of the maxims, "Let not one Brother oppresse another. Doe as you would be done unto."⁴⁹ Sparke undoubtedly craved God's

⁴⁹Michael Sparke, Scintilla (London: 1641; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 225), STC II S 4818B, title page.

pardon for his ethical failures in business as well as for his more private sins.

Despite the fact that Sparke's lapses into unethical or at least questionable business practices constituted a minor part of his career as a stationer, these lapses need to be understood in order to complete an honest analysis of his lengthy career as a successful small business man. There are at least three cases in which Sparke's business ethics aroused the deserved suspicion of both his contemporaries and later historians. Two of these cases involved book piracy, while the third involved failure to honor a contract in an important publishing venture.

In the first piracy case, Sparke clearly infringed upon his fellow London stationer Andrew Hebb's copy privileges in Peter Martyr's Famous History of the Indies, which first appeared in English in 1612. Sparke called his 1628 edition of this important history a second edition, when in reality it was the third English language edition of this work on exploration. In registering the title at the Stationers' Hall, Sparke called his pirated edition by the slightly variant title The famous historie of the Indies in an attempt to conceal that he was reprinting Hebb's 1625 The Historie of the West Indies.⁵⁰ It is no wonder that Hebb resented his actions and became Sparke's bitter business rival.⁵¹

While Sparke's actions in the 1628 republication of Peter Martyr's Famous History of the Indies were patently unfair and unethical both by the standards of his day and ours, twentieth century charges that Sparke

⁵⁰ Rostenberg, 1:173.

⁵¹ Ibid.

issued pirated fourth and fifth editions of Gervaise Markham's Markham's method or epitome in 1626 and 1630 have a weak foundation. In his May 10, 1631, testimony before the High Commission, Sparke defended his publication of these editions of Markham's method by claiming that he held a part-lease in the copy of this work and several other books, although his rights to publish them were being officially challenged. Even allowing for the fact that Sparke was undoubtedly putting the best possible color on his actions, he did have grounds to defend his rights in this case, and thus the hostile Court of the High Commission apparently gave his statements the benefit of reasonable doubt.⁵²

Sparke's contractual relationship with Cornelius Bee reflected as little credit upon him as had his violation of Hebb's copy privileges. Prior to publishing the first English edition of Gerard Mercator's Atlas in 1635, Sparke had contracted with Bee to import three hundred and fifty copies of the Amsterdam edition of Mercator for distribution in England. When Sparke decided to publish his own version of the famous atlas, he reneged on his preexisting importation agreement with Bee, since his publication of Mercator involved great expense and the two editions would be competitive.⁵³

Unfortunately for Sparke, Cornelius Bee did not take either the violation of the contract or the financial loss it caused him lightly, and Bee proved capable of retaliating effectively. On November 13,

⁵²Greg, A Companion to Arber, p. 269.

⁵³Rostenberg, 1:189-91.

1637, Bee petitioned Laud to allow him to import 350 copies of the Amsterdam Mercator and to reverse a June 15, 1635, Court of High Commission order which had forbidden the importation of the Amsterdam edition and had thereby granted substantial benefits to Sparke despite his long record of problems with the authorities. In his petition, Bee stated his case as follows:

. . . petitioner bought for the use of this kingdom, and Michael Sparke made a contract with petitioner for a third part of said 350, whereupon petitioner deposited 100 l in part for the same, and engaged for the remainder, and now Sparke has flown from his contract. Prays the archbishop's favour for the importation of said books, being neither offensive to church nor to state.⁵⁴

Sparke had no adequate answer to Bee's petition claiming breach of contract, and he surrendered his warrant to prevent the importation of foreign copies of the atlas on the same day Bee submitted the petition.⁵⁵

New documentary evidence shows that Bee's petition against him was a severe blow to Sparke. Sparke had spent £700 in the printing and publishing of his version of Mercator's Atlas, and the importation of a competing foreign edition threatened him with severe financial loss. On November 23, 1637, he petitioned Laud for financial relief. After stating that he accepted Laud's decision to allow Bee to import copies of Mercator's Atlas, Sparke requested that, ". . . the importers may be tied to exchange some of them with the petitioner for his, otherwise it

⁵⁴ Great Britain, PRO, State Papers Domestic 16/371.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

will turn to his utter undoing."⁵⁶ Sparke's case asking for Laud's assistance was a very weak one hindered by the fact that Bee was not his only antagonist at the time. Sparke had to conclude his petition with the admission that John Waterson, another fellow stationer was concurrently charging him with the improper importation of twelve copies of Owen's Epigrams and selling an unspecified type of prohibited books.⁵⁷

There is no denying that Sparke's treatment of Bee in their atlas dispute was an example of Sparke at his worst. In seeking profit and glory, he resorted to unfair double dealing in his business relationship with Bee. Although Sparke's 1635 and 1639 editions of the Historia mundi or mercators atlas were a major contribution to the advancement of English geographical and historical knowledge concerning the rest of the world, Laud's assistant Sir John Lambe was generous to make any financial concessions to assist Sparke in 1637. Lambe, however, did grant Sparke's request for an exchange of books with Bee.⁵⁸

Sparke's remarkable success in surviving the intense political furor over Histrion-mastix taken together with his ability to obtain concessions from Laud to assist his atlas publication have provided ample proof that Sparke's long-standing record as a political trouble-maker did not limit his rather astounding ability to survive and even to prosper as a businessman. Sparke faced serious legal difficulties

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 561-62.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid.

almost continuously from 1627 to 1637, but neither ideological dissent nor unethical business practices caused irredeemable damage to his professional career. Sparke was a survivor, not a martyr, and the generosity he received from the authorities has provided grounds to speculate that even his perennial antagonist Laud may have respected him enough to tolerate an unusual degree of dissent.

In the late 1620s and the 1630s, religious dissent was at least as dangerous as political dissent. Although he was a totally convinced Puritan, who made his press a focal point for Puritan inspired opposition to the controversial Laudian changes in doctrine and liturgical practices of the established Church of England, Sparke underwent minimal official punishment. Despite the fact that Sparke must have become quite familiar with Fleet Prison due to the experience of repeated jailings, his career did not suffer anything approaching the reverses which were experienced by his better-known associates such as the Reverend Henry Burton and William Prynne. Sparke's religious convictions may even on balance have helped his business, since the works of Calvinist theology that he printed and published appealed to a large and influential segment of the contemporary English reading public.

Although Sparke's importance in the political and religious dissent of the Laudian era clearly made him a distinctly visible social rebel, he was not an atypical figure in most respects. Both in his attitude toward his craft and in the way he carried out his business activities, Sparke belonged to the upper rung of that productive social class which

Christopher Hill has labeled "the industrious sort." The "industrious sort," which Hill has defined as an aspiring class of propertied but unprivileged yeomen and small business men, was hard working, God-fearing and dedicated to the achievement of worldly success as a probable sign of God's grace and a place among the favored few who were predestined to a place among those elected to eternal salvation.⁵⁹ Sparke's career exemplifies the transitional economic role of Hill's "industrious sort," since he clearly rejected most relics of feudalism and monopoly privilege as well as the unrestrained economic competition which would more than a century later characterize the ethic of early industrial capitalism. Significantly, Sparke was intellectual enough to articulate the attitude of the "industrious sort" toward the poor in his Greevos Grones for the Poore (1621) and his The poore orphans court, or orphans cry (1636). These works, which will be given a detailed analysis later, show that Sparke shared the common desire of the "industrious sort" to force all able bodied individuals to work and to make the poor as economically productive as possible.

Since he was typical of the "industrious sort," Sparke would have been shocked by the social attitudes accompanying the theory of unresricted capitalistic competition which arose in the eighteenth century. Although Sparke desired to achieve as much prosperity as lay within his grasp, he accepted traditional social patterns, which required prospering tradesmen such as himself to show deference and

⁵⁹Hill, Society & Puritanism, pp. 124-44.

respect to those like his friend Prynne, who had been fortunate enough to have been born gentlemen. Despite his objection to monopolists such as Robert Barker and his efforts to make the Stationers' Company operate on a more democratic and open basis, Sparke was not consistent in his opposition to monopoly privileges when he felt that he would be in a position to benefit from these privileges, as he demonstrated in the legal actions surrounding his publication of Mercator's Atlas in the late 1630s. Although Sparke was not always totally ethical in his business dealings as Cornelius Bee and others found out to their regret, Sparke clearly believed that he had an important moral obligation to advance both the glory of God and the expansion of knowledge. When he wrote with disgust in A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla (1652) about the contemporary Anabaptist stationer who was willing to publish anything for a price, Sparke rejected the social viewpoint of a man ready to be the "Devil's stationer" for profit. Although the Anabaptist's viewpoint was perhaps significant as the precursor of the attitude toward business that triumphed in early industrial capitalism, Sparke's viewpoint represented the still dominant Reformation viewpoint of business as a Christian vocation as well as a profit-oriented economic enterprise.⁶⁰

Sparke's career as a stationer had a significant impact on his generation because of his Calvinist-inspired viewpoint that business involved Christian duty as well as the acquisition of wealth. Despite

⁶⁰ Sparke, A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla, p. 8.

his failings and lapses from what he himself clearly regarded as the proper standard of conduct for a Christian businessman, Sparke's press made its voice heard effectively in the major political and religious controversies of early Stuart England; Sparke's publications also helped to increase the educational opportunities which were available to his audience and to disseminate the geographical knowledge resulting from the exploration and settlement of the New World.

In politics, Sparke shared Prynne's devotion to the concept of a limited, constitutional government in England. Chapter III will show how Sparke's role as Prynne's publisher helped to disseminate the principles of constitutionalism, which were undoubtedly an important bond in the exceptionally fruitful personal and professional relationship which connected Sparke to Prynne for a period of more than thirty-five years. Although he was less educated and less eloquent than his friend Prynne, Sparke's appeals to Magna Carta and to the Petition of Right demonstrated a sound grasp of the principle of limited government as early as 1629.

Sparke was even more involved in religious than in political controversy. In order to promote his religious beliefs, he filled his publication list with the theological writings of such notable Puritan thinkers as William Atterbury, Thomas Beard, Henry Burton, John Preston, and Thomas Vicars.⁶¹ In addition to the works of learned Puritan theological argument, Sparke also spread the type of orthodox Calvinist

⁶¹Rostenberg, 1:175.

doctrine he advocated through the prayers he collected in Crums of Comfort With godly prayers. This widely distributed work, considered in Chapter IV, enabled Sparke to influence decisively the popular mind of his generation.

While Sparke obviously delighted in political and religious controversy, he also showed a keen interest in less sensitive subjects. He helped advance the cause of popular education both through the publication of English translations from the classics and through the sale of practically oriented foreign language dictionaries. In addition to these efforts to make foreign language materials more accessible to those able to read English only, Sparke directly contributed to the betterment of education through his publication of the writings of the noted Czech educator Jan Amos Komensky, better known as Comenius.

Sparke's interest in geography and more particularly in the exploration and settlement of the New World was even greater than his interest in education. His concern for the New World probably arose from his personal connection with it, since his brother Thomas Sparke settled first in Virginia and then in Bermuda. As the publisher of Captain John Smith's The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England and the Sommer Islands, Sparke helped to inform the English reading public about the colonization movement.⁶² He also fed their hunger for increased geographical information with his editions of Mercator's Atlas and his role in the publication of Captain Luke Foxe's North West Foxe.

⁶² Ibid., 1:170-71.

Although he was no visionary, Sparke nevertheless showed himself both intellectually alert and curious in an era of English expansion and greatly improved geographical knowledge.

Sparke's substantial contributions to the culture of his generation through the publication and distribution of vital works in politics, religion, education, and exploration earned him far more prosperity than he had probably ever dreamed of as a boy at Eynsham. Sparke deserved success and respect both because of his courage in confronting controversial situations and because of his obvious intellectual curiosity. Although many today would find his stern Calvinist world view narrow-minded and rigid, his Calvinism was almost certainly both an aid to his long career as a successful small businessman in early Stuart England and typical of the convictions shared by others of his social class.⁶³ Calvinism in Sparke's day was not incompatible with the best of contemporary life and thought.

As a convinced Calvinist, Sparke almost certainly was aware of his own moral lapses both in his business and in his personal life. His many quarrels with other stationers and with members of his own family

⁶³Paul Seaver, "The Puritan Work Ethic Revisited," Journal of British Studies 19 (Spring 1980):35-53.

Sparke's career can be compared instructively with that of his contemporary Nehemiah Wallington (1598-1658), a London turner. Although they shared Puritan religious principles, their economic behavior was quite different. Sparke showed substantially more initiative, profit orientation, and numerical awareness than Wallington. These differences may be the result of the fact that Sparke, unlike Wallington, was upwardly mobile and conducted business on an international scale. Despite his rural origins, Sparke was significantly more sophisticated than the London born Wallington. This sophistication may have resulted from the educational effect of Sparke's trade.

reflected a troubled temperament. Sparke never knew peace short of the grave, and his personal life was riven with tragedy particularly in his later years. Sparke would have seen both his sins and his problems as a natural result of man's fallen condition, but in balance he was a "good and faithful servant" of his God in his exciting and worthwhile professional career. Although he has been almost forgotten, Sparke left a meaningful legacy of key publications as well as a more than respectable estate to his surviving children and grandchildren.

CHAPTER III

THE SPARKE-PRYNNE RELATIONSHIP

Any work on Sparke requires an examination of the nature of the fruitful and longstanding personal and professional relationship between Michael Sparke as a printer-publisher and William Prynne as a prolific Puritan author, lawyer, and Presbyterian parliamentary figure. A shared commitment to the political principles of constitutional monarchy based on the rule of King-in-Parliament and to the religious principles of a reorganized Church of England, which was conservative and Calvinist in theology and Presbyterian in structural organization, helped to make Sparke and Prynne natural allies in their fight to achieve common goals concerning mid-seventeenth century English public policy issues.

Sparke (1588-1653) and his younger contemporary Prynne (1600-1669) clearly established bonds of professional collaboration in the late 1620s, and these bonds remained strong and steady until Sparke's death terminated their relationship in 1653. Similar views concerning the major political and religious questions of their day made Sparke and Prynne compatible, and Sparke's role in the publication of more than forty Prynne tracts has given him the reputation of being "Prynne's printer."¹ Although Prynne's superior education and higher social status in addition to his greater political prominence made Sparke the clear junior partner in their relationship, their alliance was never

¹Conrad Russell, The Crisis of Parliaments: English History 1509-1660 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 312.

one-sided and Sparke was an important and valued aid to the better known Prynne.

Despite Prynne's obvious importance to understanding Sparke's career, Sparke's relationship with him has not been documented by the modern historian for several reasons. In terms of source material, the surviving seventeenth century evidence of the Sparke-Prynne relationship is limited and consists mainly of legal documents and official records concerning their intertwined problems with both the Church of England and the government in the 1620s and 1630s. It is probable that no correspondence between Sparke and Prynne has survived. Sparke's business records, which might have documented his ties to Prynne, are not in the surviving archives of the Stationers' Company, and they almost certainly no longer exist.² Prynne's papers apparently fared no better than Sparke's business records despite Prynne's prominence as a leading politician and antiquarian in the Civil War and Restoration periods. Prynne's politically important papers were probably deliberately destroyed by his contemporaries shortly after his death in 1669.³ Because of the paucity of surviving evidence, Sparke's ties with Prynne can be only partially known, and much of their relationship has to be constructed by inference alone.

The available evidence does provide some valuable documentation for the modern historian who is interested in understanding the careers of

²Conversation with Robin Myers, Archivist of the Stationers' Company, February 12, 1982.

³William Montgomerie Lamont, Marginal Prynne 1600-1669 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 234.

Sparke and Prynne. Detailed legal records of the 1620s and 1630s provide unquestionable proof that Charles I's government regarded Sparke's printing and publishing of Prynne's controversial works as a serious danger to the political and religious stability of England. Moreover, the official records of the Long Parliament in the early 1640s reveal that both Sparke and Prynne received substantial compensation for their earlier problems with Charles I's government as well as recognition of the merits of their attempts to limit the royal prerogative. Additionally, a careful examination of the books Sparke printed and published for Prynne in the 1640s provides important clues to their continuing alliance and effectively serves to supplement the legal and official records. It is important to note that a significant proportion of the politically sensitive books that Sparke produced for Prynne in the early 1640s bore an authorized Parliamentary imprimatur and were clearly officially sponsored anti-royalist polemics written in order to justify Parliament's unprecedented rebellion against the king and the position of the Presbyterian party within Parliament. Turning to Sparke's own writings, both his A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla, and his will make clear that his respect and friendship for Prynne continued into the 1650s, when Prynne was clearly out of favor with the Commonwealth government. After Pride's Purge of Parliament on December 6, 1648, Cromwell and other leaders of the new Commonwealth government went significantly further in the destruction of the traditional English social order than either Sparke or Prynne wished to move.

The first evidence of the Sparke-Prynne relationship occurred in 1629, although two years earlier Sparke had published Prynne's

stridently Calvinist initial work, the 656 page The perpetuitie of a regenerate mans estate.⁴ In 1627 Laud was still technically only Bishop of St. Davids, and Sparke and Prynne managed to escape legal problems in their first joint venture. Both author and publisher, however, must have recognized that the book's strict Calvinist argument in favor of the privileges of the elect courted official disfavor from a Court and Church which were increasingly non-Calvinist in their dominant intellectual outlook. Prynne's dedication of the book to George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, was almost certainly intended to criticize Charles I and Laud severely, since the rigidly Calvinist and anti-Arminian Abbot was both aging and out of favor in 1627. For refusing to authorize the publication of a sermon by Sibthorpe supporting Charles I's imposition of a forced loan, Abbot found himself forced to retire to Canterbury, and a royal commission on October 9, 1627, allowed Laud and four other bishops with theologically similar views the unprecedented right to exercise the archiepiscopal powers of a thoroughly humiliated Abbot.⁵ Sparke and Prynne's initial publishing venture was dedicated to a Calvinist dogma and to an individual at least temporarily in eclipse.

In stark contrast to the peaceful 1627 publication, Prynne's similar publications between 1629 and 1640 all experienced serious

⁴William Prynne, The perpetuitie of a regenerate mans estate (London: 1627; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1493), STC I 20473.

⁵Dictionary of National Biography (London: Oxford University Press, 1937-1938), s.v. "Abbot, George," by Sidney Lee.

difficulties with the political and religious authorities resulting from the increasing influence of Laud, who became Privy Councillor in 1627, Bishop of London in 1628, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. Prynne and Sparke found themselves in the dangerous position of opposing the government's religious policy, and they experienced almost continuous legal problems in the period of Charles I's Personal Rule and Laud's dominance of the Church of England, which created substantial documentary records useful to this study.

Sparke shared Prynne's horror at the Laudian inspired growth of Arminianism, a theology which rejected Calvinist predestinarian views on election to salvation or damnation. This led to the publication of Prynne's The Church of England's Antithesis to New Arminianism in 1629, and to the creation of very serious legal difficulties for all who were involved in its production, since the book was clearly a direct attack on the religious policies being carried out by an ever more powerful Laud. Although Augustine Mathewes, not Sparke, was primarily responsible for the printing and publication of this work, Sparke proudly admitted to an active role in assisting its production.

On April 20, 1629, the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical levied formal charges against Sparke for his role in assisting Mathewes with the production of The Church of England's Antithesis to New Arminianism, which the commissioners called by the variant title The Antithesis of the Church of England. The official complaint against Sparke accused him of binding anywhere from 200 to 1500 copies of this subversive book. Additionally, the commissioners charged him with the

more serious offense of procuring an unnamed printer to produce added copies of the book.⁶

Sparke answered the charges with dramatic boldness, which probably increased rather than mitigated the authorities' anger against him. He pointedly denied the court's jurisdiction over the case, and he dramatically rejected the validity of Queen Elizabeth's 1586 Court of the Star Chamber Decree concerning the regulation of printing; he appealed to what he held to be the rights of subjects as guaranteed both by the Magna Carta and the 1628 Petition of Right. Sparke also defended Prynne's book as a well conceived defense of the established doctrine of the Church of England against the theological aberrations of the Arminians. Finally, he refused to reveal the name of the unknown printer whom he had recruited to assist in the production of additional copies of the book.⁷ Under official pressure Sparke emphasized his responsibility for the production in sharp contrast to Mathewes, who tried to appease the authorities.⁸

Sparke's almost foolhardy courage probably impressed the equally bold Prynne, while it aroused permanent suspicions among the authorities that Sparke was responsible for all or almost all of Prynne's subversive

⁶Great Britain, PRO, State Papers Domestic 16/141.

⁷Great Britain, PRO, State Papers Domestic 16/142.

⁸Walter Wilson Greg, A Companion to Arber: Being a Calendar of Documents in Edward Arber's "Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640," with text and calendar of Supplementary documents edited by W. W. Greg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 249-50.

works printed in the 1630s without an accurate imprint to indicate the place of publication, publisher, and year of issue. Official suspicion of Sparke's ties to Prynne motivated government action in the 1631 case of Lame Giles His Haltings. On May 10, 1631, Sparke vehemently denied charges by the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical that he had printed and published this book in 1630, although he again admitted his 1629 role in the production of the Antithesis. Sparke insisted:

And touching the booke called Lame Giles [hi]his haltings he denyeth that he had any hand in the printing or publishing of them, nor ever had more than twoe of them which were given to him by Mr. Prynne the author thereof.⁹

Whether or not Sparke published Lame Giles, he undoubtedly agreed with Prynne's use of this work to attack the Laudian practice of bowing at the name of Jesus and paying increased ceremonial attention to the altars and communion tables in the ever more ritualistic Church of England service.¹⁰

While at least one modern authority has accepted as true the official accusation that Sparke published Lame Giles, there is no sound reason to discount his denial that he had anything to do with this work.¹¹ Although Sparke was clearly a sufficiently dedicated Puritan to

⁹Great Britain, PRO, State Papers Domestic 16/190.

¹⁰William Prynne, Lame Giles His Haltings (London: 1630; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1214), STC I 20465.

¹¹William Alexander Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and Katherine F. Pantzer, A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland: and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475 to 1640, begun by W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, completed by Katherine F. Pantzer, 2nd ed., rev. and enl. (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976-), p. 225.

publish anti-Laudian literature without his imprint, his habitual willingness to confess to illegal printing and publishing should give his denial of responsibility in this particular case substantial weight.

Although Sparke and Prynne had been professionally associated for six years through the publication of such works as The perpetuitie of a regenerate mans estate, and The Church of England's Antithesis to New Arminianism, their association significantly deepened in 1633 with Sparke's publication of Prynne's Histrio-mastix, The Players Scourge. In this highly controversial work, Prynne wrote and Sparke courageously published a 1006 page, well argued and scholarly tirade against the evils of the theater. Since Prynne maintained that no Christian society should permit the immorality which he saw as inherent in the production of stage plays, the Caroline authorities viewed Histrio-mastix as an outrageous Puritan attack on the immorality of both church and state.

Because Charles I and Archbishop Laud reacted with typical severity to the publication, Sparke and Prynne found themselves embroiled in serious legal difficulties probably significantly greater than anything that either man had anticipated. Unquestionably the more prominent Prynne suffered much more severely than the lesser known Sparke, but both men had to turn to the Long Parliament for a final resolution of their legal problems and revocation of the fines still outstanding against them. Although the case created truly great suffering for Prynne and resulted in substantial financial loss and professional embarrassment for Sparke, it also did generate an extensive documentary record that provides important evidence concerning the Sparke-Prynne relationship.

The great nineteenth century English Whig historian Samuel Rawson Gardiner was the first to recognize the political importance of the Histrion-mastix case, and he collected a significant proportion of the official evidence in his edition of Documents Relating to the Proceedings Against William Prynne in 1634 and 1637. The Court of Star Chamber documents which Gardiner collected offer ample evidence that the government regarded both Prynne and Sparke as clever and dangerous conspirators against the social order who had exploited both the stupidity and the carelessness of an official printing licenser, Rev. Thomas Buckner, in order to print and publish Histrion-mastix.¹² In the view of William Noye, the Attorney General, Histrion-mastix attacked the frugality and the honesty of Charles I's government. Noye also thought that it contained passages that were directed against Queen Henrietta Maria for taking part in masques. Most alarming to the Attorney General was the book's implicit justification of violent action against rulers who acted in or patronized stage plays through references to conspiracies against Nero.¹³

Prynne and Sparke received very severe sentences on February 17, 1634. Prynne's was life imprisonment, and he remained in custody until the Long Parliament freed him as a symbolic anti-Laudian martyr in 1640. The authorities also fined him £500, expelled him from his cherished

¹² Samuel Rawson Gardiner, Documents Relating to the Proceedings Against William Prynne, in 1634 and 1637 (Wesminster: Printed for the Camden Society, 1877; reprint ed., New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965), pp. 1-29.

¹³ Ibid., p. 13.

membership in Lincoln's Inn, and revoked his Oxford degree. The most savage part of the authorities' sentence was that Prynne, whom they recognized as a gentleman, lost both ears in the pillory. In contrast to Prynne's sentence, Sparke's punishment, while still severe, was significantly less brutal. Sparke, who stood beside Prynne in the pillory on May 10, 1634, spent only six months in prison in contrast to Prynne's six years, and he paid only £60 of the £500 fine assessed against him, since the authorities probably recognized that Sparke's financial resources did not equal those of Prynne and that Sparke had sustained a £300 loss on Histrio-mastix.¹⁴

The official records of the Court of Star Chamber trial have left much more than a bare account of Sparke and Prynne's politically dangerous collaboration in the publication of Histrio-mastix. For the reader interested in determining the closeness of Sparke's professional ties to Prynne, much can be inferred from the testimony in this case. It is obviously significant that Sparke was apparently fully informed of Prynne's intentions in the publication of Histrio-matrix, while none of the other four defendants fully realized that what they were doing had subversive implications. The court therefore acquitted Augustine Mathewes, William Jones, and Edward Allde, who had printed the book for Sparke. Rev. Thomas Buckner, who had shown exceptionally poor judgment in licensing Histrio-mastix for publication after reading only about

¹⁴ Leona Rostenberg, Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious & Legal Publishing, Printing & Bookselling in England, 1551-1700: Twelve Studies, with a preface by Donald G. Wing, 2 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1965), 1:179-82.

64 pages of the text, received lenient treatment from a court convinced that he had been tricked by Sparke and Prynne. In addition, Buckner's court testimony made an excellent case for his contention that Sparke and Prynne had used conspiratorial methods in order to obtain a license to publish Histrio-mastix.¹⁵ By 1633, Sparke and Prynne were clearly cooperating closely to publish what both men recognized as a dangerous attack on official policy as well as a stern criticism of stage plays. If not personal friends, Sparke and Prynne were obviously remarkably close business and professional allies by 1633, who trusted each other in working toward the achievement of their shared goals even under pressure.

The Histrio-mastix case had ramifications for both Sparke and Prynne that lasted into the mid-1640s. The Long Parliament, which finally freed Prynne, also aided Sparke. On December 11, 1640, Sparke presented a petition concerning his role in the matter to the House of Commons Committee for Mr. Prynne's Petition.¹⁶ One week later on December 16, 1640, the House of Commons responded to Sparke's petition by staying all legal penalties still facing Sparke as a result of his Court of Star Chamber conviction.¹⁷ On March 10, 1641, Sir Simonds D'Ewes recorded the House of Commons' vindication of Sparke as follows:

¹⁵ Great Britain, PRO, State Papers Domestic 16/242.

¹⁶ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, Journals, 155 vols. (New York: Readex Microprint, 1970), 2:1640-42.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:348.

Soe we voted that the sentence given against him in the starre chamber was against law, that so much of his fine yet unpaid should be discharged, and that he should have reparation of his damages from those who gave the unjust sentence against him.¹⁸

Both Sparke and the more illustrious Prynne clearly had strong reasons to be grateful to the Long Parliament for its belated vindication of their actions in the publication of Histrio-mastix, and the student of their relationship should observe how closely connected the two men had become in the public mind.

The first half of the 1640s was an exhilarating time of both political vindication and religious triumph for Sparke and Prynne. In remembering their problems with Laud in the 1620s and 1630s, both men could have enjoyed Laud's December 1640 impeachment, and they probably rejoiced in his imprisonment in the Tower of London from March 1641 until his eventual execution on treason charges in January 1645. Prynne had the pleasure of helping to prosecute the archbishop, who had served as one of the judges in the 1634 Histrio-mastix trial. Prynne helped prepare the case in Laud's treason trial before the House of Commons, and Prynne put his rather formidable skills as a barrister to effective use against the then long powerless Laud. To build his case, Prynne seized many of Laud's papers, including his diary, which Prynne used as evidence of Laud's Popish leanings and treasonable intent. In Prynne's opinion, the diary indicated Laud's willingness to see Charles I

¹⁸ Simonds D'Ewes, The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes from the first recess of the Long Parliament to the withdrawal of King Charles from London . . ., 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1942), 2:470-71.

murdered by Catholic agents. Using this evidence, Prynne then compiled two books to justify the trial and condemnation of Laud, which Sparke published under the titles of A breviat of the life of William Laud (1644) and Hidden workes of darkness brought to publike light (1645). In the former, Prynne quoted extensively from Laud's diary to justify trying him for treason. In the latter, Prynne provided an account of Laud's trial and of his role in it. On their title pages both works carried the official imprimatur of the Parliamentary censor John White, and these title pages also bore statements proudly proclaiming that they were produced with Prynne as author and Sparke as printer on the order of the House of Commons Committee on Printing.¹⁹ Wenceslaus Hollar, the well-known Czech engraver who drew a frontispiece for Hidden workes of darkness, recognized Sparke's interest in Laud's trial by including a small engraved portrait of Sparke among the witnesses.²⁰ This Hollar portrait is the only fully documented portrait of Sparke. Although he was rarely in the foreground of public events, Sparke frequently took an active role in the background such as the one shown in the Hollar engraving.

¹⁹ William Prynne, A breviat of the life of William Laud (London: 1644; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 229), STC II P 3904; and William Prynne, Hidden workes of darkness brought to publike light (London: 1645; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 472), STC II P 3973.

For a highly critical modern view of Prynne's A breviat of the life of William Laud see H. R. Trevor Roper's Archbishop William Laud 1573-1645, 2nd ed. (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1962).

²⁰ Prynne, Hidden workes of darkness.

While Sparke was a rebel printer in the 1620s and 1630s, he became a semiofficial printer in the early 1640s as conservative Puritanism gained power in the first stages of the English Revolution. The official favor shown to Sparke in the early 1640s almost certainly resulted from his close professional association with Prynne. In addition to the two attacks on Laud already treated, Sparke also published eight other works by Prynne between 1640 and 1645 that carried an official imprimatur. These works were The Doome of Cowardice and Treachery (1643), The Fourth Part of the Sovereigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes (1643), A humble remonstrance against (1643), The Opening of the Great Seale of England (1643), The Popish Royal favourite (1643), Romes master-peece (1643), The Sovereigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes (1643), and Truth triumphing over falsehood (1645). The Second Part of the Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie, which Sparke published for Prynne in 1641, probably reflected the same official viewpoint conveyed in the ten works containing an imprimatur since its imprint read, "London: Printed by Authority, for Michael Sparke, Senior, An. 1641."²¹ In publishing eleven officially sanctioned works by Prynne within five years, Sparke effectively bolstered the conservative Puritan parliamentarians who believed they were defending established English political and religious traditions against a royalist party that failed to respect these traditions.

²¹William Prynne, The second part of the Antipathie of the English lordly prelacie (London: 1641; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 192), STC II P 4074.

In an analysis of the eleven officially sanctioned works which Sparke published for Prynne, certain clear patterns emerge that show a consistent commitment to a conservative Puritan position. In its religious position, The Second Part of the Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie (1641), which gave extensive examples of treason by English bishops and archbishops from St. Thomas Becket's conflict with Henry II to Prynne's own day, anticipated the content of A breviat of the life of William Laud (1644) and Hidden workes of darkness brought to publike light (1645) in its anti-episcopal stand. Moreover, Puritan fear of Rome was illustrated by the fact that both The Popish Royall favorite (1643) and Romes master-peece (1643) displayed the intense anti-Catholicism which always colored Sparke and Prynne's view of Charles I and Laud. In Romes master-peece, Prynne charged that Laud had failed to warn Charles I of a serious Roman Catholic plot to murder him and that he may have been involved in the plot. Despite his vehemence, in Truth triumphing over falsehood (1645), Prynne showed the relatively conservative nature of his Presbyterian position on desirable Church doctrine and structural organization. Prynne dedicated this work to a refutation of the Independent position which had been advocated by Dr. John Goodwin in Innocences Triumph and by Rev. Henry Burton in Vindication of Churches, commonly called Independent.

In terms of political argument, Prynne offered a well-argued conservative view of how the English political system had operated in the past and should operate in his own day in five books. Of these books, The Doome of Cowardice and Treachery (1643) was a tract for the

times designed to encourage high standards of courage and honesty in Parliament's civilian officials and soldiers. The Opening of the Great Seale of England (1643) was even more topical in its orientation, since Prynne composed this work to justify Parliament's decision to have a new Great Seal of England made to replace the missing Great Seal of England in Charles I's hands. A humble remonstrance against, which Prynne wrote in 1643, did not share the immediate topical orientation of the other works produced in that year. Written in 1636, A humble remonstrance against vehemently attacked the legality of the ship money tax levied by Charles I in the 1630s.

The Fourth Part of the Sovereaign Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes (1643) also appeared as the fourth segment of a larger compilation, The Sovereaign Power of Parliaments (1643). In these books, Prynne provided an impressively learned and historically oriented defense of Parliament's constitutional position in the English Civil War. In The Fourth Part of the Sovereaign Power of Parliaments, Prynne argued that Parliament had the right to control the militia as well as the right to raise an army without the consent of the king. In the first three segments of The Sovereaign Power of Parliaments, part one argued that the Roman Catholics were always, or almost always, traitors, and parts two and three defended both Parliament's decision to fight the Civil War against Charles I and its right to the funds necessary for success in the conflict.

Sparke and Prynne's brief years of relatively unclouded triumph between 1640 and 1645 were not destined to last. Both men were left

behind as the English Revolution became increasingly influenced by political radicals and religious sectaries between 1646 and 1649. During this period, the confident tone characteristic of Prynne's writings from 1645 to 1649 disappeared. They became increasingly defensive in tone, since Prynne saw the political and religious principles which he had supported become more and more vulnerable to attack from those desiring to bring about even more extensive social change.

To combat the growth of this political radicalism, Prynne wrote and Sparke published three important works. Since Prynne regarded the Levellers with horror, both The levellers leveled (1647) and New Babels confusion (1649)²² presented a refutation of Leveller political and social principles. The levellers leveled focused specifically on a traditionalist rebuttal of the Leveller proposal that the Lords should come down into the House of Commons and vote as one house. In New Babels confusion, Prynne attempted to destroy the political arguments which were being advanced in favor of the Leveller supported political platform, Agreement of the People. In Prynne's opinion, the Agreement of the People contradicted the Solemn League and Covenant, which all Parliamentarians had sworn to maintain on August 17, 1643, as the basis of an alliance with Scotland. For this reason, Prynne denounced Oliver Cromwell and Cromwell's son-in-law Henry Ireton as well as the

²²William Prynne, The levellers leveled (London: 1647; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 67 Thomason Tracts), STC II P 4001; and William Prynne, New Babels confusion (London: 1649; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 84 Thomason Tracts), STC II P 4014.

Independent party for taking what Prynne considered to be an equivocal position on the Agreement of the People. Prynne's A plea for the Lords,²³ which Sparke published in both a 1648 and 1649 edition, may have anticipated the decision of the Rump Parliament to abolish the House of Lords on March 19, 1649. Although the content was obviously similar to the argument for the House of Lords which Prynne had attacked earlier in The levellers leveled, A plea for the Lords attacked other radical groups in addition to the Levellers. The title page of A plea for the Lords gave an elaborate statement in which Prynne wrote:

Against the late seditious Anti-Parliamentary printed Petitions, Libells and Pamphlets of Anabaptists, Levellers, Agitators, Lilburne, Overton, and their dangerous confederates, who endeavour the utter subversion both of Parliaments, Kings, and Peers, to set up an Arbitrary Polarchy and Anarchy of their own new modelling.²⁴

Against the demands of the listed groups, Prynne offered a cogent defense of the traditional legislative and judicial role of the House of Lords.

While fighting the rise of political radicalism between 1646 and 1649, Sparke and Prynne continued to work for the Presbyterian system of church organization which they both desired. During this period, Prynne wrote and Sparke published three works which are particularly important evidence of their religious viewpoint. These works were The county of Somerset divided (1648), Distrophes catechized (1646), and Suspention

²³William Prynne, A plea for the Lords, 2 eds. (London: 1648 and 1649; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 68 Thomason Tracts), STC II P 4032.

²⁴*Ibid.*, title page.

suspended (1646). Each work depicts the type of church Sparke and Prynne wanted.²⁵

In The county of Somerset divided,²⁶ Prynne provided an organizational model for church government in Somerset. The eleven page pamphlet listed four classes or local units for Presbyterian church government with the names of the ministers and elders given as the proposed governing authorities for each classis. These proposed divisions were the work of a Parliamentary committee whose membership included Prynne as well as John Horner, Roger Gorges, Henry Fenley, and George Newton.

Although Prynne clearly preferred church government which was organized on the lines recommended in The county of Somerset divided, he did not support the most extravagant claims of Presbyterian clergymen to discipline those who were not church members. In both Distrophes catechized and Suspention suspended, Prynne indicated his desire to see the Presbyterians conciliate the Independents in order to make the English national church as broadly inclusive as possible. In Distrophes catechized,²⁷ Prynne condemned both Presbyterians and Independents who suspended others from the right of church membership. In Suspention

²⁵ William Prynne, The county of Somerset divided (London: 1648; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 68 Thomason Tracts), STC II P 3934; William Prynne, Distrophes catechized (London: 1646; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 80 Thomason Tracts), STC II P 3946; and William Prynne, Suspention suspended (London: 1646; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 80 Thomason Tracts), STC II P 4097.

²⁶ Prynne, County of Somerset.

²⁷ Prynne, Distrophes catechized.

suspended,²⁸ he took the relatively tolerant position that the clergy did not have the right to bar any individual from the Lord's Supper unless that individual was also subject to other civil penalties for serious misdeeds.

Prynne's devotion to the principle of an inclusive state church and his willingness to let the state regulate church government, at least when the state was in what he considered safely orthodox hands, has caused one modern historian to call Prynne an Erastian.²⁹ While the unwary reader of Distrophes catechized and Suspention suspended might agree, neither Sparke nor Prynne would probably have regarded himself as an Erastian, although both men might conceivably have been willing to accept the contention of the Swiss theologian Thomas Erastus (1524-1583) that excommunication was not divinely ordained and that civil authorities should have sole responsibility for the punishment of most misdeeds. Both Sparke and Prynne should be classified as conservative Presbyterians in both their religious and political principles in the 1640s, since they each desired to see the church organized on the basis of the Presbyterian classis and the state organized by a system of limited monarchy centered on the rule of King-in-Parliament and the supremacy of Parliament. Changing modern historical terminology has made any division of the Parliamentary party in the English Civil War

²⁸ Prynne, Suspention suspended.

²⁹ William Montgomerie Lamont, Godly Rule, Politics and Religion 1603-1660 (London, New York: Macmillan, St. Martin's Press, 1963), p. 110.

into distinct Presbyterian and Independent camps difficult to maintain.³⁰

By the late 1640s, when Sparke and Prynne's ideas experienced increasing challenges, the official imprimatur, which had been present on so many of Sparke's works earlier in the decade, no longer appeared to provide comforting evidence of Prynne's prestige as an author and Sparke's as a government printer. On December 6, 1648, Col. Thomas Pride destroyed all hope of the relatively conservative constitutional and religious settlement which Sparke and Prynne favored for England. Prynne was among the conservative members of the Long Parliament expelled from the House of Commons in Pride's Purge, and Sparke and Prynne undoubtedly saw Pride's Purge and the consequent Rump Parliament of the Commonwealth period as a decisive defeat for their views.³¹ After the purge they were again in the familiar role of antigovernment opposition, although they were less active than they had been in the 1620s and 1630s.

Prynne wrote and Sparke published at least two works to demonstrate their reaction to the upheaval created by Pride's Purge and the king's execution on January 30, 1649. The first of these works, The substance of a speech (1649),³² showed Prynne's intense desire to save the

³⁰ Blair Worden, The Rump Parliament 1648-1653 (London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 6-11.

³¹ For the best account of Pride's Purge, see David Underdown's Pride's Purge, Politics in the Puritan Revolution (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

³² William Prynne, The substance of a speech (London: 1649; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1099), STC II P 4093; See also Underdown's Pride's Purge, p. 139.

threatened principle of a limited constitutional monarchy on the basis of the Newport Treaty between Charles I and Parliament. The full title of this work was The substance of a speech made by Wil. Prynne of Lincolns Inn Esquire on Monday the Fourth of December 1648 Touching the Kings Answer to the Propositions of both Houses Upon the Whole Treaty, Whether they were Satisfactory or not Satisfactory. The second important work, which Sparke and Prynne produced early in 1649, was A vindication of the imprisoned and secluded members which appeared on January 23, 1649, to present the case of those expelled from Parliament by Pride's Purge.³³ Sparke undoubtedly sympathized with his old friend over his expulsion from Parliament after Pride's Purge. While recent contentions that the Rump Parliament was only moderately radical may be correct, neither Sparke nor Prynne saw the Rump Parliament as moderate.³⁴ For them Pride's Purge, the continued existence of the Rump Parliament from 1648 to 1653, and the May 1649 declaration that England was a Commonwealth represented the defeat of their basic political principles. Both Sparke and Prynne lived uneasily under the Commonwealth from 1649 to 1653, although Sparke's relative obscurity saved him from the imprisonment that Prynne suffered from 1650 to 1653. Sparke had shown exceptional courage by publishing Prynne's The substance of a speech and A vindication of the imprisoned and secluded

³³ William Prynne, A vindication of the imprisoned and secluded members (London: 1649) STC II P 4128. No reel. Author read British Library copy.

³⁴ Worden, Rump Parliament, p. 384.

members within three days in January 1649, and he was fortunate not to have suffered official retaliation from the new Commonwealth government, which acted vigorously against more prominent critics like Prynne.

To complete an attempt to assess the nature of Sparke's professional relationship with Prynne in the 1640s, certain additional points are worthy of mention. Despite his loyalty to Prynne, Sparke was never his exclusive publisher, although Prynne did show a clear preference for using his press over those of all other stationers. Among the other publishers Prynne used for at least one work in the 1640s were Robert Bostock, Robert Hodges, Edward Husband, George Hutton, Robert Ibbitson, R. Lownds, and Nathaniel Webb. Of these men, however, only Hodges published more than one separate title for Prynne.³⁵

The intensity of Sparke's support for Prynne is shown by the fact that Sparke thought highly enough of him to publish a book by John Vicars that was substantially dedicated to defending Prynne's role in the Presbyterian controversy with the Independents. Vicar's Reverend Sir, having lately received from you,³⁶ which Sparke published in 1645, was a highly critical analysis of John Goodwin's Innocence and Truth triumphing together. In this four page work, Vicars reminded Goodwin that the Independent had once admired Prynne as an anti-Laudian figure,

³⁵ Donald Goddard Wing, Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 4 vols. (New York: Index Committee of the Modern Language Association of American, 1972-), 3:92-97.

³⁶ John Vicars, Reverend Sir, having lately received from you (London: 1645) STC II V 325. No reel. Author read British Library copy.

and Vicars specifically praised several of the works that Sparke had published for Prynne.

It should also be noted that Sparke's correspondence with his brother Thomas Sparke in Bermuda may have indirectly helped to provide Prynne with at least one piece of significant information concerning the political and religious situation in that colony. Prynne used this information in A fresh discovery of some prodigious new wandering-blasing stars & firebrands (1646), in which he supplemented his text with letters he had received from Presbyterians complaining of Independent control of Bermuda. One of these Presbyterians was Richard Beake, who explained his reason for writing Prynne as follows:

But the manifold reports I have heard of you by diverse Christians emboldeneth me; but especially seeing your good works which I have perused with care and diligence, which from Mr. Sparks his brother I procured, enforceth me so much the more in this my boldness . . . ³⁷

Beake may have thought that the Sparke family connection would help get Prynne's attention for his letter.

Reading the books that Sparke produced for Prynne in the 1640s and considering the political and religious circumstances under which they were printed and published, the researcher learns more about the character of both men and gains more factual information concerning the nature of their business relationship. One most surprising discovery comes from reading Rockes improved, which Sparke published for Prynne in

³⁷ William Prynne, A fresh discovery of some prodigious new wandering-blasing stars & firebrands (London: 1645; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 44 Thomason Tracts), STC II P 3963. No reel. Author read British Library copy.

1641.³⁸ In this book Prynne wrote fifty pages of nature oriented, religious poetry inspired by the years he had spent as a crown prisoner on the Isle of Jersey.³⁹ This work of generally high quality poetry of nature and religion reveals a neglected side of Prynne's character and shows that he was more than just a politician and Presbyterian pamphleteer. Since Sparke published very little contemporary poetry, his publication of any poetry was a rare element in his publishing history. He did, it is true, often compose doggerel for those works he wrote or composed himself, and he may have shared Prynne's interest in poetry which contained an inspirational message. A strong case can be built for the contention that both Sparke and Prynne probably had significantly broader, more well-rounded intellectual interests than previous biographers have been willing to credit them with possessing.

While the most dramatic parts of Sparke's relationship with Prynne were over by 1649, there is compelling surviving evidence that the two men remained on good terms until Sparke's death in 1653. Sparke

³⁸ William Prynne, Rockes improved (London: 1641; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 223), STC II P 4045.

³⁹ Ibid.; While Wing has catalogued a single title, Rockes improved, I have discovered three other volumes of Prynne's poetry bound with Rockes improved, which were apparently overlooked by Wing. A Christian Sea Card, A Christian Paradise, and The Soules Complaint were paged continuously with Rockes improved, although Sparke gave each of these three volumes of religious poetry a separate title page and a separate imprint indicating that in 1641 he had published each of them as single books. While continuous pagination might indicate to some readers that these added volumes were merely fascicles, this would be a false conclusion. Prynne dedicated each volume to a separate individual, and it would be highly unusual to have dedicatory introductions to fascicles.

republished Prynne's Independency examined in 1651, despite the fact that the Presbyterian views which Prynne expressed in that twenty page 1644 tract no longer enjoyed official favor.⁴⁰ In it Prynne had asked twelve pointed questions of the Independents in order to demonstrate that they should submit to a Presbyterian church settlement which then appeared likely to gain Parliament's backing. A year later, Sparke expressed his continuing respect and admiration for Prynne in A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla (1652). Sparke wrote:

. . . let the reader that desires to know or read more of the cunning Carriage of the Popish party, and their Jesuiticall plots, in that learned Lawyers Books, The Popish Royall Favourite, 1643, Romes Master Peece 1644, and the Hidden Workes of Darknesse, 1645.⁴¹

Sparke was clearly very proud of the long out-of-print anti-Catholic and anti-Laudian works which he had produced for Prynne at the zenith of their professional relationship, and he also expressed his conviction that God had protected Prynne as a prisoner under Charles I and would protect Prynne as a prisoner under the Rump.⁴² As noted in the last chapter, Sparke, an uncritical admirer of Prynne, left Prynne a gold ring in his will as a token of their enduring friendship.⁴³

⁴⁰William Prynne, Independency examined (London: 1644; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 44 Thomason Tracts), STC II P 3985.

⁴¹Michael Sparke, A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla (London: 1652; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 104 Thomason Tracts), STC II S 2259, p. 5.

⁴²*Ibid.*; For a description of William Prynne's imprisonment from 1650 to 1653, the reader may consult Ethyn Williams Kirby's William Prynne: A Study in Puritanism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), pp. 106-112.

⁴³Great Britain, PRO, PROB 11/236; Michael Sparke, Sr., "Will" .

The analysis of Sparke's relationship with Prynne in this chapter has illustrated the crucial impact of the alliance in shaping Sparke's publishing career from 1627 to 1653. Sparke and Prynne's publisher and author relationship went through four phases during this period. As prominent rebels against the policies pursued by the government of Charles I and Laud from 1627 to 1640, they later enjoyed seeing many of the political and religious ideas which they had long supported triumph between 1640 and 1645. They then watched the English Revolution become more radical than either had anticipated or desired. Finally, they found themselves strongly opposed to Commonwealth rule between 1649 and 1653. Throughout their twenty-six year relationship, Sparke provided Prynne with unstinting admiration and an ever available press.

Despite Sparke's constant loyalty, he should not be regarded as a Prynne sycophant. While he supported Prynne's views on almost all important political and religious issues of their day, it is obvious from Sparke's works that he acted from his own deeply held conviction that Prynne's views were correct and that Prynne's character was that of an honorable, learned lawyer and gentleman. In spite of their enduring close ties, Sparke was independent enough to maintain significant interests which Prynne did not share. Probably because of his modest social origins, Sparke had a sincere interest in the problems of poverty and in the sufferings of the poor, which the more privileged Prynne did not share. Although Prynne could probably have accepted the views on the treatment of poverty that Sparke expressed in Greevos grones for the poore (1621) and The Poore Orphans Court, or Orphans Cry (1636), two

works to be treated in detail in the next chapter, Prynne's outlook on socioeconomic conditions was much less pragmatic than Sparke's. In addition to being more pragmatic than Prynne, Sparke also evaluated social groups differently. While Prynne's writings always showed a trust of the gentry, Sparke's writings exhibited a real fear that the gentry as a class were susceptible to Roman Catholicism, and his greatest empathy was with the class of small holders from which he came and with the class of small businessmen into which he entered as a successful stationer. For Sparke, the deference he recognized as due to gentlemen did not require an uncritical acceptance of their way of life and views.

Prynne was certainly a significant influence on Sparke's intellectual development during these twenty-six years. Sparke respected Prynne's Oxford University education and his legal learning, and he also shared Prynne's political and religious outlook. Because neither man's personal papers survive, Prynne's impact on Sparke has to remain a matter of speculation rather than certainty. Prynne was, however, a logical source of at least some of Sparke's steadily increasing grasp of British law and of Sparke's sophisticated ability to use the British court system to his fullest advantage. In addition, Prynne's strong interest in historical research probably helped to inspire the zeal for the acquisition of documentary evidence that Sparke demonstrated in compiling The Narrative History of King James (1651).⁴⁴

⁴⁴Great Britain, PRO, State Papers Domestic 18/11.

Because of his lack of higher education and his lesser social status, it is unlikely that Sparke exerted any substantial intellectual influence on Prynne, but his loyalty in propagating the political and religious beliefs which both men fiercely held was surely an important support to Prynne.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Neither of Prynne's two twentieth century biographers has paid meaningful attention to Prynne's use of Sparke as a habitually loyal printer and publisher. Ethyn Williams Kirby's William Prynne: A Study in Puritanism made only a brief reference to Sparke. William Montgomerie Lamont's Marginal Prynne: 1600-1669 had no reference to Sparke in the text, although he did mention Sparke's A Catalogue of printed books written by William Prynne (London: 1643; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 43 Thomason Tracts) in an appendix.

CHAPTER IV

SPARKE AS AUTHOR AND COMPILER

An analysis of Sparke's intellectual outlook should begin with a detailed discussion of the ten works which were either written by Sparke or compiled by Sparke with significant intellectual contributions of his own. Through a study of these works, the modern reader can discern Sparke's attitude toward history and religion as well as his conception of his printing career and his reaction to the problem of poverty in early Stuart England. While Sparke's own writings are limited in scope and do not reveal all the facets of his mind, these ten works provide vital evidence to substantiate the claim that Sparke was more than a tradesman and that he made at least a minor contribution to seventeenth century English thought. The first four works, concerning aspects of Sparke's life and printing career, make up possibly the least coherent of the four groups to be considered in this chapter, but they are obviously different in focus from the works in the sections on poverty, Puritanism, and history which follow.

Scintilla (1641), the first of these works considered here, is a six page pamphlet which Sparke wrote to solicit aid from the Long Parliament. It is a bitter but well thought out attack on printing monopolies and monopolists. Never one to mince words, Sparke attacked the leading monopolists within the Stationers' Company by name. Sparke also advocated positive reforms he had desired for more than a decade,

and he called upon Parliament to help lower book prices and also to make the leadership of the Stationers' Company more democratic.¹

Sparke's position was supported by a detailed attack on the monopoly patents for the printing of Bibles, law books, grammars, genealogies, and other works in high demand. He provided substantial evidence to show that printing monopolists had unfairly raised prices to unreasonable levels by quoting the price history of significant high demand volumes. He also showed concern for the poor by his conviction that books should be made available to them on reasonable terms by writing:

But a touch of this for it is too tart, and I verily beleeeve picks the Subjects pockets, that eats brown bread to fill the sleeping Stationers belly with venison and Sacke, and robs the Commonwealth in too still a way; and when the sellers by Retale get not an ob: these monopolists get a shilling²

Despite the merit of his case, some of Sparke's argument constituted mere personal pleading. Among the monopolists attacked by name, both Robert Young and Miles Flesher are known to have been longstanding personal enemies of Sparke's.³ In addition, when Sparke complained about the King's Printer seizing Bibles printed in Holland and dragging those importing them before the Laudian Court of High Commission, he was clearly looking back to the action taken against him by Robert Barker, the King's Printer, in 1631. Sparke angrily described

¹Michael Sparke, Scintilla (London: 1641; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 225), STC II S 4818B, p. 6.

²Ibid., p. 2.

³Ibid., p. 1.

the action of the Court of High Commission by stating, "More punishment for selling a 4^{to} Bible with notes, than a 100 Masse books in the High Commission."⁴ Although valid criticisms can be raised against Scintilla because of Sparke's old grudges against some of the individuals he attacked, it is an important work in the history of English printing.⁵

A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla, the second work considered, shows that Sparke believed he could effectively reuse the name Scintilla in this eleven page pamphlet published in 1652. In it, Sparke described his career of nearly fifty years as a London stationer or stationer's apprentice, and he lamented the severe economic impact of the Civil War upon the Stationers' Company and the resulting impoverishment of many stationers. He also regretted the ready availability of what he considered dangerous "Popish" and heretical books. The press of 1652 was too free for Sparke's liking, and he used Acts 19:19 as a Biblical foundation to call for the burning of books he believed evil.⁶ Instead of asking for more freedom of the press, Sparke showed a desire to have the government clamp down on the expression of demands for radical and religious change which he found undesirable and frightening.

⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

⁵ Leona Rostenberg, Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious, & Legal Publishing, Printing, and Bookselling in England, 1551-1700: Twelve Studies, 2 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1965), 1:193-94. Rostenberg concludes, "the Scintilla remains a source of infinite bibliophilic value." She supports this by noting that it includes valuable and hard to find information about book editions, book formats, and book prices in mid-seventeenth century England.

⁶ Acts 19:19.

As well as showing his international connections by revealing in a frustratingly brief aside that he once attended worship services at a meetinghouse in Leyden, Holland, Sparke provided valuable information about several important aspects of his printing career. He gave the reader significant details about his apprenticeship, his relationship with the Catholic printer Francis Ash, and the value he placed on the writings of his friend Prynne as a source of cogent anti-Catholic information.

In discussing his apprenticeship, Sparke indicated that he did not reject Catholicism without some experience of it. He declared:

. . . my first master when I was apprentice, dealt much in Popish Books; and in the first years of King James reign, spent his time in Staffordshire at Worly-hall in binding, vending, and putting to sale Popish Books, Pictures, Beads, and such Trash: that I learned to abhorre Popery by seeing the grosse ignorance of many amongst them, and ever since have made observations of their deceitful and double dealing; and the more in regard to the death of a loving friend, that left me so interested with a Papist, by which I did more and more observe their fraud.⁷

The modern reader wishes that Sparke had elaborated much further concerning the causes of his violent reaction against the Catholicism of his first master. It would be interesting to know how the harsh laws against the distribution of Catholic books and materials were circumvented in the first Jacobean decade and how large the market for Catholic materials was at that time. It is easy to surmise that Sparke's strong anti-Catholicism was at least in part based on an

⁷ Michael Sparke, A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla (London: 1652; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 104 Thomason Tracts), STC II S 2259, pp. 5-6.

initially personal reaction against the beliefs and practices of Symon Pauley, his Catholic master.

Although Sparke claimed that he turned against Catholicism as the result of exposure to it during his youthful apprenticeship, he also explained that he did not let strong religious differences prevent him from dealing with the Catholic Worcester bookbinder, Francis Ash, although he refused to provide Catholic books in response to Ash's requests. Sparke admitted to having employed Ash and to having encouraged others to do so. He described Ash as an "excellent Workman" who prospered by developing a large Catholic clientele in Bristol, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford as well as Worcestershire. Despite Sparke's attempt at a fair description of Ash, there is a note of jealousy in his account of Ash's financial success and travel to France. Sparke reported Ash's death by suffocation in a privy with distinctly smug satisfaction.⁸

Sparke's apparently boundless admiration for Prynne was as strong as his condemnation of Catholics like Ash. Although Prynne was in jail when he wrote, Sparke recommended three of Prynne's long out-of-print anti-Catholic works. These three works, which were all products of Sparke's press, are The Popish Royall Favourite (1643), Romes Master

⁸ Ibid., pp. 6-7. In explaining the death of Ash, Sparke said, "Ash fearing to be plundered, flung the said money into a House of Office amongst the filth, and after that Worcester was taken by the Parliaments forces about 14 dayes, he would not trust none but himself, who breaking open the House of Office, undertook to sift his Gold and Silver from the filth; and by reason of which noysome smell he was suffocated and (as I may say) poysoned, and soon after died."

Peece (1644), and The Hidden Workes of Darknesse (1645). Admirably comparing Prynne to Daniel in the Old Testament, Sparke said:

Who hath to his comfort been preserved and kept as Daniel in the Lyons Den, and God that keeps Eels to live and thrive in the mud can and will preserve him safe in any place by his Providence, into whose protection, and under whom I know he desires to be protected.⁹

A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla also offers a valuable source of direct comment about the impact of the Civil War on the stationers and the Stationers' Company. Sparke spoke with great nostalgia about the prosperity of the stationers before the Civil War, and he lamented the present straitened circumstances of many of his fellow printers and publishers. There is no reason to question his honesty when he said:

. . . I dare say, and I have heard it, and from honest Stationers, that have had brave and plentifull Warehouses, full Shops, excellently stored, and able to fit any Customer, and these have told me, and I find and know it to be too true, that they have not taken 20 s. a week, and their rent to be paid was so much without Firing, Beer, and Bread, with more charges, & c. . . .¹⁰

After deploring the reduced financial status of many stationers, Sparke bitterly charged that stationers had contributed both money and services to the cause of Parliament without receiving adequate compensation. He mourned that even the money lent by himself and others for the repairing of St. Paul's Cathedral had not yet been repaid, and he also complained that the scholarly and theological books he admired as books fit for the libraries of gentlemen and ministers had declined in value, while books he considered trash were being sold at a profit by the unscrupulous.¹¹

⁹ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

Sparke's comments about the publication of books which he believed should be suppressed take a larger proportion of A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla than biographical tidbits and laments concerning the severe economic problems suffered by many formerly prosperous members of the Stationers' Company. He advised the English government to stop the publication and distribution of both Roman Catholic and left wing Protestant literature. Despite his youthful problems with censorship, Sparke wrote as an anguished, aging conservative, who very clearly felt that the English Revolution had already gone much too far toward freedom of the press for the dangerous fringe groups which he perceived as a threat to society.

In his discussion of the menace presented to society by the production and distribution of Roman Catholic books, Sparke showed real fear that the small and numerically declining Roman Catholic Church had a very strong appeal to the gentry. The thought of a Roman Catholic Bible in the English language particularly disturbed Sparke, who displayed fear that such a Bible would prove quite influential. Sparke cautioned the Parliament and governmental leaders:

New Honourable Worthies look to have Popish notes to Popish pictures, and where you heretofore put pictures out of windows from sight of your eyes, now look to have them in your Bibles to set in the Heart, and so to have Popery rooted in you, for if you will not come to them, the Jesuites have a plot to come to you.¹²

From Sparke's alarmist viewpoint, the Roman Catholic threat was serious, since he believed he saw both a significant number of people flocking to

¹²Ibid., p. 7.

mass and a frightening number of the English gentry sending their daughters overseas to become Roman Catholic nuns. Although Sparke's fears of Roman Catholicism were groundless, his alarm was shared by many contemporaries, who ignored the fact that Roman Catholics were probably less than 5 percent of the mid-seventeenth century English population.¹³

In addition to his fear of a possible Roman Catholic revival in England, Sparke also saw the stability of both the state and of orthodox Calvinist religion threatened by the mushrooming growth of left-wing Protestant ideas. He spoke with particular distaste of the Ranter Abiezer Coppe's A Fiery Flying Roll, and he noted with obvious horror that Coppe called the Bible the "Scripturian Whore."¹⁴ In looking back with some nostalgia, Sparke noted that a book such as Coppe's would have produced a hanging for the author in the days of Queen Elizabeth I. No longer in spirit the rebel repeatedly jailed by Archbishop Laud, he surprisingly regretted that the Church of England bishops were no longer around to control the book trade and to suppress dangerous radicals such as the Anabaptists. Only a year from his death, Sparke was a political and social conservative seeking stability.

A Catalogue of Printed Books Written by William Prynne, which Sparke wrote and published in 1643, is the third work to be discussed.

¹³ Robin Clifton, "Fear of Popery," in Origins of the English Civil War, ed. Conrad Russell (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1973), pp. 144-67.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 7; and Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution (London: Temple-Smith, 1972; reprint ed., Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1975), pp. 201-202.

Although there are only four pages in this slender pamphlet, Sparke's compilation of this catalogue represents a valuable contribution to bibliography; it is certainly a useful tool for those interested in either Sparke or Prynne and deserves to be ranked as a significant document in mid-seventeenth century English printing history, since it is a good example of the development of seventeenth century bibliographical practices.

The thirty-two volumes listed by Sparke in this pamphlet are far from the complete list of William Prynne's pre-1643 publications which Sparke claimed to provide. A Catalogue of Printed Books Written by William Prynne does, however, show that Sparke possessed a keen sense of the importance of a reliable bibliography of the writings of a major political figure and prolific writer such as Prynne. Sparke noted sadly that Prynne had been embarrassed by works falsely credited to him by enemies such as George Walker. He also explained that there were previous imperfect catalogues of Prynne's works as well as erroneous manuscripts in circulation which varied from the original text without Prynne's consent or knowledge.¹⁵

Of the thirty-two works listed in Sparke's catalogue, twelve were certainly products of Sparke's press. Lame Giles his Haultings (1631), a thirteenth work, is frequently assumed by bibliographic authorities to have been published by Sparke, although this has been questioned in

¹⁵Michael Sparke, A Catalogue of Printed Books Written by William Prynne (London: 1643; Ann Arbor; University Microfilms, Reel 43 Thomason Tracts), STC II S 4815, p. 2.

Chapter III. In addition to these thirteen works, Sparke was clearly the publisher of a 1644 third edition of Prynne's A Vindication of Psalme 105:15, and he may have been the publisher of the 1642 edition listed in A Catalogue of Printed Books Written by William Prynne. His record of publishing Prynne's books certainly gave Sparke ample justification to boast that he was Prynne's stationer, since it is more than likely that many of the works published by Prynne without imprint in the 1630s were produced by Sparke.

In evaluating the merits of Sparke's catalogue, twentieth century historians of English printing agree in according high praise to Sparke's work. In his 1902 article, "Michael Sparke, Puritan Bookseller," Henry R. Plomer goes so far as to state that Prynne can not be the author of the pamphlet News from Ipswich, since Sparke does not list that work in A Catalogue of Printed Books Written by William Prynne.¹⁶ While Leona Rostenberg does not have quite the same confidence in Sparke's pamphlet, she says, "Although it represents only a fragment of Master Prynne's prodigious activity, the catalogue remains, nevertheless, an interesting contribution to seventeenth century bibliographical history."¹⁷

Artificial Fire, or coale for rich and poore (1644), the fourth work considered, is a charmingly illustrated broadside erroneously

¹⁶Henry R. Plomer, "Michael Sparke, Puritan Bookseller," The Bibliographer 1 (December 1902):415.

¹⁷Rostenberg, p. 198.

credited to Richard Gesling by Donald G. Wing,¹⁸ although Sparke rather than Gesling should be given credit as the person intellectually responsible for the work. Gesling is referred to as the "Engineer, late deceased" in the long subtitle, but it is obvious that Sparke wrote this broadside. Sparke offered the reader what he believed to be Gesling's valuable advice on how to cope with a frustrating war-induced London shortage of coal from Newcastle, and he explained his motivations as follows:

. . . what has been left to us by that painful Engineer Mr. Gesling, who was the first Inventor of this, I here have thought good to put to publike view, that all Rich and Poore may be provided for in some competent way; had he lived, he might have put it to Presse, but I seeing none to stirre in it, I having a Writ from him, have here set it forth in these times of scarcity which if thou practice, it shall be to thy profit and comfort.¹⁹

The "I" referred to in the passage quoted above was surely Sparke himself, who was public spirited enough to want to assist all classes of London citizens in stretching a newly limited supply of coal by mixing it with certain other combustible materials or by using commonly available coal substitutes. Gesling may have been the source of the practical ideas which Sparke expressed in this broadside, but it was Sparke acting as a civic minded supporter of Parliament who offered the

¹⁸ Donald Goddard Wing, Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Wales and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-1700, 4 vols. (New York: Printed for the Index Society by Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 2:105.

¹⁹ Artificial Fire or Coale for Rich and Poore (London: 1644; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 246 Thomason Tracts), STC II A 3894.

urgently needed winter survival skills expressed in this broadside for the consideration of his fellow Londoners.

Crediting Sparke with the publication of one broadside certainly does not dramatically increase the strength of his claim to our belated historical recognition, but his authorship of Artificial fire, or coale for rich and poore does show him as an alert and public spirited London citizen. In his publication of the broadside, it is reasonable to assume that Sparke combined his desire to make a profit and respond to popular demand with his hope to use his press in order to promote what he considered to be the public good.

While the first four works treated in this chapter discussed Sparke's life or provided some insight into the people and practices that Sparke promoted, the next two works show Sparke as a social critic of some merit attempting to find practical Christian remedies for the problem of poverty in Stuart England. Both Greevos Grones for the Poore, published in 1621, and The Poore Orphans Court, or Orphans Cry, which appeared fifteen years later in 1636, are pamphlets devoted to the pragmatic charity Sparke advocated in response to the problems of poverty. He clearly hoped to influence the prospering individual citizen and to alert governmental authorities to the needs of the unfortunate.

Greevos Grones for the Poore is a twenty-two page pamphlet with three unnumbered introductory pages. The unnumbered recto following the concluding page of the text contains a modest eight line poem, which exhorts the reader to Christian charity. Sparke also displayed a clear

interest in poetry by including four lines of charitable exhortation in verse on the title page.

Although Sparke was clearly responding to the severe economic crisis that troubled English society in general and the vital cloth trade in particular in the years from 1621 to 1623,²⁰ there is little original thought in Greevos Grones for the Poore. The most interesting and original part of the pamphlet is the introduction, which shows Sparke's interest in the English exploration and settlement in America then gathering momentum. He used the introduction to dedicate the pamphlet, "To the Right Honourable, Right Worshipfull, and Worthy Company of the Virginian and Sommer-Iland Plantations."²¹ Like many of his contemporaries, Sparke wanted to use emigration of the impoverished as at least a partial solution to the problems of poverty. Since by 1621 Thomas Sparke, who was Sparke's elder brother, had settled in Virginia, Sparke undoubtedly had at least secondhand information available to him, when he praised the Virginia Company for:

. . . the relapse of mean and decayed persons, by transporting them to a land, where they have Corne which they sowed not, Vines which they planted not, and plenty which some of them deserved not.²²

Unlike the argument in the three introductory pages, most of the content of the pamphlet is clearly traditional. Many of Sparke's

²⁰B. E. Supple, Commercial Crises and Change in England 1600-1642: A Study in the Instability of a Mercantile Economy (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1959), pp. 52-73.

²¹Michael Sparke, Greevos Grones for the Poore (London: 1621; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 888), STC I 12391, sig., a3^r.

²²*Ibid.*, sig., A4^v.

complaints are similar in both their tone and their content to complaints which Sir Thomas More had made more than a century earlier. Not only did Sparke complain about the widespread misuse of common lands by the greedy rich, he also lamented that the time honored feudal habits of generous local hospitality had decayed as the wealthy had increasingly decided to serve only the interests of their own immediate families and not to consider the larger needs of the community as a whole. Furthermore, Sparke reiterated the longstanding complaint about greedy lords unfairly taking hold of copyhold lands. Like his later adversary Laud, Sparke decried the increasing concentration of land ownership in the hands of the rich and the closely accompanying trend for the number of people that could be supported by a given amount of land to decrease. Of humble social origins Sparke admired the modest and hardworking husbandmen more than he admired the greedy rich.²³ Sparke sounded very radical in his comment, "Even thus as you see, the poor man with that which heretofore he had, and of right now should have, is swallowed up into the rich man's possession."²⁴

Very few of Sparke's charges concerning economic change detrimental to the poor, however, were based strictly on recent sixteenth and seventeenth century practices. Sparke's expression of anger that many parishes had not collected for the poor in seven years and his contention that a significant number of parishes were failing to honor their legal obligations to their own native born or long settled poor

²³ Ibid., pp. 13-19.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 19.

were his only complaints that clearly seem to be related to the enforcement of Tudor-Stuart poor laws.²⁵ He displayed remarkable faith that proper application of existing law would greatly improve England's economic condition.

Sparke also provided an exhaustive analytical description of the types of people suffering from poverty in early Stuart England. As a patriot, he had a strong sympathy for discharged soldiers who were either physically unable to work or unable to secure much needed employment. Sparke separated the remaining poor people into two large classes. Writing with compassion, he hoped to serve the needs of the impotent and deserving poor: the aged, the ill, and the handicapped. In contrast to his compassion for the deserving poor, Sparke recommended that the "idle rogues" receive either legal correction or transportation abroad. He had no sympathy for idleness, since he believed that voluntary idleness endangered the soul and aided the Devil's work. Not yet a strict Calvinist in 1621, Sparke contended that through honest labor men can play a part in their own salvation.²⁶

Although his analysis of the human distress created by poverty was clear, Sparke offered few answers to the poverty problem in Greevos Grones for the Poore except emigration.²⁷ His major constructive idea

²⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 1-12.

²⁷ For a discussion of contemporary opinion, see Mildred Campbell, "'Of People Either Too Few or Too Many,' the Conflict of Opinion on Population and its Relation to Emigration," in Conflicts in Stuart England, essays in honour of Wallace Notestein, eds. William Appleton Aiken and Basil Duke Henning (n.p.: New York University Press, 1960), pp. 171-201.

for the alleviation of poverty was education. He placed great stress on the fact that all young people needed to be trained in some honest calling early in life so that society would not need to support them later in life.²⁸

Despite Sparke's lack of originality in Greevos Grones for the Poore and the absence of practical proposals in it, this slender pamphlet has been recognized as significant by historians for over eighty years. Written in 1900, E. M. Leonard's monograph The Early History of English Poor Relief singles out Sparke's pamphlet as representative of the widespread belief in the 1620s that England's poor laws were not being adequately enforced. Sadly, Leonard's account fails to recognize Sparke as the author of Greevos Grones for the Poore, although it considers the pamphlet important enough to quote.²⁹

Henry R. Plomer's 1902 article on Sparke recognizes him as the author of Greevos Grones for the Poore.³⁰ Aside from giving Sparke the recognition of authorship denied him by Leonard, however, Plomer has little to say about the pamphlet. Only the fact that Plomer duplicates the title page provides clear proof that Plomer regards the pamphlet as important.

While E. M. Leonard and Henry R. Plomer only touch upon the pamphlet briefly, Leona Rostenberg accords it significant value as a

²⁸Sparke, Greevos Grones, p. 5.

²⁹E. M. Leonard, The Early History of English Poor Relief (Cambridge: University Press, 1900; reprint ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1965), p. 244.

³⁰Plomer, pp. 410-11.

sociological document and gives a page long summary of its contents. Despite her criticism of Greevos Groones for the Poore as "heavily coated with Puritan homilies," she states without explanation that, "his treatise is of significance in the sociological literature of the period."³¹

The Poore Orphans Court, or Orphans Cry, the sixth work considered here, is in some ways a 1636 sequel to Greevos Groones for the Poore. Admitting that his 1621 work had accomplished little without explaining the cause for its failure, Sparke said:

I caused a Booke to be printed some 16 yeeres ago, called Grievous groanes for the poore. But I being then in the country the booke (whether at the Booksellers or the Printers I know not) lost the life, and reason how the poore should be provided for, by which means it lost all respect, and I my good intention. . . .³²

Recognizing that the poverty problem in England was still severe, Sparke provided a new ten page reconsideration of the nature of the problem with the obvious hope that his second effort would have greater success in arousing popular interest and support for effective poor relief.³³

³¹Rostenberg, pp. 166-67.

³²Michael Sparke, The Poore Orphans Court, or Orphans Cry (London: Printed by A.G. for M.S. junior, 1636; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 585), STC I 21509. Sparke's interest in orphans may have been spurred by the fact that 40 percent of England's population was under fifteen. See L. A. Clarkson, The Pre-Industrial Economy in England 1500-1750 (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1971).

³³Charles Carlton's The Court of Orphans (Bristol: Leicester University Press, 1974) discusses the legal protection given propertied orphans. B. E. Supple's Commercial Crises and Change in England 1600-1642, pp. 197-224, provides an account of technically oriented economic thought in this period.

Sparke's writings on poverty reflect humanitarian concern rather than technical knowledge. He was clearly unfamiliar with the more

The Poore Orphans Court, or Orphans Cry differs from its predecessor in several important physical respects. There is an excellent, moving illustration of poor children dying from the effects of extreme want opposite the title page. In addition, the poetry which supplements the text of Sparke's earlier pamphlet does not reappear. Surprisingly, the pages of the text of The Poore Orphans Court, or Orphans Cry are unnumbered which is a significant regression in the practicality of the pamphlet's organization in comparison with Greevos Grones for the Poore.

The change in content between Sparke's two pamphlets is even more striking than the change in physical format. The quality of his argument in The Poore Orphans Court is impressive, and it is much more sophisticated than his argument in the earlier work. The most striking indication of his new sophistication is the fact that The Poore Orphans Court is replete with legal references and citations to specific legal statutes from the reign of Richard II to the reign of Elizabeth I. This technical argument is completely absent from Sparke's earlier work, and he shows that he has learned a great deal about law by his extensive references to laws by monarch and statute number in both the text and the margins of this work.

There are several other notable ways in which the two pamphlets differ. The Poore Orphans Court focuses heavily on the needs of

sophisticated economic writers of his own day such as Maddison, Malynes, and Mun. It is significant that Sparke's few economic publications were either religious in outlook or oriented to the practical needs of tradesmen.

orphans, since it advocates the creation of a court for poor orphans to protect them in the same manner as the existing Orphans Court protected propertied orphans. Sparke showed some concern for the welfare of "youthful plants" in his earlier work, but his interest in children had obviously increased greatly in the fifteen years between the two pamphlets through his observation of the plight of poor children. The Poore Orphans Court also differed from its predecessor in placing a greater emphasis on the situation in London where many children were abandoned and unsupervised. Thinking in bureaucratic terms, in The Poore Orphans Court Sparke advocated that all responsible officials be closely acquainted with the objects of public aid. He concluded:

And if all Overseers of the Poore, Constables, Beadles and under Officers would be but thus diligent in their places, or if superior Magistrates would but punish them severely, as our laws appoint, where they finde them negligent in their duties, wee should quickly have no begging, no perishing, nor complaining in our streets.³⁴

In addition, The Poore Orphans Court separated the impotent poor into two classes, the blind or lame and the aged or young. In Greevos Grones for the Poore, there is no such logical separation. Finally, Sparke offered detailed proposals for the employment and training of different classes of poor children in The Poore Orphans Court, or Orphans Cry. For example, he suggested that ships could employ many

³⁴Sparke, The Poore Orphans Court, sig., B4^v. For an analysis of parish poor relief, see Ronald W. Herlan's "Poor Relief in London During the English Revolution," Journal of British Studies 18 (Spring 1979):38.

Sparke's criticism of parish poor relief may have resulted from his experience at St. Sepulchre. Herlan has shown that during Sparke's lifetime, St. Sepulchre required extensive aid from other parishes to meet the needs of its poor.

boys, and he also advised parishes to subsidize the settlement of poor children in America. In 1636 Sparke was a much more pragmatic writer than he had been earlier. He clearly recognized for the first time the need to convince his fellow citizens that their anti-poverty actions could be effective and reduce the tax burden of supporting the poor by seeing that all children received early training to prepare them for economically productive occupations.

Despite the fact that The Poore Orphans Court, or Orphans Cry is a much better written treatise than Greevos Grones for the Poore, it is both strange and sad to report that historians do not grant it the same degree of recognition and respect which they accord Sparke's earlier work. The Poore Orphans Court, or Orphans Cry has become something of an orphan itself due to scholarly oversight.

While the six works discussed thus far either tell the reader something about Sparke's professional career or reveal something about his views on the causes and desirable cures of Stuart England's complex poverty problem, the next two works to be analyzed illustrate the nature of Sparke's Puritan thought. The Crums of Comfort with godly prayers (1628) is a guide to prayerful Puritan living aimed at a mass audience, which shows the positive side of Sparke's religious faith. On the other hand, The Plots of Jesuites (1653) provides collected documentary evidence to illustrate the intense anti-Catholicism and vitriolic Jesuit phobia, which were the negative side of Sparke's Puritanism. Since the Catholic sources quoted advise many of the actions taken by Cromwell, one can surmise that there is anti-Cromwellian political comment

concealed underneath the protective veneer of anti-Catholicism in The Plots of Jesuites. When they are taken together, these two publications provide a multifaceted introduction to Sparke's personal version of Puritan religious thought.

In contrast to the six previously considered works, all written entirely by Sparke, the seventh work considered, The Crums of Comfort is the result of Sparke's acting as compiler of the selected writings of others. He believed that his selection of meditations would aid readers who were seeking to receive sound guidance in centering their daily lives around a structured program of prayer for all occasions. In "The Printer to the Reader," Sparke's introduction to the seventh edition of The Crums of Comfort analyzed here, Sparke explained his motives as a compiler. He wrote:

. . . the desire of a prayer book in this volume, was the first motive that made me gather some prayers out of divers mens work, which were either not common, or out of Print, and to get some godly ministers of mine acquaintance, and to make up that booke of Crummes, which I therefore first called for the manner of gathering.³⁵

Sparke then went on to claim that he omitted any identification of the authors of the prayers which are collected in The Crums of Comfort because the authors had requested to remain completely anonymous.³⁶

The prayers in The Crums of Comfort are probably best understood by the modern reader as the seventeenth century equivalent of our self-help

³⁵Michael Sparke, The Crums of Comfort with godly prayers, 7th ed. (London: Printed for M. Sparke, 1628; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1220), STC I 23016, sigs., A3^r-A4^v.

³⁶Ibid., sigs., A4^r-A5^v.

books on how to confront the many problems of daily living and the crises of life. For the seventeenth century English Puritan reader and many other Protestants who were very conscious both of their sinful nature and of their unworthiness to begin to approach God except through the aid of divine grace, Sparke's The Crums of Comfort offered a reassuring message of hope that divine grace might have been granted regardless of the reader's social station or his immediate outward circumstances.

Sparke's comprehensive collection of prayers offered his readers a prayer for every day of the week at morning, noon, and evening. It also provided prayers to help them confront radically different situations, which ranged from the many blessings of a quiet prosperity to the imminent approach of death. The prayers written to accompany church attendance, communion, and the receiving of religious instruction illustrate how important religious duties were to Sparke's readers. There are several prayers with very clear political and social implications that will be considered later, and the inclusion of prayers for servants indicates that Sparke hoped to serve the religious needs of a very wide and comprehensive audience through The Crums of Comfort.

By examining the prayers that Sparke compiled for the benefit of his readers in The Crums of Comfort, the modern scholar can gain significant evidence to illustrate seventeenth century English Puritan practice. Since Sparke's devout readers regarded the Sabbath as the most important day of the week, the Sunday prayers provide particularly good evidence of a popular Puritan approach to religious duty. In the

Sunday morning prayer, readers received guidance on how to approach the Sabbath reverently, to free their minds from worldly cares, and to profit effectively from reading God's word and hearing worthy ministers expound it. The Sunday evening prayer is particularly interesting to the historian, because in this prayer one entreats God's blessing for the Church throughout the world. Concerning the worldwide Church, part of the prayer reads, ". . . build it up where it is new begun, in Virginia, New England, & the Summer Islands, the East and West Indies."³⁷ The prayer continues with the wish that God enlighten the religiously lost, who include the American Indians, the Atheists and Papists in England, as well as the "wilfull blinded Jewes."³⁸ Much of the remainder of the evening prayer is oriented to self-protection, but the presence of prayer for God to relieve the insane of the tragic burdens of mental illness shows that compassion was not alien to Sparke's readers.

The Puritan world view, which Sparke was propagating in The Crums of Comfort, clearly appears in each day's prayers, not just in those prayers for Sunday use. The Friday prayers provide a good example of the weekday prayers. The Friday morning prayer assumes that Sparke's readers observe the Church of England sponsored fast, and it requests both pardon for sin and the wisdom to be able to set a good example to others.³⁹ The Friday morning prayer shows an awareness of the progress

³⁷ Ibid., sig., C7^v.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

of the Catholic Counter-Revolution and of continental religious wars when it says, ". . . remember thy Church, and every member thereof, to preserve and keep it, especially the poore afflicted Protestants of the truth, in Germany and elsewhere."⁴⁰

In addition to the prayers offered as a complete seven day guide to the thrice daily prayers recommended by The Crums of Comfort, Sparke's collection also offers prayers to aid his readers in facing almost any contingency which can arise in the normal course of life. When afflicted by poverty, Sparke's reader can pray, "Grant I may bear my poverty with patience, as Job did, that at all times I may remember, I came naked into the world, and brought nothing with mee, and that which I have, came from thee."⁴¹ The prayer continues by urging the avoidance of the sin of despairing of God's mercy, and it contains the comforting hope that earthly affliction may be leading to eternal heavenly blessing. While Sparke's prayer for the poor consists largely of an exhortation to patience, his prayer for the prosperous urges them to be generous and offer thanks. The rich man should pray concerning his wealth:

Grant I may not be hard hearted, but liberally give and bestow it on the oppressed and fatherlesse, on the blind, the lame, and the naked, to comfort and succor all that are in distresse, to further thy Word and plantation of the Gospell.⁴²

Clearly, The Crums of Comfort assumes that all of Sparke's readers, whether they are rich or poor, should make salvation their first concern.

⁴⁰ Ibid., sig., E2^r.

⁴¹ Ibid., sig., G3^v.

⁴² Ibid., sig., G4^r.

This assumption is evident, despite the fact that the Calvinist doctrine of strict predestination and election is reiterated many times, and readers are warned that there is absolutely no way that anyone can merit salvation on account of original sin.

Sparke offers more than just prayers for daily living and for adjusting to financial success or failure. He also includes prayers that are designed to help his devout Christian readers face the ultimate crisis of the approach of death and finally of death itself. "The Sicke Mans Prayer" reflects both a clear human desire to recover and a willingness to accept God's will by praying as "a Worme." It says,

. . . and grant I may not feare death, but I may be fitted and prepared for it, yet if it be thy gracious will let me recover a little strength and spare me a little before I go hence and am seene no more.⁴³

In addition to this commonplace prayer for the sick, Sparke also included a prayer intended to be said at the hour of death by the friends of the dying person. In it, these friends request God to send only good thoughts to the dying person and to grant the departing soul the resurrection accorded by Jesus to Lazarus.⁴⁴ Acceptance of God's will and hope for salvation leading to the blessings of eternal life are the attitudes that the recitation of Sparke's prayers for the sick and dying would tend to induce among readers who shared his views.

To understand how the central importance of religion colored the attitude of Sparke's readers to both daily life and death, the modern reader of The Crums of Comfort needs to understand the prayers which

⁴³ Ibid., sig., G9^r-G10^v.

⁴⁴ Ibid., sigs., G11^r-G12^v.

Sparke provided to be said before the receipt of Holy Communion. The prayer which Sparke provided to be said before taking Holy Communion restates standard Christian doctrine concerning the mission of Christ and its impact on human life and death. Then this prayer says of Christ,

. . . we present ourselves to this thy Table, to manifest and witnesse to the whole world, that by him alone we have received liberty and life, that by him alone thou doest acknowledge us, to be thy Children and Heires, . . .⁴⁵

The prayer to be said after Holy Communion states, " . . . thou hast presented us in this thy Sacrament the whole tragedy of his Passion."⁴⁶ It goes on to request that the refreshed communicant receive the strength to live a reformed life, to prevail against "spiritual enemies," and to glorify God. In analyzing these prayers, one can conclude that Sparke feels that his readers can find comfort in prayer and communion.

In addition to the prayers already discussed to indicate the religious teachings of The Crums of Comfort, at least two of Sparke's prayers also have obvious political and patriotic implications concerning the attitude Sparke expected his readers to adopt. The Civil War was still far in the political future, and the 1628 seventh edition of The Crums of Comfort includes a prayer which asks God to bless both the Church of England and Charles "our gracious King and Governor" and his "honourable counsellours."⁴⁷ The prayer which Sparke provided for time of war illustrates that Sparke assumes that his readers were English

⁴⁵ Ibid., sig., E7^r.

⁴⁶ Ibid., sig., E9^r.

⁴⁷ Ibid., sig., K4^r.

Protestant patriots loyal to the established political and religious order. The prayer asks God to actively intervene on the side of the English forces, when it says, "Goe in and out (O Lord) before our Armies, before our Generals, before our Fleets & Commanders, and grant we may be thy Souldiers, to fight under thy Banner. . . ."48 After taking care of patriotism, Sparke's prayer for time of war bows in the direction of internationalism by asking God's help for the distressed German Protestants in the Thirty Years War.

The generally conservative assumptions that are implicit in the religious, political, and patriotic viewpoints expressed in The Crums of Comfort become strikingly obvious in the two prayers that are written specifically for servants. These prayers both attempt to induce servants to accept their place at the bottom of a hierarchical social order. By following "A Morning Prayer for Servants," a servant prays to God, ". . . grant in all my Service, I may be thy true Servant and so for thee, may do true service to my Master and Mistresse . . ."49 In "An Evening Prayer for a Servant," similar dutiful ideas are expressed in order to underscore the need to serve God through serving one's social superiors.

There is agreement among several twentieth century scholars that this Sparke collection represents both a truly important publishing achievement and popular Puritan theology. Plomer and Rostenberg both discuss The Crums of Comfort in their attempts to evaluate the work of

⁴⁸Ibid., sig., K11^r.

⁴⁹Ibid., sig., B7^v.

Sparke as a publisher-printer. Louis B. Wright examines this compilation in the broader context of his lengthy monographic study of that segment of Elizabethan and early seventeenth century English literature which aimed to reach a very broad middle class audience.

Concerning The Crums of Comfort, Plomer's 1902 article "Michael Sparke, Puritan Bookseller" states, "This little book enjoyed great popularity."⁵⁰ He stresses that Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderfull Deliverances of This Land was often bound with The Crums of Comfort, and he also notes that the 1628 edition of The Crums of Comfort was bound with the Psalms in meter.

Leona Rostenberg's 1965 monographic chapter, "The Regeneration of Man & Trade: Michael Sparke, Puritan Crusader," provides a substantially larger discussion of The Crums of Comfort than that written by Plomer.⁵¹ Rostenberg holds that, "Sparke's 'Book of Crums' was designed to serve the spiritual needs of the devout seventeenth century Englishman."⁵² With her discussion of The Crums of Comfort Rostenberg includes a full page illustration, which is a reproduction of the graphic title page of the 1628 edition, where Death and Time are depicted along with a collection of sorrowful and praying individuals.

Since he was not concentrating on Sparke as Plomer and Rostenberg were, Louis B. Wright's views of The Crums of Comfort are less subject to any accusations of trying to exaggerate its importance. In Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England, Wright says:

⁵⁰Plomer, p. 412.

⁵¹Rostenberg, pp. 161-202.

⁵²Ibid., p. 165.

As men grew more apt in studying their religious condition, they became more eager for adequate prayers. No work speaks more eloquently of the use to which devotional books were put than Michael Sparke's The Crums of Comfort with godly prayers. Corrected and amended. 7 edition. 1628⁵³

Wright goes on after this passage to agree with Rostenberg's contention that the fact that there are few surviving copies of this collection, despite the large number of editions published, indicates that the book was generally used until it was worn out. In Wright's opinion, Sparke was a practical businessman, who made a pragmatic decision concerning what would sell in compiling The Crums of Comfort.

The lengthy analysis, which this chapter gives to the religious, political, patriotic, and social assumptions behind the prayers collected by Sparke in The Crums of Comfort, reflects the importance and recognition granted this compilation both by its contemporaries and by succeeding generations. The Crums of Comfort provides a mirror of the mind of the ordinary nonintellectual Puritan in seventeenth century England as well as insight into Sparke's religious outlook, and the thoughts this work expresses are representative rather than unique.

The Crums of Comfort was a perennially popular work that was reprinted as late as 1755.⁵⁴ The many published editions of this 300 page religious compilation indicate that Sparke had excellent judgment concerning mass literary taste. His collection of prayers

⁵³ Louis B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Ithaca: Published for the Folger Shakespeare Library by the Cornell University Press, 1955), pp. 29-33.

⁵⁴ The National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints, 735 vols. (London: Mansell, 1968-1981), 506:300-301.

struck a truly responsive chord in the seventeenth and even eighteenth century English reading public, and Sparke's lifetime alone saw the publication of forty-one editions.⁵⁵

While The Crums of Comfort is an essentially positive manual of Puritan meditative devotions, The Plots of Jesuites (1653), the eighth Sparke work considered here, represents the darker and more negative side of Sparke's religious viewpoint. This slender, seven page pamphlet is intensely anti-Catholic in impact, and it provides selections from Catholic authors to portray the Jesuits as crafty and dangerous enemies of the English state and church. The pamphlet consists of three short excerpts Sparke compiled from the writings of Adam Contzen (1575-1635), Thomas Campanella (1568-1630), and Robert Parsons (1546-1610). All reflect the zeal of the Counter-Reformation's desire to overthrow Protestantism in a no-holds-barred religious warfare. These selections must have frightened Sparke's English Protestant readers, who were already strongly anti-Catholic.

The first selection in The Plots of Jesuites is "Contzen's Plot." Sparke extracts this selection from book two of Contzen's Politicorum libri decem, which offers Machiavellian instructions to Catholic princes on how to overthrow Protestantism in those realms where it appears strong. Contzen advises the scheming Catholic ruler to set one group of Protestants against another and provides examples of how skillful German Catholic princes had used the Calvinists and Zwinglians against the

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Lutheran Church. The majority of his argument consists of a list of methods for the Catholic prince to introduce Roman Catholicism gradually without the people's becoming aware of the intended change of religion or the gradual accretion of ever greater power into Catholic hands. Reading this selection in the context of seventeenth century English history, it is clear that Sparke's Puritan readers could easily jump to the conclusion that Charles I and Laud had been carrying out a program such as Contzen's in the 1630s.⁵⁶

The second selection in The Plots of Jesuites is "Campanella's Plot," taken from Campanella's book De Monarchia Hispanica, written in the 1590s. Campanella tells Philip II of Spain that he can rule Europe and most of the New World by conquering England after the death of Queen Elizabeth. Since Campanella holds that creating an English commonwealth and, if possible, an English civil war are the best means of conquering Protestant England, Sparke's inclusion of this selection in The Plots of Jesuites in 1653 may represent a rueful looking back at the preceding decade in English history where Protestant had repeatedly fought Protestant over matters of political and religious principle.⁵⁷

The third selection, "Parson's Plot," is an extract from Robert Parson's 1593 book, A Conference about the next succession to the Crown of England, divided into two parts. A footnote, which is provided by Sparke, indicates that both Sparke and William Prynne objected to the

⁵⁶The Harleian miscellany . . ., 12 vols. (London: Printed for Robert Dutton, Gracechurch Street, 1808), 1:29-36.

⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 34-35.

anti-monarchical implications of portions of Parson's argument. Since other portions of Parson's plan for undermining English Protestantism advocated social changes that had already taken place by 1653 as a result of the English Civil War, Sparke's selection of this extract represents an oblique attempt to criticize the destruction of the monarchy by the Commonwealth government.⁵⁸

When taken together, the three extracts chosen by Sparke can be seen as a commentary on seventeenth century English political history, particularly the two extracts from Campanella and Parsons. These two extracts provide grounds for a very strong inference that Sparke was unhappy with the results of the Civil War and with the English government existing in 1653. It is well known that the once radical Prynne had been imprisoned as a potential counter-revolutionary in the early 1650s. Since Sparke revered Prynne, it is probable, if not certain, that he agreed with the opposition to the Commonwealth that caused Prynne's imprisonment.

In turning from an analysis of The Crums of Comfort and The Plots of Jesuites to an analysis of The Narrative History of King James (1651) and Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderfull Deliverances of This Land (1628), this chapter now changes its focus from religion to history. This distinction is not by any means absolute, however, for religion and a providential Protestant view of history intermingled in the mind of Sparke and most of his Puritan contemporaries. Sparke's historical

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 35-36.

writing was colored by his dedication to militant Protestantism, and he was very quick to see God intervening in the affairs of Englishmen.

The Narrative History of King James, the ninth work discussed here, is a four part history of the reign of James I. Although the first seventy-four pages are by Sir Fulke Greville, later Lord Brooke, Sparke adds 225 pages to expand Greville's discussion of the first five Jacobean years to a treatment of the first fourteen years of the reign, and he therefore deserves credit for three-quarters of this work.⁵⁹

As strong evidence for the contention that Sparke played more than a mere compiler's role in the creation of The Narrative History of King James, a one page letter written by Sparke can be cited, which reads:

Thank you for your last favor, upon which I have once more to trespass, by entreating to have the judgement of the physician and doctors upon Prince Henry's death, as well as particulars of the free gifts of bounty of King James, which you showed me. These and those I have will make a complete history of 14 annales of King James. . . .⁶⁰

Although the recipient of Sparke's plea is unknown, this citation provides proof that Sparke was doing at least some sound historical research through the collection of documentary evidence for use in The Narrative History of King James.

In spite of the fact that Sparke, who wrote as "Mi. Scintilla," provided a modest introduction to The Narrative History of King James in

⁵⁹The National Union Catalog, 405:321. Although The National Union Catalog lists The Narrative History of King James by title, the evidence provided in this study proves Sparke is responsible for three-quarters of the work.

⁶⁰Great Britain, PRO, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1649-1660 . . . , 13 vols. (London: Longmans, 1875-1886), 2:492.

"The Stationer to the Impartial Reader, Gentlemen or Others," the book clearly reflects Sparke's providential and orthodox Calvinist view of history throughout. Sparke was honest enough to say that the history included the contributions of many other authors by declaring, ". . . you shall find it had more progenitors than one or two. . . ." ⁶¹ Sparke, however, deserves credit for molding diverse contributions into a single book.

Sparke's religious views clearly shaped the organization and message of The Narrative History of King James. Catholics and crypto-Catholics such as the wealthy and influential Howards appeared in the history as evil and corrupt, but God put limits on their wickedness, and the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury did not remain permanently concealed. Two left wing Protestant heretics, Bartholomew Legatt and Edward Wightman, were no better than Catholics in Sparke's eyes. Both died at the stake for their deviant brands of Protestantism, and Sparke made clear that he believed the Church of England did right to execute them in the interests of society as a whole.

Part one of The Narrative History of King James is the segment Sparke took from Sir Fulke Greville, who later became Lord Brooke. It describes the state of England at the accession of King James I, the ethnic rivalries at court between the Scots and the English, the career of Lord Northampton, the rise and fall of the Earl of Somerset, and the

⁶¹ Michael Sparke, The Narrative History of King James (London: 1651; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1027), STC II S 4818, sig., A2^v.

early stages of the career of the Duke of Buckingham. The passions of contemporaries were intense enough that no Puritan could have read this account without intense anger at the Catholic influence and the loose morals which prevailed at James I's court.⁶²

Part two of The Narrative History of King James, for which Sparke certainly is entirely responsible, is Truth Brought to Light by Time. This section includes the divorce proceedings (i.e., the annulment proceedings) between Lady Francis Howard and Robert, Earl of Essex. It also includes the trial and arraignment records of those tried for complicity in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury (1581-1613). Sparke's account of the 1613 murder of Overbury, a royal prisoner in the Tower of London, showed James I and by extension the entire institution of monarchy in a most unflattering light since the king clearly twisted justice to aid royal favorites like the Earl and Countess of Somerset. If Sparke estimated the impact of part two correctly, interest in this Jacobean murder trial remained high even a full generation after the fact, since Truth Brought to Light by Time was available as a separately published pamphlet as well as forming a part of The Narrative History of King James.⁶³

As a good Puritan eager to show the power of God, Sparke showed the triumph of justice in The Truth Brought to Light by Time with obvious

⁶²Ibid., pp. 1-74. For Puritan reaction to court morals see P. W. Thomas, "Two Cultures? Court and Country under Charles I," in The Origins of the English Civil War, edited by Conrad Russell (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1973), pp. 168-93.

⁶³Sparke, Narrative History of King James, pp. 75-191.

delight. The Truth Brought to Light by Time details the trial and arraignment of all those who assisted the Countess of Somerset in poisoning Overbury for his opposition to her divorce and remarriage. In Sparke's account even the worst of those tried repent of their sins, and the minor figures executed all die hoping for divine forgiveness as repentant sinners. The moral is clear, and Sparke has substantiated his claim in the introduction to The Narrative History of King James that:

This following Story is worthy of observation, for here it is to be seen God's justice, with punishments upon wicked sinfull wretches (both in judgement and equity), observe what was here begun with vanity and adultery, ends in shame, infamy and misery.⁶⁴

For the modern reader, it is interesting to note that Sparke did not object to the class privilege that allowed King James to pardon the Earl and Countess of Somerset and to execute their nonnoble agents. It is also significant that Sparke believed his audience would enjoy the lurid details of the Overbury case and take pleasure in seeing aristocratic sin punished.

In part three of The Narrative History of King James, Sparke provided a rather dull, factual contrast to the drama and excitement which were present in part two. Part three, which Sparke entitled "An Abstract or Brief Declaration of the present state of his Majesties Revenew with the Assignations and Defalcations Upon the Same . . .," is a detailed seventy-one page record of the royal budget under King James. Despite the inherently dry nature of the budgetary facts which were

⁶⁴Ibid., sig., A2^r.

presented by Sparke in part three, the alert reader can note many obvious signs that extravagant grants to royal favorites were the cause of King James I's perennial budget deficits in Sparke's opinion. Although part three has obvious merits, it is highly unfortunate that Sparke did not make clear the source of the documents he printed in this section, and this failure may have lessened the impact of these documents on contemporary readers at least to some degree. Sparke's hints of sources in high places can not have been convincing to the thoughtful reader.⁶⁵

Part four of The Narrative History of King James, a collection of documents that Sparke entitled "A true relation of the Commissions and Warrants for the Condemnation and Burning of Bartholomew Legatt and Edward Wightman, the one at West Smithfield, London, the other at Lichfield in the year, 1611 . . . ," demonstrates that Sparke loathed the radicals espousing left wing and unusual forms of Protestant Christianity just as he detested Roman Catholics. He made it clear that he approved of burning such dangerous deviants as Legatt and Wightman, and his intention to use history to attack the radicals of his own day became clear from the final part of part four's subtitle, which reads, "In which is laid open their most Blasphemous Heresies and False Opinions, being part of them the very same which are Ranters in these times profess to be their New Lights."⁶⁶

There are certain interesting similarities between the beliefs that these documents attribute to Bartholomew Legatt and the doctrines they

⁶⁵ Ibid., part three, pp. 1-71.

⁶⁶ Ibid., part four, title page.

ascribe to Edward Wightman. These similarities center around the fact that both men were anti-Trinitarian and both ranked Christ significantly lower than God the father. Despite the two men's crucial similarities, Wightman seems to have been more extreme than Legatt, since Wightman was an Anabaptist and claimed to be a Biblically predicted prophet. For the purpose of evaluating Sparke's convictions on social issues, it is important to note that he reprinted the official documents concerning both the heretical opinions and the resulting condemnation of Legatt and Wightman without any questioning of their fairness and validity, and Sparke unhesitatingly supported the official policy of suppressing left wing Protestant sectaries, which James I pursued.

Although the major purpose of part four of The Narrative History of King James was undoubtedly to describe and attack the heretical religious opinions of Legatt and Wightman, Sparke also included unrelated documents that show James I pardoning Theophilus Higgins and Sir Eustace Hart. The Higgins case at least dealt with religion, since Higgins received a 1611 pardon for his past Roman Catholic activities as a result of promising to be a loyal member of the Church of England and to repent of previous errors. While the religious nature of the Higgins case gives it some claim to a logical relation to the rest of part four, Sparke's inclusion of the Hart case has no apparent justification. Hart received a limited royal pardon in 1616 for his sexual excesses, not for any deviant religious opinions or practices. Since neither case involved either a well known individual or issues of general interest, one may

suspect that Sparke wanted to use the material he had collected on Higgins and Hart and threw it into part four as an afterthought.⁶⁷

While Sparke was admittedly more an intelligent compiler than a writer of descriptive or analytic history in The Narrative History of King James, he was a historian in a much broader and deeper sense in Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderfull Deliverances of This Land, published in 1628. This graphically illustrated history, the tenth and final work discussed in this chapter, shows that by 1628 Sparke had a very solid grasp of the highpoints in sixteenth and early seventeenth century English history. Since Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderfull Deliverances of This Land takes a strongly Protestant providential view of English history, the pamphlet forms an ideal companion to The Crums of Comfort with which it was very frequently bound. As a result of the fact that Sparke's historical vignettes are couched in the form of meditative prayers of thanksgiving, even the format of this history resembles the one that Sparke used in the compilation of prayers for The Crums of Comfort.

In Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderfull Deliverances of This Land three recent historical events are highlighted: the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the Gunpowder Plot against King James I and Parliament in 1605, and the London based plague of 1625. While a modern historian would probably arrange these events in chronological order, Sparke discussed the Gunpowder Plot first, the English defeat of the

⁶⁷Ibid., part four, pp. 1-18.

Spanish Armada second, and the London plague of 1625 third. In writing about the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 and the London based plague of 1625, Sparke recounted events he had experienced as a London citizen either as a young apprentice or as an adult. In his description of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, which he perhaps deliberately placed between the two events he knew from his own experience, he could only repeat the story as he may have read about it or heard about it from members of his parents' generation.

By gratefully thanking God for frustrating a conspiratorial Catholic attempt to blow up both King James and the entire Parliament in the 1605 Gunpowder Plot, Sparke opened Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderfull Deliverances of This Land with his analysis of an incident that provided fuel for anti-Catholic propaganda for generations. Sparke recommended that future generations keep Guy Fawkes Day celebrations in perpetuity out of gratitude for the providential failure of the Gunpowder plot. He said,

For which so gracious and wonderfull deliverance on that of 5
of November 1605, let us and our posterity after us. with
Bonfires, Trumpets, Shawines, and Psalmes, laud and praise
thy holy name on the fift of November yearly and forever:
. . . .⁶⁸

To understand the nature of Sparke's prayer here, it is important to recognize that Sparke's desire to commemorate the failure of the Gunpowder Plot is not based entirely on the anti-Catholicism that was

⁶⁸Michael Sparke, Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderfull Deliverances of This Land. With other speciall Prayers (London: 1628; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1220), STC I 23016, sigs., A6^r-A7^v.

obviously always so central to his world view. He believed that the story of the failure of the Gunpowder Plot conspiracy illustrated the awesome majesty and foreknowledge of God. He stressed that God can save us from imminent threats about which we as yet have no knowledge as he did so miraculously with the intended victims of the Gunpowder Plot.

While the Gunpowder Plot furnished an example of an internal threat to the stability of the English government, the Spanish Armada provided an example of a frighteningly powerful external threat to England. Just as Sparke saw God's mercy in the failure of the Gunpowder Plot, he also saw divine mercy in the defeat of the Spanish Armada. For this reason, Sparke prayed:

. . . for every one for our own particulars are ever bound to have in mind how upon the 7 of August 1588 thou wrought that great deliverance of this Land from that proud Navy of the cruell Spaniard, & to blesse and praise thy glorious name from one generation to another, both now and for ever more.⁶⁹

Sparke's expression of gratitude for the defeat of the Spanish Armada showed his belief that God had inspired Queen Elizabeth I to lead her nation to victory. He paid a moving tribute to Queen Elizabeth as "our ever Renowned Elizabeth that Kingly Queene."⁷⁰ Such praise a generation after her death would certainly have delighted Queen Elizabeth, who would have appreciated Sparke's compliment in referring to her with a masculine adjective.

While Sparke's simplistic, religious account showed God helping the English government to defeat human enemies in the failure of the

⁶⁹Ibid., sig., B2^v.

⁷⁰Ibid., sig., B3^v.

Gunpowder Plot and in the defeat of the Spanish Armada, his account of the London based Plague of 1625 viewed the coming of the plague as God's judgment against the sinful lives of Londoners and the eventual abatement of the plague as God's gracious mercy in response to human prayer and repentance. He concluded with a plea for moral repentance on the part of those who survived the plague. He said, "Lord make every one of us whom thou hast preserved from, or delivered out of the jawes of death, wisely carefull to make a right use of this respite, & to redeeme the time . . ." ⁷¹ In Sparke's grim Calvinist viewpoint, none could claim that they did not deserve to die of the plague as a result of their many sins. After reading his views, the modern reader can gain insight into how frightening the plague must have been to Sparke's generation, who were medically helpless as the disease struck down rich and poor alike. The page of statistics that Sparke included with his account offers impressive evidence of the plague's horrible toll on London citizens in 1625. It is no wonder that he supplemented his account of the 1625 plague with a prayer to be used as a plea for divine mercy in case of the plague's recurrence, which was an almost certain eventuality.

In addition to the three major "deliverances" Sparke celebrated in his Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderfull Deliverances of This Land, other prayers and comments are interspersed throughout this vividly written pamphlet of historically motivated prayers. Sparke's brief

⁷¹ Ibid., sig., B7^v.

references to people and events that are important to his personal view of English history are especially interesting in an attempt to reconstruct his view of history.

In looking back to the Tudor era, Sparke viewed the sixteenth century as an era of heroic Protestant progress in England. In his mind, Queen Mary I was vividly remembered as the Bloody Mary portrayed in John Foxe's Acts and Monuments popularly known as Book of Martyrs, while Queen Elizabeth I was also portrayed in the Foxe inspired tradition as a heroic and even divinely blessed champion of Protestantism. Sparke briefly but cogently summarized his version of the reigns of the two queens by saying:

Those Marian days of persecution were fierce and cruell, in then thou didst hid thy face from thy Church in this Land, but it was for a moment in comparison of thy mercy which followed in the dayes of that Blessed Elizabeth, that great instrument of thy glory and our good . . . When thou didst bring her from the prison to the palace, and not merely as a Joseph to be the Prince in Egypt, but to bee Queene of thine peculiar people, when thou did bring back her captivity and ours, as the Rievers in the South; then was our Church as in a dream . . .⁷²

Higher praise of Elizabeth or any other ruler for that matter is hard to imagine. No wonder it was hard for the Stuarts or any other succeeding government to compete with this highly idealized and very romantic memory of Queen Elizabeth, which Sparke shared with many of his Puritan contemporaries, who largely ignored Elizabeth's attempts to repress sixteenth century Puritans.

⁷²Ibid., sig., B1^r-B2^v.

Although it colored his vision and skewed his perspective, Sparke's idealization of Queen Elizabeth did not cause him to neglect the important figures of his own era. He prayed:

Yea, our Lord God, wee humbly desire to blesse with our prayers the whole Church, more specially our Nation, & therein the Kings Majesty our soveragne (the King of Bohemia, and Queen Elizabeth, with all their Royall Seed), all that be in Authority amongst us, . . .⁷³

Writing in 1628, Sparke was clearly a loyal subject, but his desire that monarchy champion the cause of militant Protestantism became clear through his coupling of the King of England with the King and Queen of Bohemia, who were James I's son-in-law and daughter Elizabeth. It is sadly evident to the modern reader that Charles I could never be the militant champion of Protestantism that Sparke called for in Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderfull Deliverances of This Land. Even Queen Elizabeth I had never been the totally committed Protestant whom Sparke portrayed in such glowing and clearly incorrect terms in his slender pamphlet of historically motivated prayers.

Sparke's historical writing in The Narrative History of King James and Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderfull Deliverances of This Land was strengthened by the vivid imagery in which he expressed his passionate moral and political convictions, but it lacked sophistication and coherent patterns of organization. Although he proved himself an able and conscientious compiler of factual information in The Narrative History of King James, Sparke revealed his organizational limitations by

⁷³Ibid., sig., C9^v.

attempting to insert everything he had uncovered in his text whether or not it related to his central story, and he failed to make the four parts of his text fit together as a truly unified work. In a similar fashion, Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderfull Deliverances of This Land suffered from Sparke's inability to unify his segmented vignettes of English history into a connected, chronologically arranged whole. Both works failed to provide the reader with the bibliographic citations that were commonly found in more scholarly contemporary historical accounts, which provide textual references in the margins of each page.⁷⁴

Despite these weaknesses, Sparke's historical writing showed a sound grasp of the important political and religious issues that confronted sixteenth and early seventeenth century England. Sparke's view of history was undoubtedly typical of that held by his conservative, Puritan, middle class contemporaries, and his patriotism and religious fervor were widely shared. Strongly based on the Bible, Sparke's Calvinist, providential view of history saw God's hand in the victories and defeats that were suffered by individuals and nations in both ancient and modern history, and he clearly believed that God could and would save both England and its leaders, if the nation and its people would accept an ongoing relationship with God similar to the covenant that God had enjoyed with the Biblical Hebrews. Like most seventeenth century Englishmen, Sparke saw the past as a source of moral

⁷⁴Sparke, Narrative History of King James; and Sparke Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderfull Deliverances.

examples and warnings, but he also used the past as a source of hope that current problems could be overcome.

Sparke's concept of history was the product of an intelligent and thoughtful attempt to make sense of post-Reformation English and world history. It is reasonable to assume that Sparke read widely in the popular histories of his day. Like a substantial proportion of his contemporaries, Sparke probably read stories of Protestant heroism in either Foxe's Book of Martyrs or an abridgement of it, and his historical writing mirrored the opinions found in Foxe. Since Sir Walter Raleigh was a hero to many Puritans of Sparke's generation, Sparke may well have read Raleigh's History of the World, which received high praise from William Prynne. Raleigh's history displayed a strong interest in exploration and science as well as a belief that monarchs should not enjoy unlimited power, and Sparke shared Raleigh's interest in exploration and science along with his distrust of unrestrained monarchical power.⁷⁵

As a printer and publisher, Sparke had a close connection with some of the most influential historical texts of his day. In 1631, Sparke produced an edition of Thomas Beard's The theatre of Gods judgements: or a collection of histories, and like Cromwell, Sparke was almost certainly touched by Beard's historical vision.⁷⁶ Beard contended that

⁷⁵Christopher Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 130-224. Hill gives Prynne's view of Raleigh on page 210, and one can infer that Sparke probably agreed with Prynne.

⁷⁶Thomas Beard, The theatre of Gods Judgements: or a collection of histories (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 874), STC I 1661.

God could and did chastise the mighty, when they transgressed the laws of God and man, and Beard's concept of divine retribution for the sins of the great closely resembled the concept that Sparke developed in his account of the fall of the Earl and Countess of Somerset in The Narrative History of King James.⁷⁷

Due to the paucity of the surviving documentary evidence on their relationship, William Prynne's influence on Sparke's view of history cannot be directly substantiated, and the modern researcher must resort to the same type of inferences used to discern Beard's influence on Sparke. Despite the absence of documentation, it is likely that Sparke's admiration for Prynne caused him to read the many historically oriented books and pamphlets that he published for Prynne, and Sparke never questioned Prynne's view of history. In mid-seventeenth century England, legal and antiquarian researchers like Prynne played an important role in sharpening historical writing skills, since legally trained controversial writers used the past or their vision of it to mold the present. Sparke showed that he had absorbed a good part of Prynne's skill as a historical researcher, and Sparke's impressive grasp of the need for accurate source material for The Narrative History of King James reflected Prynne's skill as a lawyer and antiquarian. Prynne is still known for his use of the records of the past to make current political and religious points in favor of a limited monarchy and Presbyterian religious settlement.

⁷⁷ Sparke, Narrative History of King James.

Although Sparke could not match the learning or the mastery of source material that more accomplished writers such as Beard and Prynne displayed, he presented his historical viewpoint in a more interesting and lively fashion. Unlike the work of Beard and Prynne, Sparke's less learned and more popularly oriented history was not characterized by a repetitive and intimidating display of the number of scholarly and learned sources he could quote. Readers would be far less likely to fall asleep over Sparke than over Beard and Prynne, and only the scholarly would have missed the bibliographic citations found in Beard and Prynne and not in Sparke. Sparke's history spoke effectively to the needs of those middle class seventeenth century readers who shared his convictions and his practical orientation.

The ten works examined in this chapter illustrate Sparke's career as a London printer, his concern for the poor, his dedication to a militant version of orthodox Calvinist Protestantism, and his markedly religiously charged view of history. Although Sparke was not a great thinker or ever the intellectual equal of his long term mentor, William Prynne, Sparke's intellectual contributions as a writer and compiler need to be reevaluated in a more positive direction. Sparke's lack of a university education probably limited the recognition he received from his better-educated contemporaries of higher status, but a modern analysis of Sparke should recognize that his occupation and exposure to the intellectual currents of his day enabled him substantially to overcome the cultural limitations imposed by an education ending at grammar school.

While the ten works discussed in this chapter clearly form the heart of Sparke's claim to an independent, if minor, contribution to seventeenth century thought, these works alone do not provide sufficient evidence to evaluate his contribution to the important intellectual developments of his generation. Although he was more active as a writer than any other contemporary printer-publisher, Sparke was far more important as an exponent of the ideas of others than as an original thinker. For this reason, Sparke's impact on the economic, political, religious, and social conflicts of his generation can not be adequately analyzed until his publication list has been treated in its entirety.

CHAPTER V

SPARKE'S PUBLICATIONS AS A REFLECTION OF THE MAN

While Prynne's works and Sparke's own efforts in writing, editing, and compiling comprise more than a quarter of Sparke's publications, the remaining books are by far the larger part of his list. In choosing these books and especially in contributing introductory material to ten of them, Sparke gave convincing evidence of his political and religious beliefs as well as an indication of the diversity of the intellectual interests he shared with his middle class, Puritan, and predominately urban clientele. Since the content of the books Sparke published or sold reflected his mind and character as well as the interests of his intelligent, if predominately nonscholarly audience, the remainder of Sparke's publications deserve careful analysis in order to understand Sparke as a conservative Puritan businessman and his social role as a stationer.

Despite the fact that Sparke desired and achieved financial success, profit was not the dominant motive in his publication decisions. Sparke's choice of books and pamphlets to publish or sell can serve as an indication of his beliefs, character, and interests, because he consistently refused to deal in books that advocated political and religious ideas he opposed. As noted earlier, Sparke

refused to carry Catholic books and regarded with horror an Anabaptist stationer willing to publish anything for mere money.¹

The ten works to which Sparke contributed directly provide exceptionally strong internal evidence that Sparke's decision to publish them resulted from his deeply held convictions on important contemporary issues. To stress his commitment to the content of these publications, Sparke provided these texts with introductory material that expressed his opinions on some facet of colonization, education, politics, or religion. Unlike most of his publishing contemporaries, he apparently never lacked opinions to express or the confidence to express them in print in his own words.

Although Sparke was at best a mediocre poet, he was able to use poetry to express clearly the importance he assigned to both learning and to hard work in the poem he titled "The Meaning of the Frontispiece" for Mercator's Historia Mundi. Referring to a picture of Atlas on the frontispiece, Sparke mused,

Learning the Atlas of the World does beare,
Earth's burthen up: suthtaines this lower-Spheare;
which else had fall'n and her declining light
had slept in shades of Ignorance and Night.

Riot and Sloth, and dull Oblivions head,
Our Atlas spurnes, whose conquering feet does tread
Upon the slavish necks, which else would rise,
(Like selfe-lewd rebels) up and tirannize.²

¹Michael Sparke, A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla (London: 1652; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 104 Thomason Tracts), STC II 2259, pp. 6-8.

²Michael Sparke, "The Meaning of the Frontispiece," opposite the title page in Historia mundi, or mercators atlas by Gerard Mercator (London: 1635, 1637; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1550), STC I 17824, 17825.

He completed his poem with praise for the virtues of geography and history as well as a recommendation of the value of an atlas as an impressive reference tool.³

Sparke's abilities in poetry were not limited to the English language. He proved his willingness to write Latin poetry by composing a fourteen hexameter line poem for inclusion in the prefatory material published as an introduction to Ralph Knevet's Rhodon and Iris, a Pastorall (1631). In this poem, Sparke praised both the Roman poet Ovid and Knevet. Sparke noted that Ovid's Metamorphoses changed human forms into flowery bodies, while Knevet's play reversed this process. Sparke was clearly educated enough to have an intelligent layman's understanding of classical Latin and of Roman literature, and he was eager to display this knowledge.⁴

Works of serious literary or intellectual merit such as Mercator's Historia Mundi or Knevet's Rhodon and Iris were not the sole vehicles Sparke employed to display his clear pleasure in writing amateur poetry. The booke of Merry riddles (1629) was aimed at the entertainment of a clearly nonscholarly, popular audience, although many of the riddles, questions, and proverbs included in this book had a strong moralistic tone. In writing a poem for it, Sparke wisely adapted his style to the nature of the book and to its likely readership. He wrote a clever six

³Ibid.

⁴Michael Sparke, "In Librum," part of the prefatory material of Rhodon and Iris, a pastorall by Ralph Knevet (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reels 762, 763), STC I 15036a.

line play on his name, which called upon the reader to see if he could be "a witty Sparke."⁵ While Sparke signed his name to the poems he contributed to Historia Mundi and Rhodon and Iris, he chose not to affix his initials to his rather whimsical contribution to The book of Merry riddles. He added two additional unidentified contributions to the book, pictures of an unnamed man at the beginning and the end. The front of the book has a full length picture of a lavishly dressed man. The book ends with a head and torso picture of an alert looking man, who wears the clothing of a sober Puritan. The face in both of these pictures is that of the same man, and it seems probable that the very alert looking, but not at all handsome, man with a moustache in each portrait is Sparke himself. The man depicted strongly resembles the only labeled engraved portrait of Sparke, one that depicts him as a member of the crowd attending Laud's trial. It appeared in William Prynne's Hidden workes of darknesse brought to publike light (1645).

Sparke also contributed substantial introductions to five other works on his publication list. His introduction to Henry Ainsworth's The Old Orthodox Foundation of Religion: Left for a Pattern To A New Reformation (1653) shows Sparke at his most tolerant, since Ainsworth was a separatist and much more radical in his religious convictions than a Presbyterian like Sparke. Although he must have been aware that Ainsworth (1571-1622) had been an exiled leader of the widely despised Brownist sect, Sparke called him "that learned, pious, and judicious

⁵ Michael Sparke, "Untitled poem" from The booke of merry riddles (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1598), STC I 3323.

man." In a burst of enthusiasm, Sparke glowingly referred to Ainsworth's work as a "Divine Treatise."⁶ Sparke believed that Ainsworth's work represented sound doctrine, which would reach many people of diverse opinions and benefit their souls. When confronted by the Ranters and Seekers active in the 1650s, Sparke may have found Ainsworth's once radical views quite mild.

Sparke's introduction to Ainsworth's work was written in the last year of Sparke's life. This 1653 introduction may have been the last time Sparke used his old signature Scintilla. Although he was discouraged that the English government had not successfully established a Calvinist English national church, he did not believe that religious truth could ever be totally defeated. He expressed his firm continuing faith that God's people could survive whatever crosses and tribulations they experienced by observing:

Know, this foundation hath long been founded on a Rock, and Hell and Devils cannot prevaile to overthrow the fame, Gods glory in settling of Religion, may by ungodly and wicked men be hindered for a time, and taken away from a Nation, yet the Godly shall not fall either totally or finally: . . .⁷

Although Sparke believed he lived in a dangerous era in which "Popery, heresy, and Blasphemy" were freely advocated both in speech and in print, he did not regard the situation as being hopeless. Fighting on, Sparke believed that he still had a clear moral obligation to try to

⁶Michael Sparke, "The Stationer to the Reader," introduction to The old orthodox foundation of religion by Henry Ainsworth (London: 1653; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 830), STC II A 810.

⁷Ibid.

make religious truth available even in a period of declining hope for religious reformation. It is impossible to determine whether Sparke ever actually reached a wide audience with this treatise, but the target audience he named on the title page indicated his desire to reach diverse religious groups. In addition to Presbyterians and Independents, Sparke aimed this tract at diverse groups such as Anabaptists, Arminians, Quakers, Ranters and Seekers, and even Papists.⁸

Sparke had educational as well as religious goals to promote. In his introduction to The English, Latine, French, Dutch Schole-master (1637), he gave his reasons for producing a multilingual language manual as an aid to young gentlemen or merchants traveling abroad. In order to recommend the merits of self-education in his introduction, "To the Reader," Sparke wrote, "Reader, take here this as a Scholemaster, or rather for thy Interpreter: for I finding the want of these languages, found this to be a great helpe, with small charge."⁹ Sparke had an intense devotion to knowledge, and he probably was, as he claimed in this brief introduction, a lifelong student of foreign languages.

Sparke also wanted to widen his readers' knowledge of the New World. His interest probably motivated his publication of Francis Higginson's New Englands Plantation. Or A Short and True Description of

⁸Michael Sparke, title page to Ainsworth's The old orthodox foundation of religion.

⁹Michael Sparke, "To the Reader," introduction to The English, Latine, French, Dutch Schole-master (London: 1637; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 883), STC I 10416.

the Commodities and Discommodities of that Country (1630). In his introduction, Sparke said:

. . . But here reade the truth, and that thou that find without any bumbasted words, or any quaint new-devised additions, only as it was written (not intended for the Presse) by a reverend Divine, now there living, who only sent it to some friends here, who were desirous of his Relations, which is an epitomy of their proceedings in the Plantation.¹⁰

Sparke completed his introduction by expressing his support for colonization. He said, "And so I rest a well wisher for all the good designes both of them which are gone, and of them that are to goe."¹¹ Since he shared the religious convictions of many of the emigrants and had a brother Thomas who settled first in Virginia and later in Bermuda, Sparke had good reason to sympathize publicly with colonists leaving England. In addition, Sparke's concern for the poor gave him a logical reason to rejoice in Higginson's contention that colonization could help to solve England's severe poverty problem.¹² Higginson made a convincing case that colonization would enable those without land in England to acquire substantial farms in the New World, and Higginson also argued that settlement in America would relieve England of surplus population.¹³

Despite his interest in colonization, Sparke was always more concerned with Europe than with the New World. Throughout his long career, he had an active interest in the fate of the Protestant cause in

¹⁰ Michael Sparke, "To the Reader," introduction to New Englands Plantation by Francis Higginson (London: 1630; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1106), STC I 13449.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., p. 14.

¹³ Ibid.

Europe as a whole; he rejoiced in Protestant triumphs and viewed the successes of Counter-Reformation Roman Catholicism with alarm. His concern with the state of religion throughout Europe led him to publish four separate editions of Sir Edwin Sandys' Europae Speculum, A View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western parts of the World, an Elizabethan work first composed in 1599. Sparke obviously believed that what Sandys had to say was still relevant to the England and Europe of his own time. In his unsigned introduction "To the Reader," Sparke stressed his conviction that Sandys had written a very effective and well argued anti-Catholic tract. In what was perhaps a veiled attack on Laud, Sparke declared,

I cannot see how any should be offended hereat, but such as are sworne slaves to their Lord God the Pope, whose Roman kingdome, and Babylonian tottering tower, hath such a blow given it hereby, as I know but few of such force; and not many such blows more, will make the same Kingdome and Tower fall downe to the ground, with utter desolation.¹⁴

Sparke also claimed that his text of Sandys' work was more authentic than several earlier printed editions, and he claimed that a friend had given to him, ". . . a perfect copie, verbatim transcribed from the Authours Originall, and legitimate one, of his own hand-writing, have thought good to publish it unto the world: . . ."¹⁵ Sparke's pride in the authenticity and accuracy of his text so impressed the prominent intellectual historian H. R. Bennett that he quoted from

¹⁴Michael Sparke, "To the Reader," introduction to Europae speculum by Sir Edwyn Sandys (London: 1632, 1635, 1639; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reels 1361, 1393, 1219), STC I 21719-21722.

¹⁵Ibid.

Sparke's introduction to Europae Speculum at length as an outstanding example of a publisher's confidence in his text.¹⁶ Unfortunately for Sparke, the fact that he had identified himself only as the "publisher" discouraged Bennett from crediting this introduction to him.

The money-monger, Or the usurers almanack (1626) covered the rather prosaic subject of lending money at interest, but it probably had a large potential audience among the target groups listed on the title page which were "Merchant, Securer, Usurer, Buyer, Lender, Borrower, or Trader whatsoever." Sparke's introduction to this work, although it is only one page in length, has as much value to an economic historian as his introduction to a religious work like Europae Speculum has to the historian of theology. An analysis of Sparke's opinion of lending money at interest can help to place Sparke in the context of England's transition from a medieval economy to a modern commercial society. In expressing his sympathy for the buyer who paid more than the maximum legal interest of 8 percent, Sparke obviously sought the favor of those readers who were in debt, but his interest tables served creditor as well as debtor interests. Still, some credence should be given to Sparke's stated contention that his motive in publishing The money-monger was to prevent lenders from making unfair profits of as much as 500 percent. Sparke almost certainly retained a substantial amount of the traditional medieval reluctance to lend money at interest. Although he fought monopoly privilege of wealthy stationers in the Stationers'

¹⁶ H. S. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1970), pp. 205-206.

Company, it is this author's conviction that Sparke acted on relatively traditional ideas of a fair price both for labor and for the use of money. While Sparke's generation may have played an important part in the transition from medieval guild concepts of business to modern commercial practices, Sparke would never have wished to be seen as the advocate of anything but fairly traditional economic ideas.¹⁷

While the ten books to which Sparke contributed introductions, pictures, and poems undoubtedly tell us more about him and about his views than those books he merely printed, published, or sold, consideration of the hundred other books remaining for discussion also reveals significant information concerning both his varied interests and beliefs and the interests and beliefs characteristic of those readers whom Sparke hoped to reach. In order to facilitate analysis of these hundred books, they have been grouped in the following categories: behavior guides; current events; foreign language dictionaries; economics; education; geography, history, and travel; literature; politics; religion; and science and mathematics including medical and veterinary science, military science, and weather prognostication. It should be understood that these categories are of course highly artificial. A case could be made for classifying many books in more than one category. Since religion was a pervasive concern to both the men and women of

¹⁷Michael Sparke, "To the Reader," introduction to The money-monger, or the usurers almanacke (London: 1626; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1146), STC I 18010. For the economic context, see Christopher Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1965).

Sparke's day, a clear majority of the books on Sparke's publication list made at least some reference to religion.

The hundred books just categorized by subject may be divided numerically in the following way. Two were behavior guides which were designed to mold the behavior of a distinct group of individuals. One was a report of current events in the Civil War, and three were practical foreign language dictionaries. Four focused on some facet of economics, and two dealt with the problems of contemporary education. Those buyers desiring to read further in the general area of geography, history, and travel could find six works in this category. Literature was very dramatically underrepresented since only seven of these works could be placed in the category of literature even by using a very generous and loose definition of the term "literature." Surprisingly, politics was represented by only three works out of the hundred. Religion was by far the major topic covered in the hundred books rounding out Sparke's lifetime publication list, since at least fifty-six of these books had some aspect of religion as their clearly predominant subject focus. This count was obtained by using a very narrow, restrictive definition of religion which excluded religiously based commentary on social issues such as the Biblical basis for correct Christian economic behavior and works that showed a clear religious tinge even in discussing what we in the twentieth century would consider to be clearly secular history or medicine. Sparke showed a markedly strong interest in science and mathematics by his decision to publish fifteen works that had some connection to these fields, although only a minority

of these dealt with pure science or with pure mathematics. Sparke apparently catered to what he believed was a reading public which was strongly interested in applying scientific knowledge to everyday life.

Richard Braithwait's The English gentlewoman drawne out to the full body: expressing what habilliments do best attire her (1631) and Abraham Jackson's The pious prentice (1640) were the two behavior guides published by Sparke. Braithwait's book considered what constituted proper behavior for women, and Jackson's work dealt with the nature of proper behavior for young male apprentices and probably gave Sparke a chance to look back to his own long past youth. Although Braithwait expected women to be literate and to be good money managers, he wished to prepare them to play their secondary roles in the family and to urge the purchase of modest, reasonably priced clothing. Jackson too taught subordination to his readers, but he saw their subordination as temporary, since apprentices were servants for a limited and specific term. Although Jackson does not discuss social mobility, one can almost envision Jackson's apprentices training themselves as good servants by prayer and labor for economic success in the future as many must have hoped to own their own businesses eventually.¹⁸

Because of Sparke's demonstrated interest in current political events, it is surprising that with the exception of Prynne's works he

¹⁸ Richard Braithwait, The English gentlewoman drawne out to the full body; expressing what habilliments do best attire her (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 628), STC I 3565; and Abraham Jackson, The pious prentice (London: 1640; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1313), STC I 14295.

published only one book in this category, John Vicars' The burning bush not consumed (1646). In it, Vicars described Parliamentary victories between 1644 and 1646 with a high degree of enthusiasm. Vicars, a friend of Prynne and very probably also a friend of Sparke, saw the Civil War from the perspective of the Presbyterian supporters of Parliament.¹⁹

In addition to The English Schole-master (1637), discussed earlier, Sparke published three more foreign language learning tools,²⁰ and he obviously placed more emphasis on practical language texts which could be used as a ready reference tool than on behavior guides and current events. Sparke's choice to play an active role in language text publication came from his frequently expressed conviction that basic foreign language texts were much needed.

The foreign language textbooks which rounded out Sparke's language reference publication list were Noel Barlement's Colloquia & dictionariolum octo linguarum (New dialogues and colloquies) (1639), Jan Amos Komensky's Porta linguarum trilinguis reserata. The gate of tongues unlocked (1631, 1633, 1637, 1639), and Wye Saltonstall's Clavis ad portam, or a key fitted to open the gate of tongues (1635, 1640). All of Sparke's language texts appeared between 1630 and 1640, and it is possible to surmise that both Sparke and his target audience had less

¹⁹ John Vicars, The burning bush not consumed (London: 1646), STC II 295. British Library copy read by author.

²⁰ Sparke uses the word "dictionary" to describe any foreign language learning tool.

interest in language study after English political affairs reached a crisis stage in 1640. With domestic affairs in a state of crisis, foreign language textbooks may have held less interest for Englishmen as their minds turned toward domestic problems. Emigration, which created an interest in languages in the 1630s, slowed after 1640.

With eight languages, Noel Barlement's foreign language textbook was the most ambitiously organized foreign language book which Sparke published. In unpaginated tabular form, this work had entries in Latin, French, Flemish, German, Italian, English, Spanish, and Portuguese. Barlement's intended audience included travelers, young merchants, and seamen, who could be presumed to have practical use for this work co-published by Michael Sparke, Jr. and Sr.²¹

When compared to Barlement's work, Komensky's trilingual language text was a very modest intellectual effort even if longer in size. Komensky, now usually referred to as Comenius, was a much better known figure than Barlement. Komensky's dictionary has some significance in the history of education, since he included a ten page statement of his philosophy of foreign language teaching with the text in both English and Latin. Generally regarded as a major figure in the history of Western European education, Komensky had a refreshing willingness to combine teaching of a foreign language with providing factual information on religion and even on practical subjects such as applied science. Komensky's 281 pages of text provided a pleasant means of

²¹Noel Barlement, Colloquia & dictionariolum octo linguarum (London: 1639; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 823), STC I 1432.

readily comparing English, French, and Latin in three separate columns.²²

Wye Saltonstall, who frequently served Sparke as a foreign language translator, produced the third foreign language text which must be considered at this point. His Clauis ad portam, or a key fitted to open the gate of tongues (1635 and 1640), which William Turner published at Oxford for Sparke to sell at his shop in London, was an eighty page reference text, which only contained page references from English words to a Latin dictionary. A very real problem with Saltonstall's work was that his readers obviously needed to use it with the proper companion dictionary.²³

Sparke's press provided helpful guidance for that segment of the reading public with an intelligent interest in mid-seventeenth century England's economic problems just as it aided readers wishing to improve their foreign language skills for reasons of business, scholarship, or travel. Four works clearly focused on the subject of contemporary economics were The free exchanger: or mint for uncurrant coyne (1627), Charles Fitz-Geffrey's The curse of corne-horders. In three sermons (1631), Leather, a discourse tendered to the High Court of Parliament (1629), and The treasurers almanack, which appeared in yearly editions from 1627 to 1629 and was last published in 1631. While Fitz-Geffrey's

²²Jan Amos Komensky, Porta linguarum trilinguis reserata (London: 1631, 1633, 1637, 1639; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1385), STC I 15078-15081.

²³Wye Saltonstall, Clauis ad portam (London: 1635, 1640; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1218), STC I 21641.

work was a religious response to the economic crisis and famine that prevailed in 1631, the three other books had a purely secular content with no reference to religion.

The free exchanger: or mint for uncurrant coyne was a slender nineteen page pamphlet designed to meet an immediate practical need in an expeditious manner. With reference to a very recent royal proclamation, this work gives the legal value of various types of money which were then circulating in England. It has more pages in tables than pages of written text.²⁴

In contrast to the ready reference orientation of The free exchanger: or mint for uncurrant coyne, Charles Fitz-Geffrey's The curse of corne-horders. In three Sermons had a primarily theological focus rather than a practical focus. Fitz-Geffrey, a clergyman who wrote in a time of severe famine, believed that God had sent a famine to cause men to repent of their sins. In three sermons which were based on Proverbs 11:26, Fitz-Geffrey gave Biblical reasons for condemning those who hoarded grain or who sold it at an unfairly high price during times of shortage. Fitz-Geffrey's interest in defending the traditional medieval concept of a just price for grain would probably have pleased Sparke, who had a great concern for the poor and who wrote on England's poverty problem.²⁵

²⁴The free exchanger (London: 1627; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 789), STC I 10614.

²⁵Charles Fitz-Geffrey, The curse of corne-horders. In three sermons (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 773), STC I 10938.

Leather, a discourse tendered to the High Court of Parliament was more economically oriented than Fitz-Geffrey's sermons on famine. In it, Sparke published a twenty-seven page pamphlet obviously aimed at influencing governmental policy toward the leather industry. After describing the production of leather and stressing that the use of leather was vital to many trades, this pamphlet described how the leather trade had been regulated in the past and offered an opinion on its regulation. Unfortunately for the modern reader, the pamphlet includes no information either on who wrote it or who paid for its publication.²⁶

Unlike Leather, The treasurers almanack was not published to meet the concerns of those active in just one trade. Although it lacked an introduction by Sparke, The treasurers almanack was otherwise very similar to The money-monger. In The treasurers almanack, Sparke published a practical sixteen page guide to the computation of interest with a very meager written text supplementing columns of interest tables. Sparke's decision to publish The treasurers almanack as well as The money-monger must have rested on his conviction that there was a substantial consumer demand for this kind of information. The repeated publication of reference material on interest charges seems to reflect an increasingly commercial society, which was in the process of gradually creating the groundwork for later capitalistic economic practices. Although neither Sparke nor his contemporaries could have

²⁶ Leather; a discourse, rendered to the High Court of Parliament (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 841), STC I 15344.

foreseen a truly capitalist society, men of his generation had already acquired some of the habits and skills necessary to a capitalist economy, since they were competent in lending money at interest.²⁷ Three centuries after Renaissance Italy developed a modern attitude toward interest, the England of Sparke's day began to employ effectively modern practices concerning the calculation of interest.

Sparke published only two works in education. These two books were John Davies' The writing schoole-master (1636) and A Reformation of schooles (1642) by Johann Amos Comenius, who had used the name Komensky on his Porta linguarum trilinguis reserata. In view of Sparke's known interest in the field of education, his publication of only two books on education seems quite surprising and may indicate that Sparke thought that there was little demand in this field.

Davies' The writing schoole-master, a slender fifty-nine page text for the teaching of handwriting which provided script type handwriting samples, had obvious utilitarian value for the seventeenth century teacher of handwriting. For the modern historian, The writing schoole-master provides a good mirror image of an age in transition. Some of the handwriting samples chosen by Davies are in a recognizably modern handwriting style, while other samples are clearly much more old-fashioned and look like an Elizabethan secretary hand or like an even earlier hand.²⁸

²⁷ The treasurers almanacke (London: 1627, 1628, 1629, 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1261), STC I 24212.

²⁸ John Davies, The writing schoole-master (London: 1636), STC I 6345. Cambridge University microfilm owned and read by author.

Comenius' A Reformation of schooles, which appeared in 1642 at the start of the Civil War, was a ninety-four page statement of a humane and reforming philosophy of education. Comenius stressed making education more practical and more individualized. Sparke's support for A Reformation of schooles was an important contribution to educational thought in England, since the Czech educator Comenius had visited England and was very highly respected there.²⁹

The related fields of geography, history, and travel are better represented on Sparke's publication list than education, since seven books are in these categories. They are Petrus Martyr Anglerius' The famous historie of the Indies (1628), Thomas Beard's The theatre of Gods judgment: or a collection of histories (1631), Charles Robson's News from Aleppo (1628), Captain John Smith's The generall history of Virginia (1624), A short history of the kingdome of Sweden (1632), and Irelands Excise (1643). Except for Beard, all of these works have a strong topical element, although their predominant focus was not in current events. By reading these works, Sparke's readers could obtain a relatively well informed, if strongly Protestant, view of European and Near Eastern history and some insight into contemporary colonization activities.

For those of Sparke's contemporaries who were keenly interested in the discovery and colonization of the New World, Petrus Martyr Anglerius' The famous historie of the Indies must have had a strong

²⁹Comenius [Johann Amos Komensky], A reformation of schooles (London: 1642; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 528), STC II C 5529.

appeal. Organized by decades, this work covered the first eighty years of Spanish New World colonization. Anglerius provided a relatively accurate account of the New World along with a basically sound description of leading conquistadors, but he laced his account with a strong anti-Spanish bias and an even stronger anti-Catholic bias, knowing this outlook would find favor with English Protestant readers.³⁰

Thomas Beard's The theatre of Gods judgement: or a collection of histories has a special interest because this Huntingdon clergyman taught Oliver Cromwell. Beard's stern Protestant, providential view of history probably influenced Cromwell, as most of his biographers have mentioned. Beard's moralistic history stressed that God imposed earthly judgments on sinners, especially those politically and socially prominent. In condemning the Roman Catholicism of Sir Thomas More, Beard contended that More's fall was the punishment that an angry God imposed on More for his persecution of Protestants while he was in power.³¹ Although he was very biased in both his political and his religious viewpoint, Beard was a recognized linguistic scholar who included Greek language quotations in his text. He held a doctorate in divinity, and he was able in most cases to marshal competently his facts from ancient and medieval sources as well as from Renaissance and Reformation sources. Despite his intense Protestant commitment, Beard

³⁰ Petrus Martyr Anglerius, The famous history of the Indies (London: 1628; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 819), STC I 652.

³¹ Thomas Beard, The theatre of Gods judgement: or a collection of histories (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 874), STC I 1661, p. 55.

had no hesitation in using the writings of Catholic Italian Renaissance sources such as Pico and Guicciardini. Beard's use of these sources provides strong evidence of the impact of Renaissance Italian thought upon English literature, and his employment of Catholic sources also indicates that religious barriers did not necessarily prevent Protestant Englishmen from adapting the ideas developed in Catholic countries.³²

His publication of Charles Robson's short pamphlet, News from Aleppo, shows that Sparke believed at least some of the seventeenth century English reading public would be interested in topical news of the Near East. Robson's work was written as a May 18, 1628, personal letter to the Rev. John Vicars, a Presbyterian divine who later published two works of his own through Sparke's press. Robson described his journey from England to the Syrian town of Aleppo with special reference to a stop he had made at Florence, Italy. In discussing the Ottoman Empire, Robson had an intense contempt for what he saw as Turkish laziness, but he still managed to provide an interesting account of life in Aleppo and elsewhere in the Near East. Commerce had brought many foreigners to Aleppo, and as a merchant Robson noted the presence of many nationalities including the English, French, Dutch, Italians, Jews, Greeks, Persians, Moors, and Indians. Robson also described many small Christian sects including the Georgians, Nestorians, and Arminians. Robson felt markedly superior even to the Christian

³²Ibid.

population of the Near East, and his writing stressed English superiority.³³

While Robson's work provides some helpful insight into how seventeenth century England viewed the Near East, Captain John Smith's The generall history of Virginia offered readers a prominent Virginia official's view of the early settlement of Virginia. Although Smith wrote a self-serving account of his role in Virginia which included repetitive testimonials to his character and achievements from many friends, his history provided readers with a generally factual report of Virginia colonization. Smith's text was beautifully complemented by profuse illustrations which depicted such topics as American Indian life in the New World. To attract those readers interested in New England as well as Virginia, Smith included a discussion of the Plymouth Colony and a map of New England, which later appeared in Mercator's Atlas. It is interesting to speculate that Smith and Sparke, who both were eventually buried in the London parish of St. Sepulchre, may have been, at least to some extent, personal acquaintances. If it existed, Smith's acquaintance with Sparke could have resulted from the fact that Sparke's brother Thomas went to Virginia.³⁴

For those potential customers who were more interested in Europe than the Near East or the New world, Sparke also had something to sell.

³³ Charles Robson, News from Aleppo (London: 1628; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1641), STC I 21130.

³⁴ John Smith, The generall history of Virginia (London: 1624; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1335), STC I 22790.

His readers could have learned about Sweden or, staying closer to home, about England's difficulty in ruling always rebellious Ireland. As one would expect, the accounts of Sweden and Ireland which Sparke published reflected his militant Protestantism.

In A short history of the kingdome of Sweden, Sparke published a good survey of seventeenth century Sweden. This text included detailed information concerning Swedish geography, Swedish government, Swedish military might, and Swedish social life. There was a section on Swedish history in general as well as a section on Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden and the greatest Protestant military hero of the Thirty Years War.³⁵

Ireland, which was a perpetual source of trouble for English governments determined to subdue its largely Roman Catholic and often rebellious population, was of greater interest to English readers than Sweden. By examining Irelands excise, which Sparke co-published with his son Michael in 1643, readers could learn how the English government in Dublin attempted to impose taxation on the native Irish. Irelands excise also described in detail both the regulation of butchery and the regulation of liquor made in Dublin.³⁶

While Sparke's contemporaries could at least partially satisfy their interest in geography, history, and travel from Sparke's press,

³⁵ A short history of the kingdome of Sweden (London: 1632; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1259), STC I 23518.

³⁶ Irelands Excise (London: 1643; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 239), STC II I 418A.

Sparke gave them only a very meager selection of books in the category of literature. He was too conservative a Puritan to participate very significantly in the publication of the drama, poetry, and romance of his less sober contemporaries, and he published only seven works that have any claim to be classified as literature even under the most generous definition. Three of these were English translations of Ovid, which bore the imprint of his son. It is possible that Pollard and Redgrave correctly assigned these translations of Ovid to the senior Sparke, but this attribution is questionable, since Sparke had shown little previous interest in the classics.

Only four works, or fewer than 5 percent, of the books considered in this section can be called literature. These were The merry tale of the mad men of Gottam (1630), in which the author is identified only as B. A. of physicke doctor, John Kennedy's The ladies delight: or the English gentlewomans history of Calanthrop and Lucilla (1631), Micrologia; characters and essays, whose author signed himself simply as M. R. (1629), and Samuel Rowland's Well met gossip, which Sparke reprinted in 1627. None of these works has any possible claim to intellectual distinction, and all four were obviously directed as a very popular and easy to please audience.

One can see why the author of The merry tale of the mad men of Gottam wished to remain anonymous and to give only his initials. These twenty-four pages of moralistic tales reflect little literary credit on an author with a claim to a university education. The twenty short tales included in this work are all boring and repetitious. It is

conceivable that this work may have brought some amusement to an undemanding, marginally literate audience, who were unfamiliar with good reading and blindly enjoyed simple, short tales.³⁷

Although John Kennedy's The ladies delight: or the English gentlewomans history of Calanthrop and Lucilla was a very modest romance in poetic form, it aimed at a more sophisticated audience than that which was probably reached by The merry tale of the mad men of Gottam. Kennedy's 111 page romance was an English language love story, but it has an obvious classical theme to appeal to readers who know something about classical literature. The ladies delight is Sparke's only attempt to publish an original edition of a book designed for entertainment only, and Sparke was clearly skeptical of light romantic reading of this sort. Since Kennedy obviously wrote for a female audience, this romance probably was a rare concession to female frailty.³⁸ There are reasonable grounds to speculate that Sparke's publication of The ladies delight failed to reach the popular female audience that he sought, since he failed to publish this type of romantic literature again. Sparke's religiously oriented and serious clientele may not have been receptive to this type of light reading, and readers seeking entertainment were already served by stationers who specialized in catering to their reading tastes.

³⁷ B. A., of physicke doctor, The merry tale of the mad men of Gottam (London: 1630; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 869), STC I 1021.

³⁸ John Kennedy, The ladies delight: or the English gentlewomans history of Calanthrop and Lucilla (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1384), STC I 14930.

While Kennedy's romantic poetry aimed at a fairly sophisticated female audience, Micrologia; characters or essays, a forty-seven page pamphlet which Sparke attributed to an anonymous author with the initials M. R., aimed at a popular audience of both sexes. Micrologia probably would have appealed to the same type of popular reader who enjoyed The merry tale of the mad men of Gottam, although Micrologia is less moralistic in tone and has some obvious practical value for historians as a description of contemporary lower class life. In describing the typical member of various trades, M. R. at least provides some evidence of how the seventeenth century formed its stereotypical picture of social roles such as cobblers, players, ropemakers, shoemakers, and tailors. In addition to describing occupational groups, Micrologia also describes some well known places of confinement and correction such as Bridewell and Newgate Prison in terms which were probably calculated to scare the large masses of poor and near poor people, who ran some real risk of ending up in these institutions, if they were not careful to be sober, hard working, and prudent. Although M. R. displayed a high degree of what sounds like familiarity with lower class life, this work may have been written by an author interested in controlling the masses in the interest of social stability.³⁹

While Sparke was the first-time publisher of the three works of B. A., M. R., and John Kennedy which have been covered in this section, he was only the reprint publisher of Samuel Rowlands' Well met gossip in

³⁹ M. R., Micrologia; characters or essays (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1108), STC I 17146.

1627. W. White had first published Well met gossip with an imprint of London, 1602. Sparke's decision to reprint this work twenty-five years later must be taken as substantial evidence that the twenty-six page story of a "wife, widdow, and mayde" discussing their problems with men at a vintner's shop still had appeal to a female, popular audience. Rowlands' rather bawdy tale has a weak story line, but it may have had some appeal to non-Puritan women who were limited in intellect and reading skills. In republishing this work, Sparke attempted to appeal to a female popular audience undoubtedly similar to that of Kennedy's The ladies delight.⁴⁰

The three English translations from Ovid for which Sparke's press has received credit in Pollard and Redgrave are the only impressive works of literature that he may have had some part in making available to the mid-seventeenth century English reading public. It is probable, however, that these publications should be credited to Sparke's son rather than to himself. Ovid de ponto, containing four books of elegies (1st ed., 1639, 2nd ed., 1640), Ovids heroicall epistles (1637), and Ovids festivalls, or Romane Calendar (1640) were all published with a title page imprint that gave Michael Sparke, Jr., credit for either their publication or their sale. Since Ovids heroicall epistles had two separate title pages, and one of them did credit Michael Sparke, Sr., as the publisher, he may claim at least partial credit for the publication of that work. In contrast, there is no evidence to substantiate Pollard

⁴⁰ Samuel Rowlands, Well met gossip (London: 1627), STC I 21412. New York Public Library microfilm owned and read by author.

and Redgrave's conclusion that the elder Sparke was publisher of Ovid de ponto or Ovids festivalls.⁴¹

There were only three works in the category of what modern readers would call politics and political science: John Dury's A motion tending to the publick good (1642), James I's A true relation of the commissions and warrants (1651), and A true condition of the commissions and warrants for the condemnation . . . of Bartholomew Legalt (1651). Of these works, only Dury's work has not been previously treated by this study. The other two were published both as separate items and as a part of Sparke's The narrative history of King James (1651), and have been covered in Chapter IV.

John Dury's A motion tending to the publick good was a fifty page work couched in the form of letters from Dury to an unidentified Sir C. In this pamphlet, Dury considered the problem of what constituted the public good and the related question of how to advance it. Although Dury's work made no reference to the outbreak of the Civil War, his call for a reformation of both learning and religion to advance the public good was clearly a reflection of the Parliamentary view that major changes in the social order were needed for the public good.⁴²

⁴¹ Ovidus Naso, Publius, Ovid de ponto (London: 1639, 1640; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 931), STC I 18938; Ovidus Naso, Publius, Ovids heroicall epistles (London: 1636, 1639; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1578), STC I 18946; and Ovidus Naso, Publius, Ovids festivalls (London: 1640), STC I 18948. British Library copy read by author.

⁴² John Dury, A motion tending to the publicke goode (London: 1642; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 209), STC II D 2874.

In Sparke's publication list religious literature accounted for by far the greatest percentage of books. Even when using the narrowest possible definition of what constitutes basically religious subject matter, fifty-six books may so be classified. Since this category contains so many works, the general category of religious literature is divided into more easily manageable subcategories: anti-Arminian works, anti-Catholic polemical works, general works within the broad tradition of the Church of England, Presbyterian and other religious literature with a Civil War focus, and general Puritan works.

In the category of anti-Arminian works, Sparke published one title that complements Prynne's The perpetuities of a regenerate mans estate (1627). Because of Sparke's intensely Calvinist convictions, it is surprising that Sparke did not publish more titles similar in context to George Carleton's An examination of those things wherein the author of the late Appeale [Bp. Montague] holdeth the doctrines etc. (1626). Carleton, who was Bishop of Chichester, dedicated his 236 page anti-Arminian monograph to Charles I despite that monarch's preference for Arminian theological views. In Carleton's orthodox Calvinist view, which Prynne seconded a year later, predestination was a central part of Church of England doctrine. For Calvin and Prynne, a member of the predestined elect could not fall finally and totally away from God's grace.⁴³

⁴³ George Carleton, An examination of those things wherein the author of the late Appeale [Bp. Montague] holdeth the doctrines etc. (London: 1626; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1236), STC I 1236.

Anti-Catholic works were a perennial favorite at Sparke's press, and he obviously prized his role in alerting the English people to what he saw as the real political and theological dangers inherent in Roman Catholicism. Sparke's nine anti-Catholic titles were Niccolo Balbani's The Italian convert; news from Italy of a second Moses, etc. (1639), Henry Burton's Babel no Bethel: that is the Church of Rome no true visible church of Christ (1629), Henry Burton's The baiting of the popes bull (1627), Henry Burton's Truths triumph over Trent, or the great gulf between Sion and Babylon (1629), Henry Burton's A tryall of private devotions, or a diall for the houres of prayer (1628), Lewis Owen's Speculum Jesuiticum, or the Jesuites looking glasse (1629), James Wadsworth's The English-Spanish pilgrim (1629, 1630), John Bastwick's Flagellum pontificis et episcoporum Latialium (1641), and the anonymous Englands thankfulnesse.

Balbani's The Italian convert had first appeared in print in 1612 in a London edition produced by Richard Moore. Sparke's decision to republish it twenty-seven years later clearly rested on the assumption that there would be a worthwhile market for this biographical account of the heroism of the sixteenth century Protestant Italian nobleman, Galeacius Caracciolus. Although militantly Protestant, Balbani's work carried over the long-standing tradition of Roman Catholic hagiography to create a Protestant equivalent of a saint's life.

Galeacius Caracciolus, heir to the Italian Marquisate of Vico and the nephew of Pope Paul IV, left his wife and children to live as a Protestant in Calvin's Geneva. He went from wealth to poverty because

he strongly adhered to Calvinist theological principles. When Caracciolus found that his staunchly Roman Catholic wife and children would not accompany him to Geneva, he eventually got a divorce and permission to remarry from Protestant leaders, who recognized the very exceptional circumstances of his case and the great suffering that he had endured. In recounting the death of Caracciolus, Balbani showed that he faced death with an inspiringly calm heroism and faith in his election to salvation.⁴⁴

While Balbani's account claimed that even abandoning wife and children was a better choice than giving up Calvinism for Roman Catholicism, Henry Burton's Babel no Bethel: that is the Church of Rome no true visible Church of Christ was a theological denunciation of the Roman Catholic Church. In Burton's opinion, no true Anglican could logically acknowledge the Roman Catholic Church to be a true Christian Church:

The Church of England then, and the Church of Rome, standing in opposite terms, touching the definition of a true visible church, cannot both of them be a true visible Church of Christ.⁴⁵

Burton also attacked the Arminian forces in the Church of England, which much to Burton's disgust often recognized the Roman Catholic Church as a Christian church.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Niccolo Balbani, The Italian convert; news from Italy of a second Moses, etc. (London: 1639; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 823), STC I 1236.

⁴⁵ Henry Burton, Babel no Bethel: that is the church of Rome no true visible church of Christ (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 707), STC I 4136, p. 130.

⁴⁶ Ibid., unpagged prefatory material.

In The baiting of the popes bull, which Burton wrote two years before he wrote Babel no Bethel, he took an even more extreme anti-Catholic position. In it Burton equated Roman Catholicism with treason. He felt that Englishmen had no excuse for adhering to the Pope and Roman Catholicism:

Nor let any English Roman-Catholicke plead ignorance, while they shut their eyes at the bright Sun before them. The poore people of Spaine, that are shut up from the light, may, if any, finde some excuse, but not so in England.⁴⁷

In dedicating his work to the King and the Duke of Buckingham, Burton had the clear hope of influencing public policy against the toleration of Roman Catholics.⁴⁸

While these two books were fairly general attacks on the theological position of the Roman Catholic Church, Burton's Truths triumph over Trent, or the great gulf between Sion and Babylon focused on the related issues of refuting the Council of Trent's position on justification and predestination. In addition to discussing the doctrinal problems of man's justification and predestination, Burton held that there should be no intercommunion between the Church of England, which he called "Sion," and the Church of Rome, which he called Babylon. His choice of extreme terminology revealed the depths of his feeling.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Henry Burton, The baiting of the popes bull (London: 1627; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 707), STC I 4137, p. 95.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Henry Burton, Truths triumph over Trent, or the great gulf between Sion and Babylon (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 735), STC I 4156.

A tryall of private devotions, or a diall for the houres of prayer, which Burton dedicated to the Church of England, was his answer to a then popular "Popish" book of devotions. Although Burton included a prayer for Charles I in the work despite the king's known Arminian views, he took a strong position in demanding that all suspected Roman Catholic sympathizers and Arminians be deprived of important Church of England offices such as the bishoprics and deaneries. He felt that this was essential to rid the Church of England of heresy.⁵⁰

Lewis Owen's Speculum Jesuiticum, or the Jesuites looking glasse concentrated its fire on the widely hated Society of Jesus. In this seventy page text, Owen concluded that Jesuits were worse than other Roman Catholics, and his conclusion that the Jesuits advocated carrying well-born Englishwomen abroad to become nuns may have been the source of the similar fear that Sparke expressed in A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla.⁵¹

In contrast to Lewis Owen, who wrote in general terms about English Catholics being sent abroad, James Wadsworth provided a specific example. In his The English-Spanish pilgrim he told of his family's conversion to Roman Catholicism and of their settlement in Spain. Wadsworth's story was similar to Balbani's in that it was the story of

⁵⁰ Henry Burton, A tryall of private devotions, or a diall for the houres of prayer (London: 1628; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 658), STC I 4157.

⁵¹ Lewis Owen, Speculum Jesuiticum, or the Jesuites looking Glasse (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1075), STC I 18997.

an individual. Unlike Balbani's account, however, Wadsworth's was autobiographical, and he did not attempt to paint himself in the glowing colors in which Balbani had portrayed Caracciolus. Wadsworth began by recounting how his Anglican clergyman father had converted to Roman Catholicism and had educated him and his siblings in Spain. After many adventures, Wadsworth eventually decided to return to his native land and to the Church of England. Wadsworth's English readers must have been happy to learn how superior England was to Spain and the reasons why he had decided to return home. Sparke would certainly have agreed with Wadsworth's hatred of the Jesuits, Spain, and the Roman Catholic Church, and he probably enjoyed reading and printing this exciting autobiography.⁵²

In contrast to the works of Balbani, Burton, Owen, and Wadsworth, which were very obviously aimed at the general English language reader, John Bastwick's Flagellum pontificis et episcoporum Latialium was directed at readers competent enough in Latin to read the entire 154 page text in that language. In this work, which Bastwick dedicated to the King, Parliament, and the people of England as the Long Parliament met, Bastwick took a stridently anti-Catholic line, which attacked Catholic bishops and by inference Anglican bishops. Bastwick's work had a very timely orientation in a period of unprecedented political and social flux.⁵³

⁵² James Wadsworth, The English Spanish Pilgrim (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1044), STC I 24927.

⁵³ James Bastwick, Flagellum pontificis et episcoporum Latialium (London: 1641; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1087), STC II B 1062.

Unlike Bastwick's learned monograph, the anonymous Englands thankfulnesse aimed at a popular audience and purported to express popular feeling. In addressing Parliament's Committee for Religion, it thanked Parliament for reaching an accommodation with Presbyterian Scotland so they might fight the king together. Anti-Catholicism, however, was the major focus of this sixteen page topical document. It assessed the state of the Protestant religion throughout Europe and advised how England could best advance the cause of Protestantism against Roman Catholic attempts at expansion. In an interesting contrast to its intense anti-Catholicism, this work expressed a high degree of sympathy for Jews and a desire to convert them.⁵⁴

Despite the undoubted importance of anti-Catholic literature to Sparke, there are only nine books in this subcategory. As a Calvinist member of the Church of England, Sparke published nineteen works that were part of the mainstream Church of England tradition. Except for Marco Antonio Filippi's Latin text Confesso fidei, a 1549 work that Sparke reprinted in 1631, and Robert Pont's Latin language De sabaticorum annorum periodio chronologica (1623), all the Church of England works that Sparke published were written in English.⁵⁵

In the seventeen English language Church of England works that Sparke published, two were by a well known bishop. These were Lancelot

⁵⁴ Englands thankfulnesse (London: 1642), STC II E 3057. Trinity College, Cambridge, microfilm owned and read by author.

⁵⁵ Marco Antonio Filippi, Confesso Fidei (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 796), STC I 10866; Robert Pont, De sabaticorum annorum periodio chronologica (London: 1623), STC I 20102. British Library copy read by author.

Andrewes' The morall law expounded (1642) and his Seven sermons on the wonderfull combate between Christ and Sathan (1627). The first work was of some significance because Sparke published this commentary on the Ten Commandments along with high praise for Andrewes at a time when bishops were in disrepute.⁵⁶ The second work was discussed in Chapter II and therefore will not be treated here, since there sermons offer only commonplace, mainstream Church of England views.⁵⁷

The fifteen remaining books in the subcategory of Church of England works include three items to help Sparke's readers confront everyday life as well as unusual life crises. These were Robert Bolton's Helpes to humiliation, C. I.'s A handkercher for parents wet eyes, and D. J.'s Salomons pest house, or towre royall. In Robert Bolton's Helpes to humiliation, which Sparke published in 1631, 1633, and 1637, Sparke's customers could learn the value of repentance, fasting, and prayer for successful daily living. This advice must have been popular for Sparke to publish it three times. Sparke was even willing to admit that he had published Bolton's successful work without Bolton's participation or consent.⁵⁸ Unlike Bolton, who offered something for all readers, A handkercher for parents wet eyes, a sixty-seven page work by the

⁵⁶ Lancelot Andrewes, The morall law expounded (London: 1642; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 6), STC II A 3140.

⁵⁷ Lancelot Andrewes, Seven sermons on the wonderfull combate betweene Christ and Sathan (London: 1627; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1194), STC I 630.

⁵⁸ Robert Bolton, Helpes to humiliation (London: 1631, 1633, 1657; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 626), STC I 3235.

anonymous author C. I. (1630), clearly aimed to help a group of uniquely afflicted readers cope with tragedy. This work was couched in the form of a letter to a father who had suffered the loss of an adult and promising son. The anonymous author offered the sorrowing father a fairly standard form of condolence, since he declared that no truly loving parent could grieve because a child had reached heaven ahead of him. For the modern reader, who is interested in the history of family relationships, it is significant that both the grieving parent and the deceased child are male. Grieving mothers and deceased daughters are blatantly ignored.⁵⁹ While A handkercher for parents wet eyes dealt with a particular type of family tragedy, D. J.'s Salomons pest house, or towre royall (1630) considered both the religious and medical implications of the plague in an era when repeated plague epidemics were a serious national public health problem. Reading this book, Sparke's readers could get an intelligent layman's response to the problems of the plague.⁶⁰

In addition to the seven Anglican works which have been discussed, Sparke published four undistinguished sermons in the Church of England tradition. These were Nathaniel Carpenter's Architopel, or the picture of a wicked politician (1629), Nathaniel Carpenter's Chorazin and Bethsaidas woe: a sermon (1633), Thomas Drant of Shaston's The royal

⁵⁹C. I., A handkercher for parents wet eyes (London: 1630; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1059), STC I 4279.

⁶⁰D. J., Solomons pest house, or towre royall (London: 1630), STC I 9176. Cambridge University microfilm owned and read by author.

guest: or a sermon, etc. (1637), and John Jones' Londons looking-backe to Jerusalem [A sermon] (1633).⁶¹ While the sermons by Carpenter and Drant are Biblical commentary with only an ambiguous reference to seventeenth century problems, Rev. John Jones provided the thoughtful citizens of mid-seventeenth century London with a strong injunction to avoid sin in order to avoid judgment on the city and the nation.⁶²

Of the eight works still to be analyzed in the subcategory of church of England literature, Sparke produced four that were specifically designed to secure either doctrinal stability or economic security for the clergy in the Church of England. These four works were Henry Greenwood's Markes and no markes of the kingdome of heaven (1643), Robert Johnson's The gospell and his maintenance [A sermon] (1633), Thomas Rogers' The faith, doctrine, and religion professed in England. Expressed in 39 articles (1629), and Walter Travers' Vindiciae ecclesiae Anglicanae: a justification of the religion of England (1630). Although Travers is generally considered a Puritan figure, his Vindiciae ecclesiae Anglicanae was written to defend the theological position of the Church of England.

⁶¹ Nathaniel Carpenter, Architopel, or the picture of a wicked politician (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 919), STC I 4669; Nathaniel Carpenter, Chorazin and Bathsaidas woe: a sermon (London: 1633; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1061), STC I 4673; Thomas Drant, The royal guest: or a sermon, etc. (London: 1637; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1481), STC I 7165; and John Jones, Londons looking-backe to Jerusalem (London: 1635; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1314), STC I 14723.

⁶² John Jones, Londons looking-backe.

Henry Greenwood's Markes and no markes of the kingdome of heaven was a fifty-three page pamphlet based on Romans 14:17. In this text, Greenwood discussed two basic points. Most importantly, he attempted to distinguish between what is and what is not necessary for salvation in terms of an individual's acceptance of correct doctrine. Later, he contended that the English and particularly the Scottish Church were suffering from splits over doctrinal issues that were definitely not necessary for salvation. Greenwood's work is an impressive plea for religious concord within national churches.⁶³

Robert Johnson's The gospell and his maintenance (1633) confronted the economic problems which the Church of England was experiencing in the seventeenth century. In his fifteen page text, Johnson maintained three things. To begin, he said it was without question God's ordinance that the Gospel should be preached. Next, he declared it to be God's ordinance that those who were ministers and preachers of the Gospel should receive tithes jure divino. Finally, he elaborated the concept of a right to personal tithes, which meant that each person owed one tenth of his total income to the clergy. Johnson expressed his views in a scholarly manner with extensive use of marginal notes and Latin quotations to support his economic defense of the Church of England.⁶⁴

⁶³Henry Greenwood, Markes and no markes of the kingdome of heaven (London: 1634; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1102), STC I 12334.

⁶⁴Robert Johnson, The gospell and his maintenance (London: 1633; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 754), STC I 14692.

Thomas Rogers' The faith, doctrine, and religion professed in England. Expressed in 39 articles (1629) contained a statement that it had been approved for publication by the Church of England. In this 229 page text, dedicated to Archbishop Bancroft, Rogers listed and defended the Thirty-Nine Articles. His arguments were cogent, and his doctrinal views were noncontroversial.⁶⁵

Walter Travers' Vindiciae ecclesiae Anglicanae (1630) was an eighty page doctrinal defense of the Church of England. Travers attempted to prove that the Church of England as established at the Reformation was the true successor of the Apostles. Travers' defense of the Church of England was vehemently anti-Catholic as well as strongly pro-Anglican for he wished to prove that the Roman Catholic Church was not the true successor of the Apostolic Church.⁶⁶

The four books in the subcategory of Church of England literature not yet discussed are Thomas Cooper's The churches deliverance. Meditations upon the booke of Hester (1628), John Hume's The Jewes deliverance out of Babylon (1628), Thomas Vicars' The ground of that doctrine which is according to godliness, etc. (1630), and Arthur Warwick's Spare Minutes; or resolved meditations (1635, 1636). The works written by Cooper and Hume considered well known Old Testament

⁶⁵ Thomas Rogers, The faith, doctrine, and religion professed in England: Expressed in 39 articles (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1558), STC I 21213.

⁶⁶ Walter Travers, Vindiciae ecclesiae Anglicanae: a justification of the religion of England (London: 1630; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1367), STC I 24188.

themes. Vicars wrote a catechism, and Warwick wrote a book of religious meditations for the devout.

Cooper's The churches deliverance. Meditations upon the booke of Hester retold the Biblical story of Esther. Cooper, however, offered far more than a simple repetitive retelling of an old story in his 219 page monograph. From the story of Esther, Cooper drew the conclusion that God wants us to leave an account of the blessings he has shown us for posterity. This view would obviously encourage the writing of history by those of his contemporaries who accepted a religious duty to recount their lives.⁶⁷

John Hume's The Jewes deliverance out of Babylon. In ten sermons provided 173 pages of scholarly comment on Psalm 126. In the prefatory section, Hume provided his readers with an impressive list of Biblical commentators whom he had consulted in preparation of the ten sermons included in his text. His writing would appeal only to a scholarly audience, and the extensive marginal notes in Greek and latin were aimed solely at scholarly readers.⁶⁸

Thomas Vicars' The ground of that doctrine which is according to godliness, etc. was written for a far more popular audience than that sought by Hume's sermons. Large numbers of people needed religious

⁶⁷ Thomas Cooper, The churches deliverance: Meditations upon the booke of Hester (London: 1628; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1345), STC I 5697.

⁶⁸ John Hume, The Jewes deliverance out of Babylon; In ten sermons (London: 1628; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1177), STC I 13954.

instruction, and Vicars provided his readers with a simple thirty-four page religious education pamphlet. The text of this pamphlet was a question and answer catechism, which also included some graces and prayers. Throughout the text, Vicars made extensive use of relevant Biblical quotations.⁶⁹

Arthur Warwick's Spare minutes; or resolved meditations was a two part book of meditative devotions printed in 1635 and 1636 after Warwick's death. In this handsome book, Sparke published 179 pages of rather ordinary meditations presenting entirely commonplace themes. The book is unique only in that Warwick split the dedication with part one dedicated to Sir William Dodrington, while Mistress Anne Ashington was honored by the dedication of part two.⁷⁰

The nineteen books and pamphlets that have been analyzed in the important subcategory of Church of England literature offered something to meet the religious needs of almost every kind of reader. The learned laity and clergymen could examine the Latin texts of Filippi and Pont. Readers who needed basic religious instruction or who wished to teach others could profit from using Vicars' simple catechism. Although all nineteen works in this category were compatible with mainstream Church of England thought and practice, authors such as Bolton and Warwick

⁶⁹ Thomas Vicars, The ground of that doctrine which is according to godliness, etc. (London: 1630; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1261), STC I 24700.

⁷⁰ Arthur Warwick, Spare minutes; or, resolved meditations (London: 1635, 1636), STC I 25098. Folger Shakespeare Library microfilm owned and read by author.

offered a pattern of thought and daily living which would appeal to those earnest Puritans who wished to reform both the Church of England and their own lives. Sparke clearly believed that general Church of England literature found a large and responsive audience or he would not have concentrated his efforts so heavily and so consistently in this field. Despite his desire to see a Calvinist and reformed Church of England, Sparke was probably conservative enough to accept the economic claims Robert Johnson made for the collection of tithes in The gospel and his maintenance. By republishing Lancelot Andrewes The moral law expounded in 1642, when Church of England bishops had become very unpopular, Sparke gave evidence that he had nothing against bishops per se despite his differences with Laud.

During the sixteen forties, Sparke began to publish staunchly Presbyterian works which dealt with the acute religious problems raised by the English Civil War. Since he always wished to make the Church of England inclusive, Sparke also published calls for religious unity that were not clearly Presbyterian. These works were Nicholas Ardron's The Ploughmans vindication (1646), Lewis Atterbury the younger's The attestation of the ministers of . . . Norfolk (1648), John Bastwick's The Utter Routing of the Whole Army of all the Independents and Sectaries . . . (1646), William Jigon's Iehovah Iireh (1643), Richard Norwood's Considerations tending to remove (1646), P. T.'s Eben Ezer, as a thankefull remembrance (1643), and John Vicars' Reverend Sir, having lately received from you (1645).

In The Ploughmans vindication, Nicholas Ardron wrote from his personal perspective as a pro-Parliamentary minister, who had replaced

the "delinquent" Mr. Sherland Adams as vicar of Treeton, in the County of York. Ardron was an intelligent Presbyterian, and he did state some wisely applicable general principles as well as describe his bitter disputes with the royalist Adams. Ardron contended that the Church needed a complete reformation, and he took a tough position in demanding that all "vermin" who had been placed in clerical positions be removed from office and be replaced by men such as himself.⁷¹

Lewis Atterbury the younger's The attestations of the ministers of . . . Norfolk was far less impressive both in size and in content than Ardron's fifty-three page polemic. Atterbury's eight page pamphlet was a simple statement of position composed by the Presbyterians of Norfolk. The first five pages asserted loyalty to the Solemn League and Covenant, which bound the Parliamentary party to join with the Scots in zealously fighting the king and to Presbyterian doctrine. The last three pages were the signatures of Presbyterian Norfolk ministers who supported the positions presented in the first five pages.⁷²

John Bastwick's The Utter routing of the Whole Army of All the Independents and Sectaries offered Sparke's readers more than 700 pages of staunchly Presbyterian argument that dwarfed the works of Ardron and Atterbury. Bastwick attacked the Independent party in general, but he attacked his former ally Henry Burton with even more vehemence than

⁷¹Nicholas Ardron, The Ploughmans vindication (London: 1646), STC II A 3628. British Library copy read by author.

⁷²Lewis Atterbury, the younger, The attestation of the ministers of . . . Norfolk (London: 1648; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 71 Thomason Tracts), STC II A 4159.

other Independents. Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne, who had suffered together under Laud in the 1630s, parted company a decade later when Burton became an Independent while his former allies took a vehemently Presbyterian position. Sparke's views on this split were shown by the fact that while he continued to publish Bastwick and Prynne, he had no further association with Burton, five of whose books he had published earlier.⁷³

Unlike the other works in this category, William Jegon's Iehovah Iireh presents serious bibliographic problems, because it was also published bearing the name of John Tombs as its author. This thirty page pamphlet described the good fortune of the City of Bristol's Parliamentary party in defeating a royalist plot against them in March 1642. In addition to describing these Bristol events, Jegon took some fairly general positions in the area of political theory. Jegon justified armed resistance to Charles I by reference to Thomas Bilson's The True Difference between Christian Subjection and anti-Christian Rebellion, which argued that armed rebellion against a monarch was justified in some cases.⁷⁴

Richard Norwood's Considerations tending to remove was the only work in this category not narrowly Presbyterian. Norwood aimed to alleviate

⁷³ John Bastwick, The Utter Routing of the Whole Army of All the Independents and Sectaries . . . (London: 1646; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 11), STC II B 1072.

⁷⁴ William Jegon, Iehovah Ierah (London: 1643), STC II I 531. Jegon's work was listed twice by Wing. It also appeared with John Tombs listed as author.

religious controversy between Presbyterian and Independent clergymen.

In his twenty page pamphlet, Norwood wrote from his Bermuda home to urge moderation in the English clergy. He said:

. . . I say if ministers would lay down this claim to an Ecclesiastical Magistracy, and content themselves as formerly, with their ministerial and prophetically authority (at leastwise for a time, till they could make it evidently to appear such other power to belong unto them, and how limited) the occasion of the present differences would be taken away, and unity, peace, and purity might be settled among us, which is the scope here intended, and ought to be the endeavor of every faithful Christian.⁷⁵

Although Norwood did not blame the Presbyterian clergy for religious turmoil, the extremists among the Presbyterian clergy were his probable targets in his plea to abandon extravagant theocratic claims. As a moderate Presbyterian, Sparke would probably have accepted Norwood's essential argument. Sparke wanted a strong national church reformed on Puritan principles, and he knew by 1646 that the Presbyterian-Independent controversy made such a church very difficult to achieve.

P. T.'s Eben Ezer was similar to Jegon's Iehovah Iireh in offering thanks for the fact that the city of Bristol did not fall to the royalist forces of Prince Rupert in March, 1642. Eben Ezer was a one page broadside in verse, however, and it lacked the political theory Jegon had provided to accompany his account of the deliverance of the port city of Bristol. Despite its brevity, Eben Ezer did represent the attitudes of moderate Parliamentarians in 1642. The broadside still

⁷⁵Richard Norwood, Considerations tending to remove (London: 1646; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 59 Thomason Tracts), STC II N 1378.

showed respect for Charles I, and it attempted to blame current problems on his use of evil advisors.⁷⁶

John Vicars' Reverend Sir, having lately received from you, a four page book review of Rev. John Goodwin's Innocence and Truth Triumphant Together, has been discussed in Chapter III. Vicars composed this work in order to defend Prynne's role in the Presbyterian-Independent controversy, and for reasons of convenience Vicars' Reverend Sir has already been treated in the general context of the Sparke-Prynne relationship.⁷⁷

Sparke's commitment to a Puritan outlook advocating a Calvinist reformation of the Church of England was clearly demonstrated by the fact that Sparke published seventeen titles which have to be classified in the subcategory of Puritan literature even after every attempt has been made to classify marginal titles in other subcategories of religious literature. Except for the subcategory of titles with mainstream Church of England appeal, Sparke published more titles in the subcategory of general Puritan literature than in any other subcategory of religious books. Sparke's seventeen titles with a distinctly Puritan cast included William Attersoll's A commentarie upon the epistle of S. Paule to Philemon (1633), Attersoll's Three treatises; viz. The conversion of Nineveh; Gods trumpet; Physicke against famine (1632),

⁷⁶P. T., Eben Ezer (London: 1643), STC II P 108. British Library copy read by author.

⁷⁷John Vicars, Reverend Sir, having lately received from you (London: 1645), STC II V 325. British Library copy read by author.

Henry Burton's The law and the gospell reconciled (1631), Arthur Dent's Pregeth dduwiol yn traethu am iawn ddull, ac agwedd gwir edifeirwch (1629), F. A.'s The saints legacies (1631), John Preston's The doctrine of self-deniall (1632), Preston's Four Godly and learned treatises (1631, 1636), Preston's A liveles life: or mans spirituall death in Sinne (1633), Preston's Sermons preached before his majestie and upon other occasions (1631), Preston's A spirituall life and death. A sermon (1630), Preston's An elegant and lively description of spirituall life and death (1632), Preston's Three godly and learned treatises (1632), Preston's Three sermons upon the Sacrement of the Lords Supper (1631), John Carter's The nail and the wheel (1647), Carter's The nail hit on the head (1647), Carter's The Wheel turned (1647), and George Huntley's An argument upon a generall demurrer (1642). For the purpose of organization by author, the works of Attersoll, Carter, and Preston will be considered first. The remaining seven titles of Puritan literature will then be discussed.

William Attersoll's A commentarie upon the epistle of S. Paule to Philemon offered Sparke's customers 506 pages of well argued and well organized Biblical commentary. Attersoll expounded fairly standard Puritan doctrine with an emphasis on how to live a true Christian life. His thoughtful suggestions were directed at a devout and sober audience, who earnestly strove to practice true Christianity.⁷⁸ In contrast to A

⁷⁸William Attersoll, A commentarie upon the epistle of S. Paule to Philemon (London: 1633; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 910), STC I 891.

commentarie upon the epistle of S. Paule to Philemon, Attersoll's Three treatises; viz. The conversion of Nineveh; Gods trumpet; Physicke against famine was a collection of three sermons, which had no inherent topical unity and were grouped together by Sparke. Each sermon had a separate title page, and since all three sermons were more than 100 pages in length, it is probable that these sermons had been written on separate occasions and were first published separately. Although Attersoll stressed the importance of preaching and urged fasting, repentance was the dominant theme of these sermons.⁷⁹

John Carter, who was pastor of Great St. Peter's Church in Norwich, wrote three items that were published by Sparke's press in the sixteen-forties. An examination of variant copies of Carter's The nail and the wheel at the British Library established that one copy contained The nail hit on the head as part two, while another copy contained three Carter titles including The wheel turned. In these three works Carter took a consistently pro-Parliament, but not totally anti-monarchical, stand. As a conservative Calvinist Presbyterian, Carter was firmly convinced that English society should be hierarchical and graded as it had always been in the past. Carter recognized that everyone had a role to play in society, and he urged each individual to play his proper functional role well to glorify God. Carter's concept of society as hierarchical and organic was still essentially medieval, and Sparke

⁷⁹ William Attersoll, Three treatises; viz. The conversion of Nineveh; Gods trumpet; Physicke against famine (London: 1632; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 869), STC I 900.

would almost certainly have accepted most of Carter's basic conclusions.⁸⁰

In publishing and selling eight works by John Preston, Sparke showed his firm conviction that Preston had an even greater popular appeal than Attersoll and Carter. All the Preston titles Sparke published appeared in the sixteen-thirties, when Sparke must have found a ready demand for Preston's brand of Puritanism. Preston's theological views were popular enough to be republished repeatedly in different monographs. For example, Sparke published Preston's The doctrine of self-deniall (1632) as one of four sermons in Foure Godly and learned treatises (1631, 1636).⁸¹ In the same fashion, Sparke thought enough of Preston's An elegant and lively description of spirituall life and death (1632) to publish it as one of Preston's Three godly and learned treatises (1632).⁸² Throughout the eight Preston titles Sparke published, readers could find a scholarly and well organized argument based on extensive study of Biblical texts. Favorite Preston themes

⁸⁰ John Carter, The nail and the wheel (London: 1647), STC II C 654; John Carter, The nail hit on the head (London: 1647), STC II C 655; and John Carter, The wheel turned (London: 1647), STC II C 657. British Library copies of these Carter titles read by author.

⁸¹ John Preston, The doctrine of self-deniall (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1330), STC I 20217; and John Preston, Foure godly and learned treatises (London: 1631, 1636; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1330), STC I 20222.

⁸² John Preston, An elegant and lively description of spirituall life and death (London: 1632; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1639), STC I 20279; and John Preston, Three godly and learned treatises (London: 1632; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1183), STC I 20280.

included the need for prayer, repentance, and fasting. Other topics treated by Preston included the nature of the Lord's Supper,⁸³ how the existence and nature of God could be proved, and the vital importance of avoiding greed and covetousness through Christian self-denial.⁸⁴

In contrast to the multiple titles of Attersoll, Carter, and Preston, Sparke published only one title each of Arthur Dent, F. A., and George Huntley. Dent's work Pregeth dduwiol yn traethu am iawn ddull, ac agwedd gwir edifeirwch (1629) was published in order to make the gospel message available in Welsh, which Sparke and like-minded English Puritans regarded as the language of a barbarous and uncivilized country with an urgent mission field.⁸⁵ F. A.'s The saints legacies (1631) appealed to the Puritan reader convinced that he or she was a saint who had been predestined to salvation. In The saints legacies, F. A. listed the Biblical promises that had been extended to the elect in a 203 page

⁸³ John Preston, Three sermons upon the Sacrement of the Lords Supper (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1253), STC I 20281.

⁸⁴ Since I am considering Preston's work as a body, I am listing here three Preston works that have not been previously cited. John Preston, A liveles life: or, mans spirituall death in Sinne (London: 1633; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1330), STC I 20236; John Preston, Sermons preached before his majestie and upon other occasions (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1331), STC I 20272; and John Preston, A spirituall life and death; A sermon (London: 1630; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1528), STC I 20279.

⁸⁵ Arthur Dent, Pregeth dduwiol yn traethu am iawn ddull, ac agwedd gwir edifeirwch (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1200), STC I 6671. For a discussion of Puritan views of Wales and other remote areas, readers should see Christopher Hill's "Puritans and 'the Dark Corners of the Land'" in his Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), pp. 3-47.

text designed to offer its readers hope and encouragement.⁸⁶ While Dent and F. A. wrote theological tracts with a broad appeal, George Huntley's 118 page An argument upon a general demurrer (1642) attempted to prove that Huntley had been wrongfully imprisoned by Laud between 1627 and 1633, and that Laud had been unfair in degrading him from his status as a cleric. In addition to recounting his own woes and requesting that the legal findings against him be reversed, Huntley took a pronounced Erastian stance, and he declared that the state should rule the Church and not vice versa.⁸⁷ Sparke would certainly have been likely to have real sympathy for Huntley's claims to have been the victim of unjust treatment by Laud, and he may have at least partially accepted Huntley's views of the Church-State relationship.

Although he did not publish as many titles in the fields of science and mathematics as he published in the field of religion, Sparke's efforts to make current scientific knowledge available to his contemporaries were still extensive enough to be worthy of commendation. His publication list includes fifteen titles in the fields of science and mathematics, when this classification is made inclusive enough to include both human and veterinary medicine as well as military science. Sparke's concern for affairs of the soul did not preclude an interest in the nature of the human body and the physical world. Although a

⁸⁶ F. A., The saints legacies (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1023), STC I 10685.

⁸⁷ George Huntley, An argument upon a generall demurrer (London: 1642; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 384), STC II 3779.

majority of the titles Sparke published in science and mathematics were practical rather than theoretical in orientation, he usually produced works that were compatible with the best scientific information available in the mid-seventeenth century.

Sparke's fifteen scientific works included two titles in the field of anatomy. Helkiah Crooke's A description of the body of a man (1631) and Alexander Read's A description of the body of a man (1634) were Sparke's contributions to the field of anatomy textbook production.⁸⁸ At 1012 pages, Crooke's anatomy text was more scholarly than Read's mere 154 page text, since Crooke frequently displayed learned familiarity with Latin and Greek, which Read did not have or did not choose to flaunt. Both Crooke's text and the smaller text by Read had the same appendix, for each was bound with Ambroise Pare's An explanation of the fashion and use of the instruments of chirurgery.⁸⁹ Pare's work, which Sparke also published as an independent volume in a 1634 edition, had an obvious appeal to the doctors, barber-surgeons, and intelligent laymen who read the lavishly illustrated texts of Crooke and Read.

The two titles Sparke published in astronomy were equal in quality to the fine texts which he had published for Crooke and Read. Sparke's astronomy titles were Tycho Brahe's Learned Tico Brahe his astronomical

⁸⁸ Helkiah Crooke, A description of the body of man (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1199), STC I 6063; and Alexander Read, A description of the body of a man (London: 1634; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1360), STC I 20783.

⁸⁹ Ambroise Pare, An explanation of the fashion and use of the instruments of chirurgery (London: 1634; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 998), STC I 19190.

conjecture of the * (1631) and Bishop John Wilkins' The discovery of a world in the moon (1638).⁹⁰ Both Brahe and Wilkins wrote for a learned audience, although only Brahe (1546-1601) acquired a lasting reputation for his contributions to the development of astronomy. The twenty-six page Brahe text, which the anonymous V. V. S. translated for Sparke, was not one of that astronomer's major works. It mixed astronomy and astrology, and it offered an account of a new star which Brahe first observed in 1572. Wilkins' 219 page monograph was far more impressive than the slim Brahe pamphlet. In a text liberally mixed with quotations in Latin and Greek, Wilkins defended certain basic conclusions. Most importantly, Wilkins declared that the moon was, like the earth, a world in its own right. Surprisingly, Wilkins did not share the traditional Christian belief in the unique creation of man. Wilkins said, "That tis probable there may be inhabitants in this other World, but of what kinde they are is uncertain."⁹¹ In publishing Brahe and Wilkins, Sparke showed an interest in the impact of science on seventeenth century thought.

Although Sparke clearly had an interest in the practical mathematics which was necessary to compute accurately rates of exchange and interest rates, Sparke did not have an equivalent interest in theoretical mathematics. He published only one title in theoretical mathematics, which was Pierre de La Ramee's Via regia ad geometriam

⁹⁰ John Wilkins, Bp., The discovery of a world in the moone (Oxford: 1638; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 945), STC I 25640.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 63.

(1636).⁹² Sparke's edition of La Ramee, which the translator John Clerk dedicated to John Greaves, Professor of Geometry at Gresham College, did represent, however, an important attempt to acquaint the English reading public with continental advances in mathematics.

In addition to aiding medicine by publishing two anatomy texts and Pare's guide to surgical tools, Sparke sponsored two titles that represented contemporary medical opinion. These titles were Levinus Lemnius' The touchstone of complexions (1633) and Thomas Walkington's The optick glasse of humors (1631). The touchstone of complexions was a general popular health manual that covered much more than the modern reader would expect from the use of the word complexion in the title.⁹³ Lemnius' work included such gems of folk wisdom as his contention that carnal knowledge of women was weakening to the male body.⁹⁴ Walkington's The optick glasse of humors, which Sparke sold as the agent of the Oxford publisher William Turner, was a learned statement of the classical and medieval theory of "choleric, sanguine, phlegmatick and melancholick humors." The text contained elements of what the modern reader would call medicine and some rudimentary psychology.⁹⁵

⁹²Pierre de La Ramee, Via regia ad geometriam (London: 1636; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 768), STC I 15251.

⁹³Levinus Lemnius, The touchstone of complexions (London: 1633; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 262), STC I 15438.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 191.

⁹⁵Thomas Walkington, The optick glasse of humors (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1159), STC I 14968.

Sparke's contribution to the publishing of texts in veterinary medicine is at least equivalent to his contributions to the publishing of works in general medicine. Sparke published two popular titles in veterinary medicine by Gervaise Markham. These were Markhams faithful farrier (1629, 1630, 1631, 1635) and Markhams methode, or epitome (1628). Markhams faithful farrier was totally devoted to horsemanship and the case of ailing horses.⁹⁶ Markhams methode, or epitome was a well illustrated general handbook of veterinary medicine intended for the intelligent layman. It covered the treatment of oxen, sheep, goats, swine, dogs, horses, poultry, waterfowl, birds, and deer in addition to the treatment of horses.⁹⁷

Along with his publications in human and veterinary medicine, Sparke published three titles in the field of military science, which gave practical application to many of the technological discoveries of the seventeenth century Scientific Revolution. These were Certaine orders meete to be observed (1642), Edward Cooke's The prospective glasse of warre (1628), and Samuel Kem's Orders given out; the word, stand fast (1647).

Although Certaine orders meete to be observed made no direct reference to the outbreak of the English Civil War, contemporary Parliamentarians' fears that the king would call in foreign help

⁹⁶ Gervaise Markham, Markhams faithful farrier (London: 1629, 1630, 1631, 1635; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1386), STC I 17368.

⁹⁷ Gervaise Markham, Markhams methode, or epitome (London: 1628), STC I 17383. Lambeth Palace microfilm owned and read by author.

probably contributed to the publication of this anonymous eleven page tract. In this tract, residents of the sea coast counties received civil defense instructions on how to respond to a foreign invasion. The author displayed some real conviction that an actual invasion could occur, and he wanted an efficiently organized defense.⁹⁸

When Sparke published Edward Cooke's The prospective glasse of warre in 1628, no one could have anticipated the outbreak of armed conflict in England. Cooke gave an historically oriented fifty-one page introduction to military science which was intended for the armchair warrior. Although Cooke dedicated his text to Sir John Cooke, Principal Secretary of State, he clearly did not attempt to do more than discuss military history and its contemporary continental applications.⁹⁹

Of the three titles Sparke published in military science, only Samuel Kem's Orders given out had immediate practical applications. The nineteen page text published a letter that Kem, a major in the Parliamentary forces, had written on November 8, 1646. Upon the occasion of his departure from his Bristol regiment, Kem left them with a firm charge to stand fast in the defense of their political and religious principles.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Certaine orders meete to be observed (London: 1642; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 250 Thomason Tracts), STC II C 1717.

⁹⁹ Edward Cooke, The prospective glasse of warre (London: 1628; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1231), STC I 5669.

¹⁰⁰ Samuel Kem, Orders given out; the word, stand fast (London: 1647; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 59 Thomason Tracts), STC II K 254.

While the fourteen scientific and mathematical titles discussed up to this point aimed at a fairly intelligent audience, Sparke published one title in this category that was aimed at a very unsophisticated audience of only borderline literacy. This was Kinki Abenezrah's An everlasting prognostication of the weather (1620). In the thirteen page text, Abenezrah offered simple agricultural people natural signs for the prediction of the weather. While modern readers would tend to classify Abenezrah's text as folklore, untutored readers of Sparke's generation may have accepted it as applied science.¹⁰¹

After considering these last hundred books of Sparke's publication list, at least tentative general conclusions can be drawn concerning Sparke's opinion of what literature found a ready market. Clearly Sparke must have found a steady market demand for religious books of all types. He must also have discovered that both general Church of England literature and works written for a Puritan audience were usually successful. Although his own opinions undoubtedly served to spur his publication of religious works, Sparke could not have afforded continually to publish what did not sell. Considering the diversity of his publications, Sparke must also have served customers who had an intelligent and well developed curiosity concerning the world about them. Complex works of geography, history, and travel clearly were popular, and works of science also found buyers, particularly if they

¹⁰¹ Kinki Abenezrah, An everlasting prognostication of the weather (London: 1620; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 864), STC I 62.

presented applied scientific thinking in a form readily comprehensible to the layman. In contrast, imaginative literature of all types was an exceptionally small percentage of Sparke's publication list. There are sound grounds to surmise that Sparke as a Puritan and publisher and his likely Puritan audience scorned works of drama, poetry, and romance at least to some degree. In terms of marketing strategy, Sparke selected books to appeal to the middle class market; he produced only a small percentage of books designed to appeal to a marginally literate audience. Works which were directed solely at the learned and wealthy were an equally small percentage of Sparke's publication list. While frequent quotations from classical Latin and even some from classical Greek appeared in Sparke's books, almost all of Sparke's publication list consisted of books which could be used with pleasure by those who were literate only in English.

In order to determine what types of books succeeded for Sparke, one must proceed to an examination of the 110 book remainder of Sparke's publication list to see what types of books were reprinted. If one concedes that Sparke was a good enough businessman not to repeat his failures, then one can assume that the books he reprinted had usually demonstrated an impressive and durable popular demand. It should, however, be noted that Sparke and other seventeenth century stationers measured demand on a far different scale than that which would be used by modern publishers. Most of Sparke's editions were probably quite small, and if H. S. Bennett's English Books & Readers 1603-1640 is

correct, Sparke may have rarely published an edition of more than 1500 to 2000 copies.¹⁰²

Of the 110 works that have been discussed in this chapter, thirteen successful titles were reprinted at least once. These thirteen highly marketable books were Robert Bolton's Helpes to humiliation (1631, 1633, 1637), Francis Higginson's New England Plantation (1630), Jan Amos Komensky's Porta linguarum trilinguis reserata (1631, 1633, 1637, 1639), Gervaise Markham's Markhams faithful farrier (1620, 1630, 1631, 1635), Gerard Mercator's Historia mundi (1635, 1637), Publius Ovidus Naso's Ovid de ponto (1639, 1640), Publius Ovidus Naso's Ovids heroicall epistles (1636, 1639), John Preston's Foure Godly and learned treatises (1631, 1636), Wye Saltonstall's Clauis ad portam (1635, 1640), Sir Edwin Sandys' Europae Speculum (1632, 1635, 1638), The treasurers almanack (1627, 1628, 1629, 1631), Thomas Vicars' The ground of that doctrine which is according to godliness, etc. (1630, 1631), and Arthur Warwick's Spare minutes, or, resolved meditations (1635, 1636). Five of the thirteen titles that Sparke republished were religious works. Of the remaining eight republished titles two were classical translations, two were dictionaries, one was in the field of economics, two were in the field of geography, and one was on veterinary medicine. This analysis demonstrates that Sparke was most successful with religious works, and that highly practical works were also frequently exceptionally popular.

Sparke's reprint program included not only complete works but also the reuse of a substantial part of one publication as a part of another

¹⁰² Bennett, English Books and Readers, p. 227.

later work. Two good examples of this type of reprinting came from Sparke's reuse of texts by Pare and Preston. Pare's description of surgical instruments first appeared as an appendix in Crooke's anatomy, but it was later reused both as an appendix to Read's anatomy and as an independently published title. In a similar fashion, the sermons of John Preston were republished by Sparke in separate texts on more than one occasion. Because of their reuse, it seems reasonable to assume that both Preston's "The doctrine of self-deniall" and his "An elegant and lively description of spiritual life and death" were particularly popular and well received sermons.

To supplement the analysis of the 110 works discussed in this chapter, it is worthwhile also to form working hypotheses concerning the type of reader that Sparke hoped would buy and use his books. For example, Sparke did not assume that his readers were competent in classical languages. Of the works discussed in this chapter, only Filippi's Confesso Fidei and Pont's De Sabbaticorum annorum periodio chronologica were completely in Latin. Additionally, Sparke aimed few of his works at the marginal reader. Only a few titles such as The merry tales of the mad men of Gottam would have appealed to the least literate segment of the mid-seventeenth century English reading public, and a high percentage of Sparke's publications included some use of Latin and Greek quotations. Moreover, Sparke's religious publications offered something to all members of the Church of England not clearly in the Laudian camp. He did, however, show a strong partiality for books that appealed strongly to the kind of conservative Puritan who became

Presbyterian in the sixteen-forties. Surprisingly, Sparke offered his readers remarkably little in terms of imaginative literature designed for use as a source of recreation or enjoyment. Sparke sought the serious and sober reader, not the reader who bought and read books for pleasure. It is also notable that Sparke clearly believed that his readers needed practical help to improve their ability to compute interest, their command of languages, and their understanding of both human and veterinary medicine. Similarly, Sparke sought readers interested in the best educational and scientific thought of their day by publishing important authors such as Brahe and Comenius. Finally, Sparke believed that his readers were hungry for accurate accounts of exploration and travel and sound geographical information. Even Sparke's stay-at-home readers could learn a great deal about the expanding horizons of European civilization by reading the works of Anglerius, Higginson, Mercator, and Robson. When taken together, these hypotheses indicate that Sparke sought an intelligent, middle class audience whose interests and opinions matched his own.

Sparke's publication program was far from unique. Although he emphasized the publication of religious literature, Sparke served a generation that devoured works of Biblical commentary, works of religious controversy, devotional literature, books of meditation, and sermons. Sparke published at least some titles in nine out of the ten categories that H. S. Bennett discussed in English Books & Readers 1603 to 1640,¹⁰³ and the one category Sparke neglected was the highly

¹⁰³Ibid., pp. 88-198.

technical field of law book production. Of the remaining nine categories analyzed by Bennett, Sparke's publication program was noticeably weak only in the field of literature, in which Sparke clearly made a conscious decision to ignore almost completely the strong market for works of drama, essays, poetry, and romance.¹⁰⁴ There is valid reason to surmise that Sparke's religious convictions led him to stress self-improvement at the expense of pleasure. From the early sixteenth-thirties to his death, Sparke clearly made the promotion of his brand of Calvinism the central focus of his publication program. For the last twenty years of his life, Sparke was too involved in political and religious advocacy to publish titles that had no serious intellectual purpose.

Despite their Puritan slant and weakness in the field of literature, the 110 books discussed in this chapter are an impressive bibliography of titles that made a worthwhile contribution in filling the informational needs of Sparke's contemporaries. Unlike his fellow stationers Nicholas Bourne and Nathaniel Butter, who were impressive innovators in the field of periodical publication of news,¹⁰⁵ Sparke was not a leader in the introduction of new information sources. He was, however, a successful traditionalist who occasionally took risks in producing works such as Mercator's Atlas and other titles in the

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 189-198.

¹⁰⁵ Leona Rostenberg, Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious & Legal Publishing, Printing and Bookselling in England 1551-1700: Twelve Studies, 2 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1965), 2:75-96.

category of geography, history, and travel. While much of what Sparke published would hold little interest for the modern reader, his books were chosen to match his readers. Perhaps if his son had lived, Sparke might have acquired some of his interest in the publication of classical literature in translation and broadened his horizons. Sparke's intellectual limitations were, however, characteristic of his generation and his social class, and these limitations may have contributed to rather than hindered his publishing career.

Sparke's major limitation was a militant Protestantism that still viewed the Reformation as a contemporary religious and social movement. This so colored Sparke's opinion of Roman Catholicism that throughout his life he could not view the world about him clearly. He saw his life as a constant struggle to defend the moral gains of the Reformation against Laudian backsliding in the Church of England and the domestic and foreign menace of the Counter-Reformation. Whatever the weaknesses in Sparke's narrowly Protestant world view, it was probably shared by most of his English contemporaries. Sparke's Protestant enthusiasm did not prevent, and it may have encouraged, his interest in geography, history, science, and travel. Sparke's intellectual commitment to Calvinist doctrine was generally compatible with a curious mind which absorbed the increased geographic and scientific knowledge of the mid-seventeenth century.

Sparke's customers probably shared much of his intellectual outlook. Very few Roman Catholics or High Church Anglicans would have patronized Sparke's shop at the sign of the Blue Bible in Green Arbour

Court more than once. Sparke's clientele were almost certainly sober, earnest, middle class Puritans, whose world view mirrored that of the stationer they patronized. Sparke may have had some occasional patronage from both the upper and the lower ends of the social scale, but most of the titles he presented and published were clearly directed toward a middle class audience striving for both religious and economic self-improvement or at the clergymen who served this middle class audience.

While Sparke explicitly expressed his own opinions and his interests only in the ten titles to which he contributed, the books discussed in this chapter reflected both Sparke's world view and the world view of his customers. An examination of these titles has revealed significant insights into both the intellectual limitations and the intellectual strengths of middle class Puritanism in the first half of the seventeenth century. Confident of their election to salvation, Sparke and his clientele were capable of expanding both their geographic and their intellectual horizons at the same time that they were striving to improve both their souls and their economic positions. Because of their confidence and their growing knowledge, Sparke and readers like him were capable of taking an active part in the public issues of their day.

CHAPTER VI

TYPOGRAPHY

To complement the examination of the intellectual content of Sparke's publications, one should consider the physical format of his books and their typographical quality. In order to compare Sparke's technical skills and overall craftsmanship to the professional skills of other printers, the modern researcher must understand the physical appearance of Sparke's product in enough depth to determine how Sparke's books were similar to and different from other books marketed in early seventeenth century England.

The most obvious facet of the physical appearance of Sparke's books was his use of illustration or tabular documentation to supplement his written text. Although Sparke published many scholarly tomes which had a written text only, he had a lively appreciation of the power that well chosen illustration has to make a text more interesting. When illustration did appear, certain types were characteristic of works published by Sparke. To attract the casual browser, Sparke made frequent use of title page illustrations that served to attract attention to the texts within the book. Sparke also published some titles that were well illustrated throughout, although the text could have easily been printed alone. In contrast, Sparke published a few outstanding works in which the illustrations and the text were so intertwined that the text could not stand alone.

Sparke quite naturally was strongly influenced by subject matter in selecting illustrations. Religious books aimed at a theologically sophisticated readership received less illustration than Sparke provided for other types of religious texts. Highly illustrated religious works tended to be either extremely polemical anti-Catholic tracts or books of popular meditation and religious self help. Volumes of anatomy, astronomy, and general medicine always included a substantial number of illustrations, because Sparke recognized that these texts needed a large amount of graphic support.

To consider Sparke's most rudimentary method of using illustrations, five examples of title page illustration have been arbitrarily selected. In all of these works, the title page illustration stands alone, or almost alone, and the main body of the text contains either few or no further illustrations.

The text of An everlasting prognostication of the change of the weather (1620) identifies Kinki Abenezrah, the author, as a "wandering Jew." The title page illustration of the author is a very crudely rendered and stereotypical engraving. There seems little connection between this small illustration and the text's advice on weather prediction. Sparke's use of title page illustration later becomes much more original and the title page of Abenezrah's early work is the only case discussed in which the title page illustration does not add to the book's attractiveness.¹

¹Kinki Abenezrah, An everlasting prognostication of the change of weather (London: 1620; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 864), STC I 62.

The title page illustration Sparke provided for Edward Cooke's The prospective glasse of warre (1628) is far more effective. A small illustration of two opposing armies on the title page provides a symbolic representation of Cooke's subject, military science. A similar illustration, which shows a much more elaborate version of two opposing armies drawn up for battle, follows the prefatory material and directly precedes the main body of the text.²

The picture of a ship, which Sparke placed on the title page of Samuel Kem's Orders given out; the word, stand fast (1647), is not as clearly related to the text as the title page of Cooke's monograph. This engraved picture of a ship does, however, show that Sparke never ceased to believe that an attractive title page was a useful tool for increasing the marketability of a book or pamphlet. Even under the stressful conditions of the Civil War, he continued to value the aesthetic qualities of his products and to complement them with illustrations.³

Of the five title page illustrations examined here, the engraved picture of a horse found on the title page of Gervaise Markham's Markham's faithful farrier (1631) has the closest relationship to the text of the book which it complements. This engraved horse is a good advertisement for the contents of a book on horsemanship. The function

²Edward Cooke, The prospective glasse of warre (London: 1628; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1231), STC I 5669.

³Samuel Kem, Orders given out; the word, stand fast (London: 1647; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 59 Thomason Tracts), STC II K 254.

of this type of title page is quite similar to the function of a modern book jacket illustration.⁴

The title page illustration of Samuel Rowlands' Well met gossip (1627) is just as graphically attractive as the horse which complements the title page of Markham's faithful farrier. For a brief story that claims to represent the conversations of a wife, a widow, and a maid, Sparke employs a title page illustration that represents three gossiping women friends. This engraved title page illustration probably helped to sell the small volume, and it still provides a pictorial illustration of women's life in the early seventeenth century.⁵

In addition to publishing titles in which the title page illustration stands alone or nearly alone, Sparke also published works that are complemented by high quality illustrative material throughout, although the texts could have stood alone. Three excellent examples of this type of illustrated text are Pierre de La Ramee's Via regia ad geometriam (1636), Gervaise Markham's Markhams methode, or epitome (1628), and John Smith's The generall history of Virginia (1624).

The illustrations in Pierre de La Ramee's Via regia ad geometriam include not only a page of illustration immediately following the title page but also other illustrations throughout the text. The illustrations dramatically increase the value of the text. Because La Ramee's

⁴Gervaise Markham, Markhams faithful farrier (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1386), STC I 17368.

⁵Samuel Rowlands, Well met gossip (London: 1627), STC I 21412. New York Library microfilm owned and read by author.

text describes the mathematical principles of spatial relationships, pictorial illustration of these mathematical principles helps to make La Ramee's ideas easier to comprehend, and twentieth century readers of high school texts would find them remarkably familiar.⁶

The illustrations that Sparke provided for Markhams methode, or epitome would have been far more familiar to most mid-seventeenth century Englishmen than the illustrations of shapes and angles that supplemented La Ramee's geometry text. In Markhams methode, or epitome, Gervaise Markham provides a veterinary handbook for the treatment of horses, oxen, sheep, goats, swine, dogs, hares, poultry, water fowl, hunting birds, and deer. Each section deals with a particular animal or type of animal, and an appropriate illustration precedes the written text discussing the treatment of each.⁷

John Smith's The generall history of Virginia is even more profusely illustrated than the works of La Ramee and Markham. In addition to an illustrated title page, Smith's geographical and historical work also contains informative pictures throughout the text, which graphically depict both American Indian and English settler life in the New World. These pictures show sympathy for the Indians as well as the colonists. Smith's monograph also includes a map of New England "observed and described by Captain John Smith." This New England map

⁶ Pierre de La Ramee, Via Regia ad geometriam (London: 1636; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 768), STC I 15251.

⁷ Gervaise Markham, Markhams methode, or epitome (London: 1628), STC I 17383. Lambeth Palace Library microfilm owned and read by author.

was later republished by Sparke in his multiple editions of Mercators Atlas.⁸

While both title page illustration and the use of multiple illustrations interspersed through the text are relatively common occurrences in Sparke's books, he published only three books in which the written commentary is so dependent on the illustrations that it could not have successfully stood alone. These texts are Helkiah Crooke's A description of the body of man, etc. (1631), Ambroise Pare's An explanation of the fashion and use of the instruments of chirurgery (1634), and Alexander Read's A description of the body of a man (1634). These works are related texts in anatomy and surgery.

Of the three related texts on anatomy and surgery, Crooke's 1012 page anatomy text has both the longest written text and the most lavish illustrations of the human body. In this work, the illustrator obviously makes every effort to render accurately both the complete human body and its separate parts. The second title page of Crooke's monograph has a moving illustration of a man with a sword who carries a severed head to indicate the importance of studying the human body as a whole.⁹

Ambroise Pare's An explanation of the fashion and use of the instruments of chirurgery, which Sparke bound with both Crooke's and

⁸ John Smith, The generall history of Virginia (London: 1624; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1335), STC I 22790.

⁹ Helkiah Crooke, A description of the body of man (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1199), STC I 6063.

Pare's anatomy texts as an appendix, illustrates fifty-three common contemporary surgical tools. Pare's text would be impossible to grasp without the excellent illustrations. The engraved illustrations that Pare includes with his text help make his short but significant pamphlet an easy to understand how to do it manual for the surgeon or the would be surgeon.¹⁰

Alexander Read's 154 page A description of the body of a man is similar to Crooke's much longer anatomy text in depending heavily on anatomical illustrations to depict the human body for its readers. Its format, however, is different from that of Crooke's work in that a page of anatomical illustration alternates with each page of written text throughout Read's book. In addition, Read's monograph makes repeated and thus particularly effective use of the skeleton symbol to illustrate his beliefs about the nature of the human body. The title page is illustrated by two skeletons. The two pages which immediately precede the main text also contain skeleton symbols. The first of these two illustrated pages pictures five skeleton heads, while the second page depicts a skeleton holding a shovel.¹¹

In addition to the three basic types of illustration Sparke frequently used, he also published two historically significant illustrations which are important both because of the men and because of

¹⁰ Ambroise Pare, An explanation of the fashion and use of the instruments of chirurgery (London: 1634; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 998), STC I 19190.

¹¹ Alexander Read, A description of the body of a man (London: 1634; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1360), STC I 20783.

the events they depict. Both of these illustrations appear in works of Prynne that were published by Sparke. The first historically important illustration is published in Prynne's Hidden workes of darkness brought to publike light (1645) and has been fully considered in Chapter III of this study, since it shows both Sparke and Prynne at the trial of Laud.¹² The second historically important illustration is printed on the page opposite the title page in Prynne's The substance of a speech (1649). Although the quality of this illustration is so poor that a completely positive identification has proved impossible, it is probable that the illustration is a poor quality picture of Charles I, which Sparke and Prynne printed in a last minute display of loyalty to the king just before the monarch's execution.¹³ These illustrations provide graphic evidence that Sparke recognized the importance of documenting the important events of his era visually.

No consideration of Sparke's use of illustrations can be considered complete without an examination of his two basic printing devices. One of these devices is formed by a bold combination of Sparke's two initials, M and S. The other printing device consists of an elaborate and highly symbolic picture which displays Sparke's philosophical opinion regarding the importance of books and learning. This picture depicts both a man representing Time and a skeleton representing Death.

¹²William Prynne, Hidden workes of darkness brought to publike light (London: 1645; Ann Arbor; University Microfilms, Reel 472), STC II P 3973.

¹³William Prynne, The substance of a speech (London: 1649), STC II P 4092. British library copy read by author.

Time and Death are holding a book over an hourglass, which represents the passage of time. The ends of two candles point from the top of the picture toward the book. Although on some occasions the picture is found alone, Sparke's pictorial printing device appears more often with this accompanying injunction:

Study me in thy Prime,
Bury Death and weary Time,
The Glasse doth Runne, and Time doth Goe,
Death has his End, I have not so.¹⁴

Sparke designed this symbolic device in order to represent his belief that books and learning endured despite death and the passing of time. This device reflects Sparke's originality since most other printers chose very conventional printing devices.

In addition to his two repeatedly used devices, Sparke uses two other printed symbols which appear on one special occasion only. The first symbol is employed on the title page of Tycho Brahe's Learned Tico Brahe his astronomical conjectur of the new * (1632). In the imprint, Sparke prints his first name followed by an engraved illustration of a spark. Sparke, who always enjoyed puns and other plays on his last

¹⁴For an example of Sparke's use of his intertwined initials as a printing devise, the reader should see the concluding page of Michael Sparke's The crums of comfort: with godly prayers (London: 1628; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1220), STC I 23016.

For an example of Sparke's pictorial printing devise, the reader should note that this devise precedes page two of Sir Edwin Sandys' Europae Speculum, Or A View Or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western parts of the World (London: 1637; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1361), STC I 21721.

For a discussion of Sparke's printing devises, the reader is referred to Ronald B. McKerrow's Printers & Publishers Devises in England & Scotland 1485-1640 (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1949), pp. 110, 135, 158.

name, makes creative use of this graphic symbol to illustrate both his personal pride and his ability to create a typographically unique title page.¹⁵ Sparke employs the second symbol in his otherwise unimportant edition of Thomas Cooper's The churches deliverance. Meditations upon the booke of Hester. In this religious text, Sparke uses an old and undistinguished printing device, previously employed by several other printers. Ronald McKerrow summarizes this device as consisting of a "Framed device of a rose, a gillyflower and another flower on one stalk; with Heb Ddieu heb ddim and the initials R. I." As translated by McKerrow the Welsh motto means "Without God, without anything."¹⁶

The principles behind Sparke's use of tabular documentation in order to supplement written texts are similar to the principles behind his use of illustrative material to supplement written texts. The three major publications in which Sparke employed tabular documentation are The free exchanger: or mint for uncurrent coyne (1627), The money monger, or the usurers almanacke (1626), and The treasurers almanack (1627, 1628, 1629, 1631). Each of these publications deals with either how to exchange one type of currency for another type of currency or the problem of how to compute the value of money which has been lent out at interest. Tables are a particularly effective and concise method of

¹⁵Tycho Brahe, Learned Tico Brahe his astronomical conjectur of the new * (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 734), STC I 3538.

¹⁶Thomas Cooper, The churches deliverance: Meditations upon the booke of Hester (London: 1628; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1345), STC I 5697. See also McKerrow's Printers & Publishers, p. 110.

conveying mathematical or monetary information, and in each of these short works the tables overwhelm the slim descriptive text.¹⁷

Despite its importance, Sparke's use of illustrations and tabular documentation does not reveal as much about his view of typography as does his manipulation of the physical format of his books and pamphlets. A consideration of how Sparke and his seventeenth century contemporaries viewed the title page is the logical place to begin a study of the physical format of his books. Sparke shared the common view that the title page should be an effective advertisement for the contents of the book, and this view had several major consequences on the manner in which he designed the title pages of the books and pamphlets he published. Sparke included at least some illustration on the title page of a substantial minority of the books and pamphlets he produced as this chapter has already indicated. Even those title pages without illustration often have either an engraved border on all sides or at least some attractive printed decoration over the imprint, since Sparke clearly desired to make his title pages as aesthetically pleasing as possible. Both Higginson's New England plantation and M. R.'s Micrologia have particularly attractive printed decorations over their imprints. Over the imprint of Higginson's work, Sparke prints an interesting shield with the Latin motto, "After you hold fast to the

¹⁷The free exchanger: or mint for uncurrant coyne (London: 1627; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 789), STC I 10614; The moneymonger, or the usurers almanacke (London: 1626; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1146), STC I 18010; and The treasurers almanacke (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1261), STC I 24212.

light."¹⁸ Micrologia's imprint is directly beneath an attractive picture of a small flower in a shield.¹⁹ Sparke also indulges in the seventeenth century penchant for long discursive title statements.²⁰ In many cases the title overpowers the page and provides a substantially detailed summary of the contents of the book. In addition to long titles, religious literature often has extensive Biblical quotations on the title page.

After proving that Sparke's use of the title page conformed to common contemporary practice, a discussion of the format of his books must consider his typical book layout on a section by section basis. One must discuss, in succession, book format, dedications and prefatory material, chapter organization and pagination, printing in columns, foreign languages, tables of contents and recapitulations, indices, marginal notes and bibliography, decorative borders and first initials, combinations of titles first printed separately, and Sparke's use of "bound withs." By examining these topics, one can determine what Sparke and his readers expected the average book to contain.

Like most other seventeenth century publishers, Sparke included far lengthier dedications and more additional prefatory material than twentieth century publishers would include. Dedications served several

¹⁸ Francis Higginson, New Englands plantation (London: 1630; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1106), STC I 13449.

¹⁹ M. R., Micrologia; characters or essays (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1108), STC I 17146.

²⁰ H. S. Bennett, English Books & Readers 1603-1640 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1970), pp. 98-103, 214-217.

important purposes. They allowed the authors either to seek patronage or to express gratitude for patronage already received. They also served as a vehicle for the expression of political and religious opinions. Interestingly, many important publications contain dedications to women. For example, Captain John Smith's dedication of his The generall history of Virginia to his patroness, the influential Lady Frances, Duchess of Richmond and Lenox, is only one of the many tributes to women found in book dedications.²¹ In addition to dedications written by the author, Sparke's books frequently include a substantial amount of related prefatory material. Insecure authors often included testimonials to the value of their books, which they had solicited from their friends. In Sparke's publications, dedications and other prefatory material contain far more use of Latin than the texts themselves contain, since the reader who is either unfamiliar with Latin or very weak in it can proceed directly to the main text, and Sparke wanted the overwhelming majority of his publications to be accessible to the reader literate in English alone.

Sparke's use of chapters to divide his books and pamphlets into sections is the next appropriate subject for treatment. Like most seventeenth century publishers, Sparke more often than not used chapters to divide his text in much the same way as a modern publisher would. Sparke did, however, frequently place his chapter divisions at exceptionally short intervals in a manner that often seems to cater to

²¹ Smith, The generall history of Virginia.

the short attention span of readers who wish to proceed in very small units. These units are often little more than a page in length and sometimes even shorter. When an eleven page pamphlet such as Certain orders meet to be observed has three chapters, there are reasonable grounds to surmise that the text was read aloud to a group rather than read separately by one individual, although there is no hard evidence to indicate how such a pamphlet was used.²²

In addition to his frequent use of chapter divisions in a fashion unfamiliar to modern readers, Sparke used pagination differently from the way pagination is used by modern publishers. In the vast majority of Sparke's publications, the main text has pagination in arabic numerals at the top of each page, which is the same as the pagination one would find in a modern text. Sparke did not, however, use numerical pagination as the sole means of sequential pagination. He consistently employed alphabetic signatures at the bottom of the initial page and then either on each succeeding page or at least on the first page of each sheet.²³ His use of pagination clearly represented a transitional stage between the use of alphabetic signatures and the employment of numerical pagination.

²²Certainne orders meete to be observed (London: 1642; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 250 Thomason Tracts), STC II C 1717.

²³"Sheet" is defined by the Oxford Universal Dictionary on Historical Principles, 3rd ed., as "An oblong or square piece of paper or parchment, esp. for writing or printing; spec. one of the pieces of definite size (varying according to the kind) in which paper is made, 24 (formerly also 25) going to a quire. (1510)." It is also defined as "In printing and bookbinding, such a piece of paper printed and folded so as to form pages of a required size (folio, quarto, etc.). Also a quantity of printed matter equal to that contained in a sheet. (1589)."

Although Sparke's use of chapter division and pagination makes an important impact on the way his books appear to the reader, his use of printing in columns has a strong visual effect on the format of several language reference tools that he printed. Four works in which Sparke's use of printing in columns has an important impact upon the format of the text are Noel Barlement's Colloquia & dictionariolum (1639), The English, Latine, French, Dutch scholemaster (1637), John Amos Komensky's Porta linguarum trilinguis reserata (1633), and Wye Saltonstall's Clavis ad portam (1635, 1640).²⁴ All require the use of multicolumn printing on each page because of the nature of the linguistic information being conveyed, and only Saltonstall's work has a text solely in English. The printing columns in Komensky's work are a particularly effective means of separating three languages. Sparke employed Roman type for the Latin column, Gothic type for the English column, and Italic type for the French column, and this use of type makes it easier to differentiate quickly between the three languages included in the text.²⁵

Sparke's concept of book format cannot be adequately understood without an analysis of how foreign language printing affected the format of his books. There is at least some foreign language text in the

²⁴Noel Barlement, Colloquia & dictionariolum octo linguarum (London: 1639; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 872), STC I 1432; The English, Latine, French, Dutch scholemaster (London: 1637; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 833), STC I 10416; John Amos Komensky, Porta linguarum trilinguis reserata (London: 1633; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 765), STC I 15078; and Wye Saltonstall, Clavis ad Portam (Oxford: 1635; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1218), STC I 21641.

²⁵Komensky, Porta linguarum.

majority of the books and pamphlets that Sparke produced, and foreign language reference tools which have been discussed above are only a small part of his total foreign language printing. Two major points concerning Sparke's format for foreign language printing have become apparent after examining all his surviving publications. Displaying a cautious craftsmanship, Sparke was particularly careful and accurate when printing in a language he did not understand. The overall printing quality of Sparke's edition of Arthur Dent's Pregeth dduwiol yn traethu am iawn ddull, ac agwedd gwir edifeirwch in the little known Welsh language is equal to the printing quality of the best of his English language works, and it even shows exceptionally high standards of justification and composition.²⁶ In an effort to please his literate but nonscholarly audience, Sparke generally kept foreign language printing out of the main body of texts written predominantly in English. Except for the use of short quotations in Latin and occasionally in Greek, foreign language printing usually appears only in the marginal notes that were clearly an optional extra. On the rare occasions when long Latin quotations do appear, they are usually accompanied by an English translation so that they do not disturb the body of the text. Some contemporary printers made far more extensive use of classical

²⁶ Arthur Dent, Pregeth dduwiol yn traethu am iawn ddull, ac agwedd gwir edifeirwch (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1200), STC I 6671. "Composition" is defined by the Oxford Universal Dictionary on Historical Principles, 3rd ed., as "The setting up of type, the composing of matter for printing. (1832)." "Justification" is defined by the Oxford Universal Dictionary on Historical Principles, 3rd ed., as "the action of adjusting or arranging exactly, especially in Typefounding and Printing. (1672)."

languages than Sparke did, while others catered to the uneducated reader barely literate in English.

No consideration of Sparke's book format has any claim to being complete without a discussion of Sparke's use of tables, recapitulations, and indices. Sparke wanted his publications to be easy to read and understand, and this desire led him to plan carefully the tools that would make his texts readily accessible to the reader. Sparke's tables of contents, which he sometimes called "recapitulations,"²⁷ are roughly similar to their modern counterparts except for the fact that they are just as likely to appear at the end of a book as to appear at the beginning. Many are very detailed and give minute subject access to the text. While Sparke's tables of contents and "recapitulations" have an essentially modern format, he did not use the index in the same way that a modern publisher would use the index. Sparke did not use the word index at all, although in some cases his tables of contents took on the functions of what a modern publisher would call an index as well as the function of a twentieth century table of contents. The absence of indices is startling, since Sparke's contemporaries clearly understood the essential concept of indexing, and Wye Saltonstall's Clauis ad portam could properly be called an index, because it is an English language key to a Latin language dictionary.²⁸ The reasons behind

²⁷"Recapitulations" in Sparke's publications are generally tables of contents. On occasion, however, they simply list subjects treated. Some books have both a table of contents and a recapitulation.

²⁸Saltonstall, Clauis ad portam.

Sparke's neglect of indices are uncertain, and both cost factors and a failure to recognize the importance of indices may have been involved in his policy decisions on this point.

Sparke's use of marginal notes and bibliography differs radically from our modern practice. Most of Sparke's texts have wide margins on all four sides of each page. In texts which have any claim to the possession of scholarly merit, Sparke prints extensive marginal notes on the right and sometimes even on the left margin. When these marginal notes are not foreign language quotations, they are usually bibliographic references. Prynne's learned tomes are particularly notable for the amount of bibliographic information contained in their margins. Although Sparke's publications do not contain bibliographies as we know them, several of his books do contain a useful list of the sources which had been consulted. Outstanding examples of these lists can be found in Thomas Beard's The Theatre of Gods judgements (1631) and John Hume's The Jewes deliverance out of Babylon (1628), which have one page lists of their sources.²⁹

Sparke's use of decorative upper borders and first initials on the first page of the text in each book provides conclusive evidence of his desire to have his books and pamphlets as pleasing to the eye as possible. In the vast majority of Sparke's publications, the page which

²⁹ Thomas Beard, The theatre of Gods judgements: or a collection of histories (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 874), STC I 1661; and John Hume, The Jewes deliverance out of Babylon: In ten sermons (London: 1628; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1177), STC I 13954.

begins the main body of the text has both a decorative printed upper border and a decorative printed first initial. More often than not each section of the prefatory material in Sparke's publications also begins with a decorative upper border and first initial. Because these decorative blocks were expensive, the same decorative upper borders and decorative initials were repeatedly used in many different books and pamphlets.

One main factor that greatly influenced the physical format of Sparke's products has not yet been treated here. This factor is bookbinding, which was done by members of several separate trades under loose Stationers' Company regulation. Fine books needed fine hand binding to deserve a place in a gentleman's library, while short tracts and pamphlets were generally sewn together carelessly, because their inexpensive price did not justify better treatment. At least one of Sparke's titles was clearly bound by a very sloppy bookbinder. The 1629 edition of The treasurers almanacke is bound with the title page of a book on the making of wool preceding its title page.³⁰ Sparke's recognition of his dependence on the bookbinder is shown in William Prynne's The antipathie of the English lordly prelatie (1641), in which printed instructions to the bookbinder appear on the final page.³¹

³⁰ Treasurer, The treasurers almanacke (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1261), STC 24212, title page.

³¹ William Prynne, The antipathie of the English lordly prelatie (London: 1641; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 192), STC II P 3891.

Although he produced books and pamphlets that demonstrated generally high quality illustrations and a well thought out format, Sparke was well aware that he did not produce an error free product. This chapter will now consider Sparke's errata statements, the nature and frequency of his printing errors, his pagination errors, and the possible nontechnical causes of variation in both the number and the type of Sparke's printing and pagination errors.

Errata statements are prominently displayed in the majority of the large and complex works produced by Sparke. Although the location and length of these statements varies, most appear at either the beginning or the conclusion of the texts in Sparke's publications. A complete study has revealed that Sparke apologetically compiled these lists of careless typographical errors after he had read the equivalent of what a twentieth century publisher would call a galley proof.

Sparke's errata statements typically list errors with the request that the reader compensate for the printer's mistakes by going through the book or pamphlet concerned and carefully correcting the typographical errors with pen in order to make the text easy to read. In books and pamphlets with relatively few printing errors, Sparke simply listed the publication's rare typographical flaws. In books and pamphlets with a large enough number of typographical errors to detract from the text, at least in some portions of the publication, Sparke displayed the common human tendency of blaming poor quality work on unforeseen circumstances that he claimed were beyond his ability to control. The excuses that Sparke provided for the error ridden text of

Prynne's The antipathie of the English lordly prelacie (1641) were typical of his attempts to at least partially disclaim responsibility for a poor quality text. Since Sparke had to admit that The antipathie of the English lordly prelacie required two supplementary pages to list its significant errors and admissions, he justified himself by stating:

Kind reader, I shall desire thee to rectifie these Presse-Errours, which in my absence in the Country happened in many copies in some Pages of the First and Second Part, besides those forementioned, after the Table of Chapters.³²

This excuse was a feeble one, and Sparke displayed some lack of foresight by not being able to keep close watch over the work that others were doing in his behalf.

Sparke's printing errors did not reflect any lack of capacity on his part or on the part of the printers working for him to produce high quality work. Although a few of his publications are error ridden and show obvious evidence of hasty, poor quality workmanship throughout, Sparke produced many items that contain either few errors or none. In explanation of the reasons for the wide variation in printing quality that can be found in Sparke's works, one can surmise that those publications which were highly controversial on either political or religious grounds display a higher than average rate of printing errors because of the extra pressures and problems that he undoubtedly experienced in their production. An examination of the number and type of printing errors that Sparke allowed to creep into three works that he published for Prynne provides evidence that controversial works often

³²Ibid.

became very error ridden as a result of the stressful conditions that accompanied their publication.

Canterburies Doome (1646), which is Prynne's attempt to justify as well as to recount the trial and execution of Laud, closes with a statement that devotes fifty lines to an exhaustive listing of typographical and other printing errors. In this statement, the reader receives page by page and line by line references to the printing errors that Sparke had managed to detect only in the last stages before he published Canterburies Doome in its final form. At the bottom of his list of errors, Sparke said, "Some other slips there are which I shall desire thee to amend as thou findeth them, having no leizure to make an exact catalogue of them all."³³ Since Canterburies Doome was one of the last books that Sparke published with Parliamentary authorization, it is probable that he had reason to get this text published quickly, as both Sparke and Prynne had a direct personal interest in Laud's trial.

While Sparke and Prynne almost certainly felt some urgency to publish Canterburies Doome as quickly as possible, they had extraordinary reasons to publish and distribute The substance of a speech and A vindication of the imprisoned and secluded members as soon as these works could possibly be rushed through the presses. As shown in Chapter III, both these works appeared in the week immediately preceding the execution of Charles I on January 30, 1649, and they were a well-

³³ William Prynne, Canterburies Doome (London: 1646; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 228), STC II P 3917.

argued voice of conservative protest against Pride's Purge and the execution of the king.³⁴

While The substance of a speech displays blurry printing and a poor quality of justification and composition, A vindication of the imprisoned and secluded members shows even more extensive signs of hurried publication. The pagination errors provide a clear demonstration of the carelessness involved in the technical aspects of the publication. After the text reaches page 30, it continues with pages 25, 24, 29, 24, 29, 28 before resuming normal numerical pagination.³⁵ While this peculiar pagination would startle the reader in normal times, it was perhaps overlooked in the early part of 1649. In a time of crisis, Sparke obviously put the rapid dissemination of information ahead of the production of a physically attractive product. While capable of maintaining excellent technical standards, Sparke willingly produced poor quality products to express ideas he found important. No contemporary printer published as many politically and religiously explosive books as Sparke did, and he thus produced a higher than average number of books and pamphlets of very poor printing quality. Most of Sparke's contemporaries took fewer risks and thus encountered fewer problems resulting from the need to produce important works in haste and under stressful conditions.

³⁴William Prynne, The substance of a speech (London: 1649), STC II P 4092. British Library copy read by author. William Prynne, A vindication of the imprisoned and secluded members (London: 1649), STC II P 4128. British Library copy read by author.

³⁵Prynne, A vindication.

While none of Sparke's other publications can match A vindication of the imprisoned and secluded members for pagination errors, several other publications show at least some evidence of inaccurate pagination. Among the books that Sparke printed with notable pagination errors are Gervaise Markham's Markhams methode, or epitome (1628), Prynne's The levellers leveled (1647), and Prynne's Romes master-peece (1644). While the content of Markhams methode was not in any way controversial, it was shown in Chapter II that Sparke faced a serious legal challenge to his right to print this general veterinary medicine text. Both Prynne works were statements of his highly controversial political and religious principles. When taken together, the flaws in these three books have provided some indication that business, political, and religious stress had a measurable impact on the technical quality of Sparke's publications.³⁶

Although Sparke's use of illustration, his concepts of book format, the nature and causes of his printing and pagination errors were all significant factors in determining the overall technical quality of his books and pamphlets, several problems vitally important to an analysis of his technical competence have not yet been discussed. Like his contemporaries, Sparke was limited by the capabilities of mid-seventeenth century printing equipment including presses and type fonts. Moreover, when he produced scholarly works, Sparke had the need or desire to print at least portions of a text in languages which did not

³⁶ Markham, Markhams methode.

use the Roman alphabet. Further, Sparke confronted the aesthetic and practical problems involved in justification and composition. Finally, Sparke had to manage his relationship with the printers who worked for him on a contract basis. Only after these problems have been considered can this examination realistically attempt to evaluate Sparke's publications typographically.

In seventeenth century Europe, printing still took place on presses that had changed only in very minor details from those first employed by Johann Gutenberg in the mid-fifteenth century. Printers like Sparke employed the same type of heavy metal letters that had been used since movable type superseded the woodblock printing that existed before Gutenberg. Printing technology changed at a very slow pace between 1450 and 1800, and both the letter press process of printing and the use of type fonts to combine characters all of one size and style remained basically the same as they had been shortly after the invention of movable type.

Although most of the printing techniques which Sparke and his contemporaries employed had been developed in the incunabular period before 1501, the type faces that he employed were those that the Frenchmen Claude Garamond and Robert Granjon devised in the sixteenth century. The design of a typeface, which Ben Lieberman has defined as "the design or pattern of an alphabet of letters to be used together . . . to be distinguished from the face of the type stamp itself . . . ,"³⁷ has an

³⁷ Ben Lieberman, Types of Typefaces and How to Recognize Them (New York: Sterling Publishing Co., 1967), p. 31.

obviously crucial impact upon the aesthetic quality of the printed page, since well designed letters with pleasing proportional relationships help produce an attractive and easy to read text. Garamond's roman type as adapted by Jean Jannon was the roman type used by Sparke and the printers who worked for Sparke. Granjon was the originator of the italic type-face, which Sparke and other seventeenth century printers employed consistently.³⁸

The overwhelming majority of Sparke's publications used roman type for the main body of their text. Sparke's publications generally used italic type for those segments of the text that he wished to emphasize. Gothic type, which had been used more than roman and italic type by sixteenth century English printers, was clearly less popular in Sparke's day, and he printed only five texts almost entirely in gothic type. These texts were Kinki Abenezrah's An everlasting prognostication of the changes of weather (1620), B. A.'s The merry tale of the mad men of Gottam (1630), The booke of merry riddles (1629), Arthur Dent's Welsh language Pregeth dduwiol yn traithu am iawn ddull, ac agwedd edifeirwch (1620), and Henry Greenwood's Markes and no markes of the kingdome of heaven (1634).³⁹ Sparke did, however, use some gothic type in other

³⁸Ibid., pp. 27-38.

³⁹Kinki Abenezrah, An everlasting prognostication of the change of weather (London: 1620; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 864), STC I 62; B. S., The merry tale of the mad men of Gottam (London: 1630; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 869), STC I 1021; The booke of merry riddles (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1958), STC I 3233; and Arthur Dent, Pregeth dduwiol yn traethu am iawn ddull, ac agwedd gwir edifeirwch (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1200), STC I 6671.

publications, where he found it useful to employ gothic type for emphasis as well as for use in printed tables.

Although Sparke cautiously avoided printing a single text which was entirely in a non-Roman alphabet, he did make extensive use of Greek quotations especially in theological works that were clearly designed to appeal to a fairly learned readership. A few nontheological works such as Helkiah Crooke's A description of the body of man also included significant examples of the use of Greek type.⁴⁰ In contrast to his relatively frequent use of Greek type, Sparke made use of Hebrew type on only one occasion in the 171 titles he printed. Robert Pont's De sabbaticorum annorum periodis chronologica contained Hebrew as well as Greek letters in its predominantly Latin language text.⁴¹

While Sparke's use of a non-roman type played an important role in the publication of only a selected minority of his books and pamphlets, his standards of justification and composition had a compelling impact on the physical appearance of every book and pamphlet that he produced. This chapter must therefore include an impressionistic analysis of the

⁴⁰ Helkiah Crooke, A description of the body of man. Sparke's extensive use of Greek letters has led me to assume that either he or his contract printers probably owned Greek alphabet type. If they did not, extensive and cumbersome borrowing would have been necessary.

⁴¹ Robert Pont, De sabbaticorum annorum periodis chronologica (London: 1626), STC I 20102. British Library copy read by author. Although Sparke's use of Hebrew type provided interesting evidence of his boldness, Sparke did not use Hebrew letters frequently enough to justify the supposition that he owned Hebrew type. Either Sparke or his contract printers could have borrowed this type for infrequent use.

typical patterns of justification⁴² and composition⁴³ that were characteristic of Sparke's 171 separate titles.

Sparke and the printers he employed on contract had fully mastered the techniques of right hand justification, which they generally achieved by adding spaces as needed between characters. Along with an excellent standard of justification, Sparke's publications also displayed a thorough grasp of composition. With few exceptions, Sparke's publications contained an arrangement of type that made each page both easy to read and attractive to the eye. Sparke was particularly skilled at combining different typefaces to compose a page that effectively mixed roman, italic, and gothic type to emphasize an important segment of the text that was set in a different typeface from that which was used in the main body of the text.

In most cases the attractive appearance of Sparke's texts depended on contract printers, who worked for him on agreed terms to produce the books and pamphlets he wished to publish and sell. Although Sparke was capable of acting as his own printer and often did so, particularly early in his career, an examination of his imprints reveals that, although he never gave up printing completely, he preferred to engage other men to do his printing for him especially after 1640. By Sparke's day, the publication and sale of books was well on its way to becoming

⁴²The Bookman's Glossary, 5th ed. (New York and London: R. R. Bowker Company, 1975), p. 90.

⁴³Ibid., p. 42.

separated from printing, and the publisher had a more lucrative and more prestigious business than the stationer who engaged solely in printing.

Sparke returned repeatedly to the same printers, and this recurrent business indicated that both sides were basically satisfied with the nature of their cooperative arrangements on a long term basis. John Macock, who printed numerous works for Sparke, was Sparke's brother-in-law. Sparke was also close to Thomas Cotes, since he left a bequest to Cotes's widow, Ellen, in his will. In addition to his easily documented relationship with Macock and Cotes, Sparke may have had significant business connections with other printers. Sparke's imprints often state that a book has been printed for him without naming the printer, and chance factors could have permanently obscured the important printing connections that he maintained.

After an examination of the physical format and typographical quality of Sparke's works, the modern researcher must conclude that his products generally displayed a high level of craftsmanship. While Sparke was undoubtedly more concerned with the vigorous advance of what he considered to be important political and religious causes than he was with standards of typographical excellence, Sparke was a competent craftsman whose works rarely deviated from the best contemporary standards of his profession unless they had been produced under unusually stressful publishing conditions. When he devoted his full attention to typographical quality, Sparke could produce works such as

his edition of Mercator's Atlas,⁴⁴ which were impressively illustrated and beautiful to examine.

Although seventeenth century printing and publishing were less concerned with aesthetics and more concerned with marketing than the book trade had been in the incunabular period or even in the sixteenth century,⁴⁵ it was still possible consistently to produce books and pamphlets that were pleasing to behold and easy to read. In 1610, the year Sparke received journeyman status as a printer, John Norton produced a high quality Greek edition of the Works of St. Chrysostom, which is still admired by modern readers for its beautiful Greek type. Sparke's older contemporary William Stansby received praise from H. R. Plomer for the beauty of his type and the "uniformly good quality of his presswork."⁴⁶

While Sparke did not meet the exceptional standards of technical excellence set by Norton and Stansby, Sparke's craftsmanship was still of a very high order. An examination of the printing errors in the 1623 edition of Shakespeare's first folio produced by William and Isaac Jaggard has provided ample evidence that even important works produced under no political or religious pressure often exhibited a clear lack of careful planning and organization as well as an amazingly large number

⁴⁴Gerard Mercator, Historia mundi, or mercators atlas (London: 1635, 1637; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1550), STC I 17824.

⁴⁵Ben Rosen, Type and Typography, The Designer's Type Book, rev. ed. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, c. 1976), p. 8.

⁴⁶Henry R. Plomer, A Short History of English Printing, 1476-1900 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1915), pp. 130, 135-37.

of printing errors.⁴⁷ Robert Barker and Martin Lucas, who were privileged Bible patentees and enemies of Sparke, produced a 1631 edition of the Bible now called the Wicked Bible, since they left the word not out of the seventh commandment.⁴⁸ Despite the flaws that his products displayed, Sparke had nothing to be ashamed of in the typographical quality of the works he produced, and the few men who produced a better quality product were usually, like Norton, far richer and much better financed. When Sparke's work is compared to that of a truly inferior craftsman like the modestly successful printer Edward Allde, who consistently produced poorly designed and carelessly executed works, the modern reader can readily determine that Sparke more than met contemporary typographical standards.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 133-35.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 145.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 133.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This examination of Sparke's life and publications has emphasized his consistent dedication to the political and religious principles of conservative Puritanism. Since he was a versatile, if minor, writer and a competent editor as well as a printer-publisher, Sparke had the skills to sustain an active, intellectual involvement with the works he produced in thirty-five years as an active publisher. By the late 1620s or early 1630s, his press became a means of molding opinion as well as a business, and his publications with few exceptions reflected the intellectual, political, religious, and social convictions of the earnest, middle class Puritans he knew well from personal experience and consistently sought as his major potential readership.

Although a competent craftsman, Sparke had no claim to recognition based on the beauty and typographical quality of his works, and he contributed nothing new to printing techniques or to book marketing methods. When he had the time and money to produce aesthetically pleasing books and pamphlets, Sparke showed himself fully conversant with the best contemporary standards concerning book format, the use of justification and composition, and the effective use of illustrations displaying high standards of graphic excellence. Political and religious ideas, however, were always more important to Sparke than the physical appearance of his books, and he did not hesitate to produce an

error-ridden product to publish what he considered an important message as quickly as possible.

As a printer-publisher, his importance lay in his persistent and at least partially successful challenge to monopoly printing rights, his thwarted attempts to democratize the organization of the Stationers' Company, and the influence his publications undoubtedly exerted upon their audience as crucial informational and inspirational sources. Despite the fact that Sparke could never count himself among the most wealthy members of the Stationers' Company, his 171 titles were a significant publication list by contemporary standards, and few other stationers equaled his output. For thirty-five years, he produced an average of almost five titles a year, and in peak periods of political and religious controversy Sparke often produced a much larger than normal number of titles. Although in any given year, many stationers would have matched or exceeded his publication total, his record of steady production over a long period of time gives him a sound claim to rank among the leading early seventeenth century stationers even if the leadership of the Stationers' Company habitually regarded him as an outsider and a rebel.

Seeking the serious rather than the recreational reader, Sparke produced a book list that is impressive by the quality as well as by the quantity of the titles it included. Despite the fact that there were few titles that would have appealed only to a purely scholarly audience, there were also few titles that did not assume that readers would be intelligent, thoughtful people having a basic familiarity with

seventeenth century intellectual trends. In addition to an outstanding selection of theological works by highly regarded authors such as Attersoll, Preston, and Travers, Sparke also offered his readers the most thought provoking contemporary opinion in education, geography, mathematics, and science in the works of Comenius, Mercator, La Ramee, and Crooke. To the educational innovator, Comenius' A Reformation of Schooles (1642) provided guidelines for making education more practical and better oriented toward the needs of everyday life than it normally was in early Stuart England.¹ For the reader interested in combining a good introduction to geography with a smattering of historical knowledge, Mercator's Historia mundi (1635, 1637) combined the functions of a geography book and an encyclopedic history text.² If one desired a relatively simple introduction to geometry, Pierre de La Ramee's Via regia ad geometriam (1636) met this need in a well illustrated English language text.³ In a period when the College of Physicians still opposed making medical knowledge available to the layman in English, Helkiah Crooke's A description of the body of man explained current knowledge of anatomy in a profusely illustrated, readily understandable form.⁴

¹ Johann Amos Comenius, A reformation of schooles (London: 1642; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 528), STC II C 5529.

² Gerard Mercator, Historia mundi, or mercators atlas (London: 1635, 1637; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1550), STC I 17824-17825.

³ Pierre de La Ramee, Via regia ad geometriam (London: 1636; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 768), STC I 15251.

⁴ Helkiah Crooke, A description of the body of man, 2nd ed. (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1199), STC I 6063.

Through a careful choice of titles, Sparke managed to publish generally high quality works that had a strong potential to influence his readers. Two totally different titles demonstrate Sparke's ability to select works that could exert vital impact. For the struggling seventeenth century householder, the many editions of Crums of Comfort provided hope that whatever his circumstances he might be one of the elect, and the repeated reprinting of this book of prayers and meditations gives ample testimony to its impact on devout readers seeking help with commonplace problems of everyday life.⁵ At least in the eyes of devout Puritan readers, Prynne's Histrio-mastix gave a strong case against the theatre, and the savage penalties Sparke and Prynne suffered for publishing it indicated the government's intense fear of its impact on readers who were already suspicious of court behavior.⁶ More consistently than any other early Stuart stationer, Sparke specialized in Puritan literature with a high potential for forming public opinion.

Although he always published at least some books that did not contain a message, Sparke became a dedicated advocate of Puritan positions in the late 1620s and early 1630s, and he continued to play his role as an opinion maker for the remainder of his life. He took a general anti-Laudian stance up to 1640 and a more limited

⁵Michael Sparke, The crums of comfort: with godly prayers, 7th ed. (London: Printed for M. Sparke, 1628; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1220), STC I 23016.

⁶William Prynne, Histrio-mastix: the players scourge (London: 1633; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1933), STC I 20464.

pro-Presbyterian position later. This change did not represent a shift in Sparke's position, however, for it resulted from the split in the Puritan movement once the common enemy Laud was overthrown and new religious policies emerged in the course of the English Revolution.

During the five years following the beginning of his association with Prynne in 1627, Sparke concentrated on offering his readers Puritan criticism of Laud's attempts to make the Church of England less Calvinist in doctrine and practice along with a good selection of less polemical religious literature. In this period, Sparke risked the publication of five emotionally charged titles by the violently anti-Catholic Henry Burton⁷ at the same time that he produced seven less explosive selections by the noted Puritan theologian John Preston⁸ and a

⁷ Henry Burton, Babel no Bethel: that is the church of Rome no true visible church of Christ (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 707), STC I 4136; Henry Burton, The baiting of the popes bull (London: 1627; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 707), STC I 4137; Henry Burton, The law and the gospell reconciled (London: 1631), STC I 4151; Henry Burton, Truths triumph over Trent, or the great gulf between Sion and Babylon (London: 1629; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 735), STC I 4156; and Henry Burton, A triall of private devotions, or a diall for the houres of prayer (London: 1628; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 658), STC I 4157.

⁸ John Preston, The doctrine of self-deniall (London: 1632; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1330), STC I 20217; John Preston, Foure Godly and learned treatises, 3rd and 4th eds. (London: 1631, 1636; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reels 933, 1330), STC I 20222-20223; John Preston, Sermons preached before his majestie and upon other occasions (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1331), STC I 20272; John Preston, A spirituall life and death (London: 1630; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1528), STC I 20278; John Preston, An elegant and lively description of spirituall life and death (London: 1632; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1639), STC I 20279; John Preston, Three godly and learned treatises (London: 1632; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1183), STC I 20280; and John Preston, Three sermons upon the Sacrement of the Lords Supper, Two issues (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reels 1253, 1392), STC I 20281, 20281a.

scattering of similar titles by writers like Attersoll.⁹ His deepening commitment to the publication of religious works caused Sparke gradually to cease publishing anything that could be called reading for pleasure at this time, and his last nonserious titles were John Kennedy's The ladies delight and Ralph Knevet's Rhodon and Iris, both of which appeared in 1631.¹⁰

After enduring a period of comparative quiescence in the late 1630s in response to strict censorship and his own need to recover from the financial losses he suffered over Histrion-mastix, Sparke rededicated his press to the shaping of religious opinion in the 1640s in support of the modified and somewhat Erastian version of Presbyterianism he advocated. Since he was a conservative Puritan, Sparke severed his ties with more radical Puritan figures like Henry Burton, who became an Independent in the 1640s. Although he had published five titles by Burton between 1627 and 1632, Sparke published none of the many religious works that Burton wrote in the 1640s in response to Civil War conditions, and demands for radical religious change never received a sympathetic hearing in anything Sparke produced.

Sparke's role as writer and editor did more to differentiate his career from those of other stationers than his role as a disseminator of

⁹ William Attersoll, A commentarie upon the epistle of S. Paule to Philemon, 2nd ed. (London: 1633; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 910), STC I 891.

¹⁰ John Kennedy, The ladies delight; or the English gentlewomans history of Calanthrop and Lucilla (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1383), STC I 14930; and Ralph Knevet, Rhodon and Iris, a pastorall (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reels 762, 763), STC I 15036-15036a.

Puritan views. Many other printer-publishers at least occasionally used their business to advocate ideas important to them, but none matched his writing ability or his desire to express his deep convictions in his own words. Because Sparke had a deep interest in the regulation of his profession and in the type and cost of literature made available to the reading public, he expressed himself very eloquently in Scintilla (1641)¹¹ and A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla (1652).¹² In the opposition to printing monopolies he expressed in the former work and in the fear of uncensored printing he expressed in the latter, Sparke defined the issues his profession faced in his lifetime, and these works still provide important insight into early Stuart printing. Professional expertise strengthened Sparke's writing in these two pamphlets, and his writings on economics, history, and religion tended to be very pedestrian in comparison. In spite of their flaws, however, all of Sparke's works have some lasting value since they can provide insight into conservative middle class Puritan opinion.

Unlike his friend Prynne, Sparke never exerted any personal political influence on the affairs of the nation as a whole, and his political importance lay in his ability to use his pen and press to influence others. Despite the fact that Sparke could exert no direct political influence beyond the internal affairs of his profession, he

¹¹Michael Sparke, Scintilla (London: 1641; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 225), STC II S 4818B.

¹²Michael Sparke, A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla (London: 1652; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 104 Thomason Tracts), STC II S 2259.

undoubtedly gained insight as well as some patronage through his alliance with Prynne, and during the 1640s his press provided crucial support to the conservative Parliamentary position.

Despite the vital impact of the books and pamphlets that Sparke produced on behalf of a conservative Parliamentary position in the Civil War period, his greatest influence on the English Revolution may have been an indirect one, through exposing middle class readers to ideas that caused them to question their traditional scientific and social assumptions as well as to examine the foundations of their political and religious beliefs. If the changing thought patterns in history, law, and science described by Christopher Hill helped make the revolution possible,¹³ then Sparke contributed to that end by publishing controversial and innovative titles written for the Puritan middle class audience which Hill has described as receptive to new ideas. In the field of history, Sparke offered his customers several reprint editions of Sir Edwyn Sandy's Europae Speculum,¹⁴ which Hill has compared to Raleigh's History of the World as a standard Puritan source of historical information despite the fact that the outdated information in

¹³ Christopher Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1965). In this work, Hill analyzed seventeenth century intellectual trends with emphasis on the influence of Francis Bacon, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir Edward Coke. He demonstrated how these men and others changed seventeenth century concepts of science, history, and law; and he stressed how seventeenth century thinkers struggled to merge theory and practice in science and other fields.

¹⁴ Edwin Sandys, Europae speculum, or a view or survey of the state of religion in the western parts of the world (London: 1632; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1361), STC I 21719.

Sandys' work no longer reflected the political and religious situation in Sparke's own day.¹⁵ In the area of law, Sparke published many Prynne titles that advocated the supremacy of common law over prerogative power in the tradition of Sir Edward Coke, although he published nothing by Coke himself and no law books per se.¹⁶ Sparke's publication of astronomical speculations by Tycho Brahe¹⁷ and John Wilkins¹⁸ showed that he had at least some awareness that seventeenth century science was overturning Ptolemaic concepts concerning the operation of the solar system,¹⁹ and he clearly believed that these difficult works of science had enough popular appeal to justify their publication.

Despite Sparke's substantial accomplishments as a printer-publisher, Puritan advocate, writer-editor, and political figure, he was never more than an interesting minor character in the intellectual, political, and social life of his generation. In examining his life and

¹⁵ Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution, p. 163.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 225-65.

¹⁷ Tycho Brahe, Learned Tico Brahe his astronomical conjectur of the new * (London: 1631; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 734), STC I 3538.

¹⁸ John Wilkins, Bp., The discovery of a world in the moone (Oxford: 1638; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 945), STC I 25640; and Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution, p. 110. Hill has claimed that Wilkins' book was later associated with radicalism. Even if he is correct, it is doubtful that Sparke saw Wilkins' astronomical theory as a radical work.

¹⁹ J. Bronowski and Bruce Mazlish, The Western Intellectual Tradition: From Leonardo to Hegel (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960; Harper Colophon Books, New York: Harper & Row, 1975), pp. 107-126.

publications, therefore, one must ask how representative a figure Sparke was.

Since his business involved marketing ideas and information, Sparke was able to exert substantial influence upon his contemporaries without ever becoming anything more than a typical modestly successful small businessman, whose life revolved around his professional guild. He never belonged to London's merchant elite, and he probably never aspired to do so, although he was quick to exploit potential opportunities to better himself economically if they did not involve compromising the political and religious principles that were important to him. At several times of crisis, he found himself short of the cash required to meet his bills, and most of his capital was probably tied up in equipment and supplies throughout most of his career. Like most small seventeenth century enterprises, Sparke's consisted of a master craftsman and his household of directly dependent family and apprentices. While Sparke's firm was typical of most small contemporary businesses in its often precarious financing and household organization, his was unusual in the geographic scale of its operations. He had agents selling his books and pamphlets in most major English towns as well as business contacts with Edinburgh and the Netherlands, and these far flung ties naturally broadened his outlook beyond the local and parochial viewpoint of a turner like Nehemiah Wallington who traded essentially with friends and neighbors.²⁰

²⁰Paul Seaver, "The Puritan Work Ethic Revisited," Journal of British Studies 19 (Spring 1980):35-53.

Religion made a substantial impact on Sparke's economic ideas and practices since, like most early seventeenth century small businessmen, he considered religion an important part of all aspects of his life and not just a matter of doctrinal allegiances and perfunctory religious practice. For this reason, his career serves as an interesting case study measuring to some extent the validity of the controversial ideas concerning the relationship of religious convictions and business practices advanced by the German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920) and the English economic historian Richard Henry Tawney (1880-1962). Both men posited a strong causal relationship between Calvinist asceticism and the growth of commercial capitalism in the early modern period.

In Weber's treatment of what he saw as the strong ties between Calvinist religious belief and capitalist business practices, he used references to men like Laud and Prynne. When Weber spoke of Prynne as an example of a middle class business morality, he misinterpreted his motivations, since Prynne enjoyed the privileged status of a gentleman and legal scholar. What Weber said of Prynne could more reasonably be said of Sparke, a Calvinist leader who was an ardent opponent of privileged monopolies and who stressed "rational legal acquisition by virtue of one's own ability and initiative."²¹

Tawney viewed religious influence on social policy as gradually declining in sixteenth and seventeenth century England. Although Tawney

²¹Max Weber, The Protestant Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. by Talcott Parsons, with a Foreword by R. H. Tawney (New York: Scribner, 1958), pp. 179-83.

claimed that the Puritans had no capitalist motivations in fighting Laud's outmoded concept of society as an organic whole, he held that the Puritan movement contributed to the growth of individualism and to the decline of traditional social restraints on economic self interest such as enclosure and usury laws. On these points, Sparke's career provides mixed evidence, since he fought some traditional economic practices but mourned the passing of other longstanding economic restraints. In addition to seeing Puritanism as contributing to the growth of economic individualism, Tawney also viewed Puritanism as responsible for an increasingly harsh attitude toward the poor, who were often characterized by Puritan writers as being morally inferior because of their poverty. On this point, Sparke's writings on poverty must be considered as evidence that refutes Tawney at least partially, since Sparke had a humane concern for the poor and a sincere desire to alleviate their suffering, and he never condemned them as necessarily morally unfit because of their economic circumstances.²²

Sparke's career offers mixed evidence concerning the longstanding question of the relationship between Calvinism and English Puritanism to capitalism, but he falls within the upper reaches of that social group of yeoman farmers and successful small businessmen described by Christopher Hill as the "industrious sort." Although he was both more

²²Richard Henry Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1926; reprint ed., New York: A Mentor Book, 1958), pp. 116-216. For an excellent, if brief, critical analysis of the ideas of both Weber and Tawney, the reader may turn to Bronowski and Mazlish, The Western Intellectual Tradition, pp. 96-98.

prosperous and better informed than most members of this group, Sparke shared most of the economic and social characteristics attributed to them by Hill.²³ He was an independent, propertied householder who never suffered the real deprivation seventeenth century society often imposed on those who were unable to attain economic self-sufficiency. Like most individuals belonging to the predominantly Calvinist "industrious sort," Sparke saw himself as a member of God's predestined elect, spiritually equal to or perhaps even better than some individuals who outranked him on the social scale of a hierarchical society. His two pamphlets on the problem of poverty offer ample proof that he shared the common view of his social class that voluntary idleness was a sin, and he was very eager to put the poor to work.²⁴ These pamphlets are tentatively viewed here as providing some support for Hill's contention that by discouraging idleness the "industrious sort" helped to make the English economy more efficient and helped to impose a labor discipline on the working classes which was a necessary precondition for England's eventual industrialization beginning in the late eighteenth century.²⁵

Despite his good intentions and generally sensible proposals for alleviating the suffering of the poor, Sparke's writings on poverty had

²³ Christopher Hill, Society & Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England, 2nd ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), pp. 133-34.

²⁴ Michael Sparke, Greevos Grones for the Poore (London: 1621; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 888), STC I 1239; and Michael Sparke, The Poore Orphans Court, or Orphans Cry (London: Printed by A.G. for M.S. junior, 1636; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 585), STC I 21509.

²⁵ Hill, Society & Puritanism, pp. 124-44.

no discernible impact on public policy. He did, however, have an important impact on the economic organization of his own profession, although the long term consequences of his actions were not apparent in his own lifetime. Without intending to do so, Sparke helped make it impossible for the government to regulate printing and publishing effectively. Although he never favored an unregulated press and feared that the absence of controls would produce a flood of either Roman Catholic or radical Protestant literature, his own rebellion against Laudian control of printing illustrated the serious difficulties that would face future English governments attempting to control the press and helped create conditions which led to the lapse of the last Printing Act in 1695. While Sparke would probably have been saddened by the great decline in the power of the Stationers' Company that took place in the late seventeenth century, his rebellion against oligarchic control of the company and his fight against printing monopolies served to diminish the power of the company as a whole rather than to make its members more equal partners in a restructured company.²⁶

Just as Sparke's business career was representative of many other members of the "industrious sort," his political stands were not the acts of an isolated individual, and he can be seen as a political figure representing a conservative Puritan response to the problems of early seventeenth century English society. His political views were

²⁶Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History 1403-1959* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 172-75.

representative of a conservative Puritan outlook which included intense nationalism and fear of Roman Catholic Spain, sustained and enthusiastic support of colonization, the idealized conception of an Elizabethan Golden Age, and opposition to drastic social change such as the end of the monarchy and the House of Lords.

Like many Puritans including Cromwell, Sparke combined a whole-hearted devotion to England with a vitriolic hatred of Spain. Filled with patriotic fervor, he wanted England to have an ongoing covenant relationship with God similar to the one that the Biblical Hebrews had enjoyed in Old Testament times, and he believed that such a relationship was within the realm of possibility if the English people obeyed God's commandments. His To the glory of God in thankfull remembrance of our three great deliverances retold the story of the Spanish Armada's defeat in 1588, the exposure of the Guy Fawkes plot against king and parliament in 1605, and the London Plague in 1625 with the aim of appealing to religiously based nationalistic feelings.²⁷ Sparke not only wrote popular history such as this designed to appeal to the nationalistic emotions of a mass audience, but he also published the patriotic works written by others sharing his outlook. James Wadsworth's The English Spanish pilgrim stressed the advantages of Protestant England in comparison to Catholic Spain, and this work was typical of the

²⁷ Michael Sparke, Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderfull Deliverances of This Land. With other speciall Prayers (London: 1628; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1220), STC I 23016.

pro-English statements that always formed a marked part of Sparke's writing and publication program.²⁸

Particularly in the 1620s and 1630s, Sparke mixed nationalism with fervent support of English attempts to colonize America. He supported colonization as a way to stop Spanish expansionism, convert the natives to Christianity, and provide useful employment for large numbers of unemployed and destitute Englishmen. In publishing John Smith's The generall history of Virginia²⁹ and Francis Higginson's New Englands plantation,³⁰ Sparke provided his readers with highly flattering accounts of the colonization movement and living conditions in America. In a decade of religious repression at home and an often bleak economic outlook, emigration was attractive to many Puritans, and Sparke served an obvious popular need by supplying his readers with information that could help them decide whether or not they wished to emigrate. Settlement abroad must have been a topic of particularly strong interest in 1630, when Sparke published three editions of the pamphlet by Higginson in one year with the probable intent of consoling an audience disturbed by the dissolution of Parliament in 1629, the beginning of Charles I's Personal Rule, and Laud's drive to remake the Church of

²⁸ James Wadsworth, The English Spanish pilgrim (London: 1629, 1630; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reels 1368, 1562, 1044), STC I 24926, 24926a, 24927.

²⁹ John Smith, The generall history of Virginia (London: 1624; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1335), STC I 22790.

³⁰ Francis Higginson, New Englands plantation (London: 1630; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1106), STC I 13449.

England through changes in doctrine and practice that many found suspiciously close to Roman Catholicism.

A presumed Elizabethan Age of Protestant achievement was an even stronger element in Sparke's thought than his nationalism and support of the colonization movement. In his To the glory of God in thankfull remembrance of our three great deliverances, he portrayed Elizabeth I as a divinely sent paragon of monarchical virtue who led the English people out of Papist darkness into a happy era of Protestant light, and he conspicuously failed to mention that she had looked upon the Puritans of her day with extreme distaste and attempted to suppress them.³¹ Sparke apparently looked upon the Elizabethans as contemporaries as late as the 1630s, when he published several editions of Sandys' Europae Speculum.³² Among the Elizabethan authors published by Sparke was Walter Travers, whose Vindiciae ecclesiae Anglicanae: a justification of the religion of England presented a Calvinist view of Church of England theology directly counter to the Laudian doctrines that were gaining strength when Sparke printed Travers in 1630.³³ Puritan idealization of the Elizabethans faded somewhat in the Civil War era, and after 1640 Sparke's book list became overwhelmingly contemporary and topical in its orientation.

³¹Sparke, Thankfull Remembrances.

³²Edwin Sandys, Europae speculum, or a view or survey of the state of religion in the western parts of the world (London: 1632; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1361), STC I 21719.

³³Walter Travers, Vindiciae ecclesiae Anglicanae: a justification of the religion of England (London: 1630; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 1630), STC I 24188.

Although Sparke was a conspicuous rebel in the late 1620s and 1630s, he never envisioned extensive social change as being either necessary or desirable, and he shared his friend Prynne's horrified reaction to the diverse movements for radical political and social change that appeared in the late 1640s. Despite his dissatisfaction with the Stuarts, Sparke was no republican, and he had no desire to see traditional bastions of privilege such as the House of Lords destroyed. While he admitted that he had favored such relatively progressive ideas as simplifying the legal codes and conducting the business of the law courts in English as late as the year of his death, he wanted to modify the world he had been born into, not to destroy it.³⁴

Since Sparke's political thought was that of a conservative Puritan rather than a political innovator, he had little or nothing in common with the more radical Puritans, whom historians such as William Haller have praised for their role in the introduction of modern concepts of political and religious toleration. Like his long term associate Prynne, Sparke probably considered John Milton's relatively high tolerance for differences of political and religious opinion dangerous. Haller condemned Prynne as a narrow-minded religious bigot even though he recognized that he had at least indirectly contributed to the advancement of freedom of the press through his role as an anti-Laudian martyr. Haller would have almost certainly treated Sparke in the same negative way he did Prynne and many of the polemical books and pamphlets

³⁴ Henry Ainsworth, The old orthodox foundation of religion (London: 1653; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 830), STC II A 810.

Sparke published for Prynne. This study has attempted to place Sparke and Prynne within the context of their own generation and not judge them critically in comparison with those of their contemporaries whose views have a more direct connection to the more tolerant and democratic ideas dominant today.³⁵

In his religious opinions as in his political views, Sparke was a typical conservative Puritan. While he was a prominent critic of Laud's attempts to move the Church of England in an Arminian and ritualistic direction in the late 1620s and 1630s, Sparke was never disillusioned enough to become a separatist, and he always wished to remain a member of a Calvinist national church. Despite his clashes with Laud, he was never totally unsympathetic to bishops he considered doctrinally sound, and he proved he had no hardened anti-episcopal convictions by publishing Lancelot Andrewes' The Morall law expounded in 1642, when bishops as a group found themselves the target of widespread popular hostility.³⁶ While he had no rigid preferences concerning patterns of church organization, Sparke took a staunch Presbyterian position in the 1640s modified only by his clear willingness to tolerate the least radical and most law-abiding sects. Religious publishing always formed

³⁵ William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism: or, The Way to the New Jerusalem as Set Forth in Pulpit and Press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938; reprint ed., New York: Harper Torch Books, 1957); and William Haller, Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955).

³⁶ Lancelot Andrewes, Bp., The Morall law expounded (London: 1642; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Reel 6), STC II A 3140.

a large part of Sparke's business, and the existence of widespread support for his religious views is shown by the fact that he never lacked a market for books and pamphlets chosen to reflect his conservative Puritan convictions. Although he was not an original thinker, Sparke obviously understood the religious needs of his Calvinist contemporaries, and he served these needs effectively through the publication of popular religious guides and well written doctrinal statements as well as by providing polemical works against Arminianism and radical Protestant sectarianism.

Because of the limited evidence, it is nearly impossible to judge how typical Sparke was psychologically, although there are at least some very broad general clues available. A Calvinist confidence in his status as a member of God's elect almost certainly helped provide Sparke with the courage he needed to oppose government policy in the late 1620s and 1630s, and he still maintained this confidence after 1649 in the Commonwealth period, when he again found himself in opposition to the political and religious policies sponsored by the government. One cannot, however, argue that Sparke's religious convictions made him a rebel without asking why similar religious convictions never impelled a man like Nehemiah Wallington to take equivalent antigovernment stands.³⁷ Although little is known about Sparke's personal life and no diary survives to provide clues to his internal struggles, he obviously had an unwavering dedication to the economic, political, and religious

³⁷Seaver, "Puritan Work Ethic Revisited," pp. 35-53.

principles he thought beneficial to society as a whole, and he also possessed tremendous self-confidence that he could use his pen and press to mold public opinion.

While Sparke's views were in many respects typical of the middle class, urban, Puritan response to the problems of seventeenth century English society, his life and publications were important in their own right. Unlike Nehemiah Wallington, Sparke was more than an obscure tradesman whose life deserves study today only because he represented a significant segment of seventeenth century society. In his varied roles as a printer-publisher, Puritan propagandist, writer-editor, and political figure, Sparke turned a small business into an effective tool for molding the minds and influencing the actions of his contemporaries. Modest social origins did not prevent him from developing an inquiring mind and using it to serve the informational and inspirational needs of his generation effectively. Although he was never an original thinker, he expressed the economic, political, and religious ideas he shared with other middle class conservative Puritans with exceptional eloquence and courage. In his actions and publications, Sparke proved that an essentially ordinary man could exert significant political and moral influence in early Stuart England.

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- The booke of merry riddles. London: 1629.
- Bolton, Robert. Helpes to humiliation. London: 1631, 1633, 1637.

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Babylon. London: 1629.

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1628.

Cooper, Thomas, preacher. The churches deliverance. Meditations upon
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Crooke, Helkiah. A description of the body of man, etc. 2nd ed.
London: 1631.

- D. I., Preacher of Gods Word. Salomons pest house, or towre royall. London: 1630.
- Davies, John. The writing schoole-master. 16th ed. London: 1636.
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- Dury, John. A motion tending to the publick good. London: 1642.
- Dyke, Daniel. The mystery of self-deceiving. London: 1628.
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- Exchanger. The free exchanger: or the mint for uncurrant coyne. London: 1627.
- F. A. The saints legacies. London: 1631.
- Filippi, Marco Antonio. Confesso Fidei. London: 1631.
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- Gesling, Richard. Artificial fire. London: 1644.
- Greenwood, Henry. Markes and no markes of the Kingdome of heaven. London: 1634.
- Groans. Greevous grones for the poore. London: 1621.
- Higginson, Francis. New Englands plantation. 1st, 2nd, and 3rd eds. London: 1630.
- Hume, John. The Jewes deliverance out of Babylon. In ten sermons. London: 1628.
- Huntley, George. An argument upon a generall demurrer. London: 1642.
- Irelands Excise. London: 1643.
- Jackson, Abraham. The pious prentice. London: 1640.

- James I, King of England. A true relation of the commissions and warrants. London: 1651.
- Jegon, William. Iehovah Iireh: or Gods providence. London: 1643.
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- Jones, John, B.D. Londons looking-backe to Jerusalem. A sermon. London: 1635.
- Jorden, Edward. A discourse of naturall bathes and minerall waters. 3rd ed. London: 1633.
- Kem, Samuel. Orders given out: the word, stand fast. London: 1647.
- Kennedy, John. The ladies delight: or the English gentlewomans history of Calanthrop and Lucilla. London: 1631.
- Knevet, Ralph. Rhodon and Iris, a pastorall. London: 1631.
- Komensky, Jan Amos. Porta linguarum trilinguis reserta. The gate of tongues unlocked. 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th eds. London: 1631, 1633, 1637, 1639.
- La Ramee, Pierre de. Via regia geometriam. London: 1636.
- Leather. Leather; a discourse, tendered to the High Court of Parliament. London: 1629.
- Lemnius, Levinus. The touchstone of complexions. London: 1633.
- M. R. Micrologia; characters or essays. London: 1629.
- Markham, Gervaise. Markhams faithful farrier. 4 eds. London: 1629, 1630, 1631, 1635.
- _____. Markhams methode, or epitome. 4th ed. London: 1628.
- Mercator, Gerard. Historia mundi, or mercators atlas. London: 1635 and 1637.
- Moneymonger. The money-monger, or the usurers almanacke. London: 1626.
- Norwood, Richard. Considerations tending to remove. London: 1646.
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 and 2nd eds. London: 1636 and 1639.

Owen, Lewis. Speculum Jesuiticum, or the Jesuites looking glasse.
 London: 1629.

P., T. Eben Ezer, as a thankefull remembrance. London: 1643.

Pare, Ambroise. An explanation of the fashion and use of the instru-
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(Plot, Robert.) The plots of the Jesuites. London: 1653.

Pont, Robert. De Sabbaticorum annorum periodis chronologica. London:
 1623.

Preston, John. The doctrine of self-deniall. London: 1632.

_____. An elegant and lively description of spirituall life and
 death. London: 1632.

_____. Foure Godly and learned treatises. 3rd and 4th eds. London:
 1631, 1636.

_____. A liveles life: or, Mans spirituall Death. London: 1633.

_____. Sermons preached before his majestie and upon other occasions.
 London: 1631.

_____. A spirituall life and death. A Sermon. London: 1630.

_____. Three godly and learned treatises. London: 1632.

_____. Three sermons upon the Sacrement of the Lords Supper. Two
 issues. London: 1631.

Prynne, William. An account of the Kings late revenue. London: 1647.

_____. The antipathie of the English lordly prelacie. London:
 1641.

_____. A breviat of the life of William Laud. London: 1644.

_____. Canterburies doome. London: 1646.

_____. [-] The county of Somerset divided. London: 1648.

Prynne, William. Distrophes catechized. 2nd and 3rd eds. London: 1646.

_____. The doome of cowardice and treachery. London: 1643.

_____. The falsities and forgeries of the anonymous author.
London: 1644.

_____. The fourth part of The soveraigne power. London: 1643.

_____. A fresh discovery of some prodigious new wandering-biasing
stars, & firebrands. 1st and 2nd eds. London: 1645 and 1646.

_____. [-] A Full reply to certain brief observations. 2 eds.
London: 1644.

_____. Hidden workes of darkness brought to publike light. London:
1645.

_____. Histrio-mastix: the players scourge. London: 1633.

_____. A humble remonstrance against. London: 1643.

_____. Independency examined. 2 eds. London: 1644 and 1651.

_____. Irenarches redivus. London: 1648.

_____. The levellers leveled. London: 1647.

_____. The lyar confounded. London: 1645.

_____. A moderate apology against a pretended calumny. London:
1644.

_____. Mount-Orgveil. London: 1641.

_____. New-Babels confusion. London: 1649.

_____. The opening of the great seal of England. London: 1643.

_____. The perpetuitie of a regenerate mans estate. 3rd ed.
London: 1627.

_____. A plea for the Lords. 2 eds. London: 1648 and 1649.

_____. A pleasant purge, for a Roman Catholike, to evacuate his
evill humours. London: 1642.

_____. The Popish Royall favourite. London: 1643.

_____. Rockes improved. London: 1641.

- Prynne, William. Romes master-peece. 1st and 2nd eds. London: 1643 and 1644.
- _____. The second part of the Antipathie of the English lordly prelatie. London: 1641.
- _____. The soveraigne power of Parliaments & Kingdomes. Or second part. 2 eds. London: 1643.
- _____. The substance of a speech. 2 eds. London: 1649.
- _____. Suspention suspended. London: 1646.
- _____. The third part of the soveraigne power of Parliaments. London: 1643.
- _____. The treachery and disloyalty of the Papists. London: 1643.
- _____. A true and full relation of the prosecution of Nathaniel Fiennes. London: 1644.
- _____. Truth triumphing over falsehood. London: 1645.
- _____. Twelve considerable serious questions. 2 eds. London: 1644.
- _____. Twelve queries of publick concernment. London: 1647.
- _____. A vindication of foure serious questions of grand importance. London: 1645.
- _____. A vindication of Psalme 105:15. 3rd ed. London: 1644.
- _____. A vindication of the imprisoned and secluded members. London: 1649.
- _____. The university of Oxfords plea refuted. London: 1647.
- Read, Alexander, M.D. . . . , or a description of the body of a man. London: 1634.
- Robson, Charles. News from Aleppo. London: 1628.
- Rogers, Thomas. The faith, doctrine, and religion professed in England. Expressed in 39 articles. London: 1629.
- Rowlands, Samuel. Well met gossip. London: 1627.
- Saltonstall, Wye. Clavis ad portam, or a key fitted to open the gate of tongues. London: 1635 and 1640.

- Sandys, Sir Edwin. Europae speculum, or a view or survey of the state of religion in the western parts of the world. Variant eds. London: 1632, 1635, and 1638.
- Smith, John. The generall history of Virginia. London: 1624.
- Sparke, Michael. A catalogue of printed books written by William Prynne. London: 1643.
- _____. The crums of comfort: with godly prayers. London: 1628 and 1629.
- _____. The narrative history of King James. London: 1651.
- _____. The poore orphans court, or orphans cry. London: 1636.
- _____. Scintilla. London: 1641.
- _____. A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla. London: 1652.
- _____. To the glory of God in thankfull remembrance of our three great deliverances. London: 1627.
- _____. Truth brought to light . . . London: 1651(?).
- Sweden. A short survey or history of the kingdome of Sweden. London: 1632.
- Tombes, John. Iihoveh Iireh. London: 1643.
- Travers, Walter. Vindiciae ecclesiae Anglicanae: a justification of the religion of England. London: 1630.
- Treasurer. The treasurers almanack. Four eds. London: 1627, 1628, 1629, and 1631.
- A true condition of the commissions and warrants for the condemnation . . . of Bartholomew Legalt. London: 1651.
- Vicars, John. The burning bush not consumed. London: 1646.
- _____. The ground of that doctrine which is according to godliness, etc. London: 1630 and 1631.
- _____. Reverend Sir, having lately received from you. London: 1645.
- Wadsworth, James. The English Spanish pilgrim. London: 1629 and 1630.
- Walkington, Thomas. The optick glasse of humors. London: 1631.

Warwick, Arthur. Spare minutes: or, resolved meditations. 4th, 5th,
and 6th eds. London: 1635 and 1636.

Wilkins, John, Bp. The discovery of a world in the moone. Oxford: 1638.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF BOOKS PUBLISHED OR SOLD BY MICHAEL SPARKE

- Abenezrah, Kinki, a wandering Jew. An everlasting prognostication of the change of weather. London: 1620(?).
- Groans. Greevous grones for the poore. London: 1621.
- Smith, John. The generall history of Virginia. London: 1624.
- Carleton, George. An examination of those things wherein the author of the late Appeale [Bp.] Montague holdeth the doctrines etc. London: 1626.
- Moneymonger. The money-monger, or the usurers almanacke. London: 1626.
- Pont, Robert. De Sabbaticorum annorum periodis chronologica. London: 1626.
- Andrewes, Lancelot, Bp. Seven sermons on the wonderfull combate betweene Christ and Sathan. London: 1627.
- Burton, Henry. The baiting of the popes bull. London: 1627.
- Exchanger. The free exchanger: or the mint for uncurrant coyne. London: 1627.
- Prynne, William. The perpetuitie of a regenerate mans estate. 3rd ed. London: 1627.
- Rowlands, Samuel. Well met gossip. London: 1627.
- Sparke, Michael. To the glory of God in thankfull remembrance of our three great deliverances. London: 1627.
- Treasurer. The treasurers almanack. Four eds. London: 1627, 1628, 1629, and 1631.
- Anglerius, Petrus Martyr. The famous historie of the Indies. 2nd ed. London: 1628.
- Burton, Henry. A tryall of private devotions, or a diall for the houres of prayer. London: 1628.
- Cooke, Edward, Tactician. The prospective glasse of warre. London: 1628.

Cooper, Thomas, preacher. The churches deliverance. Meditations upon the booke of Hester. London: 1628.

Dyke, Daniel. The mystery of self-deceiving. London: 1628.

Hume, John. The Jewes deliverance out of Babylon. In ten sermons. London: 1628.

Markham, Gervaise. Markhams methode, or epitome. 4th ed. London: 1628.

Robson, Charles. News from Aleppo. London: 1628.

Sparke, Michael. The crums of comfort: with godly prayers. London: 1628 and 1629.

The booke of merry riddles. London: 1629.

Burton, Henry. Babel no Bethel: that is the church of Rome no true visible church of Christ. London: 1629.

_____. Truths triumph over Trent, or the great gulf between Sion and Babylon. London: 1629.

Carpenter, Nathaniel. Architopel, or the picture of a wicked politician. London: 1629.

Dent, Arthur. Pregeth dduwiol yn traethu am iawn ddull, ac agwedd gwir edifeirwch. London: 1629.

Leather. Leather: a discourse, tendered to the High Court of Parliament. London: 1629.

M. R. Micrologia; characters or essays. London: 1629.

Markham, Gervaise. Markhams faithful farrier. London: 1629, 1630, 1631, and 1635.

Owen, Lewis. Speculum Jesuiticum, or the Jesuites looking glasse. London: 1629.

Rogers, Thomas. The faith, doctrine, and religion professed in England. Expressed in 39 articles. London: 1629.

Wadsworth, James. The English Spanish pilgrim. London: 1629 and 1630.

B. A., of physicke doctor. The merry tale of the mad men of Gottam. London: 1630.

- C. I., or J. A Handkercher for parents wet eyes. London: 1630.
- D. I., Preacher of Gods Word. Salomons pest house, or towre royall. London: 1630.
- Higginson, Francis. New Englands plantation. London: 1630.
- Preston, John. A spirituall life and death. A sermon. London: 1630.
- Travers, Walter. Vindiciae ecclesiae Anglicanae: a justification of the religion of England. London: 1630.
- Vicars, Thomas. The ground of that doctrine which is according to godliness, etc. London: 1630 and 1631.
- Beard, Thomas. The theatre of Gods judgements: or a collection of histories. 3rd printing. London: 1631.
- Bolton, Robert. Helpes to humiliation. London: 1631, 1633, and 1637.
- Brahe, Tycho. Learned Tico Brahe his astronomical conjectur of the new *. London: 1631.
- Braithwait, Richard. The English gentlewoman drawne out to the full body: expressing what habilliments do best attire her. London: 1631.
- Burton, Henry. The law and the gospell reconciled. London: 1631.
- Crooke, Helkiah. A description of the body of a man, etc. 2nd ed. London: 1631.
- F. A. The saints legacies. London: 1631.
- Filippi, Marco Antonio. Confesso Fidei. London: 1631.
- Fitz-Geffrey, Charles. The curse of corne-horders. In three sermons. London: 1631.
- Kennedy, John. The ladies delight: or the English gentlewomans history of Calanthrop and Lucilla. London: 1631.
- Knevet, Ralph. Rhodon and Iris, a pastorall. London: 1631.
- Komensky, Jan Amos. Porta linguarum trilinguis reserta. The gate of tongues unlocked. 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th eds. London: 1631, 1633, 1637 and 1639.
- Preston, John. Foure Godly and learned treatises. 3rd and 4th eds. London: 1631 and 1636.

Preston, John. Sermons preached before his majestie and upon other occasions. London: 1631.

_____. Three sermons upon the Sacrement of the Lords Supper. Two issues. London: 1631.

Walkington, Thomas. The optick glasse of humors. London: 1631.

Attersoll, William. Three treatises: viz. The conversion of Nineveh; Gods trumpet; Physicke against famine. London: 1632.

Preston, John. The doctrine of self-deniall. London: 1632.

_____. An elegant and lively description of spirituall life and death. London: 1632.

_____. Three godly and learned treatises. London: 1632.

Sandys, Sir Edwin. Europae speculum, or a view or survey of the state of religion in the western parts of the world. Variant eds. London: 1632, 1635, and 1638.

Sweden. A short survey or history of the kingdome of Sweden. London: 1632.

Attersoll, William. A commentarie upon the epistle of S. Paule to Philemon. 2nd ed. London: 1633.

Carpenter, Nathaniel. Chorazin and Bethsaidas woe; a sermon. London: 1633.

Johnson, Robert, B.D. The gospell and his maintenance. [A sermon.] London: 1633.

Jorden, Edward. A discourse of naturall bathes and minerall waters. 3rd ed. London: 1633.

Lemnius, Levinus. The touchstone of complexions. London: 1633.

Preston, John. A liveles life: or, Mans spirituall death. London: 1633

Prynne, William. Histrion-mastix: the players scourge. London: 1633.

Greenwood, Henry. Markes and no markes of the Kingdome of heaven. London: 1634.

Pare, Ambroise. An explanation of the fashion and use of the instruments of chirurgery. London: 1634.

- Read, Alexander, M.D. . . . , or a description of the body of a man.
London: 1634.
- Jones, John, B.D. Londons looking-backe to Jerusalem. A sermon.
London: 1635.
- Mercator, Gerard. Historia mundi, or mercators atlas. London: 1635
and 1637.
- Saltonstall, Wye. Clauis ad portam, or a key fitted to open the gate
of tongues. London: 1635 and 1640.
- Warwick, Arthur. Spare minutes: or, resolved meditations. 4th, 5th,
and 6th eds. London: 1635 and 1636.
- Davies, John. The writing schoole-master. 16th ed. London: 1636.
- La Ramee, Pierre de. Via regia ad geometriam. London: 1636.
- Ovidus Naso, Publius. Ovids heroicall epistles; englished by W.
Saltonstall. 1st and 2nd eds. London: 1636 and 1639.
- Sparke, Michael. The poore orphans court, or orphans cry. London:
1636.
- Drant, Thomas, of Shaston. The royal guest: or, a sermon, etc. London:
1637.
- English Schoolmaster. The English, Latine, French, Dutch scholemaster.
London: 1637.
- Wilkins, John, Bp. The discovery of a world in the moone. Oxford:
1638.
- Balbani, Niccolo. The Italian convert; news from Italy of a second
Moses, etc. London: 1639.
- Barlement, Noel. Colloquia & dictionariolum octo linguarum (New
dialogues and colloquies). [Anon] London: 1639.
- Ovidus Naso, Publius. [Epistolae ex ponto.] Ovid de ponto, containing
foure books of elegies. 1st and 2nd eds. London: 1639 and 1640.
- Jackson, Abraham. The pious prentice. London: 1640.
- Ovidus Naso, Publius. [Fasti.] Ovids festivalls, or Romane calendar
. . . London: 1640.
- Bastwick, John. Flagellum pontificis et episcoporum Latialium. London:
1641.

Prynne, William. The antipathie of the English lordly prelatie. London: 1641.

_____. Mount-Orgveil. London: 1641.

_____. Rockes improved. London: 1641.

_____. The second part of the Antipathie of the English lordly prelatie. London: 1641.

Sparke, Michael. Scintilla. London: 1641.

Andrewes, Lancelot. The Morall law expounded. London: 1642.

Certaine orders meete to be observed. London: 1642.

Comenius, Johann Amos. A reformation of schooles. London: 1642.

Dury, John. A motion tending to the publick good. London: 1642.

Englands thankfulness. London: 1642.

Huntley, George. An argument upon a generall demurrer. London: 1642.

Prynne, William. A pleasant purge, for a Roman Catholike, to evacuate his evill humours. London: 1642.

Irelands Excise. London: 1643.

Jegon, William. Iehovah Iireh: or Gods providence. London: 1643.

P., T. Eben Ezer, as a thankefull remembrance. London: 1643.

Prynne, William. The doome of cowardice and treachery. London: 1643.

_____. The fourth part of the soveraigne power. London: 1643.

_____. A humble remonstrance against. London: 1643.

_____. The opening of the great seal of England. London: 1643.

_____. The Popish Royall favourite. London: 1643.

_____. Romes master-peece. 1st and 2nd eds. London: 1643 and 1644.

_____. The soveraigne power of Parliaments & Kingdomes. Or second part. Two eds. London: 1643.

_____. The third part of the soveraigne power of Parliaments. London: 1643.

- Prynne, William. The treachery and disloyaly of the Papists. London: 1643.
- Sparke, Michael. A catalogue of printed books written by William Prynne. London: 1643.
- Tombes, John. Iihoveh Iireh. London: 1643.
- Artificial fire, or coale for rich and poore. London: 1644.
- Gesling, Richard. Artificial fire. London: 1644.
- Prynne, William. A breviat of the life of William Laud. London: 1644.
- _____. The falsities and forgeries of the anonymous author. London: 1644.
- _____. [-] A full reply to certain brief observations. Two eds. London: 1644.
- _____. Independency examined. Two eds. London: 1644 and 1651.
- _____. A moderate apology against a pretended calumny. London: 1644.
- _____. A true and full relation of the prosecution of Nathaniel Fiennes. London: 1644.
- _____. Twelve considerable serious questions. Two eds. London: 1644.
- _____. A vindication of Psalme 105:15. 3rd ed. London: 1644.
- _____. A fresh discovery of some prodigious new wandering-blasting stars, & firebrands. 1st and 2nd eds. London: 1645 and 1646.
- _____. Hidden workes of darkness brought to publike light. London: 1645.
- _____. The lyar confounded. London: 1645.
- _____. Truth triumphing over falsehood. London: 1645.
- _____. A vindication of foure serious questions of grand importance. London: 1645.
- Vicars, John. Reverend Sir, having lately received from you. London: 1645.
- Ardron, Nicholas. The Ploughmans vindication. London: 1646.

- Bastwick, John. The utter routing of the whole army. London: 1646.
- Norwood, Richard. Considerations tending to remove. London: 1646.
- Prynne, William. Canterburies doome. London: 1646.
- _____. Distrophes catechised. 2nd and 3rd eds. London: 1646.
- _____. Suspention suspended. London: 1646.
- Vicars, John. The burning bush not consumed. London: 1646.
- Carter, John. The nail and the wheel. London: 1647.
- _____. The nail hit on the head. London: 1647.
- _____. The wheel turned. London: 1647.
- Kem, Samuel. Orders given out; the word, stand fast. London: 1647.
- Prynne, William. An account of the Kings late revenue. London: 1647.
- _____. The levellers leveled. London: 1647.
- _____. Twelve queries of publick concernment. London: 1647.
- _____. The university of Oxfords plea refuted. London: 1647.
- Atterbury, Lewis, the younger. The attestation of the ministers of . . . Norfolk. London: 1648.
- Prynne, William. [-] The county of Somerset divided. London: 1648.
- _____. Irenarches redivus. London: 1648.
- _____. A plea for the Lords. Two eds. London: 1648 and 1649.
- _____. New-Babels confusion. London: 1649.
- _____. The substance of a speech. Two eds. London: 1649.
- _____. A vindication of the imprisoned and secluded members. London: 1649.
- James I, King of England. A true relation of the commissions and warrants. London: 1651.
- Sparke, Michael. The narrative history of King James. London: 1651.
- _____. Truth brought to light . . . London: 1651(?).

A true condition of the commissions and warrants for the condemnation
. . . of Bartholomew Legalt. London: 1651.

Sparke, Michael. A Second Beason Fired by Scintilla. London: 1652.

Ainsworth, Henry. The old orthodox foundaton of religion. London: 1653.

(Plot, Robert). The plots of the Jesuites. London: 1653.

APPENDIX B

BOOKS PUBLISHED OR SOLD BY MICHAEL SPARKE WITH SHORT TITLE CATALOGUE, UNIVERSITY MICROFILM, AND THOMASON TRACT NUMBERS

Pollard and Redgrave Numbers

- 62 Abenezrah, Kinki, a wandering Jew. An everlasting prognostication of the change of weather. 1620? (Reel 864).
- 630 Andrewes, Lancelot, Bp. Seven sermons on the wonderfull combate between Christ and Sathan. 1627. (Reel 1194).
- 652 Anglerius, Petrus Martyr. The famous historie of the Indies. 2nd ed. 1628. (Reel 819).
- 891 Attersoll, William. A commentarie upon the epistle of S. Paule to Philemon. 2nd ed. 1633. (Reel 910).
- 900 Attersoll, William. Three treatises: viz. The conversion of Nineveh; Gods trumpet; Physicke against famine. 1632. (Reel 869).
- 1021 B. A., of physicke doctor. The merry tale of the mad men of Gottam. 1630. (Reel 869).
- 1236 Balbani, Niccolo. The Italian convert: news from Italy of a second Moses, etc. 1639. (Reel 823).
- 1432 Barlement, Noel. Colloquia & dictionariolum octo linguarum (New dialogues and colloquies). [Anon] 1639. (Reel 872).
- 1661 Beard, Thomas. The theatre of Gods judgements: or a collection of histories. 3rd printing. 1631. (Reel 874).
- 3235-3237 Bolton, Robert. Helpes to humiliation. 1631, 1633, 1637. (No reel for 1631, reel 700 for 1633, and reel 626 for 1637).
- 3323 The booke of merry riddles. 1629. (Reel 1598).
- 3538 Brahe, Tycho. Learned Tico Brahe his astronomically conjectur of the new *. 1631. (Reel 734).
- 3565 Braithwait, Richard. The English gentlewoman drawne out to the full body: expressing what habilliments do best attire her. 1631. (Reel 628).

- 4136 Burton, Henry. Babel no Bethel: that is the church of Rome no true visible church of Christ. 1629. (Reel 707).
- 4137 Burton, Henry. The baiting of the popes bull. 1627. (Reel 707).
- 4151 Burton, Henry. The law and the gospell reconciled. 1631. (No reel).
- 4156 Burton, Henry. Truths triumph over Trent, or the great gulf between Sion and Babylon. 1629. (Reel 735).
- 4157 Burton, Henry. A tryall of private devotions, or a diall for the houres of prayer. 1628. (Reel 658).
- 4279 C. I., or J. A Handkercher for parents wet eyes. 1630. (Reel 1059).
- 4635 Carleton, George. An examination of those things wherein the author of the late Appeale [Bp. Montague] holdeth the doctrines etc. 1626. (Reel 1341).
- 4669 Carpenter, Nathaniel. Architopel, or the picture of a wicked politician. 1629. (Reel 919).
- 4673 Carpenter, Nathaniel. Chorazin and Bethsaldas woe; a sermon. 1633. (Reel 1061).
- 5669 Cooke, Edward, Tactician. The prospective glasse of warre. 1628. (Reel 1231).
- 5697 Cooper, Thomas, Preacher. The churches deliverance. Meditations upon the booke of Hester. 1628. (Reel 1345).
- 6063 Crooke, Helkiah. A description of the body of man, etc. 2nd ed. 1631. (Reel 1199).
- 6176 D. I., Preacher of Gods Word. Salomons pest house, or towre royall. 1630. (No reel).
- 6345 Davies, John. The writing schoole-master. 16th ed. 1636. (No reel).
- 6671 Dent, Arthur. Pregeth dduwiol yn traethu am iawn ddull, ac agwedd gwir edifeirwch. 1629. (Reel 1200).
- 7165 Drant, Thomas, of Shaston. The royal guest: or, a sermon, etc. 1637. (Reel 1481).
- 7403 Dyke, Daniel. The mystery of self-deceiving. 1628. (Reel 1482).

- 10416 English Schoolmaster. The English, Latine, French, Dutch scholemaster. 1637. (Reel 833).
- 10614 Exchanger. The free exchanger: or mint for uncurrant coyne. 1627. (Reel 789).
- 10635 F. A. The saints legacies. 1631. (Reel 1023).
- 10866 Filippi, Marco Antonio. Confesso Fidei. 1631. (Reel 796).
- 10938 Fitz-Geffrey, Charles. The curse of corne-horders. In three sermons. 1631. (Reel 773).
- 12334 Greenwood, Henry. Markes and no markes of the Kingdome of heaven. 1634. (Reel 1102).
- 12391 Groans. Greevous grones for the poore. 1621. (Reel 888).
- 13449-13451
Higginson, Francis. New Englands plantation. 1630. (#13449 on reel 1106; #13450-13451 are on reel 1352 and are 2nd and 3rd editions).
- 13954 Hume, John. The Jewes deliverance out of Babylon. In ten sermons. 1628. (Reel 1177).
- 14295 Jackson, Abraham. The pious prentice. 1640. (Reel 1313).
- 14692 Johnson, Robert, B.D. The gospell and his maintenance. [A sermon]. 1633. (Reel 754).
- 14723 Jones, John, B.D. Londons looking-backe to Jerusalem. A sermon. 1635. (Reel 1314).
- 14793 Jorden, Edward. A discourse of naturall bathes and minerall waters. 3rd ed. 1633. (Reel 681).
- 14930 Kennedy, John. The ladies delight: or the English gentlewomans history of Calanthrop and Lucilla. 1631. (Reel 1384).
- 15036-15036a
Knevet, Ralph. Rhodon and Iris, a pastorall. 1631. (Reels 762 and 763).
- 15078-15081
Komensky, Jan Amos. Porta linguarum trilinguis reserta. The gate of tongues unlocked. 1st through 4th eds. 1631, 1633, 1637, 1639. (Reels 1385, 1632, 1604, 765).
- 15251 La Ramee, Pierre de. Via regia ad geometriam. 1636. (Reel 768).

- 15344 Leather. Leather, a discourse, tendered to the High Court of Parliament. 1629. (Reel 841).
- 15458 Lemnius, Levinus. The touchstone of complexions. 1633. (Reel 262).
- 17146 M. R. Micrologia; characters or essays. 1629. (Reel 1108).
- 17366-17369
Markham, Gervaise. Markhams faithful farrier. 1629. 1630, 1631, 1635. (17366 and 17367 have no reels; 17368 is on reel 1386 and 17369 is on reel 1550).
- 17383 Markham, Gervaise. Markhams methode, or epitome. 4th ed. 1628. (No reel).
- 17824-17825
Mercator, Gerard. Historia mundi, or mercators atlas. 1635 and 1637. (Reel 1550 and no reel).
- 18010 Moneymonger. The money-monger, or the usurers almanacke. 1626. (Reel 1146).
- 18938-18939
Ovidus Naso, Publius. [Epistolae ex ponto.] Ovid de ponto, containing foure books of elegies. 1st and 2nd eds. 1639 and 1640. (Reel 931, no reel).
- 18945-18946
Ovidus Naso, Publius. Ovids heroicall epistles: englished by W. Saltonstall. 1st and 2nd eds. 1636 and 1639. (Reels 655 and 1578).
- 18948 Ovidus Naso, Publius. [Fasti.] Ovids festivalls, or Romane Calendar . . . 1640. (No reel).
- 18997 Owen, Lewis. Speculum Jesuiticum, or the Jesuites looking glasse. 1629. (Reel 1075).
- 19190 Pare, Ambroise. An explanation of the fashion and use of the instruments of chirurgery. 1634. (Reel 998).
- 20102 Pont, Robert. De Sabbaticorum annorum periodis chronologica. 1623. (No reel).
- 20217 Preston, John. The doctrine of self-deniall. 1632. (Reel 1330).
- 20222-20223
Preston, John. Foure Godly and learned treatises. 3rd and 4th eds. 1631 and 1636. (Reels 1330 and 933).

- 20236 Preston, John. A liveles life: or, Mans spirituall death. 1633.
(Reel 1330).
- 20272 Preston, John. Sermons preached before his majestie and upon
other occasions. 1631. (Reel 1331).
- 20278 Preston, John. A spirituall life and death. A sermon. 1630.
(Reel 1528).
- 20279 Preston, John. An elegant and lively description of spirituall
life and death. 1632. (Reel 1639).
- 20280 Preston, John. Three godly and learned treatises. 1632.
(Reel 1183).
- 20281-20281a
Preston, John. Three sermons upon the Sacrement of the Lords
Supper. Two issues. 1631. (Reels 1253 and 1392).
- 20464 Prynne, William. Histrion-mastix: the players scourge. 1633.
(Reel 1933).
- 20473 Prynne, William. The perpetuities of a regenerate mans estate.
3rd ed. 1627. (Reel 1493).
- 20783 Read, Alexander, M.D. A description of the body of a man. 1634.
(Reel 1360).
- 21130 Robson, Charles. News from Aleppo. 1628. (Reel 1641).
- 21231 Rogers, Thomas. The faith, doctrine, and religion professed in
England. Expressed in 39 articles. 1629. (Reel 1558).
- 21412 Rowlands, Samuel. Well met gossip. 1627. (No reel).
- 21509 Sparke, Michael. The poore orphans court, or orphans cry. 1636.
(Reel 585).
- 21641-21641a
Saltonstall, Wye. Clavis ad portam, or a key fitted to open the
gate of tongues. 1635 and 1640. (Reel 1218 and no reel).
- 21719 Sandys, Sir Edwin. Europae speculum, or a view or survey of the
state of religion in the western parts of the world. 1632.
(Reel 1361).
- 21720-21721
Variant eds. of 21719. 1632 and 1635. (Reels 1393 and 1361).
- 21722 The 1638 ed. of 21719. (Reel 1219).

- 22790 Smith, John. The generall history of Virginia. 1624.
(Reel 1335).
- 23016-23017
Sparke, Michael. The crums of comfort: with godly prayers. 1628
and 1629. (23016 on reel 1220. 23017 has no reel).
- 23018 Sparke, Michael. To the glory of God in thankfull remembrance of
our three great deliverances. 1627. (No reel).
- 23518 Sweden. A short history of the kingdome of Sweden. 1632.
(Reel 1259).
- 24188 Travers, Walter. Vindiciae ecclesiae Anglicanae: a justification
of the religion of England. 1630. (Reel 1367).
- 24210-24214
Treasurer. The treasurers almanack. Eds. in 1627, 1628, 1629,
1631. (Reels 1119, 1040, 1261, 1611).
- 24700-24701
Vicars, Thomas. The ground of that doctrine which is according
to godliness, etc. 1630 and 1631. (Reels 1120 and 1261).
- 24926-24926a-24927
Wadsworth, James. Th English Spanish pilgrim. 1629 and 1630.
(Reels 1368, 1562, 1044).
- 24968 Walkington, Thomas. The optick glasse of humors. 1631.
(Reel 1159).
- 25098-25099
Warwick, Arthur. Spare minutes; or, resolved meditations. 4th,
5th, and 6th eds. 1635 and 1636. (No reels).
- 25640 Wilkins, John, Bp. The discovery of a world in the moone.
Oxford: 1638. (Reel 945).

Wing Numbers

- A 810 Ainsworth, Henry. The old orthodox foundation of religion.
1653. (Reel 830).
- A 3140 Andrewes, Lancelot. The Morall law expounded. 1642. (Reel 6).
- A 3628 Ardron, Nicholas. The Ploughmans vindication. 1646.
(No reel).
- A 3894 Artificial fire, or coale for rich and poore. 1644. (No reel).

- A 4159 Atterbury, Lewis, younger. The attestation of the ministers of . . . Norfolk. 1648. E 447(6)--Reel 71 Thomason Tracts.
- B 1062 Bastwick, John. Flagellum pontificis et episcoporum Latialium. 1641. (Reel 1087).
- B 1072 Bastwick, John. The utter routing of the whole army. 1646. (Reel 11).
- C 654 Carter, John. The nail and the wheel. 1647. (No reel).
- C 655 Carter, John. The nail hit on the head. 1647. (No reel).
- C 657 Carter, John. The wheel turned. 1647. (Reel 956).
- C 1717 Certaine orders meete to be observed. 1642. E 136(17)--Reel 250 Thomason Tracts.
- C 5529 Comenius, Johann Amos. A reformation of schooles. 1642. (Reel 528).
- D 2874 Dury, John. A motion tending to the publicke good. 1642. (Reel 209).
- E 3057 Englands thankfulnesse. 1642. (No reel).
- G 623 Gesling, Richard. Artificial Fire. 1544. 669 f 10 (1)--Reel 246 Thomason Tracts.
- H 3779 Huntley, George. An argument upon a generall demurrer. 1642. (Reel 384).
- I 418A Irelands Excise. 1643. E 62(10)--Reel 239 Thomason Tracts.
- I 531 Jegon, William. Iehovah Iireh: or Gods providence. 1643. (No reel).
- J 146 James I, King of England. A true relation of the commissions and warrants. 1651. (No reel).
- K 254 Kem, Samuel. Orders given out; the word, stand fast. 1647. E 366(3)--Reel 59 Thomason Tracts.
- N 1378 Norwood, Richard. Considerations tending to remove. 1646. E 366(5)--Reel 59 Thomason Tracts.
- P 108 P., T. Eben Ezer, as a thankefull remembrance. 1643. (No reel).
- P 2603 (Plot, Robert). The plots of the Jesuites. 1643. (No reel).

- P 3887 Prynne, William. An account of the Kings late revenue. 1647.
(No reel).
- P 3891 Prynne, William. The antipathie of the English lordly prelatie.
1641. (Reel 192).
- P 3904 Prynne, William. A breviat of the life of William Laud. 1644.
(Reel 288).
- P 3914 Prynne, William. The county of Somerset divided. 1648.
E 430(16)--Reel 68 Thomason Tracts.
- P 3917 Prynne, William. Canterburies doome. 1646. (Reel 288).
- P 3945 Prynne, William. Distrophes catechised. 1646. 2nd ed.
E 510(3)--Reel 80 Thomason Tracts.
- P 3946 Prynne, William. Distrophes catachised 1646. 3rd ed.
E 510(7)--Reel 80 Thomason Tracts.
- P 3947 Prynne, William. The doome of cowardice and treachery. 1643.
E 251(6)--Reel 43 Thomason Tracts.
- P 3953 Prynne, William. The falsities and forgeries of the anonymous
author. 1644. E 253(9)--Reel 43 Thomason Tracts.
- P 3959 Prynne, William. [-] Foure serious questions of grand
importance. (No reel).
- P 3962 Prynne, William. The fourth part of the soveraigne power.
1643. (No reel).
- P 3963 Prynne, William. A fresh discovery of some prodigious new
wandering-blasing stars, & firebrands. 1645. E 261(5)--Reel 44
Thomason Tracts.
- P 3964 Prynne, William. A fresh discovery of some prodigious new
wandering-blasing stars, & firebrands. 1646. 2nd ed.
(No reel).
- P 3966 Prynne, William. A Full reply to certain brief observations.
1644. E 257(7)--Reel 44 Thomason Tracts.
- P 3967 Another edition of P 3966. 1644. (Reel 820).
- P 3973 Prynne, William. Hidden workes of darkness brought to publike
light. 1645. (Reel 472).
- P 3982 Prynne, William. A humble remonstrance against. 1643.
E 251(1)--Reel 43 Thomason Tracts.

- P 3985 Prynne, William. Independency examined. 1644. E 257(3)--
Reel 44 Thomason Tracts.
- P 3986 Another edition of P 3985. 1651. (No reel).
- P 3987 Prynne, William. Irenarches redivus. 1648. E 452(23)--Reel 72
Thomason Tracts.
- P 4001 Prynne, William. The levellers leveled. 1647. E 428(7)--
Reel 67 Thomason Tracts.
- P 4002 Prynne, William. The lyar confounded. 1645. E 267(1)--Reel 45
Thomason Tracts.
- P 4010 Prynne, William. A moderate apology against a pretended
calumny. 1644. E 253(4)--Reel 43 Thomason Tracts.
- P 4013 Prynne, William. Mount-Orgveil. 1641. (Reel 397).
- P 4014 Prynne, William. New-Babels confusion. 1649. E 540(19)--
Reel 84 Thomason Tracts.
- P 4026 Prynne, William. The opening of the great seal of England.
1643. E 251(2)--Reel 43 Thomason Tracts.
- P 4032 Prynne, William. A plea for the Lords. 1648. E 430(8)--
Reel 68 Thomason Tracts.
- P 4033 Another edition of P 4032. 1649. (No reel).
- P 4038 Prynne, William. A pleasant purge, for a Roman Catholike, to
evacuate his evil humors. 1642. (Reel 223).
- P 4039 Prynne, William. The Popish Royall Favourite. 1643. E 251(9)
--Reel 43 Thomason Tracts.
- P 4054 Prynne, William. Rockes improved. 1641. (Reel 223).
- P 4055 Prynne, William. Romes master-peece. 1643. E 249(32)--
Reel 43 Thomason Tracts.
- P 4056 Second edition of P 4054. 1644. (Reel 820).
- P 4074 Prynne, William. The second part of the Antipathie of the
English lordly prelatie. 1641. (Reel 192).
- P 4088 Prynne, William. The soveraigne power of Parliaments &
Kingdomes. Or second part. 1643. E 248(2)--Reel 42 Thomason
Tracts.

- P 4089 Another edition of P 4088. 1643. (No reel).
- P 4092 Prynne, William. The substance of a speech. 1649. (No reel).
- P 4093 Prynne, William. The substance of a speech. 3rd ed. 1649. (Reel 1099).
- P 4097 Prynne, William. Suspention suspended. 1646. E 510(12)--Reel 80 Thomason Tracts.
- P 4103 Prynne, William. The third part of the soveraigne power of Parliaments. 1643. E 248(3)--Reel 42 Thomason Tracts.
- P 4108 Prynne, William. The treachery and disloyalty of the Papists. 1643. E 248(1)--Reel 42 Thomason Tracts.
- P 4111 Prynne, William. A true and full relation of the prosecution of Nathaniel Fiennes. 1644. E 255(1)--Reel 43 Thomason Tracts.
- P 4115 Prynne, William. Truth triumphing over falsehood. 1645. E 259(1)--Reel 44 Thomason Tracts.
- P 4116 Prynne, William. Twelve considerable serious questions. 1644. (No reel).
- P 4117 Another edition of P 4116. 1644. (Reel 1025).
- P 4118 Prynne, William. Twelve queries of publick concernment. 1647. E 514(2)--Reel 80 Thomason Tracts.
- P 4121 Prynne, William. The university of Oxfords plea refuted. 1647. (Reel 223).
- P 4124 Prynne, William. A vindication of foure serious questions of grand importance. 1645. (No reel).
- P 4126 Prynne, William. A vindication of Psalme 105:15. 3rd ed. 1644. (Reel 820).
- P 4128 Prynne, William. A vindication of the imprisoned and secluded members. 1649. (No reel).
- S 2259 Sparke, Michael. A Second Beacon Fired by Scintilla. 1652. E 675(29)--Reel 104 Thomason Tracts.
- S 4815 Sparke, Michael. A catalogue of printed books written by William Prynne. 1643. E 251(7)--Reel 43 Thomason Tracts.
- S 4818 Sparke, Michael. The narrative history of King James. 1651. (Reel 1027).

- S 4818B Sparke, Michael. Scintilla. 1641. (Reel 225).
- S 4818C Sparke, Michael. Truth brought to light . . . 1651(?).
(Reel 1027).
- T 1809 Tombes, John. Iihovah Iireh. 1643. (Reel 244).
- T 2606 A true condition of the conditions and warrants for the
condemnation . . . of Bartholomew Legalt. 1651. (Reel 337).
- V 295 Vicars, John. The burning bush not consumed. 1646. (No reel).
- V 325 Vicars, John. Reverend Sir, having lately received from you.
1645. (No reel).

APPENDIX C

ADDITIONS AND CHANGES TO SPARKE'S PUBLICATIONS LISTED

IN THE REVISED SHORT TITLE CATALOGUES

- I. Jackson, William Alexander. A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland: and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475 to 1640. Begun by William Alexander Jackson and F. S. Ferguson. Completed by Katherine F. Pantzer. 2nd ed., rev. and enl. London: The Bibliographic Society, 1976-.

- 15078-15081 Komensky, Jan Amos. Porta linguarum trilinguis reserata. 1st through 4th eds. London: 1631, 1633, 1637, 1639.
 - 15078.5 Another issue, 1631.
 - 15079 2nd ed., 1633. 21641, Wye Saltonstall's Calvis ad portam, is an appendix to this and is sometimes bound with it.
 - 15080 3rd ed., 1637. This includes Saltonstall's Calvis ad portam.
 - 15081 4th ed., 1639. The second part is Saltonstall's Calvis ad portam, formerly listed as 21641a.

- 17383 Markham, Gervaise. Markhams methode, or epitome. 4th ed. London: 1625. This is now listed as a piracy by Sparke.
 - 17383.5 5th ed., 1628. This is also listed as a piracy by Sparke.

- 17824-17825 Mercator, Gerard. Historia mundi, or mercators atlas. London: 1635, 1637.
 - 17824.5 Variant issue, 1635.
 - 17826 Another issue, 1639.

- 18010 Moneymonger. The money-monger, or the usurers almanacke. London: 1626. This is now listed under 24209.5: Treasurer. [The treasurer's almanac]. London: 1626.

- 17838-17939 Ovidus Naso, Publius. [Epistolae ex ponto.] Ovid de ponto. 1st and 2nd eds. London: 1639, 1640. Both of these are now credited to Michael Sparke Junior.

- 18945-18946 Ovidus Naso, Publius. Ovids heroicall epistles; englished by Wye Saltonstall. 1st and 2nd eds. London: 1635, 1639.
- 18945.5 2nd ed., 1637.
- 18946 Another ed., 1639. Credited to Michael Sparke Junior.
- 19190 Pare, Ambroise. An explanation of the fashion and use of the instruments of chirurgery. London: 1634. This is now listed as part of 20783, Alexander Read's With the practice of chirurgery, and the use of three and fifty instruments. London: 1634.
- 20217 Preston, John. The doctrine of selfe-deniall. London: 1632. This is now listed as part of 20221.7. Note that 20221.7 was formerly 20280. See below.
- 20222-20223 Preston, John. Foure godly and learned treatises. 3rd and 4th eds. London: 1631, 1636.
- 20222 The 4th part is reprinted from 20280.3. In some copies "Remedy" and "Doctrine" are sheets from 20221.7.
- 20278 Preston, John. A sermon of spirituall life and death. London: 1630.
- 20278.5 Another issue.
- 20279 Preston, John. An elegant and lively description of spirituall life and death. London: 1632. This is now renumbered.
- 20221.5 This is the new number of 20279.
- 20280 Preston, John. Three godly and learned treatises. London: 1632. This is now renumbered.
- 20221.7 This is the new number for 20280.
- 20281-20281a Preston, John. Three sermons upon the sacrament of the Lords supper. London: 1631.
- 20280.3 An issue, 1631. Formerly 20281a.
- 20280.5 A variant issue, 1631.
- 20280.7 A variant issue, 1631.
- 20281a This is now numbered 20280.3.
- 20281a.3 Another edition with the title, A preparation to the Lords supper.
- 20281a.7 5th ed., 1638.

- 20464 Prynne, William. Histrio-mastix: the players scourge. London: 1633.
- 20464a Related edition, 1633.
- 20465 Prynne, William. Lames Giles his haultings. London: 1630. This was not listed in Pollard and Redgrave's first edition.
- 21641-21641a Saltonstall, Wye. Clavis ad portam, or a key fitted to open the gate of tongues. London: 1631.
- 21641 An appendix to 15079, Komensky's Porta linguarum trilinguis reserata, and often bound with it.
- 21641a This is a part of 15081, the 4th edition of Komensky's Porta linguarum trilinguis reserta.
- 21719-21722 Sandys, Sir Edwin. Europae Speculum. Or a view or survey of the state of religion in the western parts of the world. London: 1632, 1635, 1638.
- 21718 Earlier ed., 1630.
- 21720 An issue in two parts. The 2nd part is an appendix to The Jesuit's pilgrimage by L. Owen. London: 1632.
- 22790 Smith, John. The generall historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles. London: 1624.
- 22790a Another issue, 1625.
- 22790b Another issue, 1626.
- 22790c A variant issue, 1627.
- 22790c.5 A variant issue, 1631.
- 23016-23017 Sparke, Michael. The crums of comfort: with godly prayers. London: 1628, 1629.
- All of the additional and amended additions include 23018, Michael Sparke's To the glory of God in thankfull remembrance of our three great deliverances. London: 1627.
- 23016.7 6th ed., 1627.
- 23016 7th ed., corrected and amended, 1628.
- 23016.5 8th ed., 1629.
- 23016.7 9th ed., 1629.
- 23017 10th ed., 1630.
- 23017.3 12th ed., 1631.
- 23017.5 20th ed., (1635).
- 23518 Sweden. A short survey or history of the kingdome of Sweden. London: 1632.

- 23517.5 Related issue with a variant title, A short survey of the kingdome of Sweden, 1632.
- 24210-24214 Treasurer. The treasurers almanacke. Eds. in 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631. London: 1627-1631. All issues are now titled [The treasurer's almanac].
- 24209.5 Formerly listed as 18010 by Moneymonger, 1626.
- 24214.5 Another edition, 1636.
- 25098-25099 Warwick, Arthur. Spare minutes; or resolved meditations. 4th and 5th eds. London: 1635, 1636.
- 25096 2nd ed., 1634.
- 25097 Variant issue, 1634.
- 25097.5 3rd ed., 1635.
- 25100 6th ed., 1637.
- 25100.5 7th ed., 1639.
- 25640 Wilkins, John, Bp. The discovery of a world in the moone. Oxford: 1638.
- 25640.5 Another ed., 1638.

II. Wing, Donald Goddard. Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries. 2nd ed., rev. and enl. New York: Index Committee of the Modern Language Association of America, 1972.

- A 3894 Artificial fire, or coale for rich and poore. London: 1647. This entry is cancelled. Title is entered under Gesling, but, in my opinion, Sparke is the author.
- C 655 Carter, John. The nail hit on the head. London: 1647. This number lists another edition of Carter's The nail and the wheel, and it was not sold by Sparke.
- C 657 Carter, John. The wheel turned. London: 1647. This number is now given to Carter's Vindiciae decimarum, and it was not sold by Sparke.

APPENDIX D

BOOKS ENTERED TO SPARKE AT STATIONERS' HALL

BUT NOT PUBLISHED BY HIM

London Stationers' Company. A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, . . . 1554-1640 A.D. Edited by Edward Arber. 5 vols. London: Privately printed, 1875-1877; Birmingham: 1894.

I. Books Entered to Sparke Listed in Volume 3.

Withers and Johnson. A Discourse of loue or songes, sonnettes, and Elegies, betwixt Withers and Johnson. Entered 6/14/1618.

Sparkes, Thomas. Catechisme. Assigned to Sparke by order of the Stationers' Company Court 9/18/1619.

II. Books Entered to Sparke Listed in Volume 4.

Miller, William, minister of GODS Word. A sermon preached at the funerall of the worship[ful] Gilbert Dauies Esquire at Christowe in Deuon, Aprill 15, 1620. Entered 11/20/1620.

Estate of Henry Crippes. BURTONS Melancholye, GOODWINS antiquities, A sermon of PETER DU MO[U]LIN. Entered 5/24/1622.

G., T. An answere to WITHERS Motton [i.e.] Motto without a Frontispece. Entered 9/28/1624.

The famous Historye of the life of EARNESTUS earle of MANSFIELD Marquesse of CASTLE NOVO & C with an Essay of the Duke of BRUNSWICKE. Entered 5/4/1625.

A speciall remedie of the plauge (broadside). Entered 5/28/1625.

The portrature of Colonell BURROWES. Entered 10/12/1627.

Rowlands, Samuel. Heavens glorie seeke it, Earthes vanitye flye it, Hells horror feare it. Entered 1/10/1627.

Rhodes Characters. Entered 12/22/1628.

Lightbodio, Georgio. Questiones Grammaticae. Entered 8/3/1629.

Taylor. Of the kings. Entered 1/1/1630.

Forbes, Mistress. 'good husband'. Entered 1/1/1630.

Lithgowe, George. Quaestiones Grammaticae in vsum Scholae Anglicarum. Entered 2/10/1630.

News from New England or Old Englandes new birth. Entered 3/6/1630.

ROBIN CONSCIENCE or Conscionable Robin. Entered 4/20/1630.

Markham, Jarvis. Hungers Prevention or the Art of Fowlinge. Entered 10/15/1630.

Preston, Doctor [John]. And this is the assurance. Entered 11/17/1630.

Craven, Isaacke. GODS trybunall and mans tryall. Entered 3/17/1631.

Attersholl, William. Certanye Sermons vpon the 12th Chapter and 32 verse [of Luke]. Entered 11/12/1631.

Clavis Theologie. Entered 5/17/1632.

Eusebius. Life of CONSTANTINE in four books with CONSTANTINES ORATION TO THE CLERGY. Entered 10/9/1635.

SALTINGSTONE [? Wye Saltonstall]. The Country Mouse and the Citty Mouse &c. Entered 3/31/1636.

Meluin, William, trans. The sonne of the Rogue [?], the politicke theefe with the antiquity of Theeues & C. Entered 2/13/1638.

Fairley, Robert. Lights and morall Emblemes. Entered 2/13/1638.

Preston, Doctor [John]. Grace to the humble or a Preparation to receiue the sacrament vpon Luke the 9th [chapter] the 23th verse. Entered 10/8/1638.

A true and strange relacion of seaven yeares slavery vnder the Turkes of Argeere [Algiers] suffered by an English Captive Merchant. Entered 3/16/1640.

London Stationer's Company. A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; from 1640-1708 A.D. Edited by G. E. Briscoe Eyre. Entries transcribed by H. R. Plomer. 4 vols. London: Privately printed, 1913-1914; New York: P. Smith, 1950.

I. Books Entered to Sparke in Volume 1.

Johnsons Arithmeticke. Entered 8/23/1641.

Prinn, Will [William Prynne]. The second part of a Dialogue between A and B. Entered 5/2/1642.

Micklethwaite, Dr. Sermons (42). Entered 5/16/1642.

Prynne, William. A soveraigne antidote to prevent, appease, & determine of naturall & destructive civill warrs & c. Entered 3/6/1644.

Prynne, William. A moderate answere to some passages in a booke called the Preheminance of Parliamt. Entered 3/6/1644.

J: A: Comenio [Comenius]. Janua Linguaru reserta, & c. Entered 3/8/1645.

A vindication of free grace in opposition to the Arminian position. Entered 3/8/1645.

Bastwicke, Dr. [John]. The Church of England a true Church & c, or, a Discourse divided into two Tractates & c. Entered 4/11/1645.

Poole, Joshua. The reformed scholler, or, the English Accidence, & c, sett out for the reformation of all schooles for the use & profitt of young schollers & c. Entered 10/25/1645.

Scotland's ancient obligacon to England & publike acknowledgment thereof & c. Entered 6/8/1646.

VITA

Susan Agnes Stussy was born April 28, 1945, in Detroit, Michigan. She attended Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan, where she received a Bachelor of Arts degree magna cum laude with departmental honors in history in April 1967. She earned a Master of Science in Library Science degree from Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan, in December 1968.

While working at the State University of New York at Stony Brook and St. Peter's College, Jersey City, New Jersey, she decided to acquire a second Master's degree. She enrolled in the Horace Rackham Graduate School of the University of Michigan in January 1972, and her Master of Arts degree in history was granted in August 1972.

After six years as a librarian at Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, she recognized that a doctoral degree would increase her ability to understand and support college faculties. She enrolled in the History Department of the Graduate School of The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in 1978 and received her Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in history in March 1983.

Miss Stussy is a member of the American Historical Association, the American Library Association, and the American Association of University Women. She has been employed by the Gwathmey Library of Converse College, Spartanburg, South Carolina, since July 1982.