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**‘Of Dialogue, that Great
and Powerful Art’: A
study of the dialogue
genre in seventeenth-
century England**

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PhD Thesis

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Table of Contents

Figures	iv
Illustrations	vii
Abbreviations	ix
Acknowledgements	x
Declaration	xi
Abstract	xii
Introduction	1
1. Digitisation, Databases and Dialogues	25
Digitisation and the Early Modern Universal Library	25
New Medium, New Uses	31
Dialogues, Title-pages and Generic Markers	35
Distant Reading	42
Literary Classification and Analytical Categories	45
Conclusion	49
2. The Dialogue Genre: A Macro Perspective	51
Dialogues and Early Modern Print	52
Subjects	60
Paratextual Features	67
Visual Elements	73
Typographic Strategy	87
Authors	89
Anonymity	93
Anonymous Printers and Publishers	97
Conclusion	99
3. A Genealogy of the Dialogue Genre	101
Plato	105
Editions and Translations	107
Influence	109
Cicero	114
Editions and Translations	115
Influences	117
Lucian	121
Editions and Translations	123
Influence	125
Religious Dialogues	134
Renaissance Dialogues	143
Italian Renaissance	144
Renaissance Dialogues published in England	146
English Renaissance Dialogues	150
Conclusion	155

4. Dialogue and the Early Modern Print World	156
A taxonomy of Dialogues	158
Dramatic	161
Entertainment	163
Ballads and Musical Dialogues	163
Novels	167
Satires	168
Cony-Catching	178
Conversations	182
Manuals of Courtesy and Conduct Books	182
Dispute	183
Apologetic	186
Conversion	187
Animadversion	190
Didactic	192
Catechisms	193
Textbooks and Trade Books	195
Language and Travel Guides	197
Reports	201
Reports, Proceedings and Traveller Dialogues	201
Printed Trial Reports and Scaffold Speeches	203
Conclusion	206
5. Characters	207
Characters Names	209
Letters, Latin and Greek Names	218
Fictional Names	220
Personifications and Anthropomorphic Characters	223
Stereotypes and Socio-economic Titles	224
Non-fictional characters	227
Character Types	229
Demographics of Dialogue Participants	230
Characters and Social Status	234
Gender	241
Conclusion	246
6. Dialogues and the Deluge of Print and News	248
'Tis press that has made 'em mad'	250
Dialogue as a reflection of public debate	255
Dialogue as a means of coping with extensive reading	256
Conclusion	266
Conclusion	268
Appendix	276
Bibliography	354

List of Figures

Figure 1.1	A graph showing percentage of plays that used generic markers	38
Figure 2.1	A graph showing the number of printed works	53
Figure 2.2	A graph showing dialogues and catechisms published	53
Figure 2.3	A graph showing the percentage of dialogues of total print output	55
Figure 2.4	A graph showing the proportion of reprinted dialogues	57
Figure 2.5	A graph showing the change in different lengths of dialogue	59
Figure 2.6	A graph showing the fluctuations of different formats of dialogue	60
Figure 2.7	A graph showing the frequency of subjects in the dialogue genre	63
Figure 2.8	A graph showing the percentage of subjects	64
Figure 2.9	A graph showing the distribution of different formats	67
Figure 2.10	A graph showing dialogues that had prefatory material	70
Figure 2.11	A graph showing publications that had prefatory material	71
Figure 2.12	A graph showing dialogues that had a visual image	74
Figure 2.13	A graph showing the frequency of dialogues with images	75
Figure 2.14	A graph showing the percentage of dialogues that used different forms of authorship marks	91
Figure 2.15	A graph showing the percentage of dialogues that were anonymous, translated and authored	91
Figure 2.16	A graph showing the seven most reprinted dialogues	92
Figure 2.17	A graph comparing the number of dialogues published anonymously with those that had authorial markings	94

Figure 2.18	A graph comparing the total frequency of anonymous dialogues with the frequency of anonymous political dialogues.	94
Figure 2.19	A graph comparing the use of anonymity for printers, authors, and publishers in the period 1600-1720.	98
Figure 3.1	The number of editions of Lucian, Cicero, Plato and Erasmus	104
Figure 3.2	A graph showing the printings of Cicero	116
Figure 3.3	A comparison of printings of Lucian and Cicero	122
Figure 3.4	A graph showing the frequency of printings of Lucian	125
Figure 3.4	A graph showing the number of Catechisms published	137
Figure 3.5	A graph showing the number of reprints of Arthur Dent's works	140
Figure 3.6	A graph showing the reprinting of John Bunyan	142
Figure 3.7	A comparison of the number of printings of the dialogues of Cicero, Lucian and Erasmus in the period 1600-1750	148
Figure 3.8	A graph showing the distribution of printings of Erasmus in Latin and English	148
Figure 5.1	A graph showing the percentage of characters that had different types of name	210
Figure 5.2	A graph showing the percentage of different character name types in the dialogue genre	211
Figure 5.3	A graph showing the absolute frequency of different occupations of character's in the dialogue genre	232
Figure 5.4	A graph showing the percentage of dialogues that used different character occupations	232
Figure 5.5	A graph showing the distribution of the different social groups of characters in the dialogue genre	235
Figure 5.6	A graph showing the distribution of characters of different social rank in each format of dialogue	237
Figure 5.7	A graph showing the frequency of characters of the 'middling sort' in different formats of dialogue	240

Figure 5.8	A graph showing the percentage of characters of different gender in the dialogue genre	242
Figure 5.9	A graph showing the difference between the social class of male and female characters in the dialogue genre	244
Figure 6.1	A graph showing the number of printed texts	254
Figure 6.2	A graph showing the formats of dialogues published	254

List of Illustrations

Illustration 1.1 The title pages to Anon, <i>A Dialogue Betwixt Sir George Booth and Sir Presbyter</i> , (1659) and William Shires, <i>A Familiar Discourse, or, Dialogue concerning the Mine-Adventure</i> (1709) Source: EEBO	39
Illustration 1.2 An picture of the database used in the thesis.	44
Illustration 2.1 The frontispiece and title page of John Gamble's <i>Ayres and Dialogues</i> (1657) and Walter Charleton's <i>The Immortality of the Human Soul</i> , (1657) Source: EEBO	77
Illustration 2.2. The frontispiece of J.G's <i>The Academy of Complements</i> , (1639)	78
Illustration 2.3: The frontispiece and title-page of Pierre de Laine's <i>The princely way to the French tongue</i> , (1677)	79
Illustration 2.4: Frontispiece and title page of Gregorio Leti's <i>Il putanismo di Roma</i> , (1670)	79
Illustration 2.5. Frontispieces to <i>Matrimony Unmask'd</i> (1714) and Thomas Brown, <i>The Second Volume of Thomas Browns Works</i> (1715).	80
Illustration 2.6. Title-page and engraving to N. Boteler's <i>Colloquia Maritima: or Sea-Dialogues</i> (1688)	80
Illustration 2.7. Title-pages for Anon, <i>A Brief and Witty Discourse</i> (1650) and Anon, <i>The Tapsters Downfall and the Drunkards Joy</i> (1641)	82
Illustration 2.8. Title-pages to Anon, <i>The Spiritual Courts Epitomized</i> (1641) and John Taylor's <i>A Brief and Witty Discourse</i> (1650).	82
Illustration 2.9. Title pages to Anon, <i>A Dialogue betwixt a Citizen and a Poore Country-man and his Wife</i> (1636) and Anon, <i>The Counters Discourse</i> (1641).	83
Illustration 2.10. Title pages to Anon <i>The Doctors Last Will and Testament</i> (1641) and Anon, <i>The Papists politicke Projects discovered</i> .	83
Illustration 2.11 Anon, <i>The Lovers Gift</i> (1615) Source: EEBO	85
Illustration 2.12 Anon, <i>The West-Country Dialogue</i> (1618) Source: EEBO	85
Illustration 2.13 Images in Anon, <i>The Young-Mans Conquest Over the Powers of Darkness</i> (1663/4) and Anon, <i>Times Precious Jewel</i> (1688) Source: EEBO	86
Illustration 4.1 Henry Peacham, <i>The world is ruled & governed by opinion</i> . London, 1641. Image courtesy of Folger Shakespeare Library.	170

Illustration 4.2 Detail from the frontispiece of Matthew Hopkins' <i>The Discovery of Witches</i> (1647).	171
Illustration 4.3 Frontispiece to Anon, <i>The Ranters Ranting</i> (1650). Image Courtesy of British Library.	172
Illustration 4.4 Printed image from Francis Rouse, <i>Treatises and Meditations</i> (1657). Image Courtesy of Folger Shakespeare Library.	172
Illustration 4.5 Printed image from Richard Baxter, <i>A Christian directory</i> (1677). Image Courtesy of Folger Shakespeare Library.	173
Illustration 4.6 Anon, <i>A Pious and Seasonable Perswasive</i> (1647). Source: EEBO174	
Illustration 4.7 Anon, <i>The Prodigal sifted</i> (1700). Image Courtesy of British Museum.	175
Illustration 4.8 Anonymous, <i>Si Populus Vult Decepi Decepcatur</i> (1720) Image courtesy of British Museum.	175
Illustration 4.9 Playing-cards depicting the Rye House Plot, British Museum Number: 1872,1012.1726-1777	177
Illustration 4.10 A selection of micro-dialogues from the south sea bubble playing cards (1721). Images Courtesy of Harvard University Library.	178
Illustration 6.1 Notes made on <i>Heraclitus Ridens</i> January 17 th 1681 kept at Bodleian Library collection Nich4a.	266

Throughout this thesis I have drawn heavily upon digital texts from EEBO, ECCO and British Periodicals Online. To cite this material following bibliographical conventions that acknowledged the digital nature of its source would have resulted in a lot of unwieldy references full of URL's and references to the digital image rather than the book page. Therefore for simplicity I have cited digital texts in an abbreviated form that omits the URL. Similarly because the majority of dialogues were studied in pdf format that were taken from EEBO I have cited them according to signature marks rather than image number. Therefore, in this thesis all early modern books referenced unless specified otherwise should be taken as being EEBO and ECCO copies with the majority being the EEBO-TCP versions.

Where quotations have been used in the thesis the spelling has not been modernized with the exception of i, j, v, vv, u that have been standardized. In the titles of dialogues I have preserved the original spelling including vv for w, and v for u.

Abbreviations

EEBO Early English Books Online
EEBO-TCP Early English Books Text Creation
Partnership
ECCO Eighteenth Century Collections Online
ESTC English Short Title
Catalogue

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Declaration

This thesis is submitted to the University of Warwick in support of my application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It has been composed by myself and has not been submitted in any previous application for any degree

Abstract

This thesis examines the dialogue genre in seventeenth-century England. In 1681 when Henry Care established his periodical *The Popish Courant* he chose the format of a dialogue because people were ‘so set upon dialoging.’ Care’s choice of dialogue for his periodical is indicative of the popularity of dialogue in the seventeenth century. Yet, despite the popularity that dialogue enjoyed in this period it has not received comparative attention by scholars. This thesis seeks to address this gap and make two specific historiographical contributions. Firstly, it demonstrates how the digitization of early modern sources can enable scholars to approach literary history from perspectives that physical books prevent. Using the digital collections of Early English Books Online, British Periodicals Online, and Eighteenth Century Collections Online for its source material this thesis has used a database of dialogues to analyze the genre and provide contextual knowledge about the genre as a whole that can illuminate the rhetorical objectives behind specific uses of dialogue. This is particularly exposed in the final chapter that utilizes this contextual information to understand the appeal of dialogue in Roger L’Estrange’s *Observer*.

Secondly this thesis adds to the growing number of studies of early modern genres such as pamphlets, newspapers, ballads, and chapbooks. The period under discussion was one of significant change in terms of political and social circumstances and this thesis demonstrates that dialogue was sensitive to these political events. By situating the dialogue within the broader print landscape of seventeenth-century England the thesis maps how dialogue adapted to changing circumstances with pamphlet dialogues, periodical dialogues, and dialogues of the dead, in particular emerging in response to social and political events. Looking at the dialogue in the context of other literary forms this thesis argues that the appeal of dialogue was its flexibility and ability to educate a broad range of people across all demographics of seventeenth-century England.

Introduction: Why Study Early Modern Dialogues?

*'In a day of public excitement, of civil discord, when party lines were growing in sharpness... circumstances conspired to call the political dialogue into being... It was an efficient instrument for doing what the generation wanted done, and its popularity gives it a significance as a true expression of the times.'*¹

A pertinent question to ask at the beginning of this thesis is why study early modern dialogues? What is it about the dialogue genre that could prioritise it over other literary genres? Such questions are especially valid when the seventeenth century saw a dramatic explosion in print and a variety of new kinds of literature appearing as publishers tried to capture new markets for their books.² The following will justify the focus on early modern dialogues by highlighting some of the broader themes on which a study of the dialogue can shed light.

Since Elizabeth Eisenstein's pioneering work *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* historians, literary critics, and bibliographers have paid increasing attention to the book and its role in society.³ Eisenstein's work, along

¹ Bartholomew V. Crawford, 'The Prose Dialogue of the Commonwealth and the Restoration', *PMLA*, 34 (1919), 601–9 (p. 609).

² For instance, libels, news-books, newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and debatably the novel all emerged in the early modern period. See *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2002); Michael McKeon, *Theory of the Novel: A Historical Approach* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2000); Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005); Carolyn Nelson, *British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1641-1700: A Short-Title Catalogue of Serials Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and British America: With a Checklist of Serials Printed 1701-March 1702 and Chronological, Geographical, Foreign Language, Subject, Publishers, and Editor Indexes, 1641-1702* (Modern Language Association of America, 1987); C. J. Sommerville, *The News Revolution in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe, 'The Creation of the Periodical Press 1620-1695', in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

³ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); along with Eisenstein's Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, trans. David Gerard (London: Verso, 1976) also helped to focus on the book, although less influential than Eisenstein; Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998) used the book as a way to look at how print changed the way in which knowledge was organised and accessed. Recently, Eisenstein's print revolution has been reappraised in *The American Historical Review* see: Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, "An Unacknowledged

with Richard D. Altick's ground-breaking *English Common Reader*, lead historians, bibliographers, and literary critics to study those who read, produced, brought, and collected printed material.⁴ As a result of this work, there has been an increase in studies of 'print culture' and its readership.⁵ In addition to the focus on the book as an object of historical enquiry, scholars have also started to pay more attention to genre as a subject of historical enquiry. Joad Raymond, Angela Mcshane, Tessa Watt, and Margaret Spufford have all drawn attention to the historical specificity that literary genres have and how they morph over time.⁶

Revolution Revisited," *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 1 (2002): 87–105; Adrian Johns, "How to Acknowledge a Revolution," *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 1 (2002): 106–25. Literary critics who have started to pay more attention to the book as a material object are Gerard G  nette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Randall Anderson, "The Rhetoric of Paratext in Early Printed Books," in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie, vol. IV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁴ To review the vast array of literature on the history of the book is beyond the scope of this chapter. A few of the more significant works on the book as an object of historical enquiry are Leslie Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006). Howsam's book is particularly useful in outlining the relationship between the history of the book, literary criticism, and bibliography. Another work that has helped to place the book as an object of historical study is: Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); S. F. McKenzie, "The London Book Trade in the Later Seventeenth Century," in *Sanders Lectures*, 1976; Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*; Sabrina Alcorn Baron, (Michigan: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007); Roger Chartier, *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Matthew Dimmock, *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Ashgate, 2009). Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (London: WW Norton & Company, 1996); Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1982).

⁵ Although the term 'print culture' has gained widespread acceptance in early modern historical and literary scholarship there is still disagreement over what constitutes print culture and what it signifies. For examples of contrasting definitions of 'print culture' see: Cecile M. Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England* (University of Virginia Press, 1999); Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000); Stephen Colclough, "Recovering the Reader: Commonplace Books and Diaries as Sources of Reading Experience," *Publishing History* 44 (1998): 5–37; Steven R. Fischer, *A History of Reading* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004); Alberto Manguel, *The History of Reading* (London and New York: Penguin, 1997).

⁶ Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*; Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Margeret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Angela McShane Jones, "Rime and

They have highlighted how the instability of the period manifested itself in literary and generic instability and innovation, describing the relationship between literature and politics as 'powerful, various and combustible.'⁷ Nigel Smith has shown how literature in the seventeenth century underwent a series of revolutions as a response to the crises of the 1640s. Smith argues that literature was not just reflective of the crisis, but was also deeply enmeshed in the political turmoil of the time and helped to give shape to the revolution and its controversies. As a result of this work it is evident that genres are unique to historical moments and this thesis will study the seventeenth-century dialogue in England as an object of historical enquiry in its own right to understand how a literary genre adapted to changing political circumstances. This will be done through analysis of a corpus of dialogues that have been organised into a database.

Studying the early modern dialogue is not unprecedented, as the work of Elizabeth Merrill, Eugene Purpus, and Bartholomew Crawford indicates. Elizabeth Merrill in her 1911 book *The English Dialogue* looked at the history of the form in England. Merrill, however, was inclined to focus on the dialogues that she saw as having literary merit and dismissed vast chunks of the form such as pamphlet dialogues in her study of the genre.⁸ Bartholomew Crawford and Eugene Purpus both wrote Ph.D. theses on the dialogue genre in seventeenth century England.⁹ Crawford's 1918 dissertation was a compendium of the types of non-dramatic dialogue published in this period; however, it lacked any socio-

Reason": The Political World of the English Broadside Ballad, 1640-1689' (University of Warwick, 2004) <<http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/2708/>> [accessed 14 April 2014]; Angela McShane-Jones, 'Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers: The Politicisation of Drink and Drunkenness in Political Broadside Ballads, 1640-1689', *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, Adam Smyth, editor, 2004, 69-88.

⁷ Smith; McKeon; *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740*. Zwicker; Wiseman; Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 208.

⁸ Merrill, *The English Dialogue*, (London, 1911), p79.

⁹ Both published their research as articles later. Eugene R. Purpus, "The 'Plaine, Easy and Familiar Way': The Dialogue in English Literature, 1600-1725," *ELH* 17, no. 1 (1950). Bartholomew V. Crawford, "The Prose Dialogue of the Commonwealth and the Restoration," *PMLA* 34, no. 4 (1919), Bartholomew V. Crawford, *The Non-Dramatic Dialogue in English Prose before 1750* (S.N, 1918).

historic contextual awareness.¹⁰ Eugene Purpus's 1950 dissertation, on the other hand, tried to contextualise the genre in its social and political milieu. By studying them as themes such as scientific dialogues, religious dialogues, and political dialogues he limited the extent to which he was able to contextualise the genre within the broader environment of the early modern period. The most important insight from Purpus's study was his observation that writers used the dialogue form because it was a plain and easy method of communication. Purpus, however, failed to describe adequately why plainness and ease were so prized and what this accessibility enabled the genre to do.¹¹ The most recent study of the early modern dialogue is Dykstal's *The Luxury of Scepticism*. Dykstal's study argued that dialogue exemplifies a shift from controversies of the Commonwealth to defining a speculative realm that was increasingly private and apolitical. The limitation of these studies was that they did not look at the dialogue's position in the wider literary world of early modern England, nor did they give adequate explanations for its popularity.

Chapter two will lay out the approach of this thesis in constructing a corpus of texts that self-identified as a dialogue in their title or prefatory material.¹² Before looking at the cataloguing of dialogues, it is worth analysing the problem of 'what is a dialogue?' because this opens up interesting issues of intertextuality and generic distinctions. Dialogues, although relatively easily identified for the database construction, are a difficult genre to define

¹⁰ This observation has been made by J. Christopher Warner in Warner, "Thomas More's Utopia and the Problem of Writing a Literary History of English Renaissance Dialogues." p.150

¹¹ Purpus, "The "Plaine, Easy and Familiar Way": The Dialogue in English Literature, 1660-1725."

¹² H.S Bennet has spoken of the importance of the title page in H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640: Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in The Reigns of James I and Charles I*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), III, p. 216; For other work on the importance of the title-page as generic marker see Ceri Sullivan, 'Disposable Elements? Indications of Genre in Early Modern Titles', *The Modern Language Review*, 102 (2007), 641; Tiffany Stern, "'On Each Wall and Corner Poast": Playbills, Title-Pages, and Advertising in Early Modern London', *English Literary Renaissance*, 36 (2006), 57–89; Victoria Gibbons, 'Reading Premodern Titles: Bridging the Premodern Gap in Modern Titology', *Modern Language Review*, 102 (2007), 641–53.

conceptually.¹³ The corpus of dialogues is so vast and heterogeneous that it appears no definition could encapsulate them all. Dialogues were published in a variety of formats that covered a broad range of topics and were released in short quarto pamphlets of 8-16 pages in length, folio editions of several hundred pages, broadside ballads of one page in length and a spectrum of other formats in between. The topics treated in them were equally as diffuse. A cursory glance at them reveals a staggering breadth of subjects: we find dialogues about language, music theory, religious doctrines, rhetoric, grammar, chemistry, history, political theory, watchmaking, angling, land surveying, poetry, love, courtship, manners, navigation amongst many other topics.¹⁴ With such an eclectic range of texts, it's hard to see any shared characteristics between them all. Looked at as a whole they appear to be a jumble of disparate elements, or as Pedanto described them in the play *The Benefice* (1641), they were a 'hodge-podge' of different types of literature.¹⁵ Those who have studied the dialogue before have found this breadth of topics and the sheer number of dialogues a significant challenge. Meeting this requires an approach, which this chapter sets out, that allows for the heterogeneity of the corpus of dialogues but can also highlight the connections and coherence in the dialogue genre.

¹³This is because, as John Stuart Mill said of classifications generally, they 'consist not in any one quality but in some qualities' that were blended. Mill, p. 118.

¹⁴ A brief selection of this diversity is: Languages - Jacob Villiers, *Vocabularium Analogicum* (London: J.D., 1680); History - Abbe De Fourcrouy, *A New and Easie Method to Understand the Roman History* (London, 1710); Grammar - J.G Van Heldoren, *A New and Easy English Grammar* (Amsterdam, 1675); Music - Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Humfrey Lownes, 1608); Chemistry - François de Andre, *Chymical Disceptions* (London, 1689); Angling - Izaak Walton, *The Compleat Angler* (London: Richard Marriott, 1676); Navigation - Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations* (London: George Bishop, 1600); Watchmaking - John Smith fl, *Horological Dialogues in Three Parts Shewing the Nature, Use, and Right Managing of Clocks and Watches: With an Appendix Containing Mr. Ovghfred's Method for Calculating of Numbers: The Whole Being a Work Very Necessary for All That Make Use of These Kind of Movements / by J. S. ...*, Early English Books, 1641-1700 / 548:12 (London: Printed for Jonathan Edwin ..., 1675., 1675).

¹⁵ *The Benefice*, (London, 1641)

Dialogue, Dialogic, and Dialectic

Examining the distinction between dialogue, dialogic, and dialectic can help clarify what a dialogue is. Early modern writers distinguished between monologue and monologic, dialogue, dialogic, and dialectic. What defined monologic, according to the school teacher John Leget, was ‘A speaking still of one thing, a long tale of one matter.’¹⁶ Monologues were also used to describe an actor who addressed the audience in play. François-Hédelin Aubignac in his work *The Whole Art of the Stage* (1680) had a chapter titled ‘Monologues, or Discourses made by a single Person’ in which he said that ‘we have called Monologues that which the Ancients called the Discourse of a single person,’ and ‘Soliloques’ in plays that were ‘otherwise called Monologues.’¹⁷ Similarly, in *Fuga sæculi* (1632) it said that something that was monologic was something in which the author or actor was ‘speaking with himself alone.’¹⁸ Both a dramatic monologues and monologic text was meant to be a discourse, performance, or written piece that was the product of a single person and/or also limited to being about one subject: one writer claimed that his text was ‘Monological’ because it was ‘of one certain subject.’¹⁹

Dialogic was different.²⁰ as one writer asserted as ‘Dialogical (dialogicus)’ was something that was ‘of or pertaining to a Dialogue.’²¹ A dialogic text had a

¹⁶ John Leget, *An Englis[h] expositor[.] teaching the in[ter]pretation of the harde[st] words [vsed] in our language*. (1621) p. 150.

¹⁷ François-Hédelin Aubignac, *The whole art of the stage containing not only the rules of the drammatick art, but many curious observations about it, which may be of great use to the authors, actors, and spectators of plays* (1680) pp. 50-65.

¹⁸ *Fuga sæculi* (London, 1632) p. 121.

¹⁹ William Fulbecke, *A direction or preparative to the study of the lawe*, (London, 1600) p. 24.

²⁰ This difference is also made by Mikhail Bakhtin, who distinguished between dialogic and monologic novels. See Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, trans. By Caryl Emerson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, trans. By Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin and London: University Of Texas Press, 1981).

plurality of parties and topics within a text. A monologic text was a text that only contained one thing and one voice; a dialogic text was a text that had two or more voices in it that spoke about various topics. Writers did recognise that the boundary was not fixed between dialogue and monologue and there was an intermediary domain that they called dialogism. As one writer said 'dialogism was:

A figure or discourse, when one discusseth a thing by himself, as it were talking with another, does move the question and make the answer.²²

A dialogism was a discourse characterised by a single person speaking with him or herself; it resembled a dialogue in that it seemed like a conversation but because it was one person speaking with themselves it also resembled a monologue.²³ This difference between monologic and dialogic is in accord with other critics of dialogues such as the distinction made by the Earl of Shaftesbury, who he argued that there were genuine 'dialogic' dialogues and sham 'monologic' dialogues. As will be seen later he criticised dialogues that used the characters as rhetorical puppets because although they may 'maintain contrary Points; they are found, at the bottom, to be all of the same side.'²⁴ Shaftesbury argued that authentic dialogues had to have characters which were not simply foils for the writer to express their own thoughts.

The final distinction worth exploring is the difference between dialectic and dialogue. Dialectic was one of the three liberal arts that were taught in medieval universities as part of the *trivium*. Many scholastic philosophers made use of dialectics in their works, such as Abelard, William of Sherwood, Garlandus

²¹ Thomas Blount, *Glossographia, or, A dictionary interpreting all such hard words of whatsoever language now used in our refined English tongue*, (London, 1661) p. 205.

²² Thomas Blount, *Glossographia, or, A dictionary interpreting all such hard words of whatsoever language now used in our refined English tongue*, (London, 1661) p. 205.

²³ Elisha Coles, *An English Dictionary explaining the difficult terms that are used in divinity, husbandry, physick, phylosophy, law, navigation, mathematicks, and other arts and sciences* (1677)

²⁴ Anthony Ashley Cooper Earl of Shaftesbury, *Shaftesbury: Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 179.

Compotista, Walter Burley, Roger Swyneshed and William of Ockham.²⁵ The difference between dialectic and dialogue was articulated by Thomas Stanley in *History of Philosophy* (1656): 'A Dialogue is composed of questions and answers Philosophical or Political, aptly expressing the Characters of those persons that are the speakers in an elegant stile,' whereas 'Dialectic is the art of discourse, whereby we confirm or confute any thing by questions and answers of the disputants.'²⁶ The difference, then, between dialogue and dialectic, according to Stanley, was the objective and format. Dialectic was a primarily oral process of reasoning, whereas dialogue was a written form of reasoning. Each form had different objectives. The goal of a dialectic process was to merge point and counterpoint via conflict and tension to a point of synthesis in which either something was confirmed or confuted. By contrast, a dialogue did not necessarily have the goal of establishing or refuting something. It was, therefore, possible for a dialogue to have various ideas coexist and a dialogue could end without a resolution between the different parties.²⁷ This distinction between dialectic and dialogue was not a rigid one, for often dialogues, such as those of Plato, were used for a dialectic process, and dialectic debates were also written down as a dialogue.²⁸ Dialectic can be therefore be seen as a process, that was primarily oral and rhetorical, to establish or debunk something, whereas although dialogue could be used for dialectic reasoning, it was essentially a literary form that

²⁵ Marta Spranzi, *The Art of Dialectic Between Dialogue and Rhetoric: The Aristotelian Tradition* (John Benjamins Publishing, 2011); Dmitri Nikulin, *Dialectic and Dialogue* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2010); Eleonore Stump, *Dialectic and Its Place in the Development of Medieval Logic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

²⁶ Thomas Stanley, *History of Philosophy* (1656), p. 259.

²⁷ This process of negotiation through various explicit contradictions was a central part of Hegel's philosophy and for Hegel, the whole of history is one great dialectic, the major stages of which chart a progression from self-alienation as slavery to self-unification and realisation as the rational, constitutional state of free and equal citizens. See Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. 1874. *The Logic*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press) pp. 107-111.

²⁸ Francisco J. González, *Dialectic and Dialogue: Plato's Practice of Philosophical Inquiry* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1998), pp. 1–15.

represented a conversation between two people that did not necessarily have the goal of coming to a resolution.

In summary, dialogue for this thesis will be understood as the name of a type of literature that has two or more people in discussion. This makes no distinction between what type of characters feature in the discussion, the style of writing, its authenticity, literary structure, or topics of the discussion it is simply a name given to the literary form of a written discussion. Defining a dialogue in such minimalistic terms, however helpful in providing a shared, core feature, provides little boundaries to the form. This definition of dialogue covers a wide variety of mediums and is potentially unlimited. It includes scribal forms of writing such as court records, trial depositions, and written and printed letters;²⁹ Dramatic forms such as plays, printed trials and ballads, along with more visual mediums such as woodcuts, prints and paintings.³⁰ The scope of what could be, and was, included under the label of a dialogue was vast.

²⁹ For work on printed trials see: Michael Mendla, 'The "Prints" of the Trials: The Nexus of Politics, Religion, Law and Information in the Late Seventeenth Century', in *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s*, ed. by Jason McElligott (London: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 123–38; Terry Walker, *Thou and You in Early Modern English Dialogues: Trials, Depositions, and Drama Comedy* (London: John Benjamins, 2007); Gowing looks at scribal trial depositions in her work, drawing upon the dialogue between women to look at the dynamics of sexual slander. Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); For printed letters see Susan Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers 1660-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

³⁰ Claire M. L. Bourne, "'A Play and No Play': Printing the Performance in Early Modern England', *Dissertations Available from ProQuest*, 2013, 1–352; For work on printed images see: Joseph Monteyne, *The Printed Image in Early Modern London: Urban Space, Visual Representation, and Social Exchange* (London: Ashgate, 2007); Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press Oxford, 1994); Diane Katherine Jakacki, "'Covetous to Parley with so Sweet a Frontis-Peece": Illustration in Early Modern English Play-Texts' (University of Waterloo, 2010) <<https://uwspace.uwaterloo.ca/handle/10012/5518>> [accessed 14 April 2014]; Helen Pierce, *All 'Sorts of Pictures of Stories': The Print in Early Modern England* (JSTOR, 2011) <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/hlq.2011.74.4.629>> [accessed 14 April 2014]; Helen Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); The ballad genre has been looked at in the following: Adam Fox, 'Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England', *Past and Present*, 145 (1994); Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its*

The Heart of the Dialogue: Written Conversation

Mikhail Bakhtin said that 'every genre has its own orientation.'³¹ The orientation of a genre was the one fundamental trait that the genre, even the most elusive, had in common.³² This core trait provided information about the scope and direction of the genre. The fundamental trait of the dialogue, which its family of generic attributes revolved around, was the representation of conversation. The religious writer William Sherlock put his finger on this when he asked 'what is the meaning of a dialogue, but to represent two persons talking together?'³³ The commitment of the dialogue genre to representing communication is clear from looking at various definitions given by contemporaries. For instance, the introduction to a translation of Virgil's *Eclogues* (1691) claimed that the 'manner of dialogues' was 'talking between two or more parties.'³⁴ At the most basic level, a dialogue was a representation of oral communication between at least two people. As *The English Expositor* (1616) put it, a dialogue was

Music (New Brunswick, 1966); Angela McShane-Jones, 'Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers: The Politicisation of Drink and Drunkenness in Political Broadside Ballads, 1640-1689', *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, Adam Smyth, Editor, 2004, 69–88; For the blurred lines between dialogue and drama see: Susan Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Dale Randall, *Winter Fruit: English Drama 1642-1660* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995). I think you have cited much of this before so you need short title versions here (and previous note)

³¹ Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin and others, *The Formal Method in Literary Scholarship: A Critical Introduction to Sociological Poetics* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), p. 131.

³² Fishelov, p. 66.

³³ William Sherlock, *A Dialogue between Dr Sherlock, the King of France, the Great Turk, and Dr Oates* (London, 1691).

³⁴ Virgil, *Virgils Eclogues*, ed. by Virgil, (London 1620), p. 1; Sherlock, p. 1. Henry Neville in *Plato Redivivus* defined dialogues as 'a private Conversation, as it was originally in the planting of the Gospel,' p. 3

A talk, reasoning, or disputation between two parties or more, or a discourse written where such a conference is set down.³⁵

The French and English Dictionary (1677) similarly defined a dialogue as a 'written discourse between two or more.'³⁶ The consensus of almost all dialogue writers was that the representation of a conversation, or debate, between two or more people was the central feature of a dialogue.

The difficulty many writers encountered was not in what a dialogue was but what an authentic dialogue consisted of. Indeed, many writers attempted to prescribe what a dialogue should look like and the Renaissance was one of the most fertile periods of theorising on the dialogue. As has been acknowledged by Donald Gilman, Virginia Cox, and Roger Deakins, the humanists Torquato Tasso, Carlo Sigonio, and Sperone Speroni, had provided conventions to which they believed a dialogue must adhere.³⁷ These conventions were based around the structure of the dialogue, the nature of the participants, and the logical manner in which the conversation unfolded. It is not clear, however, to what extent the theorisations by these humanists were circulated in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.³⁸ For the most part, there is little evidence to suggest that there was much awareness of Tasso's or Speroni's works on the 'art of the

³⁵ J. B., *An English Expositor Teaching the Interpretation of the Hardest Words Vsed in Our Language. With Sundry Explications, Descriptions, and Discourses.* By I.B. Doctor of Phisicke. (London, 1616).

³⁶ *The French and English Dictionary* (London, 1677).

³⁷ For a comprehensive discussion of the Renaissance theories of dialogue see Donald Gilman, 'Theories of Dialogue', *The Dialogue in Early Modern France*, 1993, 1547–1630; John R. Snyder, *Writing the Scene of Speaking: Theories of Dialogue in the Late Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989); Roger Deakins, 'The Tudor Prose Dialogue: Genre and Anti-Genre', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 20 (1980), 5; Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in Its Social and Political Contexts Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

³⁸ Roger Deakins took Carlo Sigonio's requirements for a dialogue and meticulously compared them Tudor prose dialogues. Deakins concluded that sixteenth-century dialogues 'deliberately fly in the face of the conventions of the dialogue genre,' and labelled them as an anti-genre. Roger Deakins, 'The Tudor Dialogue as Literary Form' (unpublished Thesis, Harvard University, 1964). Deakins said that 'Of the two hundred and thirty-odd Tudor dialogues extant, only five come close to fulfilling the requirements for dialogue decorum outlined by Sigonio.' Deakins, 'The Tudor Prose Dialogue', p. 10.

dialogue'.³⁹ Predominantly, it was Erasmus's *Colloquies* and the dialogues of Cicero that shaped most peoples' understanding of the dialogue genre.⁴⁰ English dialogues were therefore not violating the 'established' rules of dialogue as some scholars have suggested, but were tapping into a localised tradition of dialogue writing, informed by European practice; that was transmitted and practised throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance.⁴¹ Crawford underlines: 'that the English dialogue is in the broadest sense a native growth.'⁴² For the most part, English dialogues were a very different species of dialogue to those produced in the Renaissance because they were often more colloquial, less structured, and more heterogeneous as a genre than Renaissance dialogues. This raises the question: if writers of dialogues didn't adhere to the Renaissance humanists conventions of the genre, then what was the organising force behind the dialogue genre?

Ferrard Spence provided the lengthiest discussion of the 'art of dialogue' in the seventeenth-century. He articulated these characteristics in his translation of the *Works of Lucian* (1684). In his epistle dedicatory he states:

The art of dialogue is to be thoroughly understood so as the conversation represented may be more learned and better managed than ordinary converse, and yet still that it be conversation: by which I mean a Free, Natural, Easy, Familiar Conference, wherein mirth and Civility have their

³⁹ There were no editions of their works on dialogue in England in the early modern period and no preface or discussion of the form is Tasso, Speroni, or Signio mentioned. Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalemme Liberata* was printed and translated multiple times in England and Tasso's legacy came through this text rather than his proscriptions on the 'art of dialogue.'

⁴⁰ This point will be fleshed out in greater depth in the chapter 'A Genealogy of Dialogue' that will show how Erasmus and Cicero were influential in shaping contemporary understanding of the dialogue genre.

⁴¹ Judith A. Deitch, 'The Genre of Logic and Artifice, Dialectic, Rhetoric, and English Dialogues, 1400-1600, Hoccleve to Spenser', 1998, p. 6 <<https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/12400>> [accessed 4 April 2014].

⁴² Bartholow V. Crawford, *The Non-Dramatic Dialogue in English Prose before 1750* (S.N, 1918), p. 57.

due place and care is taken, that there be a nice distinction of each particular speaker, and that he never act contrary to his character.⁴³

From Spence, we can establish a set of features that were important to the dialogue genre and can use it to suggest a constellation of similarities belonging to the family of dialogues.

Broader Themes

One of the benefits of a study of the dialogue is that it can help understand early modern intertextuality. The fact that it sat at the crossroads of so many forms and could accommodate so many different subjects makes it an ideal interdisciplinary and intertextual focus of study.⁴⁴ This approach to examining texts is particularly useful for dialogues as the genre intentionally appropriated, linked with, and referred to, other texts. Some work has already shown how the dialogue cut across generic boundaries. Dale Randell in *Winter Fruit*, for instance, looked at dialogues in relation to pamphlet plays in the interregnum and the end of publicly performed plays in 1642. He saw pamphlet dialogues as 'pretend plays' that became politicised by royalists as they used the resemblance to drama for polemical purposes.⁴⁵ Lois Potter also suggests that, due to dialogue's affinity to drama, royalist writers could invoke characters from plays within dialogues to form complex webs of inter-textual allusions and associations, thereby developing a set of codes and literary references that enabled royalists to form a secret fraternity linguistically.⁴⁶ Susan Wiseman, in contrast, showed that both royalists and parliamentarians used the form. Wiseman's study drew

⁴³ Lucian, *Works of Lucian*, (1684), 61.

⁴⁴ Intertextuality is based on the principle that no text is ever found, or read, in isolation. The concept emerged as part of post-structuralism. Structuralists had tended to treat texts as closed systems that were isolated from other texts; they focused on the internal structures of the text to the exclusion of its relationships beyond the boundaries of its printed pages. Edith Kurzwell, *The Age of Structuralism: From Lévi-Strauss to Foucault* (New York: Transaction Publishers, 1996); Niels Åkestrøm Andersen, *Discourse Analytical Strategies: Understanding Foucault, Kosselleck, Laclau, Luhmann* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2005); Gregory Castle, *The Blackwell Guide to Literary Theory* (Maldon, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007).

⁴⁵ Dale Randall, *Winter Fruit: English Drama 1642-1660* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), pp. 53-70.

⁴⁶ Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 30-41.

attention to the inherent hybridity of the pamphlet-plays and the way in which dialogue and drama interacted during the 1640s.⁴⁷ Dialogues have also made an appearance in Joad Raymond's two important studies of newsbooks and pamphlets. Raymond suggested that the point-for-point style of newsbooks evoked the dialogue genre and that editors of newsbooks often used dialogue to allow the participants to speak for themselves.⁴⁸ This thesis will build on this work in chapters three and four to explore such intertextuality between literary genres further and to provide a genealogy of the dialogue and situate dialogues within the terrain of early modern print culture.

A study of dialogues can also shed light on the intersection between oral and print cultures because they represented oral conversation in print. As Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury said, printed dialogues 'give us the representation of real discourse and converse.'⁴⁹ The relationship between orality and print culture has been of interest to scholars such as Adam Fox, Walter Ong and Dagmar Freist.⁵⁰ Adam Fox has convincingly argued that: 'The boundaries between speech and text, hearing and reading, were thoroughly permeable and constantly shifting so that the dichotomy is difficult and impossible to sustain.'⁵¹ Similarly, Dagmar Freist has highlighted the fact that early modern England was only partially literate and that 'communication was still dominated by oral habits of thought and expression, including the extensive use of formulaic elements, clear diction, short sentences, rhyme schemes and

⁴⁷ Susan Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁴⁸ Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 131.

⁴⁹ Anthony Ashley Cooper Earl of Shaftesbury, *Shaftesbury: Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁵⁰ D. Freist, *Governed By Opinion: Politics, Religion and Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London 1637-1645* (London, 1997); Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); W. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, (1982); See also David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); D.R. Woolf, 'The "Common Voice": History, Folklore and Oral Tradition in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 120 (1988), 26–52; Harold Love, 'Oral and Scribal Texts in Early Modern England', in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁵¹ Fox, p. 39.

metre.⁵² The shifting boundaries of speech and text are perfectly articulated by the dialogue genre in their inherent paradox of being a printed text representing a verbal exchange of ideas.⁵³ Examining this intersection between literate and oral in the dialogue will be used to understand how dialogues were used as a means by which fewer literate members of society could gain knowledge of a broad range of literature. This thesis will argue that because dialogues could educate the less literate, it can partly explain why dialogues were a popular form of literature in early modern England.

The ability of the dialogue to represent spoken interaction has meant that the genre has also been of interest to linguists who have explored the genre to try to recover the language of early modern people. This has resulted in a branch of linguistics called historical pragmatics that studies the linguistic structure of such texts.⁵⁴ Jonathan Culpeper and Merja Kytö, for instance, have drawn upon dialogues, along with other several speech-related written genres, to provide a fascinating insight into what spoken interaction in early modern English might have been like.⁵⁵ Linguists have therefore used dialogues as a pathway to understanding how people spoke and interacted socially in the early modern period. This thesis will examine how dialogues were a bridge between the world of print and the oral world, a form in which speech and text coalesced.

⁵² Freist, pp. 39, 242.

⁵³ Freist, p. 248.

⁵⁴ Historical Pragmatics: Introduction, *Historical Dialogue Analysis*, Historical Pragmatics is a subdivision of historical linguistics. It assumes that historical linguistic features can be studied in a similar manner to modern linguistics. See Gabriella Mazzon, Introduction in *Interactive Dialogue Sequences*,

⁵⁵ Culpeper and Kytö, Terry Walker, and Jonathan Hope have also both used the dialogue genre as a basis to study the way in which 'thou' and 'you' were used in early modern English and to reveal the dynamics of power that were clustered around how these words were used. Scribal dialogues have been used by Laura Gowing to look at the language of sexual slander in court depositions to understand how men and women fought over the usage and meaning of sexual words. Terry Walker, *Thou and You in Early Modern English Dialogues: Trials, Depositions, and Drama Comedy* (London: John Benjamins, 2007); Johnathan Hope, 'The Use of Thou and You in Early Modern Spoken English: Evidence from Depositions in the Durham Ecclesiastical Courts', in *Studies in Early Modern English*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky (Boston: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994).

Studying the dialogue as a historical phenomenon can aid an understanding of the culture of the period because their culture actively shapes genres.⁵⁶ One way in which the historical moment imprinted itself on the dialogue genre was through the type of characters involved in the interlocutions. This thesis, in chapter five, will examine the range of characters used by dialogue writers and look at how these characters reflected the archetypes of seventeenth century England. The salience of this approach can be seen from the work of Christopher Haigh and Peter Lake, who have both drawn attention to the role of stereotypes in this period.⁵⁷ Christopher Haigh argues that Arthur Dent's *The Plain-Man's Pathway to Heaven* embodied the faith of the period. Lake argued that they were only stereotypes that embodied societies anxieties about popery.⁵⁸ However, Haigh claimed that Dent's interlocutors were faithful representations of the people found in every sixteenth and seventeenth-century village. Haigh's work demonstrates that looking at characters can help to understand the way in which the early modern world was represented, and how characterization of groups of people was used as a means of identity construction. This suggests the dialogue's ability to represent the diversity of people that comprised early modern England.

The paying attention to characters used in the genre can assist in an understanding of the readership of dialogues. Previously, work on readership focused on two categories, the first termed 'old book history' centred on book

⁵⁶ The relationship between genre and society has been highlighted by Carolyn Miller who has drawn attention to the relationship between culture and genre arguing that the number of genres in any society is related to the complexity and diversity of that society Carolyn R. Miller, 'Genre as Social Action', *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 70 (1984), 151–67 (p. 34); Carolyn R. Miller, 'Rhetorical Community: The Cultural Basis of Genre', *Genre and the new rhetoric*, 1994, 67–78.

⁵⁷ Peter Lake, 'Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (New York: Longman, 1989), pp. 72–103; Peter Lake and Michael Questier, 'Puritans, Papists, and the "Public Sphere" in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context', *The Journal of Modern History*, 72 (2000), 587–627; Christopher Haigh, *The Plain Man's Pathways to Heaven: Kinds of Christianity in Post-Reformation England, 1570-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); See also Elizabeth K. Hudson, 'The Plaine Mans Pastor: Arthur Dent and the Cultivation of Popular Piety in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 1993, 23–36.

⁵⁸ Haigh, p. 4.

ownership, distribution, and collections;⁵⁹ The second, by contrast, relied on the fragmentary and widely dispersed evidence left by direct engagement with the book, revolving around instances in which historians can find traces of how a text was 'consumed', such as marginalia and reading notes in commonplace books and diaries, that help to reconstruct the ways in which historical actors read.⁶⁰ Both approaches are inadequate when trying to look at the readership of dialogues because dialogues were often marketed to buyers for them buy the book for others, for example, the 'request to the rich' that prefaced Richard Baxter's *The Poor Man's Family Book* says that 'this book was intended for the use of Poor families which have neither money to buy many, nor time to read them.' Baxter entreated that the rich 'will bestow one Book (either this or some fitter) upon as many poor Families as you well can.'⁶¹ Similarly, given the number and variety of dialogues published it is hard to identify a precise sociological level at which dialogues were being read.⁶² Therefore, the approach taken in this thesis is to look at the material form of the dialogue as Cathy Shrank has argued, the form a work is circulated in gives us important clues to how these texts might have been read and how their authors wanted them to be read.⁶³ In paying attention to the material form of the book, prefaces, and the types of characters

⁵⁹ One example of this is Kevin Sharpe's study of Sir William Drake's library. Sharpe studied Drake's library, the annotations he made in his books, and the notes that he made on his reading. Sharpe linked these reading strategies to the political context Drake read in, in order to understand how the political environment altered the way in which Drake read and interpreted his books. See: Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1–25.

⁶⁰ David Allan, "The Scottish Enlightenment and the Readers of Late Georgian Lancaster: 'Light in the North,'" *Northern History* 36, no. 2 (September 1, 2000): 267–81; Allan, "Some Methods and Problems in the History of Reading"; Heather J. Jackson, *Romantic Readers: The Evidence of Marginalia* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2008); Colclough, "Recovering the Reader."

⁶¹ Richard Baxter, *The Poor Man's Family Book*, (1691), sig. A3r.

⁶² Spufford attempted to work out whom the readership for cheap print was by estimating the degree of literacy, the access people had to buy, and thereby read, ballads and chapbooks to establish what the potential readership was. Establishing a potential readership population does not establish that they did, in fact, read the books aimed at them. It simply establishes that there was in existence a potential market for books. This gives us little insight into what books they brought and read because the existence of a middling sort with a growing rate of literacy combined with the growth of a print form that they could afford to buy does not mean that the middling sort did buy these affordable books. It may be probable and even highly likely but it is by no means conclusive. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 12-79.

⁶³ Cathy Shrank, "'This Fatale Medea,' 'this Clytemnestra': Reading and the Detection of Mary Queen of Scots," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (September 1, 2010): 523–41, p. 524.

used in the dialogue can help to understand who writers imagined were reading their dialogues, even if it is unable to provide evidence of actual readers of the dialogues.⁶⁴ As will be demonstrated in chapter five, dialogues did not have a single readership but the intended readers of dialogues spanned a wide demographic with dialogues aimed at those of partial and no literary ability through to the educated elite.

A key characteristic of early modern England was division, debate and partisanship.⁶⁵ Dialogues operated at the heart of these debates organising the social, religious and political divisions into a form that clearly juxtaposed the different ideas against each other and, importantly, made them intelligible to a wide audience. As one writer of dialogues said: 'I have observed that Controversial matters written by way of Dialogue, according to the true Rules thereof, have very well obtained among all intelligent readers.'⁶⁶ A study of the dialogue genre will be able to shed light into how seventeenth and early eighteenth century England dealt with, and represented, controversy and debate.

Dialogues were popular medium for staging controversy and discussion. This was because they offered writers a format that demonstrated the defeat of opposing positions while also providing arguments to readers so that they could defend their ideology. Thomas Stanley, for instance, defined a dialogue as being

⁶⁴ Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretative Communities*, 161–163. Susan Rubin Suleiman and Inge Crosman, *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 8–9,

⁶⁵ This draws upon the concept of the seventeenth-century crisis theory that was made popular by the Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm while Hugh Trevor-Roper contested it. Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'Crisis in Europe', *Past & Present*, 16 (1959); Eric Hobsbawm, 'The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century', *Past & Present*, 12 (1959); Theodore K. Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975); Two good surveys of the crisis theory in Europe are: Niels Steensgaard, 'The Seventeenth Century Crisis', in *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Geoffrey Parker (London: Routledge, 1978), pp. 32–57; Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith, *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2005); The idea of crisis still maintains traction today, although due to revisionist historiography it has been nuanced and mitigated significantly. Philip Benedict and Myron P. Gutmann, *Early Modern Europe: From Crisis to Stability* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005); The most recent work on the crisis theory is: Geoffrey Parker, 'Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered', *The American Historical Review*, 113 (2008), 1053–79 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/ahr.113.4.1053>>; Peter Burke, 'The Crisis in the Arts of the Seventeenth Century: A Crisis of Representation?', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 40 (2009), 239–61.

⁶⁶ James Tyrell, *Bibliotheca Politica*, (1690), p12.

‘composed of questions and answers Philosophical or Political, aptly expressing the Characters of those persons that are the speakers in an elegant Stile.’⁶⁷ R.F.’s translation of Peter Ramus’ books on logic similarly showed how questions were entwined with the dialogue form, as R.F. not only translated Ramus but ‘Adorned it with a new weed, to wit of a Dialogue, or questions and answers.’⁶⁸ Dialogues were seen therefore not simply as conversations but also as a forum in which writers could examine ideas, opinions and information and put them under scrutiny ‘by question and answer, after the fashion of these times.’⁶⁹ The ability to raise questions meant that a dialogue could be used as a forum in which doubts, criticisms and objections could be voiced of a certain belief, idea, or fact. *News from Heaven* (1641), for instance, used the form of a dialogue as a way to voice the ‘stirs and discords there are at this time in our native Country England, betwixt Superiors and Inferiors.’⁷⁰ Through voicing doubts, criticisms, and questions dialogues were able to probe the boundary between knowledge and doubt. Writers could highlight the errors and problems in a certain belief by having a character present one intellectual position, opinion, or belief and then using the other character to ‘constantly spring up new Objections.’⁷¹

Writers believed a dialogue could be used to help convert someone to a different position, respond to objections, and intercept criticism. One writer of dialogues praised the form saying that dialogue could ‘contain the doubts and queries of an ingenious Scholar which are solv’d and decided by a knowing and Judicious Master.’⁷² William Caton said that his dialogue was a ‘description of several objections which are summed up together and treated upon by way of conference’ by which means he could show ‘answers to the many objections that

⁶⁷ Thomas Stanley, *The History of Philosophy*, 3rd Edition, (1674), p. 174.

⁶⁸ R.F., *Peter Ramus, his logick in two bookes. Not onely truely translated into English, but also digested into question and answere, for the more easie understanding of all men. By R.F. Gent* (1636).

⁶⁹ Pemble, *Vindiciae Graciae* (1627) p. xii.

⁷⁰ Anon, *News from Heaven*, (1641), p. 2.

⁷¹ William Niccols, *A conference with a theist* (1696).

⁷² Ferrard Spence, ‘Introduction’ in *Works of Lucian*, (1684) p. 65.

are frequently produced by their opponents.¹⁷³ The dialogue could, therefore, be used as a controlled space in which a writer could present and respond to sceptical arguments to buttress readers against their doubts.

The capability of dialogue to express questions and doubts was used as a way to empower readers. John Dryden believed that voicing doubts allowed readers to become arbitrators of what they believed was the truth. As he said, of his *Essay of Dramatick Poesy* (1668) 'it is a dialogue sustained by persons of several opinions, all of them left doubtful, to be determined by the readers in general.'¹⁷⁴ Likewise, the Earl of Shaftesbury argued that 'the true dialogue is where the author is annihilated.'¹⁷⁵ Shaftesbury's ideal was for a writer to remove his voice and deliver the different arguments impartially to the reader so that 'you [the reader] are left to judge coolly and with indifference of the sense to deliver.'¹⁷⁶

The motives for having an impartial author who presented the arguments equally to the reader lay in his belief that readers should be free to judge between the different views. This meant that the writers were required to present both views with the strongest arguments. Giving both arguments fairly empowered the reader to decide between the different points of view. As one dialogue put it

The best and most ingenious way of Conviction is to propose the Arguments fairly on both sides, without interposing my own Judgement, but to leave it to the intelligent, and impartial Reader to embrace that side of which he found most rational & convincing Arguments.¹⁷⁷

This encouraged active participation by the readers, who were, at least in theory, meant to determine which of the characters they agreed with. Daniel Defoe in his

¹⁷³ William Caton, *The moderate enquirer resolved in a plain description of several objections which are summed up together and treated upon by way of conference* (1658) sig. A1r.

¹⁷⁴ John Dryden, *Prose 1691-1698: De Arte Graphica and Shorter Works* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. viii.

¹⁷⁵ Shaftesbury, p. 338.

¹⁷⁶ Shaftesbury, p. 90.

¹⁷⁷ James Tyrell, *Bibliotheca Politica*, (1691) Epistle to the reader.

Essay upon Projects, for instance, used the dialogue form to help the reader participate in its discussions. By having various different voices in the text Defoe believed that the reader could either adopt or avoid the opinions throughout the essay.⁷⁸ The final feature of the dialogue was, therefore, its ability to include readers in the discovery of truth as active participants in the debate who were empowered to arbitrate between the competing arguments.

A study of the dialogue genre also touches upon broader themes of censorship, interpretation, and misunderstanding that permeated the early modern period. As writers, and printers navigated the challenges of printing for an increasingly anonymous reading public they were concerned about their work being misrepresented, and misinterpreted. Such anxiety was not unprecedented, for even before printing exacerbated the problem, Socrates had already voiced in the *Phaedrus* his concern that texts were liable to be misunderstood.⁷⁹ Concerns over the misinterpretation of texts however persisted and intensified during the early modern period as authors were forced to come to terms with the implications of print and a reading public that was unknown and heterogeneous. Early modern authors were very aware that they were unable to map their intended readers accurately with the actual readers of their text and therefore could not determine how their texts were read. As Nicolas Breton noted in his dialogue *Taker and Mistaker* 'How everyone will take it, I know not.'⁸⁰ Authors understood that these unknown readers could 'pervert their words to contrary meanings.'⁸¹ As Robert Grove put it, readers 'will purposely pervert their meaning, and pretend to know their judgments better than they do themselves, and wrest their expressions, and put such a sense upon their words, as they never intended.'⁸²

⁷⁸ "'Her Conversation heavenly': Defoe's Architectural Dialogues and the Academy for Women," in *Compendious Conversations*, ed. Kevin Cope Lang (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), p. 239.

⁷⁹ Plato and C. D. C. Reeve, *A Plato Reader: Eight Essential Dialogues* (London: Hackett Publishing, 1979), p. 153.

⁸⁰ Nicolas Breton, *Taker and Mistaker*, (1621), sig. A2r.

⁸¹ Anon, *A more full answer of John Bastwick*, (1637) sig. A3v.

⁸² Robert Grove, *A vindication of the conforming clergy*, (1676).

These fears of being misinterpreted were sharpened during times of political, religious and social unrest. As Sharon Achinstein has suggested, radical disagreement and civil discord resulted in distrust of the meaning of words.⁸³ Rival political and religious groups contested the meaning of words and concepts, resulting in competing and contradictory definitions of words. As John Stoughton said of words in 1640 'one takes it in one sense and another in another sense, and so it makes them differ and jangle one against another.'⁸⁴ In conjunction with words accruing contradictory meanings, the civil unrest of the 1640s and 1650s also caused a proliferation of new words and phrases. Thomas Sprat claimed that the Civil Wars led to 'many fantastical terms, which were introduc'd by our Religious Sects; and many outlandish phrases, which several Writers, and Translators, in that great hurry, brought in.'⁸⁵ The combination of words having contested meanings and the introduction of a new vocabulary meant that there was a climate in which the danger of being misrepresented was very real. When misunderstanding could have significant social and political consequences for the author, it was crucial to try and limit the interpretation readers could place on a text. As a result of this authors and printers developed strategies to contain the interpretative liberties of readers.⁸⁶

Printers and authors could place constraints upon the way in which readers interpreted and understood their texts through using genre and manipulating literary conventions. Annabel Patterson sees these strategies as part of a 'hermeneutics of censorship' that caused authors to develop 'a highly sophisticated system of oblique communication, of unwritten rules whereby writers could communicate with readers or audiences (among whom were the very same authorities who were responsible for state censorship) without

⁸³ Sharon Achinstein, 'The Politics of Babel in the English Revolution', in *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution*, ed. by James Holstun (New York: Frank Cass, 1992), pp. 14–44.

⁸⁴ John Stoughton, *A forme of Wholsome words*, (1640), sig. b2v.

⁸⁵ Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal-Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London: Royal Society, 1667).

⁸⁶ Sharpe, p. 44.

producing a direct confrontation.'⁸⁷ The dialogue, in particular, was a useful way of preventing readers from distorting and misinterpreting the author's opinion and controlling the interpretative freedom that readers had.

The dialogue genre was capable of limiting the interpretative liberties of readers. This feature of the dialogue will be explored in chapter six. The ability of the dialogue to function as a means to influence readers interpretation will be explored in chapter six that will look at Roger L'Estrange used the dialogue form in his news periodical *The Observator* as a rhetorical tool to help guide people to the 'correct' conclusion in their interpretation of the news. An examination of dialogue periodicals such as *The Observator*, and *Heraclitus Ridens* will show how they marketed themselves as being educators that would inform the public so that they could make informed judgements about the significance and meaning of the news. This will be done to evaluate Timothy Dykstal's argument in *The Luxury of Skepticism* argued that 'as a literary form dialogue helped to develop and subsequently transform the public sphere in late-seventeenth century and early eighteenth century England.'⁸⁸ Other work By David Zaret and Dagmar Friest has also suggested a link between dialogue and the public sphere, it has not fully proven the depth of it in any convincing way.⁸⁹ This chapter will look at L'Estranges *Observator* to question the extent that print and dialogue helped to facilitate rational discussion and argue that dialogue was used by L'Estrange not to encourage discussion but as a way to police and constrain public discussion.

The dialogue can shed light on a range of broad themes because it was a highly diverse genre. Dialogues were printed in a range of forms, from cheap print, such as ballads and pamphlets, through to more expensive forms, such as books and treatises. They covered a broad spectrum of topics and they often

⁸⁷ Annabel M. Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 45 [accessed 4 April 2014].

⁸⁸ Timothy Dykstal, *The Luxury of Skepticism: Politics, Philosophy in the English Public Sphere 1660-1740* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001), p. 4.

⁸⁹ Freist, pp. 19-21.

incorporated other literary genres within them. The amorphous nature of the dialogue is precisely what makes it valuable to study: because it interacted with other genres, discourses, and events, it provides a useful viewpoint through which to look at print and culture broadly. Indeed, work that has been done on the dialogue is spread across various disciplines and subjects that are not often brought together and as a result, we only have a partial understanding of the genre. This thesis seeks to look at the dialogue as a whole, as a lens through which to consider broader themes such as print culture, the nature of debate in this period, early modern intertextuality, censorship, and cultural representation.

1. Digitisation, Databases and Dialogues

The introduction outlined the value of a study of the dialogue genre and sketched some of the broader themes into which a study of dialogues can provide insight. This chapter will give an account of the methodology used to explore the genre in this thesis. It will reflect upon the challenges and benefits of digitisation of early modern books and argue that digital texts allow early modern scholars to approach literary genres in new ways. It will contend that digital texts offer the historian four benefits: firstly, they provide us with an amount of early modern texts that a physical library cannot. Secondly, they provide a more efficient way to study books than manually searching physical copies. Thirdly, they make it possible to manipulate and arrange texts in ways that physical copies cannot, to allow the study of them in new ways, and finally, that the increasing amount of key-word searchable texts makes it possible to have more comprehensive catalogues of a genre.

Digitisation and the Early Modern Universal Library

Over the past decades, there has been a significant increase in digital resources for the historian of the early modern period. The digital collections Early English Books Online (EEBO), Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO), the Burney Collection, and British Periodicals online together contain nearly half a million texts.¹ This combined collection constitutes a vast literature brought from rare book collections across the globe into one place that can be accessed quickly by scholars from their computers.² As John P. Schmitt described his first experience with EEBO, it was ‘a little like waking up in the British Library after closing time. The rare books of the British Library, Harvard, the Folger, the Huntington, and many others are suddenly accessible in their original

¹ On the problems of studying millions of texts see Yuan Kui Shen Jean-Baptiste Michel, ‘Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Books’, *Science*, 2010.

² This chapter does not consider other digital resources such as State Papers Online, the Hartib papers and other digital resources. For general studies on digital resources and the use of them within the humanities see: Paddy Bullard, ‘Digital Humanities and Electronic Resources in the Long Eighteenth Century’, *Literature Compass*, 10 (2013), 748–60; Kathryn Deegan and Kathryn Sutherland, ‘Introduction’, in *Text Editing, Print and the Digital World*, ed. by Kathryn Deegan and Kathryn Sutherland (Devon: Ashgate, 2009); Sarah Werner, ‘Where Material Book Culture Meets Digital Humanities’, *Journal of Digital Humanities*, 2012.

appearance.³ It is undeniable that EEBO and ECCO are a significant collection of early modern printed material; however, it is dangerous to treat these resources as a universal catalogue of early modern literature.⁴ This is because although EEBO has the stated goal of including 'virtually every work printed' in England and its dependencies from 1473 to 1700, the completed content will only represent '80 per cent of the surviving print record in English between 1475 and 1700.'⁵ The quantity of material that EEBO and ECCO make accessible to scholars is capable of masking this incompleteness through the illusion of comprehensiveness.⁶ Neglecting the problem of comprehensiveness of these collections can result in exaggerating claims derived from studies that utilise them, and misses out on the other dimensions of early modern culture.⁷ These limitations, Ian Gadd, has argued, mean that there is a real risk of scholarly misuse of *EEBO* due to 'a lack of an informed knowledge of what exactly *EEBO* is.'⁸ Therefore, any user of digital collections should treat them like any historical source and be aware of their limitations as a source and the implications that the use of them has on how we study the past.⁹

³ J.P. Schmitt, 'Early English Books Online', *The Charleston Advisor*, April (2005), p5–6.

⁴ According to a ProQuest, the ultimate goal of EEBO is 'to provide scholars with a single source for research on Early English Books, including bibliographic citations, full-page representations of all images, and ASCII-encoded text.' This quote comes from Austin J. McLean, 'Early British Printing Meets the Electronic Age: A Large-Scale Digitization Case Study', *Microform & Imaging Review*, 30 (2007), 127–34.

⁵ Schmitt, p. 5.

⁶ Professor Marilyn Deegan and Professor Kathryn Sutherland, *Transferred Illusions: Digital Technology and the Forms of Print* (London: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 132–154.

⁷ For the multi-faceted nature of culture see Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Ashgate, 1978). The following work has shown that looking at unconventional sources and outside of print is important to understand the print culture. Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (Vintage Books, 1985); Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Antonio Perez-Ramos, *Francis Bacon's Idea of Science and the Maker's Knowledge Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

⁸ Users of EEBO are not aware of the history of EEBO and its relation to the microfilm collection Early English Books. For more on the history of the microfilming of Early English Books see Eugene B. Power and Robert Anderson, *Edition of One: The Autobiography of Eugene B. Power, Founder of University Microfilms* (University Microfilms, 1990). Similarly, the relationship between the ESTC and EEBO is generally not known by users although provided by ProQuest: 'About Early English Books Online - EEBO'

<<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/about/about.htm#poll>> [accessed 17 June 2014]. See also Peter W. M. Blayney, 'The Numbers Game: Appraising the Revised "Short-Title Catalogue"', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 88 (1994); Donald G. Wing, 'The Making of the "Short-Title Catalogue, 1641-1700"', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 45 (1951).

⁹ There has in recent years been an increase of critical attention to digital resources by scholars and this work deserves to be more widely read by scholars of the early modern period, and users of EEBO and ECCO. See: Bonnie Mak, 'Archaeology of a Digitization', *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 3 (2013); Shawn Martin, 'EEBO, Microfilm, and Umberto Eco: Historical Lessons and Future Directions for Building Electronic Collections', *Microform & Imaging Review*, 36 (2007), 159–64; Diana Kichuk, 'Metamorphosis: Remediation in EEBO', *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 22 (2007), 291–303; Stefania Crowther and others, 'New Scholarship, New Pedagogies: Views from the "EEBO Generation"', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 14 (2008), 3–1; Thea Lindquist and Heather Wicht, 'Pleas'd By

A discussion of the limitations of digital collections is necessary due to the central role that EEBO, ECCO has in this thesis. Criticisms that have been voiced by scholars regarding digital collections have revolved around the impact of remediation of a book into an electronic text, the comprehensiveness of the collection, and its privileging of print over scribal sources. Diana Kichuk and Ian Gadd have provided the most detailed studies on EEBO and have highlighted some of the limitations of EEBO. In particular, they have underscored the phenomenological differences between digital texts and physical books. As Ian Gadd has argued, EEBO books are unable to

represent the weight, texture, or smell of an early printed book. In an *EEBO* book, the ink can be any colour so long as it's black: there is no red, no gold. An *EEBO* book usually has no outside; only very rarely are bindings included. *EEBO* books appear at first to be a uniform size, regardless of the book's original size.¹⁰

These concerns over the lack of physicality to EEBO texts may be of questionable relevance for non-bibliographers and general users of EEBO, yet, these differences are significant when studying the history of literary forms as this thesis does.

The differences between material and digital forms of a text are significant because the remediation of a book into a digital version alters the mode of transmission. It removes the material context of the book that shapes the reading experience. As Roger Chartier has said, 'there is no comprehension of any written piece that does not at least in part depend upon the forms which it reaches its reader.'¹¹ Digital texts are incapable of recreating these material aspects of early modern publications. As Joad Raymond has said of modern print facsimiles: 'Modern editions, even facsimiles, cannot recreate this experience.'¹² The remediation of early modern books as digital texts occludes various physical attributes of the text. These features were part of the rhetorical function of the text, and an awareness of this omission is crucial when approaching them as a source, particularly as will be seen later when looking at changes in paratextual features of early modern print. The physical features of dialogues were

a Newe Inuention?: Assessing the Impact of Early English Books Online on Teaching and Research at the University of Colorado at Boulder', *The Journal of Academic Librarianship*, 33 (2007), 347–60; John Jowett and Gabriel Egan, 'Review of Early English Books Online (EEBO)', 2001; Ian Gadd, 'The Use and Misuse of Early English Books Online', *Literature Compass*, 6 (2009), 680–92.

¹⁰ Gadd, pp. 691–692.

¹¹ Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, pp. 9–10. Chartier, 'Meaningful Forms' p. 9

¹² Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 43.

consciously designed to assist those with lower literacy through typographic design that aided oral recitation through the fusion of visual and textual aids such as utilising different fonts to underscore the author's rhetorical objectives. Paying attention to these material aspects of the dialogue facilitates further insight into the function of the dialogue.

The second concern over EEBO is its relationship to the Short Title Catalogue and its successor the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC). EEBO's predecessor was the microfilm collection Early English Books. This microfilm collection relied heavily upon A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave's *Short-Title Catalogue* (STC I), and Donald Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue* (STC II) to identify the books that it microfilmed. As a result, EEBO's comprehensiveness is directly correlated to that of the STC I and II and its successor the ESTC. The problem with this relationship is best articulated in David McKitterick's work on the English Short Title Catalogue that has demonstrated the incomplete nature of the ESTC, and by extension EEBO.¹³ Others have similarly highlighted the limitations of digital resources, underscoring the fact that they are only collections of material that have survived;¹⁴ And that more ephemeral printed material only has a partial representation in them, despite the inclusion of the Thomason Tracts in the collection.¹⁵ The problem of document survival, however, is one that any historical study encounters and the preservation of sources in book, letter, or manuscript form is a

¹³ David McKitterick, "Not in STC": Opportunities and Challenges in the ESTC', *The Library*, 6 (2005), 178–94.

¹⁴ Stuart Curran, 'Different Demands, Different Priorities: Electronic and Print Editions', *Literature Compass*, 7 (2010), 82–88. As Bennet observed in his comparison of the short-title catalogue and Stationers register: 'Even in the most severe days of the licensing system under Laud two-thirds of the books that were published were never submitted to the censor, and we have also seen that about one-third were never entered on the Company's register.' H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640: Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in The Reigns of James I and Charles I*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), III, p. 57; The problem of lost work has been a focus for the study of lost plays. See: David McInnis, 'Lost Plays from Early Modern England: Voyage Drama, A Case Study', *Literature Compass*, 8 (2011), 534–42; Roslyn Lander Knutson and David McInnis, 'The Lost Plays Database: A Wiki for Lost Plays', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 24 (2011), 46.

¹⁵ On the Thomason Tracts see: Michael Mendle, 'The Thomason Collection: A Reply to Stephen J. Greenberg', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 22 (1990), 85–93; John T. Shawcross, 'Using the Thomason Tracts and Their Significance for Milton Studies', *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 49 (2009), 145–72; DAVID STOKER, 'Disposing of George Thomason's Intractable Legacy 1664–1762', *The Library*, 6 (1992), 337–56; Lois Spencer, 'The Professional and Literary Connexions of George Thomason', *The Library*, 5 (1958), 102–18; Lois Spencer, 'The Politics of George Thomason', *The Library*, 5 (1959), 11–27; Stephen J. Greenberg, 'Dating Civil War Pamphlets, 1641-1644', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 1988, 387–401.

common problem for historical research in all periods and is not limited to online collections of books.¹⁶

A more significant concern that McKitterick and Gadd have raised is that EEBO, and other digital repositories, are collections of (primarily) printed material.¹⁷ The lack of manuscripts and scribal texts within digital databases such as EEBO and ECCO risks privileging printed material over manuscript and scribal texts.¹⁸ Indeed, work by scholars such as Harold Love has underscored the importance of scribal texts in the early modern world and others have highlighted the continuing stigma attached to print.¹⁹ Print, scholars, have argued, was seen as an impoverished means of speech, socially inferior to manuscript circulation and although attitudes to print changed through the century as printed works became a more acceptable form of communication authors still maintained some reluctance to print. This reluctance was reflected in the apologies authors made in their prefaces for putting themselves into print and lead many to circulate their work in manuscript rather than publish it as a book.²⁰ H.S Bennet observed many wrote with little

¹⁶ The problem of source limitation is however made less prominent when using EEBO, ECCO and the ESTC due to the high number of publications contained within them.

¹⁷ Goran Proot has recently tried to establish how many books are missing based on estimating the survival rate of printed material by using a mathematical model. See: Leo Egghe and G. Proot, 'The Estimation of the Number of Lost Multi-Copy Documents: A New Type of Informetrics Theory', *Journal of Informetrics*, 1 (2007), 257–68; Goran Proot and Leo EGGHE, 'The Estimation of Editions on the Basis of Retrieved Copies: Printed Programmes of Jesuit Theatre Plays in the Provincia Flandro-Belgica (before 1773), with a Note on the "Book historical Law"', 2008 A criticism of quantification of books has been made by David McKitterick in David McKitterick, 'Paper, Pen and Print', *LIR. Journal*, 2011, 6–22.

¹⁸ An example of this oversight is Matthew Prior's dialogues. See Leopold George and Wickham Legg, *Matthew Prior: A Study of His Public Career and Correspondence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 9–10.

¹⁹ For work on the importance of scribal and manuscript communication in the early modern world see: Harold Love, *Scribal Publications in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Harold Love, 'Oral and Scribal Texts in Early Modern England', in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Sabrina A. Baron, 'The Guises of Dissemination in Early Seventeenth-Century England: News in Manuscript and Print', in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Brandan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 41–56; Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, New York: Ithaca Press, 1995); Harold Love and Arthur F. Marotti, 'Manuscript Transmission and Circulation', in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern Literature*, ed. by David Lawenstein and Janet Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 55–80; David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order: 1450-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Peter Beal, 'John Donne and the Circulation of Manuscripts', in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). James W. Saunders, 'The Stigma of Print A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry', *Essays in Criticism*, 1 (1951), 139–64; Daniel Traister, 'Reluctant Virgins: The Stigma of Print Revisited', *Colby Quarterly*, 26 (1990), 3; Raymond, pp. 64–65.

²⁰ Work on Donne's work has underscored the difference between manuscript editions and print editions. Ben Saunders, 'Circumcising Donne: The 1633 Poems and Readerly Desire', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 30 (2000), 375–99. This reluctance has also been observed in the work on Renaissance

or no intention of publication and only intended their work to circulate in manuscript.²¹ As John Bunyan said in his 'Apology For His Book':

I did not think
To shew to all the World my Pen and Ink...
To please my Neighbour; no not I
I did it mine own self to gratifie.²²

Similarly, Henry Aldrich claimed he only put his work into print when his friends 'extorted [their] consent to print it.'²³ Bunyan and Aldrich may have been guilty of false modesty, but they illustrate that manuscripts were still seen as a different mode of communication to printed works into the late seventeenth century. Manuscripts had different modes of operation and distribution to print and remained a prominent feature of the literary culture of the early modern period until the eighteenth century.

The use of EEBO and ECCO as the primary source in this study has necessarily meant that there has been little consideration of manuscript sources and manuscript culture. There were many dialogues that were written and circulated in manuscript form, although it's hard to quantify precisely the level of manuscript dialogues. Looking through the manuscript collections of the British, Bodleian, Beinecke Rare Book, and Folger Library suggests that the number of manuscript dialogues is in the region of 500-600, although the scope and content of these dialogues and how many of these were printed has not been explored in this thesis. The choice to focus on printed dialogues was made with the awareness that this decision would miss out on an important dimension of the early modern literary world.²⁴ For instance, the dialogues of Matthew Prior such as 'A Dialogue between Oliver Cromwell and his Porter' have not been considered in this study because Prior's dialogues, although widely circulated in manuscript in the

dialogues that has shown the difference between Castiglione's *The Courtier* in its manuscript and print versions. See: Olga Zorzi Pugliese, 'The Development of Dialogue in *Il Libro Del Cortegiano*: From the Manuscript Drafts to the Definitive Version', in *Printed Voices: The Renaissance culture of dialogue*, ed. by Jean-François Vallée Dorothea B. Heitsch (University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 72–94.

²¹ Bennett, III, p. 61.

²² Caution must be given to expressions such as Bunyan's of an author's reluctance to print, as they may have been a display of faux modesty used by authors to show a pre-existing demand for the work and by extension its value as a book. John Bunyan, *The Pilgrims Progress*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 2.

²³ Henry Aldrich, *A reply to two discourses lately printed at Oxford concerning the adoration of our blessed Savior in the Holy Eucharist*, (1687), p. iii.

²⁴ Although this thesis will consider the relationship between printed dialogues and oral culture in chapter seven it does not, however, explore in depth the relationship between print and manuscript dialogues.

eighteenth century, were not printed until 1907.²⁵ Therefore, this study of printed dialogues provides only one dimension of the multi-textured nature of early modern dialogue. Nevertheless, as the discussion of the database will show, with so many printed texts available, there was a need to restrict source material to make my project manageable.

In summary, the work of McKitterick, Gadd and Kichuk has shown that while digital collections present early modern scholars with a phenomenal resource they are not without their flaws. Scholars should use them with caution and an awareness of their limitations. They should be aware that over-reliance upon EEBO and ECCO could result in a distorted portrait of early modern culture as books were only one node in the complex network that comprised the early modern world. Despite the limitations of EEBO and ECCO, the next section will argue that they still offer us with a substantial body of texts that can help to enrich our understanding of the past. The collections of EEBO and ECCO although imperfect still comes close to fulfilling the ideal library as outlined by Gabriel Naudé.²⁶ Beyond making access to books easier this thesis argues that EEBO and ECCO can provide us with an interesting perspective from which to look at print culture, even if this perspective cannot capture the entire literary world of early modern England.²⁷

New Medium, New uses

The migration of early modern books to electronic versions has changed and is changing, the way in which early modern scholars study the past.²⁸ As John Burrows said in *A History of Histories*: 'The Internet now opens even greater possibilities for research, whose boundaries and implications we cannot yet see.'²⁹ This thesis seeks to

²⁵ Legg and Legg, pp. 9–10.

²⁶ Naudé described the ideal library as being able to 'comprehend all the principal authors, that have written upon the great diversity of particular subjects' and for the most part, 'every man findes in it that which he is in search of.' Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliotheque*, Paris, 1627, translated by John Evelyn as *Instructions concerning erecting of a library*, London, (1661), pp. 19–20.

²⁷ Margaret Cohen has described this vast amount of texts as 'the great unread.' Margaret Cohen, *The sentimental education of the novel* (Princeton; New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1999).

²⁸ One way in which e-books have altered book publishing is the phenomenon of fifty shades of grey. See: 'Bethany Sales: Fifty Shades of Grey: The New Publishing Paradigm' <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/bethany-sales/fifty-shades-of-grey-publishing_b_3109547.html> [accessed 3 June 2014].

²⁹ John Burrow, *A History of Histories* (London: Random House LLC, 2008), p. 517.

contribute to the exploration on what the implications of digital resources are for the study of early modern print culture. For most users of digital books the main change has been one of convenience as the ease of access that they provide has allowed researchers to avoid travelling as frequently to rare book collections.³⁰ This change in access to books has made it possible for researchers to consult more books in a shorter amount of time than was previously possible. As Keith Thomas lamented, the digitisation of early modern texts has meant that 'much of what it has taken [him] a lifetime to build up by painful accumulation can now be achieved by a moderately diligent student in the course of a morning.'³¹ Digital resources, this thesis argues, not only makes consulting rare books easy but it allows us to approach them in different ways.

The very nature of digital collections intrinsically changes the way in which users encounter early modern texts. Searching for texts on EEBO and ECCO disrupts traditional literary organisational systems because the books found on them are located in a different context than if they were consulted in a rare book collection. Digital search results are constructed out of a user-defined phrase, name, title, or keyword, rather than the topical, temporal, or disciplinary affinity that the printed copy usually has.³² Thus, the books generated by EEBO are disconnected from the conventional bibliographic arrangement because the user will often encounter articles from a broad selection of disciplines, genres, and authors over distinct periods.³³ Digital collections such as EEBO and ECCO thereby estrange us from our books, they defamiliarize us from conventional ways of organising books, and as a result of this I will argue they can be used to approach texts in a way that physical books cannot.

The disconnection of books from traditional literary organisation means that we can re-organise, manipulate, and study them in alternative ways because there is no longer a necessary connection between where a book is conserved and where it is read.³⁴ This disconnection can allow us to escape the gravitational pull of canonical texts, and recover lost, forgotten or neglected texts. Moreover, they can be manipulated and arranged in ways that physical books cannot. As Roger Chartier has said:

³⁰ Kichuk, p. 296.

³¹ Keith Thomas, 'Diary', *London Review of Books*, 10 June 2010, pp. 36–37.

³² Dawn Archer, "Does Frequency Really Matter?," *Whats in a Word-List? Investigating Word Frequency and Keyword Extraction*, ed. Dawn Archer (Devon: Ashgate, 2009).

³³ Stephen Pumfrey, Paul Rayson and John Mariani, 'Experiments in 17th Century English: Manual versus Automatic Conceptual History', *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 27 (2012), 395–408 (pp. 396–397).

³⁴ Chartier, *Forms and Meanings*, p. 89.

When the text is carried by a new technique and embodied in a new physical form, it can be offered to manipulation by a reader who is no longer limited, as with a printed book, to adding handwritten matter in the spaces left blank in typographic composition and in binding.³⁵

By allowing readers to manipulate digital texts in ways, the physical book cannot it can offer scholars new ways of researching print culture.

One development that has increased their malleability has been the transcription of the images of EEBO into full-text files by the EEBO text creation partnership (EEBO-TCP). The first form of EEBO was based on digital images derived from the microfilm collection of Early English Books. This was a step forward from the microfilm collections, but its primary limitation was that a user could search only the texts' meta-data. The EEBO text creation partnership moved beyond this limitation and used the digital images of EEBO to transcribe the images into full-text files manually. This means that there are now two iterations of many early modern books available on EEBO: scanned microfilmed images and transcribed full-text versions produced by EEBO-TCP. The full-text files of EEBO-TCP can offer greater utility in approaching early modern texts because there are numerous ways in which they can be manipulated that both physical books and digital images cannot. The full-text files of EEBO, for instance, can be marked up with XML tags that can be used to trace different features of the text.³⁶ They can be made into a corpus that can be subject to analysis using corpus linguistic software.³⁷ Once a text has been put in a corpus its spelling can be automatically regularised, be semantically

³⁵ Chartier, *Forms and Meanings*, p. 90.

³⁶ XML tagging has been utilized to layer a text with a set of classifications. Nelson, for instance, has used it to organize the contents of early modern cabinets of curiosities. XML tagging is also being increasingly used in the digitization of manuscripts as it allows editors to layer descriptive and analytical categories onto the transcription. An interesting study that has made use of them is Jukka Tyrkkö's study of Culpeper's title pages. For a sample of ways in which XML tagging has been used see the following. Brent Nelson, 'Investigative Tagging: Modelling the Early Modern Cabinet of Curiosities', *Digital Studies / Le Champ Numérique*, 0 (2014) <http://www.digitalstudies.org/ojs/index.php/digital_studies/article/view/257>; Jukka Tyrkkö, Ville Marttila and Carla Suhr, 'The Culpeper Project: Digital Editing of Title-Pages', 2013 <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/14/tyrkko_marttila_suhr/> [accessed 3 March 2014]; Jonathan Gibson, 'The Perdita Project: Women's Writing, Manuscript Studies and XML Tagging', in *New Technologies and Renaissance Studies*, ed. by William R. Bowen and Raymond G. Siemens (Tempe, AZ: Iter Inc. in collaboration with ACMRS (Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies), 2008), pp. 230–42.

³⁷ Terry Walker, *Thou and You in Early Modern English Dialogues: Trials, Depositions, and Drama Comedy* (London: John Benjamins, 2007); Jonathan Culpeper and Merja Kytö, *Early Modern English Dialogues: Spoken Interaction as Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Ursula Lutzky, *Discourse Markers in Early Modern English* (New York: John Benjamins Publishing, 2012); Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta, *Early Modern English Medical Texts: Corpus Description and Studies* (New York: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010).

tagged, deconstructed into word frequencies, and collocations can be found for certain phrases and words.³⁸ The digitisation of early modern books in conjunction with digital tools opens up endless possibilities for studying early modern print culture.³⁹

In the past years, scholars have started to make use of these catalogues of books in pioneering ways. Ian Green, for instance, has made excellent use of the ESTC catalogue in *Print and Protestantism* to look at what were the most popular books in the seventeenth century. Similarly, Phil Withington has utilised the online ESTC catalogue to study the history of particular keywords in early modern titles in *Society in Early Modern England: The Vernacular Origins of Some Powerful Ideas*.⁴⁰ Others have used the full-text files to look at the history of concepts. Stephen Pumfrey, for example, has used EEBO-TCP to look at the history of the concept of 'Experiment' in the seventeenth century, and Peter de Bolla has used EEBO and ECCO to see the development of the concept of human rights.⁴¹ The work of Withington, Pumfrey, De Bolla, and Green has shown the potential of digital resources to look into print culture from new perspectives. Their research has only scratched the surface of the potential of digital collections. This thesis has used the digital collections of EEBO and ECCO as a means to catalogue and create a virtual library of dialogues.⁴² This allows one to analyse the dialogues in ways that a standard catalogue, or bibliography, is unable to grant.⁴³

³⁸ Alistair Baron, 'Prerequisites to a Corpus-Based Analysis of EEBO-TCP'

<https://www.academia.edu/2873246/Prerequisites_to_a_corpus-based_analysis_of_EEBO-TCP> [accessed 3 July 2014]; Stefan Evert Sebastian Hoffmann, *Corpus Linguistics with BNCweb - A Practical Guide* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2008); Andrew Hardie, 'CQPweb—combining Power, Flexibility and Usability in a Corpus Analysis Tool', *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 17 (2012), 380–409.

³⁹ Jonathan Hope and Micheal Witmore, for instance, have used the rhetorical analysis software Docuscope to look at the genres of Shakespeare's plays. Jonathan Hope and Michael Witmore, 'The Very Large Textual Object: A Prosthetic Reading of Shakespeare', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 9 (2004), 1–36; Jonathan Hope and Michael Witmore, 'Quantification and the Language of Later Shakespeare', *Actes Des Congrès de La Société Française Shakespeare*, 2014, 123–49; Jonathan Hope and Michael Witmore, 'The Hundredth Psalm to the Tune of "Green Sleeves": Digital Approaches to Shakespeare's Language of Genre', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 61 (2010), 357–90.

⁴⁰ Phil Withington, *Society in Early Modern England: The Vernacular Origins of Some Powerful Ideas* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010); Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁴¹ Pumfrey, Rayson and Mariani; Peter de Bolla, *The Architecture of Concepts: The Historical Formation of Human Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁴² The cataloguing and organising of books to aid in their study, as adopted in this thesis, is by no means a novel one. For as long as there have been books scholars have listed them, organised, and classified them in a bid to understand them better. Examples of work that has made use of bibliographical catalogues are Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou, *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print* (London: BRILL, 2013). Bennett, III; Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Ian Maclean, *Learning and the Market Place - Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009). For work on the historical organization of books see: Rosalie Colie, *The*

Dialogues, Title-Pages and Generic Markers

The production of a virtual library of English dialogues in the period 1600-1750 was the groundwork for this study. In creating this database of dialogues, there were several theoretical and methodological issues that had to be addressed. These revolved around the following questions: how to determine and identify a dialogue? Also, secondly, how to classify and organise these dialogues? To address these issues a description needs to be provided of how the dialogues were identified and classified.

In any study of the past it would be mistaken to start with assumptions about what the object of study is before studying it.⁴⁴ Defining the dialogue at the outset has the risk of being a circular exercise of posthoc validation.⁴⁵ To avoid such pitfalls the decision was made to catalogue dialogues that self-identified themselves as a dialogue. This decision raises the question of how early modern writers, printers and publishers identified a text's genre. The approach taken in this thesis was to look at the generic markers on the title pages as a starting point to look at the dialogue.⁴⁶ This makes an

Resources of Kind: Genre Theory in the Renaissance (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Thomas Goddard Wright, 'Libraries and the Circulation of Books', *Classics of American Colonial History*; David McKitterick, 'Libraries and the Organization of Knowledge', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 592–615.

⁴³ EEBO and ECCO make it possible to create a virtual library that allows scholars to rearrange these books in a way that is unmediated by institutional selectivity and organise them by user-defined criteria.

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Merrill tried to do so in her study of dialogues; her criteria was that 'the ideal dialogue is a conversation that develops thought through the action and reaction upon one another of definitely and dramatically characterised personalities.' This criterion meant that she avoided looking at a vast amount of dialogues because, as she states, 'few of the late pamphlet dialogues are worthy of mention.' By focusing on the 'true,' or ideal, dialogue Merrill failed to capture the entire spectrum of dialogues. Wilson similarly used his pre-defined criteria of dialogue to dismiss swathes of dialogues as not being worth studying when he said that 'the vast bulk of dialogues... seem to bear a wearying load of facts and uninspired arguments like slaves of Morpheus.' He goes on to assert that 'a few dialogues merit our sustained attention.' K. J. Wilson, *Incomplete Fictions: The Formation of English Renaissance Dialogue* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1985), pp. xii, 20. Elizabeth Merrill, *The Dialogue in English Literature* (London: Archon Books, 1969), p. 53.

⁴⁵ Quentin Skinner, *Philosophy in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 8–10; Sami Syrjamäki, 'Sins of a Historian. Perspectives to the Problem of Anachronism.'

<http://www.academia.edu/877475/Sins_of_a_Historian._Perspectives_to_the_Problem_of_Anachronism> [accessed 20 May 2014]. For a defence of anachronism see Nick Tosh, 'Anachronism and Retrospective Explanation: In Defence of a Present-Centred History of Science,' *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A*, 34 (2003), 647–59.

⁴⁶ Other methods have been developed that have not been used in this thesis. For instance Johnathan Hope and Micheal Whitmore have both used the programme Docuscope to trace generic features within Shakespeare's plays. They have convincingly shown that a computational analysis of the rhetorical characteristics of a text can help to identify a play's genre. Similarly, Franco Moretti has attempted to use computers to identify genres in his work. See Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees - Abstract Models for Literary History* (London: Verso, 2007); Johnathan Hope, 'The Use of Thou and You in Early Modern Spoken

assumption about the relationship between the title page of a text and the text that it prefaces. It assumes that there is a link between titles and the content of a text and that we can fruitfully use titles to find texts of a particular genre.⁴⁷ This is not without its problems. As Edmund Hiceringill put it in *The Trimmer* (1683), 'it be common policy of some authors or booksellers to wheedle men in to th' exchange of money for books, by putting more in the title-page, then you shall find in the book.' Despite the fact that printers exaggerated a book's content through misleading title pages they can still provide a useful guide in identifying a text's genre.⁴⁸

Studies of early modern print have shown that printers manipulated reader's expectations through the use of title pages. Elizabeth Eisenstein said that the regular use of title pages was one of the most significant differences between manuscript and printed works.⁴⁹ The incorporation of a title page, she argued, was a direct response to the needs of protecting unbound copies and as a means to advertise unsold books in a bookshop.⁵⁰ Indeed, scholars of the book have stressed the importance of the title page because it was the first thing a potential buyer saw and was used as a device for advertising the book, with extra copies of a text's title page frequently printed and

English: Evidence from Depositions in the Durham Ecclesiastical Courts', in *Studies in Early Modern English*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky (Boston: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994); Hope and Witmore, 'The Very Large Textual Object'; Hope and Witmore, 'Quantification and the Language of Later Shakespeare'; Hope and Witmore, 'The Hundredth Psalm to the Tune of "Green Sleeves".'

⁴⁷ Joad Raymond has articulated how title pages followed a generic pattern thus: 'By the late sixteenth century title-pages tended to follow a pattern: a long title, which outlined the contents of the volume, the authors name, followed by an imprint, indicating place, publisher or bookseller and/or printer and year.' Raymond, pp. 39–40.

⁴⁸ Nicholas Brownless took this approach in his study of the language in periodical news through the identification of sources that used the words 'newes' and 'relation' in the title. See Nicholas Brownless, *The Language of Periodical News in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), pp. 1–9.

⁴⁹ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 73. (1993: 73)

⁵⁰ Margaret McFadden Smith, *The Title Page: Its Early Development 1460-1510* (London: Oak Knoll Press, 2000), p. 16. Evidence of the use of title pages as a marketing device is seen in the trial of John Twyn. As the trial report states:

'J. Keeling Where was this Book kept? Publickly, as other Books, or in other Roomes?

Bodvell. In the Shop my Lord.

J. Keeling Were they Publickly to view as other Books?

Bodvell. Not so Publick as other Books, but publick enough, Mr. L' *Estrange* knows.

L. Hide. I know you use to let your Titles of a New Book lie open upon your Stalls, did you lay these open?' Anon, *An exact narrative of the tryal and condemnation of John Twyn for printing and dispersing of a treasonable book with the tryals of Thomas Brewster* (1664), p. 41.

displayed at booksellers' shops to inform customers of new or important works available for sale.⁵¹

Recently scholars have shown that the long titles that characterised most early modern books played a significant role in assisting book buyers to identify genres through the use of generic markers on their title pages.⁵² As Ceri Sullavan has argued, titles were an important way of indicating genre and framing the text.⁵³ The significance of generic terms and titles has also been established by the work of Peter Berek and Peter Blayney, who have observed that in the seventeenth century printed plays increasingly used generic names in their titles to help market their text to potential readers (Figure 1.1).⁵⁴ The reason for this, Peter Blayney has suggested, was that 'terms such as comedy and tragedy help printers and booksellers find a market for their wares.'⁵⁵

⁵¹ Mark Bland, 'The Appearance of the Text in Early Modern England', in *Text: An Interdisciplinary Annual of Textual Studies*, ed. by W. Speed Hill, Edward M. Burns, and Peter Shillingsburg (University of Michigan Press, 1998), p. 66. Dagmar Friest has described the early modern bookshop thus: 'Bookshops and printing houses were not only a very visible and audible physical presence in their neighbourhood with their colourful broadsides and title pages hanging by the door and the latest book titles cried out, they were also a meeting place where opinions could be exchanged and books or pamphlets debated: here the written and spoken word clashed, interchanged and reproduced itself.' D. Freist, *Governed By Opinion: Politics, Religion and Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London 1637-1645* (London: Routledge 1997), p. 117.

⁵² Victoria Gibbons, 'Reading Premodern Titles: Bridging the Premodern Gap in Modern Titology', *Modern Language Review*, 102 (2007), 641–53 (p. 642).

⁵³ The modern practice of shortening early modern titles, she argues, potentially risks masking the way in which title pages provided readers with generic cues that offered instructions for how the text should be read and understood. Ceri Sullivan, 'Disposable Elements? Indications of Genre in Early Modern Titles', *The Modern Language Review*, 102 (2007), 641.

⁵⁴ Evidence for the significance of generic labels can be seen in 1623 folio of Shakespeare. The publisher of the folio did not call them plays, or even works, but they announced the first printed edition of Shakespeare's plays in terms of the generic labels 'comedies,' 'tragedies', and 'histories' and these classificatory terms provide the organising force of the folio. The irony of this decision being that Shakespeare had referred satirically to these generic classifications in *Hamlet* when he spoke of 'tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral'.

⁵⁵ Peter Berek, 'Genres, Early Modern Theatrical Title Pages, and the Authority of Print', in *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. by Marta Straznicky (Michigan: Univ of Massachusetts Press, 2006), p. 160; Peter WM Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks' in *A New History of Early English Drama*, Ed', John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York, 1997), 383–422.

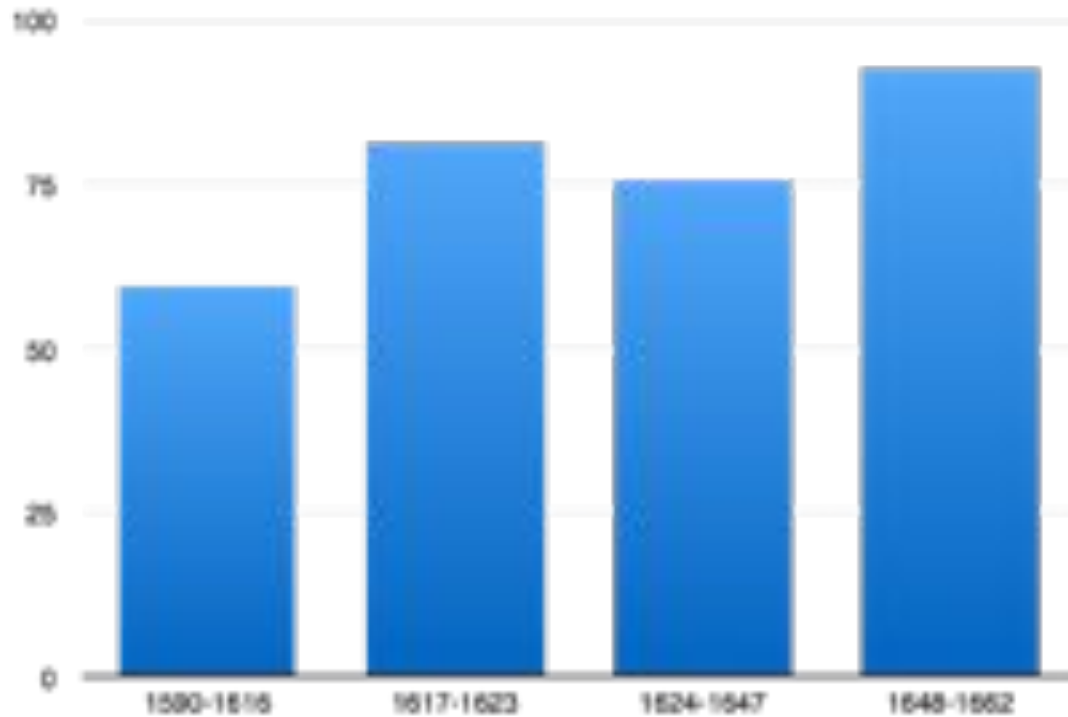


Figure 1.1: A graph showing the percentage of plays that used generic markers in their title. Source: Berek, p. 168

Looking at a sample of early modern title pages, it becomes clear that not only were generic markers necessary but the typographic layout of the title page was also done for rhetorical effect (illustration 1.1). The title pages of *A Dialogue Betwixt Sir George Booth and Sir John Presbyter* (1659) or the *Dialogue Concerning the Mine-Adventure* (1709) demonstrate the importance of typography as in both title pages the most prominent words are ‘dialogue’ on the title page. The importance of title page typography has been substantiated by recent research on the title pages of books associated with the physician and herbalist Nicholas Culpeper.⁵⁶ This work has drawn attention to the fact that printers manipulated title pages for marketing their books. They observed that ‘printers of a more unscrupulous character’ fabricated new titles under the name of Culpeper. These unofficial printers notably put more emphasis on Culpeper’s

⁵⁶ Tyrkkö, Marttila and Suhr.

name in their title pages then printers who published titles by Culpeper himself.⁵⁷ This underscores the need to give attention to the words that are used on an early modern title page, particularly in the context of popular printed works in which the declaration of the genre of the text is often one of the most prominent features of the title (see illustration 1.1 for examples). The implications of this are that to study a genre, such as the dialogue, through texts that identified themselves on their title page as belonging to that genre is a conceptually sound methodology.

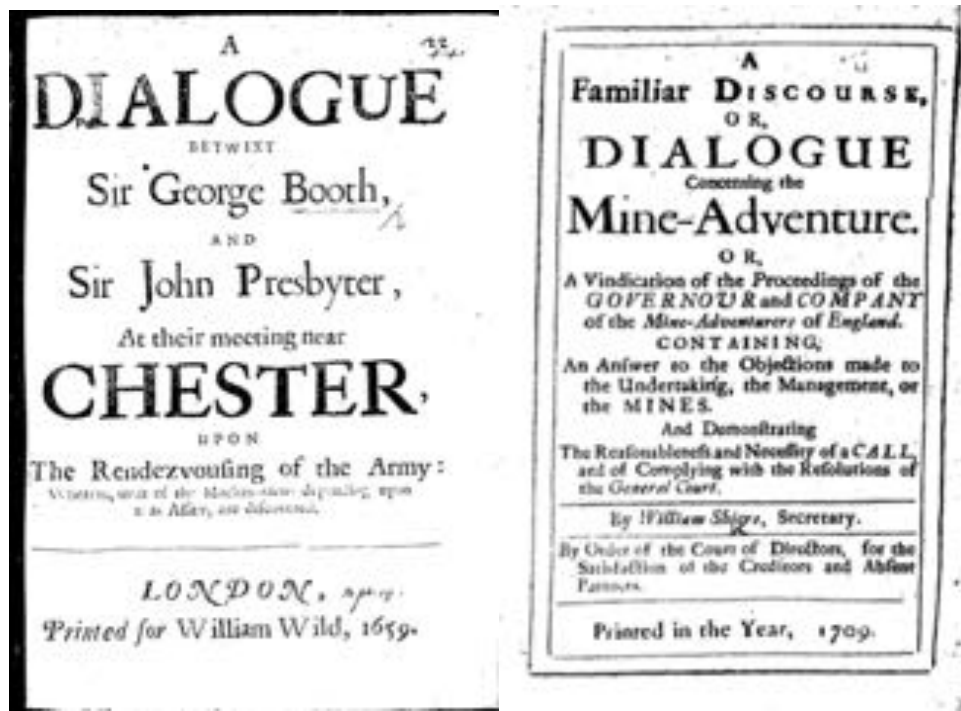


Illustration 1.1. The title pages to Anon, *A Dialogue Betwixt Sir George Booth and Sir John Presbyter*, (1659) and William Shires, *A Familiar Discourse, or, Dialogue concerning the Mine-Adventure*, (1709)

In constructing the database it was not enough to search titles for just the generic marker 'dialogue'. Some dialogues did not call themselves a dialogue in their title. Izaak Walton's *The Compleat Angler or, The contemplative man's recreation* (1653), for instance, identified itself as a 'discourse of fish and fishing' rather than as a dialogue and

⁵⁷ On piracy see Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998), pp. 30-41. Adrian Johns, *Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Gates* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

Edmund Hickerill's *The Trimmer, his friendly debate with the Observer* (1683) was in the form of a dialogue but identified itself as a 'debate.' Likewise, *A Friendly Discourse concerning Profane, Cursing and Swearing* (1697) called itself both a 'friendly discourse' and a 'friendly conference.'⁵⁸ Dialogues in this period were therefore called a variety of things such as 'conferences,' 'friendly discourses,' 'debates,' and 'colloquies.' As a result, when searching EEBO, ESTC and ECCO the word 'dialogue' along with its synonyms had to be used. To refine the search terms the Historical Thesaurus was also used.⁵⁹ Searching the ESTC, ECCO, and EEBO for title pages that used the words 'dialogue', 'conference', and 'debate' provided the bulk of entries for the database.

Even so, texts that did not have the word dialogue, or a similar phrase such as 'conversation,' 'debate,' or even the word 'between' in the title were not likely to be picked up through keyword searches of titles. Nicholas Breton's *An Olde Mans Lesson, and a Young Mans Love* (1605) for instance had no reference in its title to it being in the form of a dialogue but declared in the prefatory 'To the reader' that 'it is written in the manner of a Dialogue.'⁶⁰ Similarly, the popular John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* did not advertise itself on its title page as being in the form of dialogue. It did, however, draw attention to the fact that it was in the form of a dialogue in its prefatory material, as John Bunyan in the epistle to the reader said:

I find that men as high as Trees will write Dialogue wise; yet no man doth them slight for writing so... Use it I may then, and yet nothing smother Truths golden Beams; Nay, by this method may make it cast forth its rayes as light as day.⁶¹

The fact that dialogues such as *The Pilgrim's Progress* did not identify on the title as a dialogue meant that a method was needed to try to pick up references to dialogue in prefatory material. This required searching the full-text files from the EEBO-TCP collection and ECCO with the same keywords that were used when searching titles. Going through these results was a painstaking process as not every use of the word

⁵⁸ Anon, *The curates conference; or a discourse betwixt two schollers*, (1641).

⁵⁹ For more on the historic thesaurus and a case study on how it can be used see: 'How to Use the Historical Thesaurus', *Oxford English Dictionary* <<http://public.oed.com/historical-thesaurus-of-the-oed/how-to-use-the-historical-thesaurus-of-the-oed/>> [accessed 25 June 2014]; 'What Is the Historical Thesaurus of the OED', *Oxford English Dictionary* <<http://public.oed.com/historical-thesaurus-of-the-oed/what-is-the-historical-thesaurus-of-the-oed/>> [accessed 25 June 2014]; 'Men, Women, and Children in the Historical Thesaurus: A Case Study', *Oxford English Dictionary* <<http://public.oed.com/historical-thesaurus-of-the-oed/men-women-and-children-in-the-historical-thesaurus-a-case-study/>> [accessed 25 June 2014].

⁶⁰ Nicholas Breton, *An Olde Mans Lesson, and a Young Mans Love* (1605), p. ii.

⁶¹ Bunyan, *The Pilgrims Progress*, (1678), p. iv.

'dialogue' in the prefatory material was a dialogue. Authors in their prefaces would often situate their work with other works and would refer to dialogues to which they were responding. Robert Barclay's *William Michel Unmasked* (1672), for instance, was written in response to 'Arguments... used in [William Michel's] Dialogue' and Richard Baxter wrote an essay in response to 'the *Popish Dialogue* and many others' that had accused him of 'plotting a new war.'⁶² This meant that every result had to be manually checked to see if it was a dialogue, or was referring to a dialogue.⁶³ The pay-off for this effort, however, was considerable because it meant that works which refer to themselves as being made 'dialogue wise' in the prefatory material could be identified.

The EEBO-TCP and ECCO searches also threw up the keywords in chapter headings and prefaces. Edward Ward's *Matrimony Unmask'd* (1714), for instance, did not state in its title or preface that it was in the form of a dialogue, but its chapter titles identified that it was a series of dialogues 'between a pert lady and her spouse.'⁶⁴ Searching the full text of EEBO and ECCO also found dialogues that were contained within a section of a book, such as the dialogue 'A Black Rod' that was included in the book *The Captive-Captain* (1665).⁶⁵ Books that contained dialogues within them were often collections of poetry, misscellanies, or educational works. A series of dialogues was included in Margaret Cavendish's *Poems and Fancies* (1653), for instance, and the misscellany *The Academy of Complements* included model dialogues that instructed readers how 'to woe a coy, scornful maid' and 'how to salute a friend newly arrived from a journey.'⁶⁶ Searching the full-text files for generic markers, although laborious, meant that the varied and rich ways in which dialogue was incorporated within early modern print could be captured within the database. The result of this will be seen in chapter five that will show how the dialogue was a form that engaged with and was incorporated within, a wide variety of literature during this period.

⁶² Robert Barclay, *William Michel Unmasked, Or, The Staggering Instability of the Pretended Stable Christian Discovered His Omissions Observed, and Weakness Unvail'd: In His Late Faint and Feeble Animadversions by Way of Reply to a Book Intituled Truth Cleared of Calumnies: Wherein the Integrity of the Quakers Doctrine Is the Second Time Justified and Cleared from the Reiterate, Clamorous but Causeless Calumnies of This Cavilling Catechist*, (1672).

⁶³ This was a labour intensive process because the word 'dialogue' featured in over 7,000 texts in the period 1600-1740.

⁶⁴ Edward Ward, *Matrimony unmask'd; or, the comforts and discomforts of marriage display'd. By the author of Aminidab; or, the Quaker's vision*. (1714), p. 1.

⁶⁵ Richard Braithwaite, *The captive-captain, or, The restrain'd cavalier drawn to his full bodie in these characters ... presented and acted to life in a suit of durance, an habit suiting best with his place of residence*. (1665) pp. 101-112

⁶⁶ p.75-76

The result of searching titles and full-text files is a database of 3,077 dialogues. This is almost certainly not every dialogue published; it is, however, the most comprehensive collection of texts that identify themselves as a dialogue either in their title or their prefatory material. As with any catalogue of books, this database cannot be seen as being definitive; however, the systematic approach taken in identifying and cataloguing them means that the statistics generated from this database of dialogues can be seen as fairly robust. Obviously, these statistics must be understood with the caveat that they are limited to telling us about texts that identified themselves as being a dialogue; but such self-identification means an extensive corpus that is relatively free from definitional problems and can tell us something about the history of the genre.

Distant Reading

The challenge of creating a database of dialogues was how to approach this vast collection of texts. With a database that has a total of 372,067 pages, to read them all closely would take around 9,000 hours.⁶⁷ Instead, the approach taken in this thesis was to utilise a methodology that has been advocated by Franco Moretti that he has coined 'distant reading.'⁶⁸ Moretti's argument is that close reading of texts can only provide insight into a tiny fraction of literature. As he argues, even reading a large corpus of 200 texts closely is still only a small fraction of all the literature that was published. To comprehend the history of literature, Moretti suggests, requires an approach that can look at literature as a collective system that incorporates a variety of perspectives. As he says:

A field this large cannot be understood by stitching together bits of knowledge about individual cases because it is not a sum of individual cases: it is a collective system, that should be grasped as such, as a whole.⁶⁹

Looking at the dialogue genre 'distantly' as a collective system makes it possible to understand the genre as a whole rather than as a patchwork of isolated examples. It

⁶⁷ To put this into perspective reading them at the ambitious rate of eight hours per day would take three years with no days off. Such a feat while physically possible is not necessarily productive, nor is it clear that it would be particularly insightful in understanding the genre.

⁶⁸ Franco Moretti, 'The Slaughterhouse of Literature', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 61 (2000), 207–27.

⁶⁹ Moretti, *Graphs Maps Trees*, p. 4.

allows us to approach literary history in the manner in which Fernand Braudel and the *Annales* school did to economic and political thought and viewed it over the *longue durée*.⁷⁰ Taking a longer gaze at literary history, as this thesis does, makes it possible to see the shifting patterns of literature over longer time frames.⁷¹

Distant reading is aided by paying attention to bibliographic data that can be used for computational analysis of texts.⁷² Each record in the database contained the full bibliographic citation, and additional metadata, as seen in the image of the database below (Illustration 1.2). Some of this was objective bibliographical information such as page length, font, authorship attribution, title, and paratextual features. However to be able to provide greater depth of analysis over the *longue durée* also required cataloguing other features of the dialogue that were more subjectively derived. For example cataloguing the thematic structures, topic, location, characters and, and the rhetorical function of each dialogue involved subjectively and manually classifying these features.

⁷⁰ As Braudel says: 'The new economic and social history puts cyclical movement in the forefront of its research... large sections of the past, ten twenty, fifty years at a stretch... we find a history capable of traversing even greater distances... to be measured in centuries... the long, even the very long time span, the *longue durée*.' Fernand Braudel, 'History and the Social Sciences. The *Longue Durée*' in *On History* (1980, p.27).

⁷¹ Digital texts have made it possible to take such a long gaze at literary history as David Armitage has argued a 'return to the *longue durée* is now not only feasible: it is imperative. It is achievable because of unprecedented availability of materials, along with the tools to make sense of them. Unlike in the past, there is no lack of data and no lack of texts for historians to work upon.' See: David Armitage and Jo Guldi, 'The Return of the *Longue Durée*: An Anglo-American Perspective', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales*, 69 (2014), pp. 4–5; Joanna Guldi, 'Digital Methods and the *Longue Durée*', in *Humanities and the Digital*, ed. by David Theo Goldberg and Patrik Svensson (Mass.: Cambridge, 2014); David Armitage, 'What's the Big Idea? Intellectual History and the *Longue Durée*', *History of European Ideas*, 38 (2012), 493–507. Ben Schmidt in his study of Ph.D. theses has shown that recently scholars have started to look at a longer time span in their studies. See: Ben Schmidt, 'Sapping Attention: What Years Do Historians Write About?' <<http://sappingattention.blogspot.co.uk/2013/05/what-years-do-historians-write-about.html>> [accessed 25 June 2014].

⁷² Matthew L. Jockers, *Macroanalysis: Digital Methods and Literary History* (Michigan: University of Illinois Press, 2013), p. 33.

John Tapp Author

The path-way to knowledge

The path-way to knowledge comprising the whole art of arithmetick, both in whole numbers, and fractions; with the extraction of roots; as also a briefe

Pages 374 Book Gothic Year 1691
Pedagogical Picture Borders Diagram

By Thomas Purfoot For Thomas Parzer

Frontispiece Introduction Marginalia - Scripture
Preface Commentary In a Volume
Dedication Narrative Translation
Epistle to the Reader Fortunes Advertisement
Table of Contents Marginalia - Comments Previous Edition

Politics Question and Answer Ballad
Religion Objection and Response Sub-section
Philosophy Dialogue of the Dead Traveller
Economics Pamphlet Play Conversion
Natural Philosophy Polemic Conversation
Novels Satire Meeting
Entertainment Expository Periodical
Educational Socratic Other...

2 Abstract Undefined

1 Student [X]
2 Master [X]
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PDF Characters Permet

Not on EEBO

Previous Edition

PDF Needed

EEBO



Literary Classification and Analytical Categories

Applying analytical categories to the material in the database brings with it a set of theoretical problems. An awareness of these limitations can fruitfully engage in wider questions about how we use, organise, and study large amounts of digital texts. These questions touch on historiographical issues that have been explored for conventional historical approaches. However, the implications of these debates in the light of 'big data' and mass digitisation of early modern texts is still uncharted.

A major problem is the tension between comprehensiveness and analytic traction. A high level of granularity in the analytic categories used to study literature has the advantage of providing a detailed analysis; however, when used for long-term studies this detail is problematic because it produces much statistical noise.⁷³ Small sample sizes can lead to extreme fluctuations within the groups, for instance if in one group there were two dialogues in one decade that changed to four dialogues in the next this would be portrayed as a 50% increase, yet its actual increase is only two.⁷⁴ Detailed analytical categories although useful for qualitative analysis, are less helpful for quantitative analysis over long periods of time because the small sample size can exaggerate the changes in the sample.

By contrast, a low level of granularity can help to reveal broader patterns over the long term, which can reduce the extreme changes that small samples create. For example, a challenge when looking at the number of pages in the genre is the variety of different lengths that span from one page through to 800 pages, and more. Grouping them together into different page lengths does not tell us very much about the genre because of the very wide range of pages used. However, with a broader set of categories, it is easier to see how the page lengths changed broadly over time, as will be considered in the following chapter. The downside to using a low level of granularity is that it can reduce the diversity of the past into a homogenous body. Care, therefore, needs to be used when determining the level of granularity used.

⁷³ Konrad Hugo Jarausch, *Quantitative Methods for Historians: A Guide to Research, Data, and Statistics* (North Carolina: UNC Press Books, 1991), pp. 74–76. This is because using a high level of granularity in the units of analysis produces lots of categories with small numbers in each. Daniel Kahneman, *Thinking, Fast and Slow* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), pp. 109–121.

⁷⁴ Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman, 'Belief in the Law of Small Numbers', *Psychological Bulletin*, 76 (1971), 105–10.

Two methodological challenges are worth looking at in more detail in relation to the database's categories, namely: the usage of anachronisms, and the problem of periodization.⁷⁵ Taking the latter first, the choice was made to divide the statistics into decades rather than years.⁷⁶ This avoids privileging particular political events and literature, but it does run the risk of flattening the data.⁷⁷ The infamous spike in print in 1641, for instance, seems less prominent when it is viewed as part of publications printed in the 1640s.⁷⁸ The benefit to this periodization is that it helps to stabilise the data across years. This is beneficial because early modern print was in constant flux and levels of publications differed vastly year-by-year; using decades reduces this noise and can help reveal broader patterns and trends.

The second challenge is related to the usage of modern analytical categories and terminology and has a bearing on this thesis because in classifying and categorising the dialogue genre it raises questions about what terms and groups should be used to classify the genre. The use of modern terminology in the recent decades has come under attack from historians, who have argued that we should not impose our present understanding onto the past.⁷⁹ They have variously called this approach presentist and anachronistic: as David Hull has said, presentism 'is the reading into the past what we know about the present.'⁸⁰ Anti-presentists, or historicists, have made the claim that to

⁷⁵ William A. Green, 'Periodizing World History', *History and Theory*, 34 (1995), 99–111. L. J. Jordanova, *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 96–104.

⁷⁶ At times, smaller sections have been used when a higher level of granularity was needed. This was often done to nuance the broader themes identified in the decade-length trends.

⁷⁷ Kahneman, pp. 129–135.

⁷⁸ There is a broad range of literature that shows that there is a relationship between literature and politics. The problem in this instance is in determining what events and political developments were significant and had an impact on literature. See: Steven N. Zwicker, *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649-1689* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996). Jacques Ranciere, *Politics of Literature* (London and New York: Polity, 2011); Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); J. Christopher Warner, *Henry VIII's Divorce: Literature and the Politics of the Printing Press* (New York: Boydell and Brewer, 1998); Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

⁷⁹ Skinner, 'Introduction: Seeing Things Their Way'; Quentin Skinner, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', in *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his critics*, ed. by James Tully (London and New York: Polity Press, 1988), pp. 29–67.

⁸⁰ David L. Hull, 'The Professionalization of Science Studies: Cutting Some Slack', *Biology and Philosophy*, 15 (2000), 61–91 (p. 71).

avoid anachronism we need to understand the past in its terms, and an authentic historical account should avoid imposing a modern understanding onto the past.⁸¹

One of the leading champions of a non-anachronistic history has been Quentin Skinner. According to Skinner, the historian must, to avoid the historical fallacy of anachronism, describe the past in terms that would at least have been familiar to those in the past. Indeed, Skinner's work, along with other scholars, has shown the richness that such a reading of the past can provide.⁸² In the light of this work it is easy to agree with the historicist stance, as articulated by Skinner and Pocock, that attention needs to be given to the concepts, languages, and classificatory systems that early modern agents had access to. However, the use of modern analytic terms does not necessarily lead to anachronism; nor, does it follow that the use of terminology deployed by historical actors provides a more accurate, or 'truthful,' account of the past. Indeed, when the historicist position is adopted for change over the *longue durée*, as this thesis does, it encounters several problems. Firstly, early modernity was a period in which terms, names and classifications were contested, and language, social, and political organisation changed radically over the course of this century.⁸³ This means that to adopt the language of one period to describe the past will differ to that of other periods. As Elisha Coles, the writer of a dictionary of early modern English, explained upon his return to England, after several years on the continent, he found a 'new world of Words' in which he 'encountered such words, as I either not at all, or not thoroughly understood.'⁸⁴ The meaning of words, he argued, had been changed, and new words

⁸¹ Skinner, 'Introduction: Seeing Things Their Way'; Quentin Skinner, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', in *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics*, ed. by James Tully (London: Polity Press, 1988), pp. 29–67. This repeats n 79

⁸² Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Volume I: The Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), I; Quentin Skinner, *Machiavelli* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); Quentin Skinner, 'Language and Political Change', in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*, ed. by James Farr and Russell L. Hanson Terence Ball; J.G.A Pocock, *Politics, Language and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971).

⁸³ Early modern England had a diversity of languages. Laura Gowing has looked at the question of normative language and the difference in how social groups use language. Her work has highlighted how different social groups used a different language. See Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). Lynne Magnusson has also looked at how the dialogue in Shakespeare's plays reveals how different groups used different normative languages. See: Lynne Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue: Dramatic Language and Elizabethan Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Bibliography of British and Irish History

⁸⁴ Elisha Coles, *English dictionary* (1677) B2r.

had been introduced.⁸⁵ This underscores the difficulty in using actors' categories to use as a classification scheme across the *longue durée* because any term used may have undergone a semantic shift.

Moreover, using actors' categories can also imply a certain level of homogeneity of the past regarding geography, social hierarchy, and chronology. Elias Coles was acutely aware that different regions and social groups had different vocabularies and dialects. As he noted:

In the mouths of common people, I heard of Piazza, Balcone, &c. in London: And in the Country, of Hocktide, Minnyng days, Lurdanes, Quintins, &c. Nay, to that pass we are now arrived, that in London many of the Tradesmen have new Dialects.⁸⁶

If, as Elisha Coles observed, different regions, social groups and social demographics had different languages and dialects then it makes it difficult to adopt actor's categories.⁸⁷ Indeed, the historicist stance to actors' categories risks hypostatizing the past so that only one vocabulary can be described as the past's 'own' and because of these difficulties in adopting actor's categories this thesis has utilised both actor's categories and modern terminology to study the dialogue. Where possible this thesis has used actors' categories for describing the genre, but these have not been adhered to rigidly throughout the thesis and have only been used when they provided insight into the genre.⁸⁸ This makes it possible to bring both historical and retrospective perspectives to the genre. In doing so, it acknowledges that both approaches have their limitations and an awareness of this at the outset can help understand their utility. This thesis thus recognises the richness that a historicist approach can provide to a study of the past

⁸⁵ One example of how words changed and gained a new 'sense' is the word experimental. As Stephen Pumfrey and Peter Harrison have observed at the start of the century experimental was predominately a religious term, yet through the century was appropriated into scientific vocabulary. See Pumfrey, Rayson and Mariani; Peter Harrison, 'Experimental Religion and Experimental Science in Early Modern England', *Intellectual History Review*, 21 (2011), 413–33.

⁸⁶ Elisha Coles, *English dictionary* (1677) B2r.

⁸⁷ The way in which dialogues cut across regions, groups, and social classes will be articulated in the following chapters.

⁸⁸ Chapter four, for instance, looks at how early modern writers defined and understood the dialogue. These actor's categories, however, have been organised around a modern framework, namely Ludwig Wittgenstein's concept of family resemblances to provide further insight into the dialogue genre. Similarly, chapter five combines a modern and early modern typology of the dialogue genre as a framework of analysis to shed light onto the variety of types of dialogue and how it interacted with a variety of other literary forms.

while also acknowledging the utility that modern analytic categories can provide when studying a literary genre through computational analysis over a prolonged period of time.

Conclusion

History, like the dialogue, is a protean type of literature that has evolved and appropriated various methods from other disciplines.⁸⁹ This chapter has shown how digitization and digital humanities offers an additional resource to scholars that can be used to enrich the study of the history of literature and provide new avenues of research.⁹⁰ It has argued that EEBO and ECCO can be used in ways beyond simply making it easy to consult texts held in rare book collections across the globe. It has highlighted that digital collections, despite providing scholars with a phenomenal resource, are not without their flaws, as an over-reliance upon EEBO and ECCO can result in a distorted portrait of early modern culture: books were only one node in the complex communication network of the early modern world. In particular, it has shown how digitization allows historians to study the history of literature distantly through creating databases of digital texts that would not be physically possible.

The database of dialogues used in this thesis has focused on printed dialogues that self-defined themselves as dialogues. Title-pages and full-text searches were used as the principal way in which dialogues have been identified. This has avoided definitional problems but it must be reiterated that this database only provides one perspective on the dialogue genre. It is a study of printed texts that were advertised to readers on their title pages, or prefaces, as belonging to the form of dialogue. The sheer number of texts that constituted this sample, however, means that it can still tell us

⁸⁹ History has undergone a variety of different turns and trends over the past decades. The 'cultural turn' for instance turned away from leaders, ordinary people and famous events to look at the use of language and cultural symbols to represent the changing values of society. It spawned a variety of other turns such as post-colonial, gender studies, and global history. Ronald Grigor Suny, "Back and Beyond: Reversing the Cultural Turn?" *American Historical Review* (2002); Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (London: Routledge, 2008), p 140; Victoria E. Bonnell, Lynn Avery Hunt and Richard Biernacki, *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Peter Barry, *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory*, 3rd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

⁹⁰ Digital humanities is not without its critics and even within those who self-identify as digital humanists, and there is still a range of disagreement of how it fits within humanities more broadly. See Matthew K. Gold, *Debates in the Digital Humanities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Christine L. Borgman, 'The Digital Future Is Now: A Call to Action for the Humanities', *Digital Humanities Quarterly*, 3 (2009); David M. Berry, 'The Computational Turn: Thinking about the Digital Humanities', *Culture Machine*, 12 (2011), 2; Patrik Svensson, 'The Landscape of Digital Humanities', *Digital Humanities*, 2010.

something interesting about the history of the dialogue. The following chapters will show how digital texts, in conjunction with databases, can be used to approach the study of the dialogue genre in an unprecedented way. The following chapter will outline some of the trends that can be discerned when distant reading is deployed in looking at literary history and show how digital texts and computational tools can allow us to view the history of literature in new ways and will describe the major contours of the history of the dialogue.

2. The Dialogue Genre: A Macro Perspective

*'We always have a choice about the perspective from which we will look at human affairs, whether we will examine them from the inside, as participants, or from some distant perspective, and if so, which of the many distant perspectives will we choose... these points of view are not really alternatives but complementary parts of a wider enquiry.'*¹

The collection of dialogues compiled for this thesis is one of the most comprehensive catalogues of the dialogue genre compiled. Bartholomew Crawford in his study of the genre in 1911 identified 1,500 dialogues published between 1600 and 1750 and five decades later Eugene Purpus found around 2,000 dialogues for the period 1600 to 1725.² This study has been able to increase these catalogues by approximately 1,000 texts, finding a total of 3,077 dialogues. The following chapter will outline statistically the trends that emerge from an analysis of the meta-data of these dialogues and will draw attention to the features of the genre that following chapters will address.

This chapter will show how a macro perspective can shed light on the history of the dialogue. The discussion will explain the rise in dialogue periodicals and pamphlets by demonstrating how periods of print excitement were related to political events and will explore the prevalence of certain subjects within the genre, such as the decline in religious dialogues over the course of the century, and the rise of political dialogues. These insights will be used to explore the relationship between form and subject within the genre. The final half of the chapter demonstrates how the dialogue genre can shed light on broader literary trends such as the changing role of prefatory material, visual images, and authorship in this period. This will enrich our understanding of both the dialogue genre and broader developments in the history of print.

Something needs to be said about the presentation of data in this section. The choice was made not to present the data in raw numbers in tables, but provide the data in the form of graphs. This decision was made because my aim in using statistical analysis was to generate a picture of the genre over time. Visualising the data as

¹ Mary Midgley, *The Myths We Live by* (London: Psychology Press, 2004), p. 107.

² Eugene R. Purpus, 'The "Plaine, Easy and Familiar Way": The Dialogue in English Literature, 1600-1725', *ELH*, 17 (1950), 47–58 (p. 54). Bartholomew V. Crawford, *The Non-Dramatic Dialogue in English Prose before 1750* (S.N., 1918). Bartholomew V. Crawford, 'The Prose Dialogue of the Commonwealth and the Restoration', *PMLA*, 34 (1919), 601–9.

graphs, rather than presenting it as raw data, made changes in the form more legible than when presented as numbers on a table.³ The choice to use decades as the chronological segments throughout provided consistency that limited the extent to which the data could be manipulated.⁴

Dialogues and Early Modern Print

The 3,077 dialogues catalogued for this thesis indicates that it was a popular form of literature. Charting these dialogues over time (figure 2.1) shows that between 1600 and 1740 there was an increase in the number of dialogues published, with two conspicuous spikes in the 1640s and 1680s. At first glance, these spikes suggest that these were two periods of particular expansion in the production of dialogues. Indeed, previous studies of the dialogue have used these spikes as a means to draw a relationship between years of political excitement and excess production of dialogues.⁵ However, when viewed in the context of broader print patterns they can be seen to be artefacts of general print trends rather than a unique trend within the publication of dialogues. Comparing the frequency of dialogues to the frequency of printed works catalogued in the ESTC shows the extent to which print trends were peculiar to the dialogue genre (figure 2.2). This comparison indicates that print more generally also had two spikes in the number of publications printed in the 1640s and 1680s. Therefore, to make sense of the frequency of dialogues published and the extent that they increased, or decreased, they need to be viewed within the context of increasing printed works in the period 1600-1740.

³ In doing so, I am aware that visualisations in the form of graphs can, of course, be manipulated through altering the scale and divisions of the graph for individual motives to stress continuity or rupture. For more see C. Kostelnick, 'The Visual Rhetoric of Data Displays: The Conundrum of Clarity', *IEEE Transactions on Professional Communication*, 51 (2008), 116–30.

⁴ The issue of periodization and how historians divide up the past is a perennial problem in historical studies. This issue of periodization in this thesis has been discussed in the previous chapter. For more broader information on how periodization and the division of the past into segments influences how we interpret and understand the past see the following: Theodore K. Rabb, 'The Scientific Revolution and the Problem of Periodization', *European Review*, 15 (2007), 503–12; Theodore K. Rabb, 'Narrative, Periodization, and the Study of History', *Historically Speaking*, 8 (2007), 2–4; Theodore K. Rabb, 'Introduction: The Persistence of the "Crisis"', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 40 (2009), 145–50; William A. Green, 'Periodizing World History', *History and Theory*, 34 (1995), 99–111; Eric Hayot, 'Against Periodization; Or, On Institutional Time', *New Literary History*, 42 (2011), 739–56.

⁵ Bartholomew V. Crawford, p. 601. Timothy Distal, *The Luxury of Scepticism: Politics, Philosophy in the English Public Sphere 1660-1740* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001), pp. 5–6.



Figure 2.1 A graph showing the number of printed works in the period 1600-1740. Source: ESTC



Figure 2.2 A graph showing the frequency of dialogues and catechisms published in the period 1600-1740. Source: Green (2000), ESTC, and Dialogue Database.

When viewed in relation to broader print trends dialogues only accounted for 3% of all literature published in the period. Figure 2.3 shows that in fact there was a noticeable decline in the dialogue format: at the start of the seventeenth-century dialogues accounted for 3.8 per cent of the literary output. By the mid-eighteenth century they accounted for only 1.5 percent of printed works, supporting the assertion made by Peter Burke that the dialogue genre 'went into relative decline in the seventeenth century' and 'has been more or less dead' since the Renaissance.⁶ However although the dialogue was declining in relation to other printed material it did experience a small increase in the 1650s and a more significant increase in the 1680s. The growth in the 1650s was due to the popularity of the dialogue form as a way of navigating and mediating in debates and controversy, and the renaissance of Lucianic inspired dialogues of the dead. The increase in the 1680s was primarily due to the dialogue format being utilised in some of the century's most popular periodicals, such as Roger L'Estrange's *Observer* (1681), and the increasing use of dialogue as a way of organising information regarding the popish plot and exclusion crisis.⁷ Although it was used more in the 1680s during the highly charged political climate of the exclusion crisis and popish plot, the correlation between political excitement and dialogue production at the general level is perhaps less stark than previous scholars have stressed.⁸ This is evidenced by only a slight increase in the percentage of dialogues published in the 1640s, a period when it would be expected to see a larger increase in dialogues. Allowing us to see that the dialogue does not, therefore, appear to be a form that was particularly linked with political discussion when viewed in relation to early modern print.

⁶ Peter Burke, 'The Renaissance Dialogue', *Renaissance Studies*, 3 (1989), 1–12 (p. 6).

⁷ In the database, only titles of periodicals have been counted and not the number of issues. The result of this is that the trends observed in the graphs would be greater when taken into consideration the number of individual issues of periodicals. The popularity of the form in the 1680s will be explored in chapter eight that will argue that the rise in dialogues in this period was related to the increase in news publications. Mark Knights has convincingly argued that the liberty of the press impacted the partisan divisions during the period 1679-1681. See Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis 1678-1681* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 102–110, 153–183.

⁸ Bartholomew V. Crawford, pp. 602–603; Dykstal, pp. 5–6.



Figure 2.3: A graph showing the percentage of dialogues of total print output.

Figure 2.3 raises the question of what caused the reduction in the proportion of dialogues. The decline of the form can be partly explained by reference to the rise of other forms of printed material. The creation of new kinds of literature in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century replaced some of the functions the dialogue had in the seventeenth century. The establishment of newspapers and periodicals, for instance, reduced the need for dialogues as a vehicle for news and political commentary;⁹ Moreover, the emergence of the novel appropriated the market for fictional dialogues.¹⁰ However, even if dialogues accounted for a smaller percentage of early modern literature, it does not necessarily follow that they were declining in relevance and importance. As Ian Green has argued, it's hard to establish from publication rates precisely how successful a book was in this period.¹¹ If it is hard to establish the

⁹ James Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper and Its Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹⁰ Michael McKeon, *Theory of the Novel: A Historical Approach* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2000); J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York: Norton, 1990); *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2002).

¹¹ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England C. 1530-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

popularity of a book from publication rates, it is even more difficult to ascertain the popularity of a genre. In fact, there are some clues that the dialogue remained a popular form of literature into the eighteenth century. Some of the most popular texts published in this period used the dialogue structure, such as *The Plaine-mans pathway to heaven* (1678), which was reprinted consistently through the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and Bunyan's *Pilgrims Progress*, similarly frequently reprinted. Dialogues were consistently popular in educational settings and gained in popularity in the eighteenth century when Bishop Hurd in 1776 said, looking at the literature of the past decades, 'We have what are called dialogues in abundance.'¹² Therefore, while dialogues appear to be a declining genre in proportion to other literary forms, this should not be taken at face value, as despite constituting a smaller proportion of literature dialogues remained a culturally prominent genre into the eighteenth century and may have mutated into different forms.

Looking at the frequency of publications can only reveal highly general trends; therefore, to understand the form in greater depth involves linking these numbers to the actual texts that generated the statistics. Grouping the dialogue genre into smaller, manageable groups to study in greater depth made it possible to explore the contours of these changes. The initial step was to separate dialogues that were first published in this period from dialogues that were reprintings of dialogues written in previous centuries. Dividing the dialogues up this way reveals that a significant number of dialogues were reprints of dialogues written by Plato, Cicero, Erasmus and Lucian. Reprints of classical and renaissance dialogues accounted for 407 texts or 12 per cent of all dialogues published during this period. When this is viewed chronologically, it reveals that printings classical and Renaissance dialogues were rising during this time, with two prominent peaks in the 1630s and 1740s. Chapter five will be devoted to exploring the relationship between the early modern dialogue and re-printings of dialogues from previous centuries and will help to relate the broad trends outlined here to the texts that generated them.¹³

¹² Richard Hurd, *Moral and Political Dialogues* (London: T.Cadell, 1776).

¹³ Chapter four will show how the early modern dialogue drew upon the legacy of dialogues by Plato, Cicero, Lucian and Erasmus and will look at why there was a rise in re-printings of dialogues from antiquity and the Renaissance during the 1630s and the early eighteenth century.

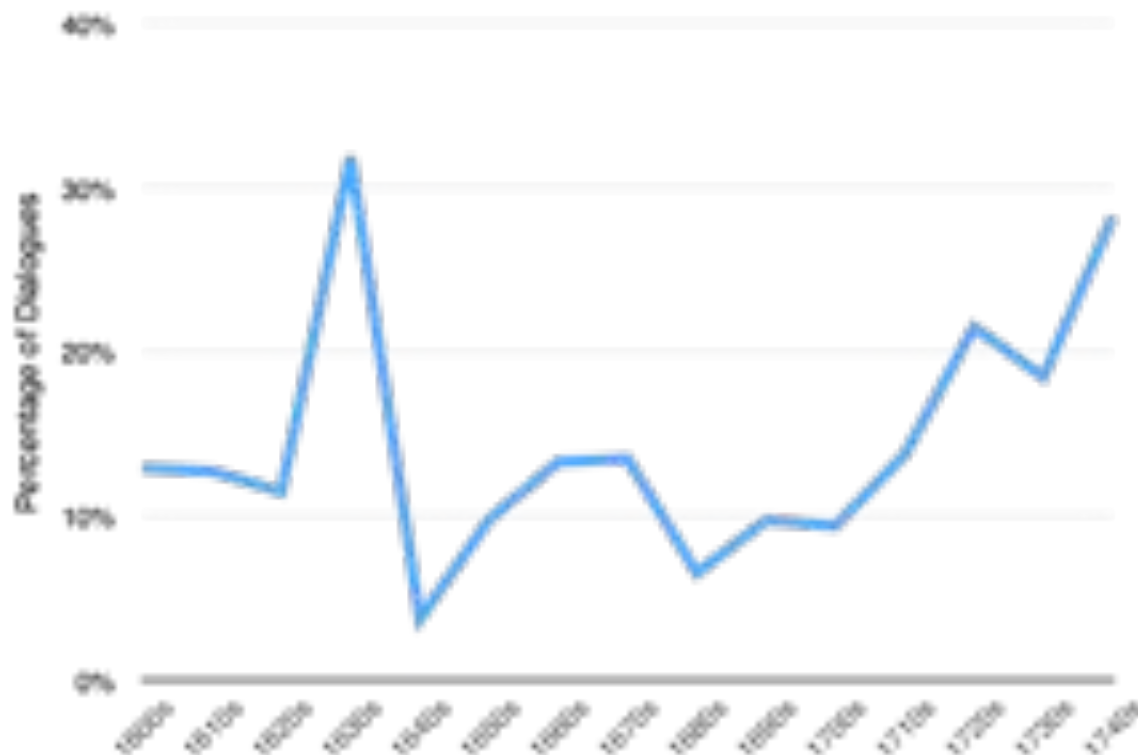


Figure 2.4: A graph showing the proportion of reprinted dialogues in the period 1600-1740

The second way of breaking the corpus into smaller units was by classifying the format in which the text was published, using page length rather than book size. This deviates from standard bibliographical practice in which page size is the criteria for determining the format of the book.¹⁴ My methodology was adopted primarily for pragmatic reasons because evaluation of the size of a book through a remediated version of it on a computer screen is a difficult task to perform accurately and consistently.¹⁵ The nature of the digital editions meant that it was impossible to consistently determine the size of a book using digital facsimiles throughout 3,000 texts, whereas page length was a consistent feature through all texts. Using page length to

¹⁴ G. Thomas Tanselle, 'Analytical Bibliography and Renaissance Printing History', *Printing History*, 3 (1981), 24–33; Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 76–79.

¹⁵ Although some books on EEBO do contain a ruler in the image to help determine the size of book, not all texts in EEBO contain rulers, and none of the texts on ECCO contain a way to determine the books size. Diana Kichuk, 'Metamorphosis: Remediation in EEBO', *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 22 (2007), 291–303 (pp. 301–302). David Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 120–125. Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972). 'Bibliography Defined', *The Bibliographical Society of America* <<http://bibsocamer.org/publications/bibliography-defined/>> [accessed 3 July 2014].

determine format instead of page size, crude as it may be, is not without merit. Bibliographers agree that the biggest expense in book production was the cost of paper.¹⁶ Texts with fewer pages were cheaper than those of more pages.¹⁷ It is also possible to use the work of Joad Raymond on pamphlets to group the dialogues into different page lengths. As Raymond puts it, 'a pamphlet typically consisted of between one sheet and a maximum of twelve sheets, or between eight and ninety-six pages.'¹⁸ Therefore, if publications under ninety-six pages are broadly labelled 'pamphlet dialogues;' and anything longer than ninety-six pages are called 'books' then we can look at the trends of the different types of dialogue.¹⁹ Tracing the changes in length across the period 1600-1750 in the graph below reveals two clear phenomenon: firstly, that there was a significant decline in book-length dialogues after the 1640s when they went from 60 per cent to 15 per cent, not rising above 35% until the eighteenth century. Secondly, that pamphlet dialogues were a historically specific form of literature that corresponded with the period 1640s-1710s. It is for this reason that I will focus on dialogues in the period 1600-1710 in this thesis, as this was when we can see the emergence and decline of the pamphlet dialogue. Focusing on the period 1600-1710 also serves a pragmatic purpose. It reduces the number of dialogues studied from 3,077 to 2,200 that is a more manageable number of texts to treat within the confines of the thesis.

¹⁶ As Joseph Dane and Alexandra Gillespie have said: 'The cost of the books is direct function of the cost of paper, as paper constituted a third to half the cost of producing a book.' Joseph A. Dane and Alexandra Gillespie, 'The Myth of the Cheap Quarto', in *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning*, ed. by John N. King (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 28. Raymond, p. 72.

¹⁷ This is however highly generalised and there are obvious instances in which this would not be true. As a study into white-space and the economics of printing has shown the binary between folio as expensive and quarto as cheap is misleading because printing in the format of folio could allow printers to use less paper than if it was published as a quarto, or octavo. As they state: 'one may not assume that quarto editions constitute 'cheap' print because printing a given text in quarto format may require as much or more paper than in folio.' For instance, a book of one hundred pages in quarto would have cost less than a book of the same length in folio, and an eighty-page folio edition would have cost less than a two-hundred-page quarto publication. Gillespie, pp. 24–26.

¹⁸ The rationale for this decision is based on the regulations of the Stationers Company on bookbinding and stitching. See Raymond, pp. 5, 81–83.

¹⁹ As Raymond said 'Books of more than a hundred pages aspired to a more elevated status. They did not normally engage in debate with pamphlets.' Raymond, p. 82.



Figure 2.5: A graph showing the change in different lengths of dialogue.

When the dialogue genre is considered as a whole there is no clear correlation between dialogue production and political events, yet examining the page-lengths within the genre reveals an internal change in the form that does correspond to political events. Figure 2.5 shows the percentage of dialogues that were below 96 pages in lengths and is evidence of a significant change in the genre in the 1640s when pamphlet dialogues constituted over 70 per cent of the dialogues published. It shows two additional changes in the 1660s and 1680s. All three of these periods can be latched onto significant political events of the seventeenth century: in the 1640s it was the civil war;²⁰ In the 1660s it was the restoration of the monarchy;²¹ And in the 1680s, there was the exclusion crisis and the popish plot.²²

²⁰ There is a broad range of work on the relation of the political climate of the 1640s on literature. Nigel Smith in particular makes the case that the events of these decades impacted literature as he states: 'Genres are crucially bound up with those great themes of the Civil war and the Commonwealth - liberty, freedom, authority, tyranny, salvation, deliverance - because they gave them shape and intelligibility, and, therefore, an inevitable role in the social process.' Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640-1660* (New Haven: Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 4. See also the work of Joad Raymond on pamphlets, Susan Wiseman on drama, and Lois Potter.

²¹ Gerald MacLean, *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

²² The impact of the events of the 1680s on literature is discussed in the collection of essays in Jason McElligott, *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s* (Oxford: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2006). See in particular Clare Haynes, 'The Politics of Religious Imagery in the Late Seventeenth-century' pp. 49-90 and Kate Loveman - "Eminent Cheats": rogue Narratives in the Literature of

The relationship between dialogues and political events can be further nuanced by distinguishing between one-sheet dialogues and pamphlet dialogues. Making a distinction between dialogues of one sheet, and pamphlets of multiple sheets shows that pamphlet dialogues map onto the same three periods in which they are published in greater numbers (figure 2.6). However, it also shows that in the 1680s there was a significant rise in the number of one-sheet dialogues. The internal changes in form of the dialogue thus establish that there *is* a link between the social and political context and the form of dialogue. To probe this in greater depth requires looking beyond these graphs (as chapter * will do) to other aspects of the genre, because the increase in pamphlet dialogues in periods of social and political unrest may be incidental rather than having a causal relationship. By exploring the subjects discussed in these dialogues could establish a correlation between the genre and the social and political context.



Figure 2.6: A graph showing the fluctuations of different formats of dialogue.

Subjects

Early modern writers were aware that different forms of literature were suitable for different purposes and had different political and social significations. Thomas

the Exclusion Crisis' pp. 108-122; See also Steven N. Zwicker, *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649-1689* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 173-189.

Hobbes, for instance, made an explicitly political theory of genres: for the court he suggested the propriety of heroic elevation; for the city, the fitness of satire; and for the country, the neutralising pastoral.²³ It is possible to explore the relationship between form and content to study the relationship between print and politics at this time.

Writers of dialogues were conscious of the connotations of generic patterns. Ferrard Spence, one of the few seventeenth-century writers to reflect upon the nature of the dialogue, rebuked Thomas Hobbes for his choice of the form for *Behemoth*:

Law for example or Geometry (much less algebra) can never suit with dialogue. Wherein Mr. Hobbs, tho perhaps one of the greatest Judges that Ever Liv'd, has mightily Err'd and likewise as some think, in Choice of his History.²⁴

Dialogues were only suitable for certain subjects; Spence says: 'The Main Hinges upon which [dialogues] must turn, are Morality, Policy, Rhetorical or Poetry.'²⁵ Monsieur Pelisson similarly said that dialogue was only suitable for particular subjects. In his preface to the *Selected Works of Jean-François Sarasin* (1678), he spoke of the 'Art of Dialogue' saying that in a dialogue:

The Matter ought to be some Science or some Art, but those Sciences and Arts which fall oftneft into Conversation, and do not wound the mind by their thorniness: Law matters, for Example, cannot be proper, less Geometry or Algebra; the great Waters we ought to drink of are, Morality, Politiques, Rhetorick and Poesie.²⁶

Both Spence and Pellison were in agreement that dialogue was not the proper forum for discussing legal matters and that it should be used for discussing moral and political matters and for rhetoric and poetry.²⁷

²³ Zwicker, p. 24. As Hobbes states: 'As Philosophers have divided the Universe (their subject) into three Regions, Celestial, Aerial, and Terrestrial; so the Poets (whose work it is by imitating humane life, in delightful and measur'd lines, to avert men from vice, and incline them to virtuous and honourable actions) have lodg'd themselves in the three Regions of Mankind, Court, City, and Countrey, correspondent in some proportion, to those three Regions of the World.' William D'Avenant Sir, *A Discourse upon Gondibert an Heroick Poem; with an Answer to It, by Mr Hobbs*. ed. by Abraham Cowley, (1650); p.121.

²⁴ Spence, *Works of Lucian*, (1684) p. xxxiii.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Jean-François Sarosin, *The Select Works of Jean-François Sarosin translated by Pelisson* (1678) B4r.

²⁷ Given the remarkable similarity in the two passages on what the art of dialogue should be utilised for it is likely that Spence in his introduction was copying Pellison's passage in his introduction to *Lucian's Works* (1684).

Paying attention to the subjects discussed in the dialogues can show to what degree writers adhered to Spence's and Pellison's views and, more interestingly, can show patterns in publication frequency. This can help us to understand the relationship between pamphlet dialogues and the political context in which they were formed. The title page of the dialogue was used as the pathway to determine what the topic of the dialogue was, with each dialogue being classified within the following subjects.²⁸

1. Politics
2. Religion
3. News
4. Miscellaneous
5. Educational
6. Natural Philosophy and Philosophy

These topics are broad enough to capture a variety of texts but distinct enough to have analytical traction. In cases where it was not obvious from the title what the subject of the dialogue was, the prefatory material was used to determine the subject. It should be said that these categories were not mutually exclusive; dialogues could be tagged as being in one, two, or multiple topics.²⁹ *London's allarum* (1679), *A dialogue between Hampton-Court and the Isle of Wight* (1648) and *The head of Nile* (1687), for example, all contained news but were using the news as part of a wider political argument about the current situation. Similarly, *A Private Conference between a Rich Alderman and a Poor Country Vicar* (1670) broached multiple subjects because it was a discussion on 'present state of affairs' and the 'obligation of oaths which have been imposed on the subjects of England.' The objections that the writer made to these oaths, however, were on religious grounds not political, and as a result of this, the dialogue broached religion, politics and news. In cases such as this, the dialogue was tagged in multiple subjects.

²⁸ The number of subjects was limited to six to help make broader trends visible. As mentioned in the previous chapter this sacrifices the level of detail and reduces the complexity of many of these texts.

²⁹ The need to be able to tag dialogues with multiple subjects is due to the intertwined nature of religion and politics during this period. The blurred line between politics and religion has been the focus of several studies. See: Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, C.1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Christopher Hill, *A Nation of Change and Novelty: Radical Politics, Religion and Literature in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1990). Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

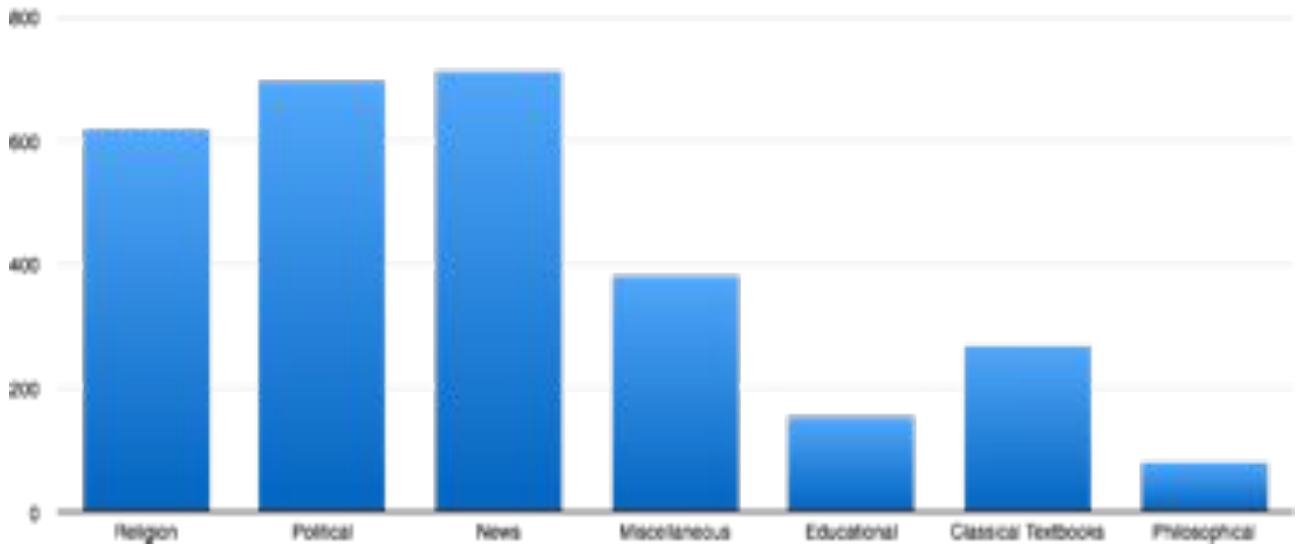


Figure 2.7 A graph showing the frequency of subjects in the dialogue genre.

Figure 2.7 examine that the most common subjects for the early modern dialogue were religion, politics and news, and by charting the frequency of these subjects over time shows there are a series of discernable trends (figure 2.8). The first is that there is a noticeable decline in religious and educational dialogues in the 1640s and a rise in political dialogues between the 1630s and 1640s. Secondly, perhaps unsurprisingly, there are increases in the number of political dialogues during the 1640s, 1660s, and 1680s. Therefore, within the internal dynamics of the dialogue genre, there is a clear correlation between political unrest and the dialogue genre. The fact that there is a correlation between religious and educational dialogues declining and a rise in political and news dialogues does not mean that there is a direct relationship between the two trends and more work then is possible here would be needed to substantiate it. However, regardless of the relationship between the decline in religious dialogues and the rise in political dialogues, this graph clearly shows that the frequency of political dialogues was related to political events.

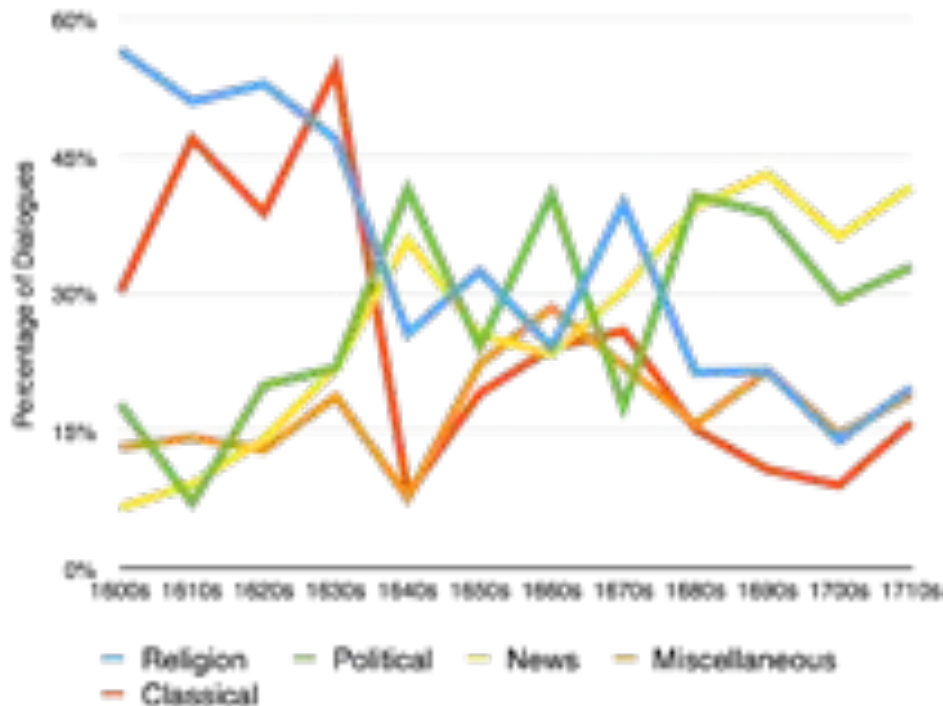


Figure 2.8. A graph showing the percentage of subjects chronologically in the period 1600-1720.

These findings are by no means surprising. The close relationship between politics and literature is one that numerous scholars have explored over the past century.³⁰ This work quantifies this relationship for one genre and reveals the magnitude to which politics and literature are entwined. Previously, the extent to which politics and literature were related has been difficult to quantify. Scholars who attempted to quantify this relationship did so by looking at a sample of literature and extrapolating this data to make broader conclusions, an approach that is not without its errors, or problems.³¹ Looking at an entire can provide more robust evidence of the relationship between literature and political climate. It shows, for instance, that on average during periods of political unrest the number of political dialogues increased by 25 percent in each period, and dialogues concerned with political events accounted on average for 42 percent of all dialogues published during times of political turmoil.

The second discernable trend in the subjects of the dialogues is an increase in dialogues that discussed the news. At the start of the century only 6 percent of all

³⁰ See footnote 20 and 29 above for some of this literature.

³¹ Joad Raymond, for instance, used a 5 per cent sample of non-periodical items in the Thomason Collection in his statistical analysis of pamphlets. Raymond, *Pamphlets*, p. 169.

dialogues discussed current events and news; by the end of the Stuart period, 43 percent of all dialogues either shared or discussed news. The two obvious points in this rise are the 1640s, and the 1680s and 1690s. The first period saw the initial rise in news-based dialogues, and the 1680s and 1690s was when the discussion of news reached its pinnacle. News and politics were frequently discussed together and therefore they both increased in frequency in parallel with each other. The exception to this was in the 1660s when political dialogues were not always discussing current events but were also being used to discuss the events of the previous years.³² The anonymous pamphlet dialogue *A Full Relation or Dialogue Between a Loyalist and a Converted Phanattick* (1660), for instance, discussed ‘the late rebellion’ and related the ‘wicked conspiracy, and barbarous intentions,’ of the Parliamentarians in the interregnum.³³ Dialogues were used in the 1660s as a way to help society come to terms with the regicide and restoration, and, as will be seen in chapter, four they were used to portray Oliver Cromwell as part of a diabolical conspiracy and redefine their past to make sense of the present.

The rise of news within the dialogue genre can also be used to evaluate previous studies of the dialogue, in particular Timothy Dyksthall’s study *A Luxury of Scepticism*. Dyksthall described the dialogue as being a literary form that helped to create a public sphere of rational-critical discourse. He argued that the dialogue moved from being a genre that was primarily concerned with answering the controversies of the commonwealth, and the practical problems of diversity, towards a form that constructed a speculative realm in which ‘agreeable amusements’ could be discussed in a private apolitical realm.³⁴ By characterising dialogue as a crucible that helped to develop the public sphere, Dyksthall argued that the dialogue was part of the great revolution in human thought that Christopher Hill saw as starting in the civil war.³⁵ However, as seen above in figure 2.8, rather than being a retreat from current affairs and dealing with the problems of the present, this period saw an increase in the use of dialogue for addressing the problems that beset the world. As chapter six will argue, by the eighteenth century the form was not an apolitical realm of speculation but rather a form

³² For instance G.P., *Englands murdering monsters set out in their colours*, (1660).

³³ Anon, *A full relation or dialogue between a loyallist and a converted phanattick*, (1660) sig. A1v.

³⁴ Dyksthall, pp. 1–5, 12–18, 51–53.

³⁵ Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 163.

that interpreted current affairs along partisan lines. Moreover, it will argue that rather than being part of a revolution that encouraged discussion and debate to solve human problems. The dialogue was used as a means to deal with the issue of discussion and debate and was a response to the perceived *failure* of discussion and debate to deal with the problems that beset early modern England.

Analysing the corpus of dialogues shows that within the dialogue genre different formats were used for different subjects. Figure 2.9 shows the distribution of different formats of dialogue according to topic or subject and shows that there is a clear correlation between the content of a dialogue and its published form. Political dialogues were predominantly published in pamphlet form, whilst dialogues that were satirical, comical, or a ballad were generally published as a broadsheet or short pamphlet.³⁶ Satirical dialogues when published in book form were published as part of a collection of short dialogues rather than a book-length dialogue.³⁷ Similarly, when the dialogue was used as a vehicle for discussing news and current affairs it was often published as a broadsheet or pamphlet.³⁸ Book-length dialogues, in contrast, were often the format of choice for philosophical, educational and natural philosophical dialogues with very few of them being published as a pamphlet or single sheets.³⁹ Of all the topics the most varied was religious dialogues that spanned from pamphlets through to book-length dialogues.⁴⁰ Looking at the relationship between format and topic underscores the link

³⁶ Political pamphlet dialogues will be looked at closer in chapter six and ten. Satirical dialogues will be examined in chapter five in the section on Lucianic dialogues and chapter six in the section on satiric and ballad dialogues.

³⁷ The following is a selection of collections that used dialogues within them: John Raymond, *Folly in Print*, (1667); J.G., *The Academy of Complements*, (1639); Henry Bold, *Wit a sporting in a pleasant grove*, (1657); John Gamble, *Ayres and dialogues*, (1657); Person of Quality, *Westminster-drollery*, (1671); Francois Pomey, *The Pantheon*, (1709).

³⁸ This will be explored in greater depth in chapter six that will look at the use of news. A few examples of texts can be given here: Anon, *The Great Frost. Cold doings in London, except it be at the lotterie. With newes out of the country*, (1608); Hearty Lover of the Prince, Anon, *A Dialogue, containing a compendious discourse concerning the present designe in the West-Indies*, (1655); *A dialogue between the Pope and a Phanatick concerning affairs in England*, (1681); Anon, *A dialogue between a Member of Parliament, a divine, a lawyer, a freeholder, a shop-keeper, and a country farmer; or, remarks On the Badness of the Market*, (1704)

³⁹ This was possibly because the length of the book was a way of signifying the importance of the topic - longer length books were obviously more expensive and could thus impress upon its readers the value of its contents. See: Jeremy Collier, *A moral essay concerning the nature and unreasonableness of pride*, (1689); Thomas Savery, *The Miners Friend*, (1702); J.H., *Astronomia crystalline*, (1676); Michael Scott, *The Philosophers Banquet*, (1633); Peter Ramus, *Peter Ramus, his logic in two books*, (1636) and Daniel Newhouse, *The whole Art of Navigation*, (1708).

⁴⁰ For religious pamphlet dialogues see: R.M., *A profitable dialogue for a perverted papist*, (1609); Charles Stanley, *Truth-triumphant in a dialogue between a Papist and a Quaker*, (1671); Anon, *The Papists politicke projects discovered*, (1641); James Naylor, *Deceit brought to day-light*, (1657) Religious pamphlets tended

between form and content. It demonstrates that certain forms of literature lent themselves to treating certain topics. More significantly it shows that the dialogue was a form of literature that engaged with a variety of genres and subjects, as chapter five will explore in detail.

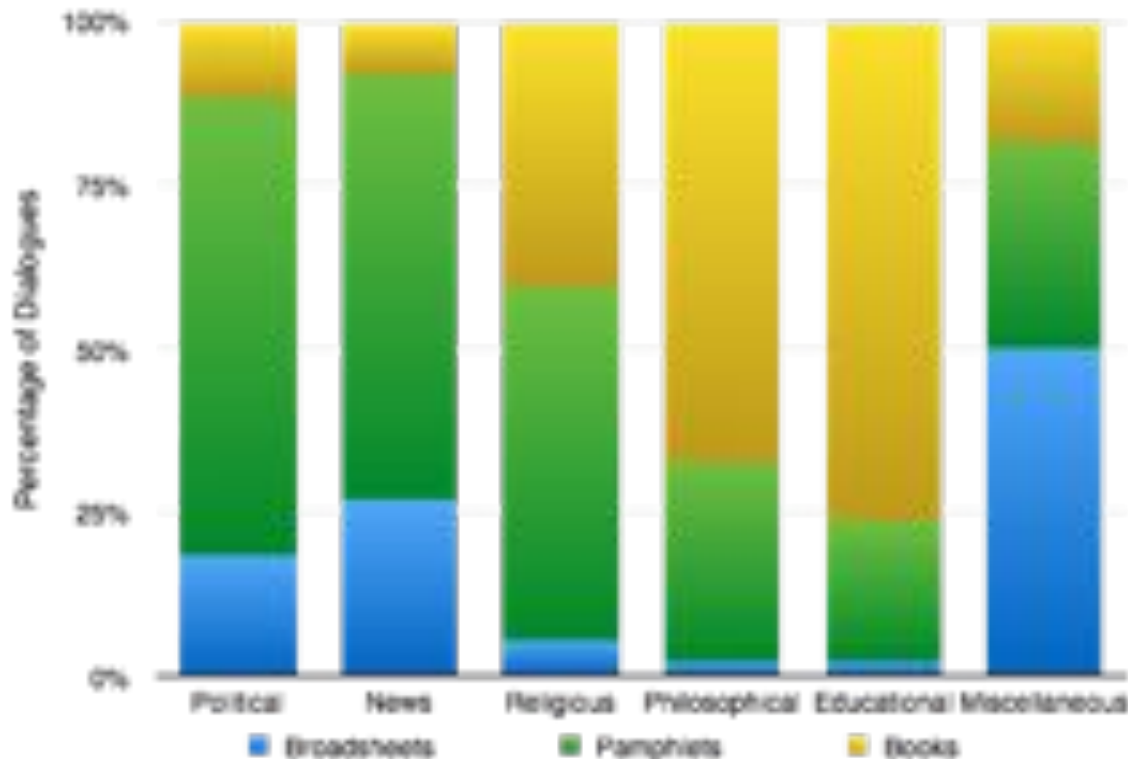


Figure 2.9. A graph showing the distribution of different formats in each subject.

Paratextual Features

The bibliographer D.F McKenzie was a vocal advocate of the need for scholars to pay attention to the material form of the book.⁴¹ He argued that scholars of the book should be concerned with ‘the sociology of texts’ and should ‘consider the human motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production,

to either be records of public disputes, or polemical treatises that attacked other religious views. These were primarily targeted at Quakers and Catholics. Religious books fell into two groups: devotional literature such as Benjamin Keach’s, *A war with the Devil*, Arthur Dent’s, *Plaineman’s pathway to Heaven*; and the dialogues of John Bunyan; The other group were more theological and pedagogical, they were texts that engaged with theological disputes, or taught the Christian faith simply. Laurence Claxton, *A paradisaical dialogue betwixt faith and reason disputing the high mysterious secrets of eternity*, (1660); Walter Charleton, *The immortality of the human soul*, (1657); George Walker, *The Key of Saving Knowledge*, (1641)

⁴¹ D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

transmission and consumption.⁴² The purpose of looking at a text sociologically, McKenzie claimed, was to show how form impacts on a text's meaning.⁴³ McKenzie's argument rested on his view that 'the material forms of a book, the non-verbal elements of the typographic notations within them, the paratextual elements, and the very disposition of the textual space itself, have an expressive function in conveying meaning.'⁴⁴ Similarly, within literary studies theorists such as Gerard Genette have considered the importance of the paratextual aspects of a book.⁴⁵ Genette highlighted the crucial role that paratextual elements play in the interpretation of a text. In *Paratexts*, he drew attention to the features of a book that operate at the threshold of a text, such as titles, chapter headings and dedications, and how they place limits on how readers interpret the text.⁴⁶ The focus on the role of paratextual elements has meant that scholars have started to pay more attention to the material form of a text and how this impacted upon how books were read.⁴⁷ Drawing on the work of Genette and general

⁴² Donald Francis McKenzie, *The Book as an Expressive Form* in David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *The Book History Reader* (New York: Psychology Press, 2002), pp. 27–28. See also D. F. McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices', *Studies in Bibliography*, 22 (1969), 1–75.

⁴³ Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

⁴⁴ D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, p. 2.

⁴⁵ See Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). This was part of a broader project of Genettes, see also Gerard Genette, *The Architext: An Introduction* (Berkeley CA and Oxford: University of California Press, 1992). For historical approaches to paratextual apparatus see Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge University Press, 2011); Randall Anderson, 'The Rhetoric of Paratext in Early Printed Books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁴⁶ Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*; Anderson.

⁴⁷ There is a range of work that has paid attention to the paratextual material the following is some of the most significant work: Claire M. L. Bourne, '"A Play and No Play": Printing the Performance in Early Modern England', *Dissertations available from ProQuest*, 2013, 1–352; Douglas A. Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House: Drama and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), xxxvi; Harold Love, 'L'Estrange, Joyce and the Dictates of Typography', in *Roger L'Estrange and the making of Restoration Culture*, ed. by Anne Duncan-Page and Beth Lynch (Oxford: Ashgate, 2008); Te-Han Yeh, 'Textual and Narrative Space in Professional Dramas in Early Modern England' (University of Birmingham, 2013); Tiffany Stern, '"On Each Wall and Corner Poast": Playbills, Title-Pages, and Advertising in Early Modern London', *English Literary Renaissance*, 36 (2006), 57–89; John N. King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs' and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Terence Cave, *Thomas More's Utopia in Early Modern Europe: Paratexts and Contexts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008); Peter Berek, 'Genres, Early Modern Theatrical Title Pages, and the Authority of Print', in *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. by Marta Straznicky (Univ of Massachusetts Press, 2006); Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2006); Sullivan.

introductions to analytic bibliography the following paratextual elements were classified and tagged for each dialogue:⁴⁸

1. Dedications.
2. Epistles to the reader.
3. Prefaces.
4. Table of contents.
5. Font.
6. Authorial Mark.
7. Number of Pages
8. Format
9. Visual Elements

Cataloguing these features in the database made it possible to chart changes in the prefatory material over time and test hypotheses put forward in the secondary literature. H.S Bennet has argued by the end of the sixteenth century only about 10 percent of books had no dedication.⁴⁹ Stanley Archer noted that out of the 472 plays written between 1660 and 1700, 258 plays had dedications.⁵⁰ Similarly, Deborah Payne has argued that 'dedication became so common during the restoration that even the lowly play text began sporting this eulogistic garb.'⁵¹ However, the number of 'dedications' and epistles 'to the reader' within dialogues suggests that these preliminaries are not as common or widespread as the above have argued.

⁴⁸ This list was primarily derived from Greetham's bibliographical handbook. Génette's *Paratexts* was also useful in determining the different aspects of the prefatory material. See: Génette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, pp. 55–64, 117–126.

⁴⁹ H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640: Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reigns of James I and Charles I*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), III, pp. 23–39; H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1558-1603: Volume 2: Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 30–55.

⁵⁰ Stanley Archer, 'The Epistle Dedicatory in Restoration Drama', *Restoration and 18th Century Theatre Research*, 10 (1971), 1–20 (p. 8).

⁵¹ Deborah C. Payne, 'The Restoration Dramatic Dedication as Symbolic Capital', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 20 (1991), 27–42 (p. 27).

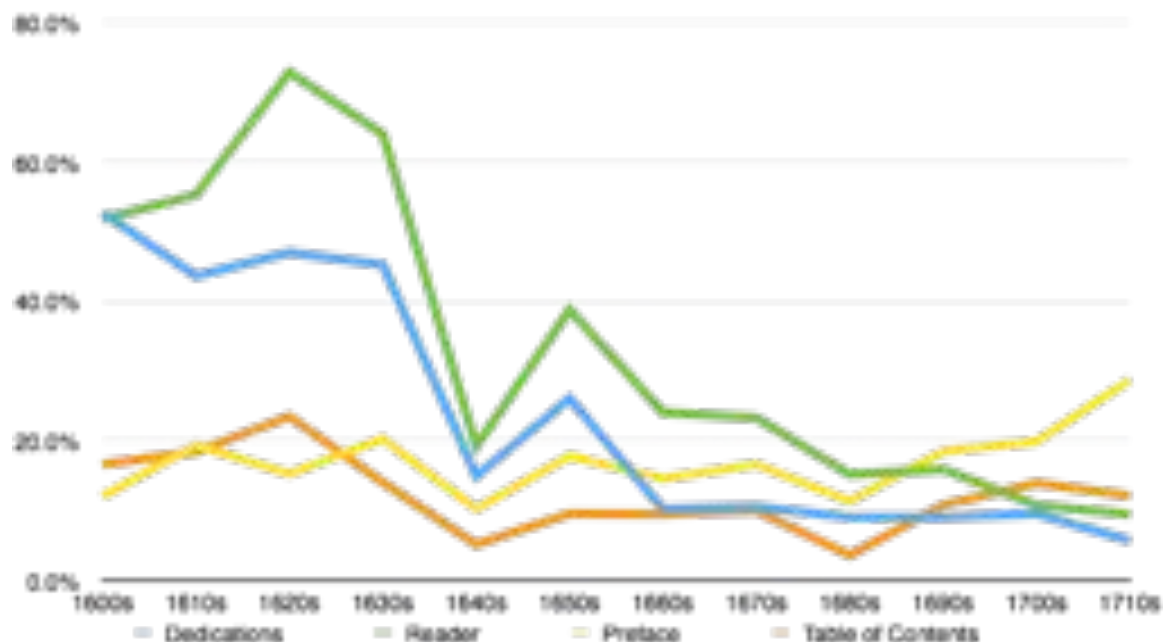


Figure 2.10. A graph showing the percentage of dialogues that had prefatory material in the period 1600-1720.

Figure 2.10 shows that at the start of the century 50 percent of all dialogues had a dedication and epistle to the reader in it; that is far less than the 90 percent of books that H.S Bennet said had dedications. Similarly in the period after the restoration, rather than being common as Payne suggested, dedications decreased from 40 per cent in the interregnum to 23 per cent in the restoration. This decline continued into the eighteenth century when only 5 per cent of dialogues had a dedication. However, this change in paratextual features may be unique to the dialogue genre, and dedications may have remained prevalent in other literary forms.

Full-text searches can be used to see if the lack of dedications in the dialogue was simply reflective of broader changes in print at this time. Figure 2.11 shows that the decline of textual preliminaries was not distinctive to the dialogue genre but occurred throughout all publications in the seventeenth century.⁵² Plotting this on a graph shows that the trends found in the dialogue genre are more or less representative of early modern print because, in both dialogues and other literary forms, the 1640s marked a

⁵² This graph was created using full-text searches of the meta-data in the EEBO-TCP files to chart the number of texts that had been tagged with having a 'dedication,' or included the phrase 'to the reader.' This assumes that the metadata on EEBO is accurate and that the EEBO-TCP texts are representative of the rest of EEBO. Along with searching for the phrase 'to the reader' the phrase 'Epistle to the Reader' and 'dear reader' was used to

significant drop in the number of texts that used prefatory material. It should be noted that while epistles to the reader declined in dialogues after the restoration, they did not decrease in print overall to the same magnitude.

The changes in the number of printed items that included dedications and epistles to the reader raise more questions about the changing relationship between readers and authors in this period than can be adequately treated here. It is nevertheless possible to make a few reasonable conjectures that can explain the decline in the number of dialogues that had a dedication, or epistle to the reader, as part of its prefatory material in the 1640s. The first is the rise of pamphlets in the 1640s. As the previous section has shown, in the 1640s, there was an increase in the number of dialogues that were published in the form of a pamphlet. The economies of print and the need for newsbook editors and pamphlet writers to cram as much information onto a page as possible resulted in the omission of dedications and epistles to the reader within this level of print culture. Pamphlet culture, however, cannot be invoked entirely to explain why approximately 75-85 per cent of literature published after the restoration had no dedications or addresses to the reader.

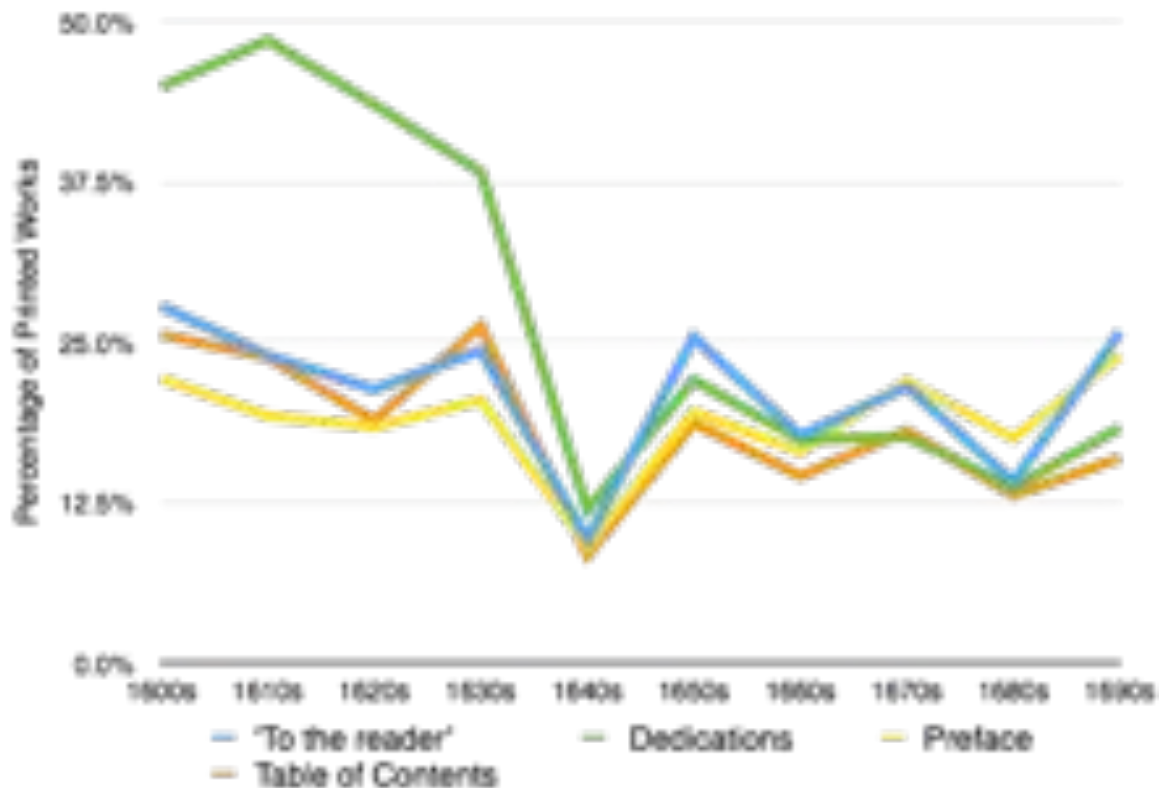


Figure 2.11. A graph showing the number of publications that had prefatory material in the period 1600-1700.

A plausible explanation for the latter is that as society became more familiar with printed material there was less need to guide readers explicitly in how to approach the text.⁵³ As work on the materiality of early modern print has shown the textual preliminaries and printed marginalia in early modern books worked in tandem to define and shape the nature of the experience of reading.⁵⁴ Print in its early history relied upon these textual devices to frame the text and help readers to engage in material that was still unfamiliar to them.⁵⁵ Margreta de Grazia has summarised the role of the prefatory apparatus as being not simply curatorial but preparatory: it prepares the reader for the text by equipping him or her with certain kinds of information.⁵⁶ Similarly, Heidi Hackel has shown in the late sixteenth century authors framed their text through dedications and epistles to the reader to help readers to situate themselves to the text.

The fact that there is a significant decline in epistles 'to the reader' in the 1660s suggests that the relationship between reader and the text was one that was familiar enough to most readers that there this relationship no longer needed to be explicitly mediated by the author's address to them as a separate paratextual piece of the book. Indeed the fact that writers still used epistles after the Restoration was mocked by other texts. As Henry Marsh said in the preface to *The Wits, or Sport upon Sport* (1672) 'the designe to usher in this Body of Humours with a preface, [was] for no other reason, nor other purpose, then to humour and imitate the Mode of Writers; letting you see the folly and impertinence of Epistolary Personations.'⁵⁷ Marsh thus recognised that dedications

⁵³ Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 70–100.

⁵⁴ Hackel, p. 88. Wendy wall framed the preliminaries of early modern texts as a kind of threshold in which writers and publishers designated reading as a form of intrusion, and preliminaries were a way of creating a bridge for this intrusion. See: Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 172.

⁵⁵ The use of dedications and prefatory material was not an invention of print, and its history can be traced back to rhetorical theory Kevin Dunn has traced the prehistory of the preface into classical rhetorical theory. See: Kevin Dunn, *Pretexts of Authority: The Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. x. On the development of title pages in incunabula see: Martha W. Driver, 'Ideas of Order: Wynkyn de Worde and the Title Page', *Texts and Their Contexts*, 1997, 87–149. William Slights has explored the medieval origins of the printed page layout. William WE Slights, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 79–80.

⁵⁶ Margreta De Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 12.

⁵⁷ Henry Marsh, *The Wits, or Sport upon Sport* (1672), Sig. A3v

and epistles in the prefatory material of a book were superfluous, and the decline of them within print appears that many printers and editors agreed with Marsh that epistles and dedications could be removed from their publications.

Visual Elements

Cataloguing the dialogues that had visual elements such as a woodcut, engraving, or diagram in the database made it possible to see how visual elements featured within the genre. In *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, Robert Scribner highlighted the crucial role that visual representations of Luther played in Reformation Germany in cultivating and contesting the image of Luther.⁵⁸ Work on seventeenth-century visual culture has continued to highlight the importance of printed images in the early modern period such as that by Tessa Watt and Helen Pierce.⁵⁹ Watt's study of religious broadsheets stressed the status of the printed image as a powerful mnemonic and didactic device while Pierce's work has shown that visual elements such as satirical prints, and woodcuts were an important part of ephemeral publications. Further studies by Michael Hunter and Alexandra Walsham have fostered a growing interest in images in the early modern period and contested Richard Godfrey's claim that graphic satires of this period 'reflect the poverty of early English print history.'⁶⁰ Charting the use of visual prints chronologically in figure 2.12 shows that visual imagery was particularly prevalent in the 1640s and 1650s, with almost a third of all dialogues in these decades using a visual image but that there was a declining use of imagery within the form at the end of the century.

⁵⁸ Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

⁵⁹ Helen Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Helen Pierce, *All 'Sorts of Pictures of Stories': The Print in Early Modern England* (JSTOR, 2011); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁶⁰ Joseph Monteyne, *The Printed Image in Early Modern London: Urban Space, Visual Representation, and Social Exchange* (London: Ashgate, 2007); Michael Cyril William Hunter, *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation* (London: Ashgate, 2010).



Figure 2.12. A graph showing the percentage of dialogues in the period 1600-1720 that had a visual image.

By examining the use of images within different types of dialogue it is possible to provide further insight into the use of images. Figure 2.13 shows that printed images were not used consistently within the dialogue genre but different types of imagery flourished in different periods of the dialogues history. Three discernable periods can be seen in this graph. First, during the 1640s printed images were used predominately within pamphlets. Secondly, by the 1650s pamphlets stopped using printed images as extensively and books started to use them more. Third, the 1680s was the peak in the use of images in broadsheets and ballad dialogues. Further examination of the uses of printed images in these periods can show how visual imagery was used in different formats for different purposes.



Figure 2.13. A graph showing the frequency of dialogues with images during the period 1600-1720.

The major difference between printed images in different formats was that dialogues that were published in the form of a book tended to use engravings rather than the woodcuts that adorned pamphlet or broadsheet dialogues. The engraved images of book dialogues were also different in what they depicted. In the 1650s they were primarily depictions of the author, as can be seen in John Gamble's *Ayres and Dialogues* (1657), Walter Charleton's *The Immortality of the Human Soul* (1657) and Henry Bold's *Wit a Sporting* (1657) (see illustration 3.1); or they were used as the frontispiece for printed miscellanies such as *The Academy of Compliments* (1650).

Towards the end of the century printed images in books moved towards being engravings that were decorative and served to embellish the text, such as *The Princely Way to the French Tongue* (1677), *Il Paganism Di Roma* (1670), and *Colloquia Maritima* (1688) as seen in illustration 2.3 and 2.4. By the eighteenth century the engravings that were used in books to embellish dialogues were often iconic scenes that embodied the dialogue. In *Matrimony Unmask'd* (1714) an engraving depicted a curtain moving back to reveal a married couple arguing with each other this image conveyed the message of the dialogue, namely that matrimony brought comfort and discomfort (illustration 2.5).

Engravings in the eighteenth-century dialogues were primarily used in printed collections of poems and dialogues. The works of Thomas Brown all had engravings that visually encapsulated the volume. The second volume that contained his letters and dialogues to the dead, for instance, was accompanied by an engraving of Charon carrying passengers across the river Styx into Hades, where the various characters who featured in Thomas Brown's letters and dialogues of the dead were depicted standing on the shore (illustration 2.5). Dialogues used visual imagery in its title pages in a similar way to printed plays. Diana Jakacki has argued that visual imagery in printed plays served the purpose of reminding patrons of the key scenes in the play, often recreating the staging of the scene as it was performed on the stage.⁶¹ Dialogues, like printed plays, included visual imagery to help readers comprehend the text and served as visual aids that helped readers to de-code the text.

⁶¹ Diane Katherine Jakacki, "Covetous to Parley with so Sweet a Frontis-Peece": Illustration in Early Modern English Play-Texts' (University of Waterloo, 2010) <<https://uwspace.uwaterloo.ca/handle/10012/5518>> [accessed 14 April 2014].

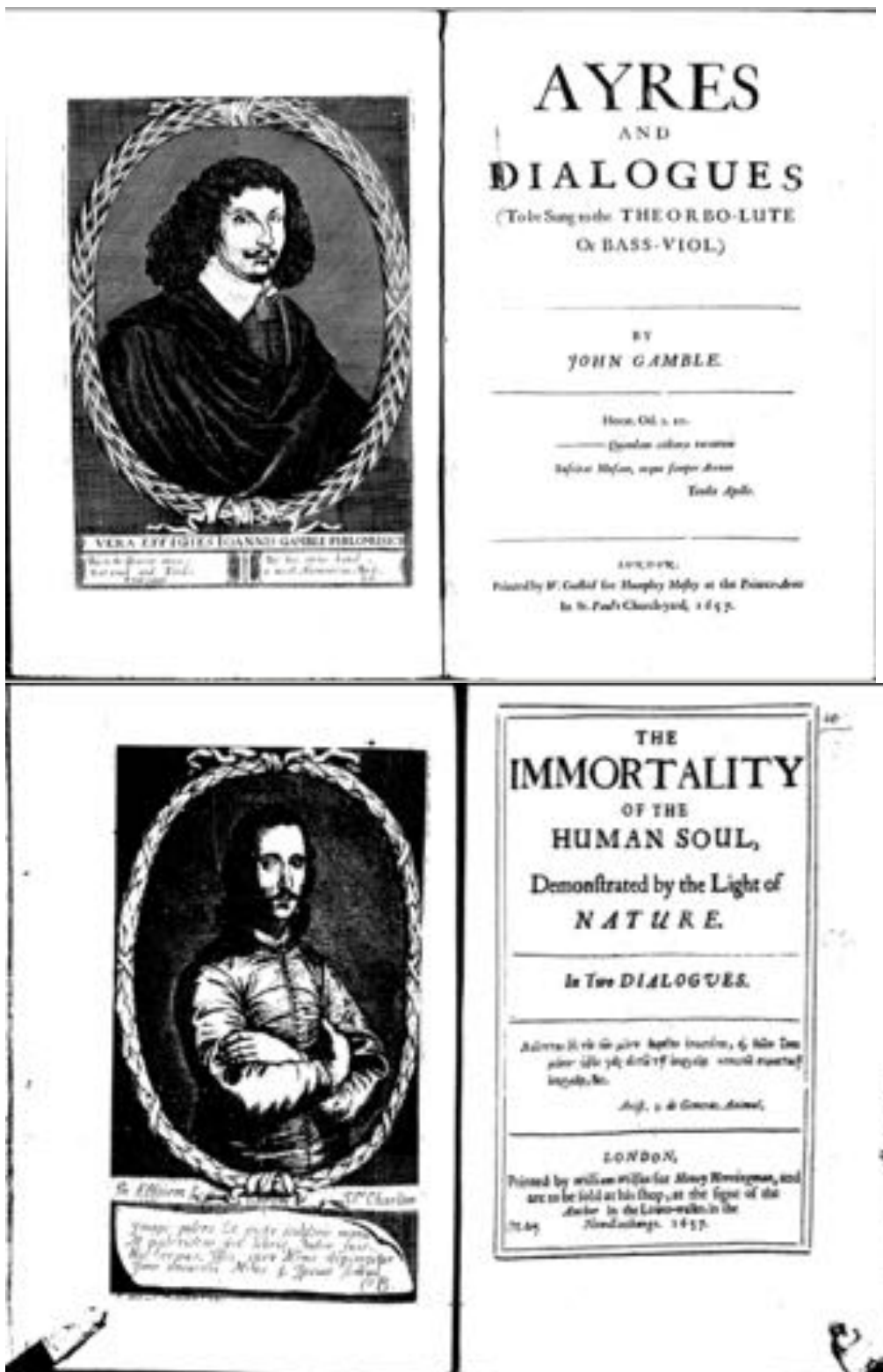


Illustration 2.1. The frontispiece and title page of John Gamble's *Ayres and Dialogues* (1657) and Walter Charleton's *The Immortality of the Human Soul*, (1657)



Illustration 2.2. The frontispiece of J.G.'s *The Academy of Complements*, (1639).



Illustration 2.3: The frontispiece and title-page of Pierre de Laine's *The princely way to the French tongue*, (1677).

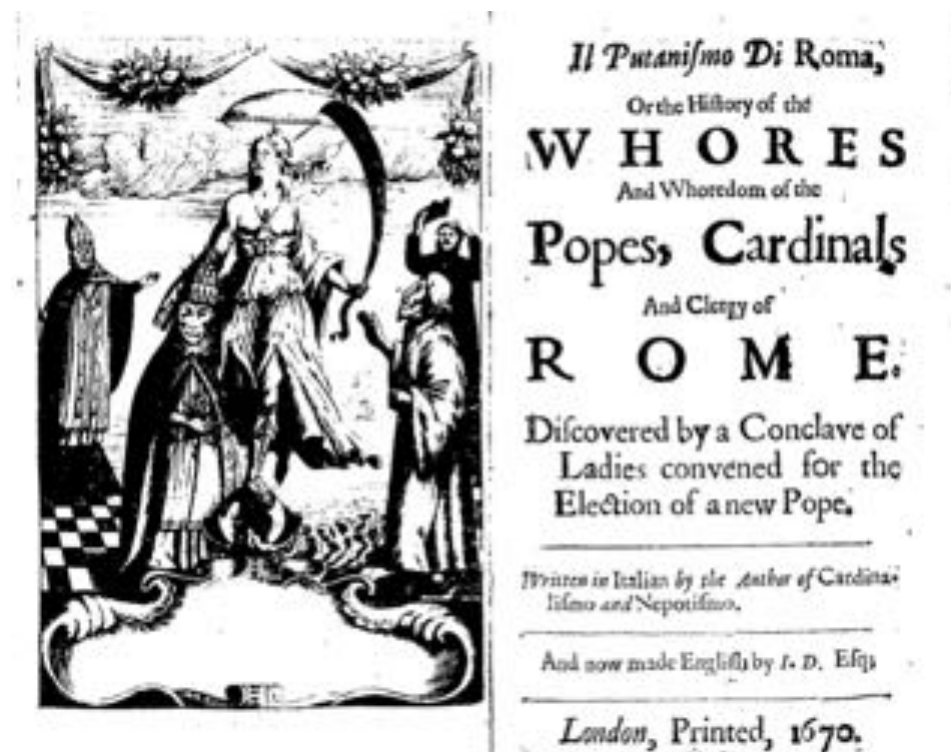


Illustration 2.4: Frontispiece and title page of Gregorio Leti's *Il putanismo di Roma*, (1670)



Illustration 2.5. Frontispieces to *Matrimony Unmask'd* (1714) and Thomas Brown, *The Second Volume of Thomas Browns Works* (1715).



Illustration 2.6. Title –page and engraving to N. Boteler’s Colloquia Maritima: or Sea-Dialogues (1688)

In contrast to the engraved images used in books, which tended to represent the authors, the images utilised in pamphlets frequently included woodcuts that depicted the setting of the conversation and the participants in the dialogue. For example, the visual imagery that accompanied *A brief and Witty Discourse* (1650) and *The Tapster’s Downfall* (1641) demonstrates used visual imagery to depict the two characters engaged in dialogue (illustration 2.7). Others showed people talking on the street, as seen in and *A dialogue Betwixt a Citizen and Poor Countrey Man and his Wife* (1636) that showed the citizen walking to the countryman’s house (illustration 2.9). These woodcut images served as imaginative cues to help the reader understand the context of the conversation and could suggest the degree to which the conversation was a private or public discussion. As the images in illustration 2.10 show they could be used to place emphasis on the private nature of the dialogue by representing two people sitting at a table conversing, as seen in the woodcuts that accompanied *The Spiritual Courts Epitomized* (1641), *A Brief and Witty Discourse* (1650), and *A Delicate, Dainty, Damnable Dialogue Between the Devil and a Jesuit* (1642) (Illustration 2.8). The effect of these visual aids was to portray the conversation represented within the text as a revelation of the private realm.



Illustration 2.7. Title-pages for Anon, *A Brief and Witty Discourse* (1650) and Anon, *The Tapsters Downfall and the Drunkards Joy* (1641)



Illustration 2.8. Title-pages to Anon, *The Spirituall Courts Epitomized* (1641) and John Taylor's *A Brief and Witty Discourse* (1650).



Illustration 2.9. Title pages to Anon, *A Dialogue betwixt a Citizen and a Poore Country-man and his Wife* (1636) and Anon, *The Counters Discourse* (1641).



Illustration 2.10. Title pages to Anon The Doctors Last Will and Testament (1641) and Anon, The Papists politicke Projects discovered.

Images that were used in dialogues of one-sheet in length differed from those in pamphlets and books and can be generalised into two types. The first used character woodcuts from ballads, as seen in *The Lover's Gift* (1615): these were stock woodcut characters (illustration 2.11).⁶² Others in this group also used the woodcut in a similar way to pamphlet dialogues to depict the situation of the dialogue (illustration 2.12). The second group used satirical prints as seen in illustration 2.13, often in the form of an engraving (although woodcuts were employed in *The Young-Man's Conquest over the Powers of Darkness* (1686) and *Times Precious Jewel* (1688)). These often had speech added to the image. Looking at the range of printed images used in the dialogue genre echoes what other scholars have said about the use of printed images in this period, in that printed images were often used in the dialogue genre as visual cues that provided readers with devices that helped them to imagine the dialogue.⁶³ The presence of printed images in dialogues shows that they were not only a meeting point of oral and printed discourse, they were also a meeting point of print and visual cultures as they incorporated visual elements as additional cues for the reader.⁶⁴

⁶² See especially Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1962), pp. 47–48. Mark W. Booth, *The Experience of Songs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 110–111. On the simple two-dimensionality of the woodcut, see Alan Norman Bold, *The Ballad* (London: Methuen, 1979), p. 76. Patricia Fumerton, 'Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 32 (2002), 493–518 (pp. 499–503).

⁶³ Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures*; Michael Cyril William Hunter; Katherine Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric and Early Modern English Literature* (London: Ashgate, 2013).

⁶⁴ For a discussion on how print and visual were an important dimension of political discourse see: Mark Knights, 'Possessing the Visual: The Materiality of Visual Print Culture in Later Stuart Britain', in James Daybell and Peter Hinds, *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580-1730* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) pp. 97-99.

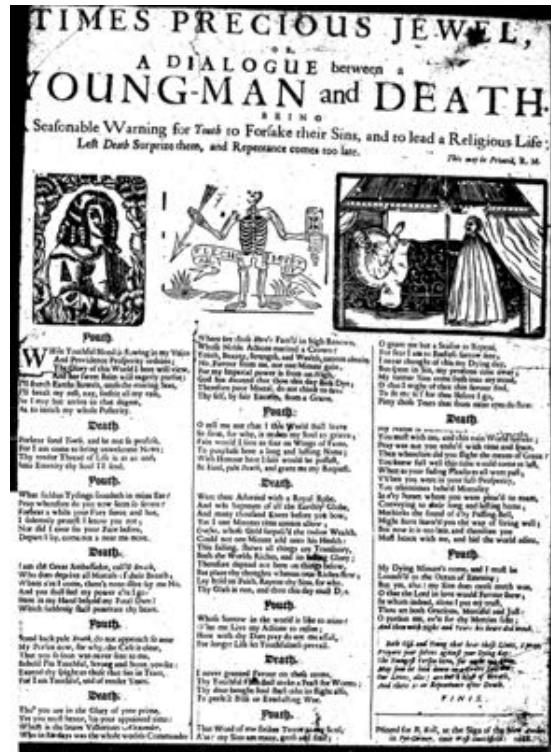


Illustration 2.13 Images in *The Young-Mans Conquest Over the Powers of Darkness* (1663/4) and *Anon, Times Precious Jewel* (1688) Source: EEBO

Typographic Strategy

The final visual element of dialogues that can be analysed is trends in typographic styles. One of the requirements that Spence said that a dialogue must have

was 'a distinction between each speaker.' The need to separate the words of the different speakers meant that the dialogue utilised a specific typography and structure to help distinguish between characters and achieve its rhetorical aims. Speakers in a dialogue were distinguished from each other primarily through what we might call a 'typographic strategy.'⁶⁵ The Earl of Shaftesbury in a note to one of his printers, for example, made clear notes about how his text was to be printed:

The marks which I have put into the text are by way of caution to the compositor in this peculiar dialogue style, where the two parts, or different speaking parties should be neatly represented with obvious distinction to the eye.⁶⁶

Other factors helped to reinforce the distinction between characters, such as their names, occupation, social status, style of speaking, tone, idioms, and opinions.⁶⁷ At the most rudimentary level the distinction between speakers came through the layout of the page. In the case of the dialogue, the form that the content came in was as important for distinguishing characters as the words themselves.⁶⁸

Dialogues had two distinctive typographical styles. The first and most popular was the 'unmediated dialogue', which demarcated the different speakers through the typographical arrangement. Unmediated dialogue came in two forms. One used different fonts, with one speaker's words printed in a black letter font and the other speaker's in a Roman font; the other used the same font for both speakers.⁶⁹ The first typographical form was more common at the start of the century and dwindled as gothic fonts went out of fashion. The advantage of this typography was that the author could use the choice of black letter or Roman font to add social and cultural implications to the views of

⁶⁵ Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. By Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 12; See also Roger Chartier, *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, trans. By Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

⁶⁶ Anthony Ashley Cooper Earl of Shaftesbury, *Shaftesbury: Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. xxxvi.

⁶⁷ Zachary Lesser, 'Typographic Nostalgia: Playreading, Popularity and the Meanings of Black Letter', 2006, p. 100 <<http://works.bepress.com/zacharylesser/4/>> [accessed 14 April 2014]; David Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 225–240.

⁶⁸ Roger Chartier has said a text's meaning 'is always dependant on their particular discursive and formal mechanisms - in the case of printed texts we might call them 'typographical.' *Order of Books*, 12

⁶⁹ An unusual variant of this was to demarcate one of the speakers by having their words in italics as seen in Arthur Dent's *Plaine-man's Pathway to Heaven* in its early editions, however, in later editions the editors substituted the gothic font of the characters for italics.

expressed.⁷⁰ The choice of font could be used as a means to demarcate truth from falsehood, educated from non-educated, and the rich from the poor.⁷¹ An illustration of this can be seen by the character of a papist who often had their words presented in a black letter font. This clearly positioned the papist as being low in social status. Further evidence of blackletter fonts used for characters of a lower social status can be seen in *Wit and wealth contending for preeminence* (1647) in which the wealthy character is in a Roman font, and the poor-man in black letter. By utilising different fonts the typography of a dialogue could enhance the polemical force of the passage by clearly demarcating the characters' social position.⁷²

The second type of unmediated dialogue was the most prevalent form of speaker demarcation. It was similar to the typography of printed plays.⁷³ Both speakers were in the same font with their words labelled with the associated speaker's name, or abbreviation of their name. Although their words were in the same font printers would sometimes utilise different fonts such as italics, capitals, and black letter fonts for their names, or, they were separated spatially from their words on the page.⁷⁴ These were usually in a Roman font, although occasionally they would be in black letter font. The advantage of the unmediated typographical style, according to one reported dialogue was that it enabled the writer 'to avoid the tedious repetition of quoth you, quoth I' that was found in 'mediated dialogues'.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Harold Love, 'L'Estrange, Joyce and the Dictates of Typography', in *Roger L'Estrange and the making of Restoration Culture*, ed. by Anne Duncan-Page and Beth Lynch (Oxford: Ashgate, 2008); Peter Campbell, 'The Typography of Hobbe's Leviathan', in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁷¹ Alexandra Walsham, 'The Spider and the Bee: The Perils of Printing for Refutation in Tudor England', in *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning*, ed. by John N. King (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 164–165; Mark Bland, 'The Appearance of the Text in Early Modern England', in *Text: An Interdisciplinary Annual of Textual Studies*, ed. by W. Speed Hill, Edward M. Burns, and Peter Shillingsburg (University of Michigan Press, 1998); Lesser, pp. 103–107 Lesser complicates the simplistic notion that equates black-letter with a popular audience and shows how black letter fonts were not mapped directly onto a popular audience. ; For the role of language in character construction, in particular, the use of an archaic style of language see Lucy Munro, *Archaic Style in English Literature, 1590–1674* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁷² This style of dialogue was used by Thomas More in *Utopia* see Terence Cave, *Thomas More's Utopia in Early Modern Europe: Paratexts and Contexts* (Manchester Univ Pr, 2008); and Romuald Ian Lakowski, 'Sir Thomas More and the Art of Dialogue' (University of British Columbia, 1993), pp. 77–123 <https://circle.ubc.ca/bitstream/id/5856/ubc_1993_fall_phd_lakowski_romuald.pdf> [accessed 14 April 2014].

⁷³ Bourne, '"A play and no play": Printing the performance in early modern England,' pp.5-25; Lesser, *Typographic Nostalgia*, pp. 15-31.

⁷⁴ Outside of dialogues in ballad form it was rare that the dialogue would be entirely in black letter but there are examples of it such as Thomas Dekker's, *News from the North*, (1615).

⁷⁵ John Mush, *A Dialogue Betwixt a Secular Priest and a Lay Gentleman*, (1601), p. 6.

Another form of typography used in the dialogue involved embedding the dialogue in a narrative in what we might call 'mediated dialogues'. This typographical strategy designated the different speakers through reported speech. It featured predominantly in dialogues that were narrative driven, or that were reports of debates, conferences, and meetings.⁷⁶ At times the phrase 'quoth I' was in a different font, either through italics, or in black letters, yet this was not always the case. This typographic strategy was used for instance in Francisco Quevedo's *Visions* (1654), John Dryden's *Essay of Dramatick Poesy* (1668) and *Quaternio or A fourefold way to a happie life set forth in a dialogue betweene a countryman and a citizen, a divine and a lawyer* (1633). This form of dialogue had a clear narrator who reported the conversation, and the reader was clearly orientated towards a certain position, more so than dialogues in which the words of the characters were unmediated. As a form it became more popular at the end of the seventeenth-century and into the eighteenth-century, with dialogic periodicals such as *The Spectator*, and *The Tatler* using this format along with books that sat on the boundary of the novel and dialogue such as Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. As a typographical form the 'mediated dialogue' allowed for greater narratorial intervention, as the narrator could inject additional material into the dialogue between the quoted speeches.

Both mediated and unmediated dialogues represented conversation, managed controversy and portrayed debate.⁷⁷ They helped to present the words of the different speakers clearly and demarcate distinctly between the characters. The physical appearance of a dialogue offered a clear demarcation between the different parties.⁷⁸ The typographic layout of the dialogue genre was, therefore, a crucial part of its meaning, yet, how this typographic form was used differed vastly across the genre.

Authors

Having looked at the format, topics, and paratextual features of the dialogue genre the final feature examined in this chapter is authorship. Harold Love, in his book

⁷⁶ Other dialogues that used this typographic form were *The deplorable life and death of Edward the Second, King of England*. (1628) *The most pleasant Historie of Ornatus and Artesia* (1607) *A true relation of the faction begun at Wisbich by Fa. Edmonds, alias Weston, a lesuite* (1601) *Rump, or, An exact collection of the choycest poems and songs relating to the late times by the most eminent wits from anno 1639 to anno 1661*. (1662).

⁷⁷ Timothy Dykstal, 'Conversation and Political Controversy', in *Compendious Conversations: The Method of Dialogue in the Early Enlightenment*, ed. by Kevin Cope (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), pp. 306–20.

⁷⁸ Walsham, p. 169.

Attributing Authorship, drew attention to the fact that many early modern texts were initially published anonymously, through either no authorship attribution in the text, use of initials, or pseudonyms.⁷⁹ Griffen similarly showed that about 70 percent of works published in the early modern period did not have a straightforwardly named author and that 40 per cent were fully anonymous.⁸⁰ It was only nineteenth-century scholarship that removed this original anonymity.⁸¹ This is problematic because the attribution of authorship masks the initial conditions in which readers encountered texts. The Victorian attribution of authors is enshrined in modern bibliographic practice because it was used in the STC and is now preserved in ESTC, and by extension EEBO and ECCO.⁸² Modern scholars, therefore, approach these texts from a pre-informed perspective.⁸³ Even so, the cataloguing of authorship in the database made it possible to restore the initial authorship to the text. In the database the authorship of each dialogue was classified into six categories:

1. Author's name
2. Anonymously and who's authorship remains unknown today
3. No authorial marks but have since had an author attributed to them
4. Initials
5. Pseudonym
6. Translator

The varying types of authorship can be quantified. As figure 2.14 shows the most prevalent forms of authorship identity was 'anonymous' and 'author'. At sixty percent, the number of dialogues that were fully anonymous is slightly more within the dialogue than Griffen suggests. This is most likely because the majority of anonymous publications were pamphlets, a genre less likely to have authorship determined.

⁷⁹ See Harold Love, *Attributing Authorship: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 11-20.

⁸⁰ Robert J. Griffen, 'Anonymity and Authorship', *New Literary History*, 30 (1999), 877-95.

⁸¹ Harold Love has looked at how Victorians saw anonymity as a puzzle to solve and has studied the popularity of attributing authorship by bibliographers. See Harold Love, *Attributing Authorship: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Introduction.

⁸² Janet Wright Starner, 'Anonymity in Early Modern England: Whats in a Name? Introduction', in *Anonymity in Early Modern England: Whats in a Name?* ed. by Howard Trastler Janet Wright Starner (Cambridge: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 10-11. Starner has said that: 'The anonymous text should perhaps remain anonymous, or at least that attribution should never be completely erase the fact of original anonymity.'

⁸³ Starner, pp. 4-5.

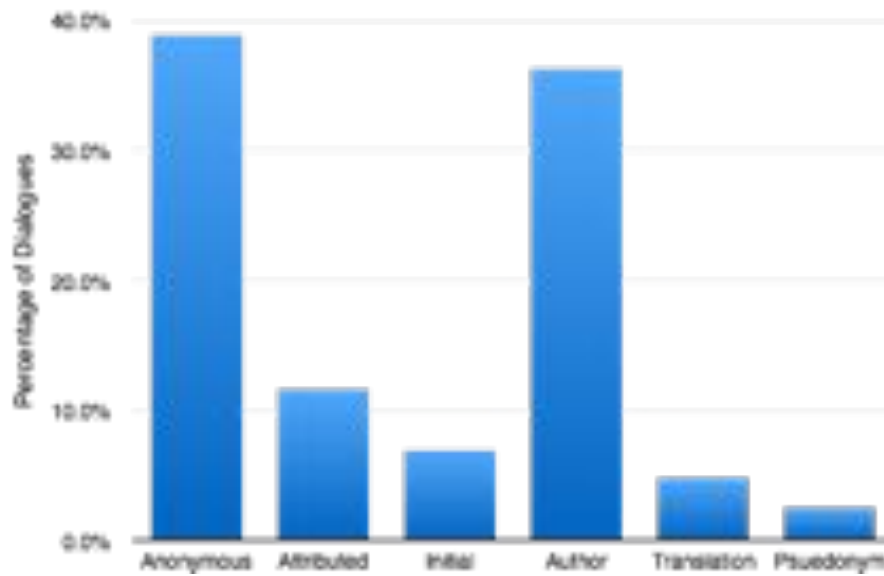


Figure 2.14 A graph showing the percentage of dialogues that used different forms of authorship marks.

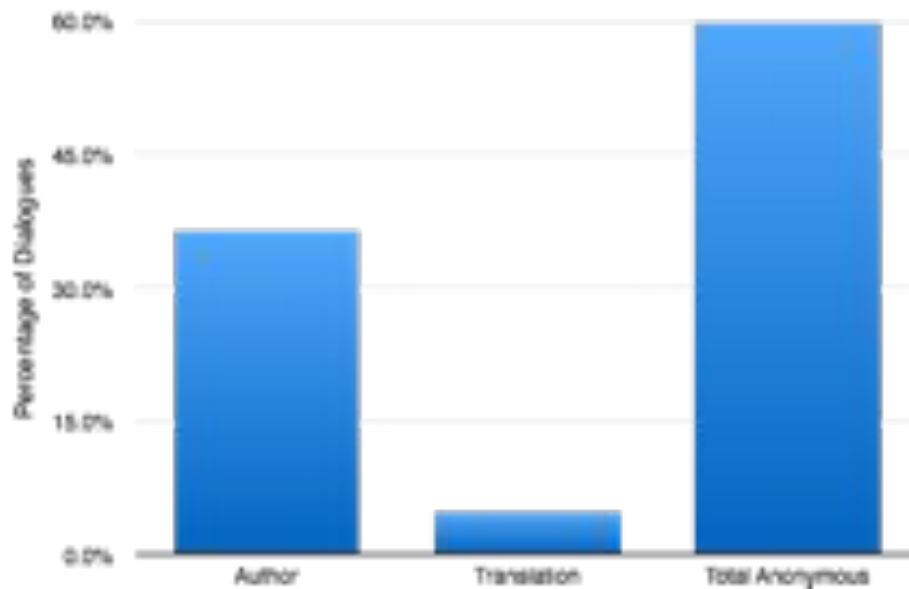


Figure 2.15 A graph showing the percentage of dialogues that were anonymous, translated and authored.

Analysing dialogues that used the author's name makes it possible to see what were the most reprinted dialogues during this period.⁸⁴ As seen figure 2.16, the most popular dialogues were John Bunyan's *The Pilgrims Progress* (1601) and Arthur Dent's *The Plain-mans Pathway to Heaven* (1678). As a point of reference John Milton's *Paradise Lost* was included in the graph to show that both works were substantially more popular than Milton's text during this period.⁸⁵ Other reprinted dialogues were the *Academy of Complements* that had 19 editions printed during this period. The popularity of the text meant that it spawned a wealth of imitations.⁸⁶

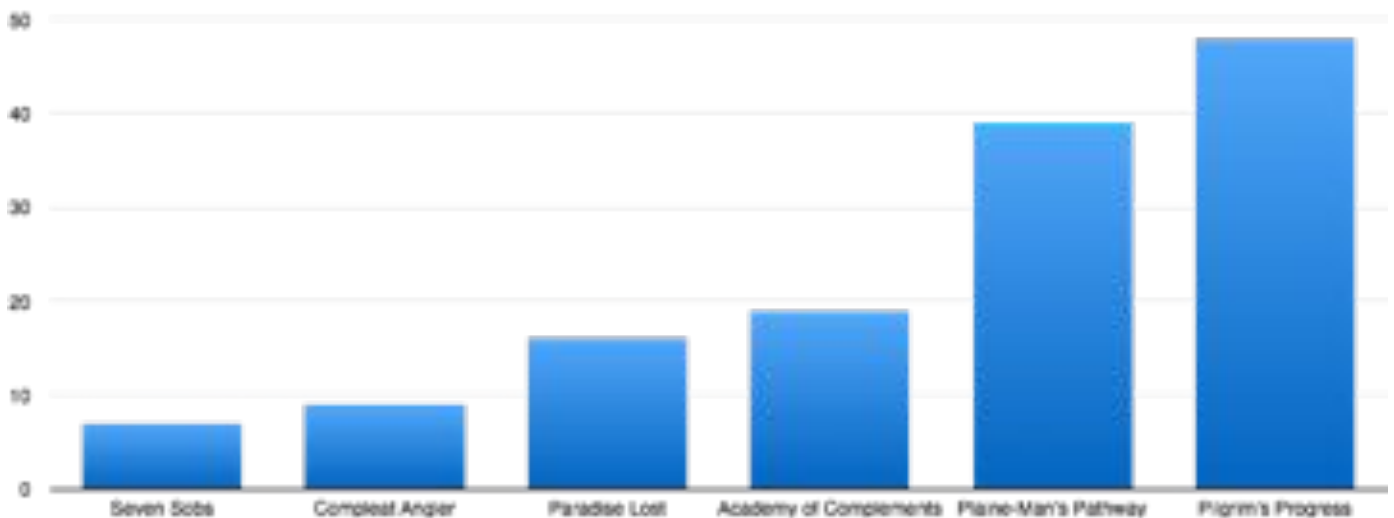


Figure 2.16 A graph showing the seven most reprinted dialogues in the period 1600-1720

⁸⁴ A list of merely the most prolific and best known includes such writers as Hobbes, Boyle, Fontenelle, Shaftesbury, Mandeville, Berkeley, Prior, Marvell, Henry More, Bunyan, Richard Baxter, Addison, Dryden, Pope, Charles Gildon, Charles Cotton, James Wright, John Dennis, Ned Ward, John Oldmixon, Thomas Brown, William King, Jeremy Collier, Isaac Walton, Roger L'Estrange, William Walsh, Ambrose Philips, and John Gay

⁸⁵ It is interesting therefore that Milton attracts a far greater amount of scholarship than Bunyan and Dent's work does.

⁸⁶ The following is a small sample of imitations of the *Academy of Complements*: Anon, *The card of Courtship* (1653); Anon, *Wit and Drollery* (1656); Anon, *The Marrow of complements* (1655); Anon, *Wits Interpreter* (1655); Anon, *The mysteries of love and eloquence* (1658). For more on the imitations of Wit's Academy see Adam Smyth, 'Profit and Delight': Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640-1682 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004).

Anonymity

The importance of anonymity in the context of dialogues merits attention because anonymity was chosen for a variety of reasons, and publishers and printers often drew attention to the anonymity of the text.⁸⁷ Early modern writers, printers and publishers would go to extreme lengths to protect their anonymity; yet, this is often occluded from histories of literature, particularly for texts that are outside of the literary canon.⁸⁸ The function of anonymity in literary history, for the most part, has received insufficient attention, despite the fact that the attribution of an author to the text, or the absence of an author, alters the context in which a text is read.⁸⁹ As Génette explains in his work *Paratexts*, anonymity alters the meaning that the text can have for the reader.⁹⁰ The choice to omit the author's name, use (sometimes misleading) initials, or to write under pseudonym reflected various economic, social and political motives, which are lost when the anonymity is hidden through attribution.⁹¹ As Marcy North has argued, anonymity is one of the most powerful and evocative frames for a text, but it becomes a minor bit of context in most modern editions, given only the amount of space necessary to defend the research that recovered the author's name.⁹²

⁸⁷ Mark Knights, 'Judging Partisan News and the Language of Interest', in *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s*, ed. by Jason McElligott (London: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 204–21.

⁸⁸ John Mullen, in particular, looks at the way in which Johnathan Swift used anonymity to violate social decorum. John Mullan, *Anonymity: A Secret History of English Literature* (London: Faber and Faber, 2007), pp. 9-39 Susan Gushee O'Malley, "Was Anonymous a Jokester?: The Anonymous Pamphlet Haec-Vir: Or, the Womanish Man," in *Anonymity in Early Modern England: Whats in a Name?*, ed. Howard Trastler Janet Wright Starner (Cambridge: Ashgate, 2011).

⁸⁹ Griffen, "Anonymity and Authorship," p. 882-885, Janet Wright Starner, "Anonymity in Early Modern England: Whats in a Name? Introduction," in *Anonymity in Early Modern England: Whats in a Name?* ed. Howard Trastler Janet Wright Starner (Cambridge: Ashgate, 2011). p. 5-6.

⁹⁰ Gerard Génette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and Gerard Génette, *The Architext: An Introduction* (Berkeley CA and Oxford: University of California Press, 1992).

⁹¹ Laura A. Heymann, "The Birth of the Authornym: Authorship, Pseudonymity, and Trademark Law," *Notre Dame Law Review* 80, no. 4 (2005). p. 1382-1383.

⁹² Marcy L. North, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discetion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 10.



Figure 2.17 A graph comparing the number of dialogues published anonymously with those that had authorial markings in period 1600-1720

Looking at the frequency of anonymity during the seventeenth century reveals a clear correlation with anonymity and periods of political tension and social unrest with discernible spikes in the use of anonymity in 1641, 1660, 1681, and 1689. The political dimension of anonymity is strengthened when the number of anonymous texts is looked at in relation to the subject of the dialogue. On average 53 percent of all dialogues that were published anonymously were used for political topics.

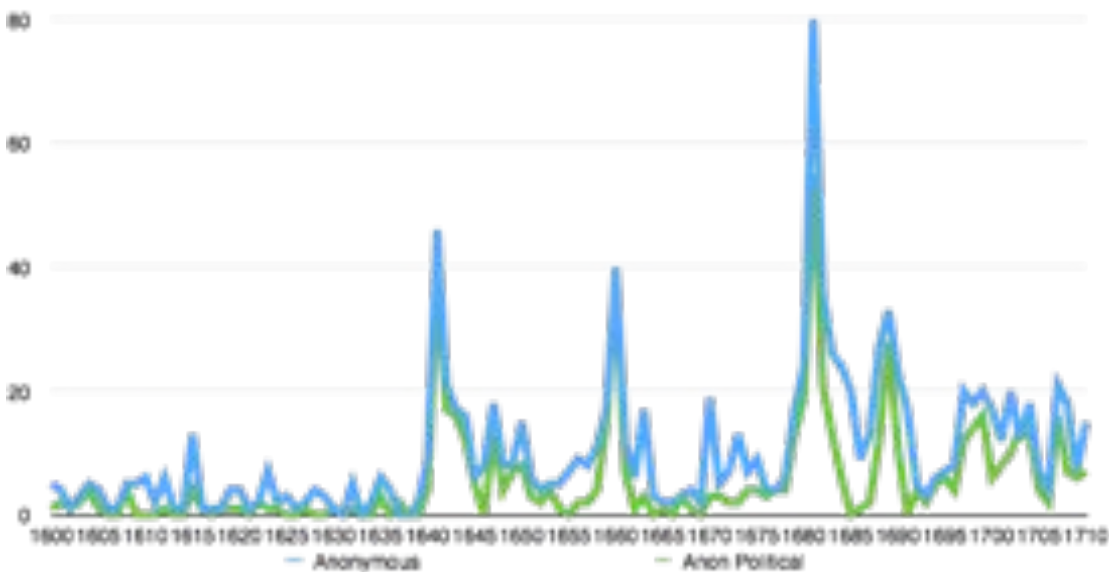


Figure 2.18 A graph comparing the total frequency of anonymous dialogues with the frequency of anonymous political dialogues.

One of the features of the dialogue was that it allowed authors to voice opinions that they might not hold themselves. The form made it possible to distance the views of the characters in the dialogue and the authors and thus already provided writers with plausible deniability for any controversial content. If dialogue was a form that offered authors protection then the use of anonymity to protect the author was superfluous. This forces us to ask what motives did writers and printers have for using anonymity. One possible reason is that the trial of Galileo in 1616 and 1633 may have been on their minds. Galileo despite putting his views in the form of a dialogue had still come under condemnation and imprisonment for them. John Milton recounted in *Areopagitica* (1644) his visit to Italy: 'There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in Astronomy otherwise then the Franciscan and Dominican licencers thought.'⁹³ The message for Milton was that even though Galileo had couched his ideas in the form of the dialogue the Inquisition had still imprisoned him for his ideas.⁹⁴ The case of Galileo made it clear that the fact that even using a dialogue as a way to voice controversial views did not necessarily protect the author. The problem with this argument is that it depends on a widespread knowledge of Galileo's trial amongst writers of dialogues. There is evidence to suggest that Galileo's ideas were known amongst those of the natural philosophical community, yet the extent to which his trial was known to the writers of early modern pamphlet dialogues is one that cannot be answered conclusively in this thesis.⁹⁵

The second potential explanation is that anonymity allowed authors to distance themselves from a controversy and allowed them room to deviate from adherence to social norms of decorum such as in the dialogue *Haec-Vir* that questioned social attitudes to gender and transvestism through having a dialogue between a transvestite and an effeminate man. Anonymity allowed writers to voice opinions, question authority, social roles and political positions that would otherwise get them into trouble if their

⁹³ John Milton, *Areopagitica* (1644),

⁹⁴ For more information on why Galileo choose the form of a dialogue and why he thought it would offer him protection for expressing radical ideas see chapter four.

⁹⁵ For a comprehensive review of Galileo in England see Stillman Drake, *Essays on Galileo and the History and Philosophy of Science* (University of Toronto Press, 1999), pp. 237–252. Drake observes that Galileo was received more favourably in England than elsewhere in Europe. He notes that Galileo is mentioned by name in Ben Johnson's *The Staple of News* (1626) and that numerous works refer to him such *The New Discovery of a new world in the moone* (1638) that was reprinted twice in its year of publication and the third edition featured an engraved title page with Galileo on it.

identity was publicly known.⁹⁶ This was particularly useful at a time when the boundary of what was considered subversive and controversial was constantly changing and contested. The problem with this reason is that many of the anonymous dialogues were not particularly contentious. For instance, in *The Tapsters Downfall* (1641) the two participants, Leather-Beard and Ruby-Nose, discuss the 'correcting parliament' and its recent banning of any form of trade on a Sunday.⁹⁷ Leather-Beard, a tradesman who sold roast-beef pies, laments his financial predicament that came from this ban - as he sold more pies on Sunday than the rest of the week. The focus in this case is not on the theological issues behind the decision, or even the political debate behind the act, but rather the impact of it on the common tradesman. It was the everyday problems rather than intellectual issues that the participants wanted to understand. These were matters that authors did not need protection from censors and thus protection from controversy cannot be invoked entirely to explain the prevalence of anonymity in dialogues.

The most likely reason for the choice of anonymity in the dialogue genre was that it allowed writers to strengthen the rhetorical effect of a dialogue. Dialogues claimed to empower - and indeed force - readers to judge between the different stances presented in the text. As the narrator in the preface to *The Times Displayed in Six Sestyads* (1646) said: 'their several tenants, each here prove, And while they, pro and con, do argue, we, may judge of both, and which most erreth see.'⁹⁸ Anonymity helped to reinforce the need for readers to judge the ideas on their own merits as it removed the reader's ability to form a trust, or mistrust, in the text derived from the reputation of the author. Knowing who wrote a book allowed readers to form preconceived ideas about the contents. As Erasmus said:

The force of preconceived notions is that strong that even in a learned mind; no other factor in the making of judgements has greater power to distract or blind the intellect.⁹⁹

Anonymity thus pushed the reader to judge it the work on its own terms by stripping them of their preconceived ideas about the author and their authority and reliability. This literary device was particularly salient for writers in a volatile political climate who wanted

⁹⁶ Anon, *Haec-Vir: Or, the Womanish-Man* (1620).

⁹⁷ Anon, *The Tapsters Downfall and the Drunkards Joy*. p. 2-4.

⁹⁸ S. Sheppherd, *The Times Displayed in Six Sestyads* (1646). p. 4.

⁹⁹ Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 88.

readers to consider their arguments without any bias or prejudice towards them. As Jeremy Taylor said in *Ductor dubitantium* (1660) 'Some men are to be wrought upon not by direct argument, but by artifices and back blows; they are easy enough to believe the truth, if they could; and therefore you must, to persuade them, remove their prejudices and prepossessions.'¹⁰⁰ Writers wanted readers to consider the opinions contained in a rational way freed from prejudice, as Simon Patrick in a *Friendly Debate* encouraged his readers: 'Reader do not throw away this little book as soon as ever thou meetest with something that offends thee, but sit down rather, and consider upon what account thou art offended.'¹⁰¹ Although it is perhaps impossible to reconstruct the motives behind why writers of dialogues chose anonymity, the most convincing reason is that it was used to strengthen the rhetorical effect of making readers consider the ideas in the dialogue without prejudice towards the author. Particularly when the majority of anonymous dialogues were political and partisan interests was a major feature of political literature.¹⁰² Removing who the author was from the text prevented readers from bringing their prejudices to the text and helped them to consider the ideas contained on their merit.

Anonymous Printers and Publishers

The anonymity of printers and publishers reveals a slightly different pattern to that of authors. Before the 1640s there was greater anonymity used for authors than printers. On average fewer than forty-five percent of all books published had an attribution to a publisher and thirty-five per cent had no authorship mark; in contrast, printers were identified on ninety-three per cent of all dialogues published. This points to the role that the printer had in book distribution at the start of the seventeenth century. As book historians have shown, the imprints on title-pages were used as an advertisement so that booksellers knew where they could obtain printed material wholesale. Thomas Nash's *Quaternio* (1633), for instance, was printed by Nicholas Oakes and was 'sold by John Benson at his shop under Saint Dunstons Church in Fleet-

¹⁰⁰ Jeremy Taylor, *Ductor dubitantium* (1660) sig. A4r; Anon, *Good and seasonable advice to the male-contents in England shewing that it is neither the duty, nor the interest of the people of England to re-call the late King* (1689).

¹⁰¹ Simon Patrick, *A friendly debate* (1668), p. 8.

¹⁰² Mark Knights has shown how readers used the language of interest and author's motives to judge the reliability of news. See Mark Knights, 'Judging Partisan News and the Language of Interest', in *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s*, ed. by Jason McElligott (London: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 204–21.

Street.’ Often, within the dialogue genre, it appears that printers were also the wholesaler, as was the case with Thomas Morley’s printer Humfrey Lownes who advertised in Morley’s dialogue *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke set downe in forme of a dialogue* that they could find him ‘dwelling on Bredstreet at the signe of the Star.’ The problem with drawing any firm conclusions from this is that the roles of printer and publisher were not neatly delimited during this period.

It appears that print and publisher anonymity was also sensitive to political pressure. In the 1640s the number of publications that either omitted the printer or used the abbreviation S.N that came from the Latin phrase *sine nomine*, meaning ‘without name’ to designate the printer substantially increased, particularly in the case of printers where it went from eight per cent to seventy per cent. Later in the century both printer and publisher anonymity reached rates that were comparable to that of authorship anonymity. The only exception was during the 1660s when print and publisher anonymity dropped to thirty percent while authorship anonymity was still at seventy per cent. The percentage of anonymous authors stayed at on average at sixty per cent until the eighteenth century when it dropped to thirty percent. Printer and publisher anonymity fluctuated between 1640 and 1720.



Figure 2.19 A graph comparing the use of anonymity for printers, authors, and publishers in the period 1600-1720.

One of the noticeable changes is that only 40 percent of texts identified whom the text was printed *by* in the eighteenth century, in contrast, eighty per cent of texts identified the publisher. This indicates the growth of the role of the publisher and the rise of printing houses. In the early seventeenth century printers often were also publishers of the book. By the 1700s, publishers had taken on a bigger role with printers being used on a contractual basis with a publisher. Trade printers produced a given text for a given price and they had little risk. The publisher, who paid for a text and its initial copies, and had to sell them either wholesale or individually, carried most of the risk.¹⁰³ It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine the extent to which the use of anonymity in printers and publishers is indicative of a wider change in book production and distribution, yet it does show how large-scale analysis of a genre can be used to identify broad changes in literature that can serve as an avenue for further investigation.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a statistical overview of the dialogue genre. Given the limitations, outlined in the previous chapter, of the database underlying the analysis, these insights can only tell us about printed dialogues. Nevertheless, it is clear that it can still reveal interesting things about the history of the genre and more broadly about the history of print. The statistical analysis of the paratextual features of the dialogue genre has shown that the 1640s was a watershed moment in print culture's development. Between the 1630s and 1640s there were several developments within the dialogue genre that was reflective of wider changes in print. It was during these decades that printers moved discernibly away from black letter fonts towards roman-based typography. It was also during this period that there was a noticeable decline in the use of epistles to the reader, and dedications within books. The extent to which print practices changed during this period helps to strengthen the argument that scholars such as Joad Raymond, Susan Wiseman, and Nigel Smith have made that political instability of the 1640s led to print innovation. They have argued that the unique political context of the interregnum helped to foster a climate that helped new types of literature to come into being such as newsbooks, corantos, pamphlets, and pamphlet-plays. The analysis of the dialogue genre in this chapter has shown that along with generic

¹⁰³ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, p. 14.

innovation of new types of literature there were changes to broader print trends such as the decline of dedications.

This chapter has also quantified the extent to which the dialogue was sensitive to political events. It has explored the relationship between years of political excitement and dialogue production and thereby shown how the pamphlet dialogue and periodical dialogue was a historically specific manifestation within the dialogue genre. This has revealed how writers of dialogues used authorship and anonymity for political dialogues and that the dialogue genre made greater use of anonymity than other printed works did. More broadly it has shown how the use of digital texts and databases is capable of equipping us to look at transformations and developments within a literary genre. The following will build upon these insights by using them as a point of departure for looking at the early modern dialogue.

4. A Genealogy of the Dialogue Genre

‘Of Dialogue, that great and powerful Art,
Now almost lost, which the old Grecians knew,
From whence the Romans fainter Copies drew,
Scarce comprehended since but by few:
Plato and Lucian are the best remains
Of all the wonders which this Art contains.’
John Dryden, ‘An Essay on Poetry’¹

‘No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone; you must set him, for contrast and comparison, among the dead.’

T.S Eliot, ‘Tradition and the Individual Talent’²

The seventeenth-century dialogue was nestled between old and new textual practices. As a form it drew upon the dialogues of the past for its influences and precedents but adapted its heritage by appropriating contemporary textual practices. This chapter argues that the variegated nature of the early modern dialogue can be partly explained by looking at the various trajectories of the dialogue from Plato to the seventeenth century. To show how the heritage of dialogue writing informed early modern dialogues this chapter will situate the early modern dialogue within its literary heritage over the *longue durée*.

The need to situate writers in their historical heritage was articulated by T.S Eliot in his essay ‘Tradition and the Individual Talent’ in which he spoke of the ‘historical sense’ that any poet, or writer, needed to cultivate. This historical sense was a writer’s perception of a literary heritage within which they were working. Eliot argued that ‘the historical sense compels a man to write not merely with his own generation in his bones, but with a feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer and within it.’ Understanding the significance of a writer, Eliot argued, required appreciating them in ‘relation to the dead poets and artists.’ In the same way, it is important to consider early

¹ John Dryden, ‘An Essay on Poetry’ p. 17.

² Sunil Kumar Sarker, *T.S. Eliot: Poetry, Plays and Prose* (London: Atlantic Publishers, 2000), p. 50.

modern dialogues in relation to the antecedent, or dead, forms of dialogue because, as Kathleen Jamieson has argued, antecedent genres are capable of imposing powerful constraints upon later genres.³ Similarly, Harold Bloom in the *Anxiety of Influence* argued that any writer works within a heritage of previous works, and their work follows or works against, a pre-existing set of generic conventions.⁴ Indeed, Briggs and Baumann have said that ‘when discourse is linked to a particular genre, the process by which it is produced and received is mediated through its relationship with prior discourse’.⁵ By considering the relationship of the early modern dialogue to previous forms of dialogue from Plato to Erasmus, it can highlight how the dialogue genre in the early modern period adapted itself to changing circumstances and reveal how the form was shaped and influenced by the rich tradition of dialogue writing that preceded them.⁶ Modern scholars agree with John Dryden that there are three writers who had the greatest influence on the dialogue: Plato, Lucian and Cicero.⁷ All three were often invoked in the early modern period as being influences on the style and form of the dialogue. The extent to which these three writers were models for later periods is contestable. As Bishop Hurd said of his contemporary dialogue writers, ‘the authors, for anything I know, might please themselves with imagining they had copied Plato or Cicero... But I know of nothing in the way of dialogue that deserves to be considered by us with such regard’.⁸ The influence of the classical dialogues on the early modern period has generally been seen as minimal. As Crawford said in his study of the form:

³ Kathleen M. Jamieson, ‘Antecedent Genre as Rhetorical Constraint’, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 61 (1975), 406–15 (p. 419).

⁴ Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁵ Charles L. Briggs and Richard Bauman, ‘Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power’, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 2 (1992), 131–72 (p. 147).

⁶ The most ambitious study of the entire dialogue genre is Rudolf Hirzel, *Der dialog: ein literarhistorischer Versuch* (S. Hirzel, 1895).

⁷ Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in Its Social and Political Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 26; K. J. Wilson, *Incomplete Fictions: The Formation of English Renaissance Dialogue* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1985), pp. 26–28; David Marsh, *The Quattrocento Dialogue: Classical Tradition and Humanist Innovation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 12–17; Alex J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 9–15; Peter Womak, *Dialogue* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 11–13.

⁸ Richard Hurd, *Moral and Political Dialogues* (London: T. Cadell, 1776), pp. xx–xxi. In doing so I acknowledge the difficulty in establishing a literary genealogy. See Terence Cave, *The*

The greatest classical contribution was the standing which it gave to the dialogue. Here was a body of prose literature in the aggregate of highest worth, varied in subject matter and multifarious in form... It tended to associate the form with the greatest accomplishments of the past and to keep it before the youthful writer as a splendid and promising possibility.⁹

Crawford saw the principle legacy of classical dialogues as the esteem and reputation that they gave to the form. However, scholars who have compared early modern with classical dialogues have tended to end up apologising for their crudity and lack of literary merit.¹⁰ The classical background to the dialogue genre cannot be ignored, however, because it was still influential on the early modern form and classical dialogues were widely printed at this time, with 407 printings of classical dialogues in the period 1600-1750 (see Figure 1). In total these printings account for 14% of the genre. The prevalence of printings of classical dialogues in this period shows that it is worth looking again at the classical influence on the genre.

Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979); Bloom.

⁹ Crawford, p. 43.

¹⁰ Judith A. Deitch, 'The Genre of Logic and Artifice, Dialectic, Rhetoric, and English Dialogues, 1400-1600, Hoccleve to Spenser', 1998, pp. 26-27
<<https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/12400>> [accessed 4 April 2014].

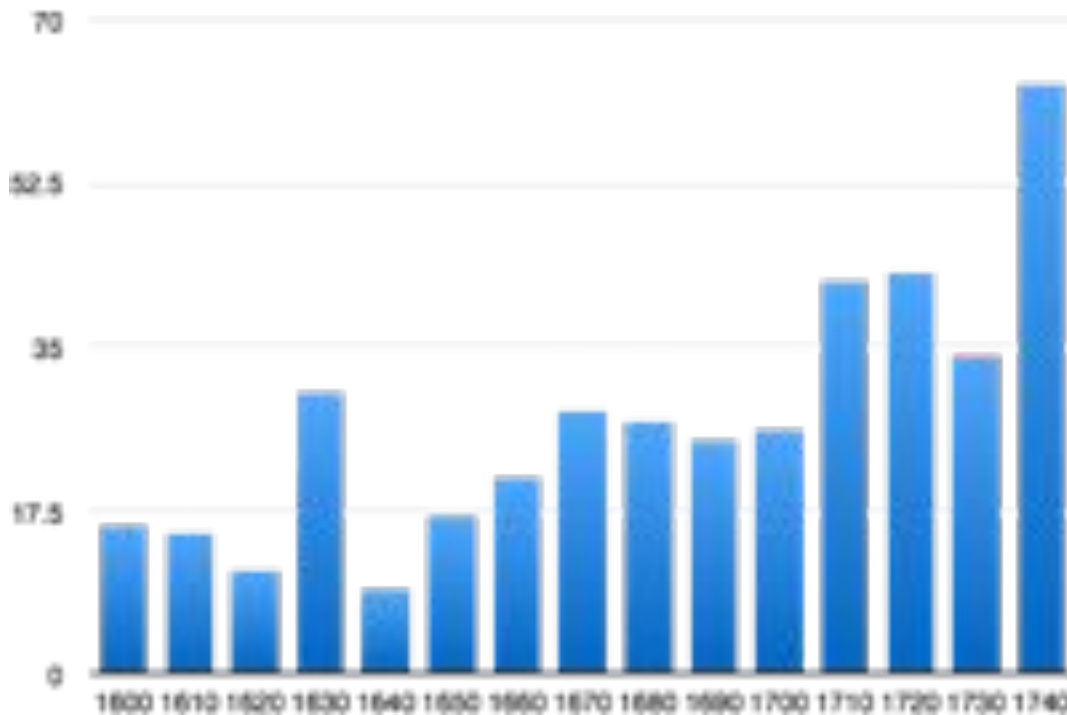


Figure 3.1: The number of editions of Lucian, Cicero, Plato and Erasmus printed in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

Frequently, studies of the dialogue have described its history in terms of a linear chronology. This chapter, by contrast, will describe dialogues as a family of different traditions that emerge and overlap over time. It will look at various epochs of dialogue writing that occurred before the seventeenth century and look at the extent to which they were printed and influenced the seventeenth century dialogue in England. This provides a way to consider the influence of classical dialogues on early modern ones without comparing their artistic or intellectual 'merit' and considers dialogue as a 'genre family' made up from individual writers and traditions that contributed to the genre in the seventeenth. The chapter will argue that the influence of classical dialogue writers echoed and reverberated in the seventeenth century and this chapter will map various lines of descent through tracing the extent to which earlier dialogues were printed in the century and the echoes and influences that they had on contemporary writers. The account of these dialogues given in this chapter will show that the early modern dialogues contributed to and adapted the genre and introduced new uses of the form

that nevertheless had echoes in earlier ones.¹¹ As Quentin Skinner said: ‘when we trace the genealogy of a concept, we uncover the different ways in which it may have been used in earlier times. We thereby equip ourselves with a means of reflecting critically on how it is currently understood.’¹² Looking at the genealogy of the dialogue from Ancient Greece to the Reformation can uncover the multiplicity of ways in which dialogue was used during the period.

Plato

The first writer to be considered in this chapter is Plato.¹³ Within western culture the tradition of the dialogue is recognized as coming to us via Ancient Greece, with Plato depicted as the father of the genre.¹⁴ However, before Plato's Socratic dialogues there already was a tradition of written disputes and discussions that took the form of a

¹¹ In doing so I am drawing upon both Nietzsche's and Foucault's concept of genealogy in which various strands exist simultaneously. See: Michel Foucault, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History', *Semiotexte*, 3 (1978), 78–94 (p. 76); Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. By A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Vintage Books, 1977), p. 23; Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, trans. By Douglas Smith, Oxford's World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 23; For an excellent exploration of how Foucault used genealogy as a form of critique see Colin Koopman, *Genealogy as Critique: Foucault and the Problems of Modernity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), pp. 5–23; Ian Hacking has also made use of Foucault's genealogical form of critique but has called it 'Historical Ontology' Ian Hacking, *Historical Ontology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 3–7.

¹² Quentin Skinner, 'A Genealogy of the Modern State', in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 2009, CLXII, 325–60 (p. 325).

¹³ While scholarly attention has focused on the dialogues of Plato, the latter was certainly not the only writer of dialogues. The philosophers Antithenes, Phaedo, Xenophon, and Aeschines, are all known to have used the dialogue form. Many of Socrates' followers wrote Socratic conversations, and Livio Rossetti has calculated that over 300 dialogues were written during the years 395 to 370 BC alone - amounting to one dialogue written every month see: Livio Rossetti, 'Le Dialogue Socratique in Statu Nascendi', *Philosophie antique*, 1 (2001), 11–35 (p. 22); Andrew Ford, 'The Beginnings of Dialogue: Socratic Discourses and Fourth-Century Prose', in *The End of Dialogue in Antiquity*, ed. by Simon Goldhill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 29–44; Paul A. Vander Waerdt, *The Socratic Movement* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 2–3; Diskin Clay, *The Origins of the Socratic Dialogue* (Duke University Program in Political Economy, 1990), pp. 23–25.

¹⁴ For instance Virginia Cox and Alexis Novikoff, all view Plato as the starting point of the genre. In most books on the dialogue genre, they start with Greek dialogues as the point of departure. Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in Its Social and Political Contexts Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 7–8; Alex J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation*, pp. 15–21; Elizabeth Merrill, *The Dialogue in English Literature* (London: Archon Books, 1969), pp. 5–10.

dialogue within the ancient world.¹⁵ As one scholar has recently said, ‘the philosophical dialogue of the late archaic and classical periods in ancient Greece set the stage for later Western political philosophy, even to our own time.’¹⁶ The Socratic dialogues of Plato had their foundations in the mime, which the Sicilian poets Sophron and Epicharmus had cultivated half a century earlier.¹⁷ Aristotle in his work on poetic forms grouped dialogues with mimes.¹⁸ But Plato’s dialogues were derived from Greek drama as Alexander Pope said: ‘the dialogue way of writing owes its birth to the Drama. Plato took it from the Theatre and if I may be allowed the Expression, consecrated it to the Service of Philosophy.’¹⁹ Significantly, Aristotle chose not to include Plato’s dialogues in his discussion of poetic forms because he said a dialogue was not a fully fictional form.²⁰

¹⁵ Written dialogues, verbal disputes and conversations can be found, for instance, in Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Israel and the Middle-East before the adoption of the form by the Greeks. In ancient Egypt dialogues were found in two forms: the mastaba wall decorations found in upper-class homes and cuneiform manuscript dialogues. Two notable examples of them are *The man who was tired of life* (2000BC) in which a man discusses with his soul the pros and cons of committing suicide; and the *Prophecies of Neferty*. In ancient Mesopotamia dialogues were found in the literary genre of wisdom disputes such as the disputes *Ox and Horse*, and *Tamarisk and Palm* and the *Babylonian Theodicy*. See Roberto B. Gozzoli, *The Writing of History in Ancient Egypt During the First Millennium BC (ca. 1070 - 180 BC): Ca. 1070 - 180 BC; Trends and Perspectives* (London: Golden House Publications, 2006), p. 283; G.J. Reinink and H. L. J Vantiphout, *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Mediaeval Near East: Forms and Types of Literary Debates in the Semitic and Related Literatures* (Leuven: Peeters Publishing, 1991), p. 52; Karel Van Der Toorn, ‘The Ancient Near Eastern Literary Dialogue as a Vehicle of Critical Reflection’, *Reinic and Vanstiphaut*, 1991, 59–75 (p. 60); John H. Walton, *Ancient Israelite Literature in Its Cultural Context: A Survey of Parallels between Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (London: Zondervan, 1994); R. O. Faulkner, ‘The Man Who Was Tired of Life’, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 42 (1956), 21–40.

¹⁶ George T. Menake, *Three Traditions of Greek Political Thought: Plato in Dialogue* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2004), p. 3.

¹⁷ Although we can find examples of the dialogue genre before the time of Socrates, it was Plato who fully established the form and is considered as the father of the genre by early modern authors. On Plato’s use of dialogue see Charles H. Kahn, *Plato and the Socratic Dialogue: The Philosophical Use of a Literary Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Kenneth M. Sayre, *Plato’s Literary Garden: How to Read a Platonic Dialogue* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), p. 17.

¹⁸ Aristotle, ‘Poetics’, in *Complete Works*, ed. by Johnathan Barnes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. Vol II, 2316. The mimes of Sophron have not survived, but evidence suggests that they were little plays, usually presented with only two performers.

¹⁹ Alexander Pope and William Warburton, *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq. in Six Volumes Complete: Imitations, Moral Essays, Satires, Etc* (London: C. Bathurst, 1787), p. ix.

²⁰ K. J Wilson, p. 8. Andrea Nightingale has argued that, by drawing upon Grecian drama, and mixing it with other literary genres, Plato opted for an inter-textual mode of writing so that he could target genres that had social currency within Athens. He used generic intertextuality as a vehicle for criticizing traditional genres of discourse and introduced a radically different discursive practice. See Andrea Wilson Nightingale, *Genres in Dialogue: Plato and the Construct of Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 2.

Socratic conversations were partial fictions, in part, because they blurred boundaries between the different genres in ancient Athens. The intertextual nature of dialogues present in the dialogues of Plato can be seen throughout the history of the form and contributed to its popularity of the form in the early modern period. Indeed, it was the dialogue genre's ability to mix with and incorporate other literary genres that made it a significant literary form in seventeenth and eighteenth century England.²¹ The following sections will establish the extent that Plato's dialogues influenced the early modern dialogue. It will argue that despite the relative absence of copies of Plato printed in England it is still possible to find Plato's influence on the genre, although this influence was less through direct imitation, as was the case with Lucian, but rather through how he established the genre could be used.

Editions and Translations

Any consideration of Plato's influence must first address the fact that there were only a small number of copies of Plato printed in England, in English, Greek or Latin. For instance, during the seventeenth century there were only three versions of Plato published in English, and these were in selections of literature or just an individual dialogue.²² Philippe de Mornay, for example, published some selections from Plato in his *Six Excellent treatises of life and death* (1607) and Thomas Radcliffe published an edition of *Plato his Apology of Socrates* in 1675. In addition to the limited English editions there were only two Latin and Greek versions of his dialogues published. In respect to Greek editions there was an edition published by John Fell in 1667 *Alkinoou eis ta tou Platonos eisagoge* (1667) and Joan Hayes published *Platonis De rebus divinis selecti Graece & Latine* in 1673 that was reprinted in 1683 that contained Plato's *Crito*, *Phaedo*, and *Socrates's Apology*. These few editions of Plato, when compared to the hundreds of editions of Cicero, Lucian, and Erasmus during the century suggest that Plato's influence on the genre was of a smaller magnitude than Cicero, Lucian and Erasmus.

²¹ The use of the form as an act of subversion of norms can be seen in Sturges work who has explored the male-male desire within three of Plato's dialogues in: Robert S. Sturges, *Dialogue and Deviance: Male-Male Desire in the Dialogue Genre (Plato to the Middle Ages, Plato to the Enlightenment, Plato to the Postmodern)* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 9–15. See also Nightingale, p. 5.

²² Frank B. Evans III, 'Platonic Scholarship in Eighteenth-Century England', *Modern Philology*, 41 (1943), 103–10 (pp. 103–105).

The few copies of Plato published in Britain during this period in comparison to the other writers considered in this chapter, such as Erasmus, Lucian and Cicero may suggest that his influence was minimal on seventeenth century writers. Caution must, however, be used when basing Plato's influence primarily on copies of Plato printed in England; for while there were only a few copies of his dialogues available, the absence of his works printed in English, or England does not mean he was not read or influential. Readers were able to encounter editions of Plato in Latin that had been published on the continent in the sixteenth century and imported into England. Jonathan Swift, for instance, read and annotated Stephanus' 1578 edition of Plato's dialogues, and classical texts were circulated amongst the learned elite in early modern Europe.²³ Therefore, it was not impossible to get a copy of Plato, even if he was not published in English though the relative absence of Plato's works in English in conjunction with the limited knowledge of Greek does suggest that Plato's influence was far from pervasive in the early modern period.²⁴ However, despite this lack of exposure to Plato during this period as will be seen in the next section Plato was still influential upon some writers of dialogues.

It was not until 1701 that England would have a collected works of Plato in its native tongue when A. Dacier translated four dialogues of Plato as *The works of Plato Abridg'd*. The publication of *Platonism Unveil'd* (1700), and the first English translation of a substantial amount of Plato's dialogues as *The Abridged works of Plato* (1701) both helped to resurrect Plato in the eighteenth century. A few indicators of this renewed interest can be seen. Firstly, there was an increase in the number of editions published and secondly it was in the wake of the publication of Plato's works that imitations of his

²³ Fritz J. Levy, 'How Information Spread among the Gentry, 1550-1640', *The Journal of British Studies*, 21 (1982), 11–34. Adam Mosely has shown how astronomical books by Tycho Brahe, Kepler and Petrus Ramus were circulated throughout astronomical communities in Europe. Adam Mosley, *Bearing the Heavens: Tycho Brahe and the Astronomical Community of the Late Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 169, 207–211, 295; Adam Mosley, 'Astronomical Books and Courtly Communication', *Books and the Sciences in History*, 2000, 114–31 (p. 124) Mosley notes that Tycho Brahe received books from across Europe through a network of scholars and princely patrons. The extent that books were circulated is poignantly demonstrated by Jeremiah Horrowics, who despite living in rural Lancashire had books from all over Europe. Allan Chapman, 'Jeremiah Horrocks, The Transit of Venus, and the 'New Astronomy' in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Astronomical Society*, 31 (1990), 333 (p. 294).

²⁴ Irene Samuel, 'Swift's Reading of Plato', *Studies in Philology*, 1976, 440–62 (p. 441); Christopher Fox, *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 63; Dirk Friedrich Passmann and Heinz J. Vienken, *The Library and Reading of Jonathan Swift: A Bio-Bibliographical Handbook. Swift's Library in Four Volumes* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), p. 105.

dialogues started to abound during the Enlightenment, in what Michael Prince has called a 'revival of Platonic dialogues.' Prince's study of the philosophical dialogues of the Enlightenment has convincingly argued that the increased availability of Plato in English resulted in an increase in imitations of Platonic dialogues and that there was a link between such dialogues and the Enlightenment.²⁵ Philosophical dialogues were revived in the British Enlightenment, and the dialogue genre was also used by some of France's key enlightenment thinkers in the eighteenth century.²⁶ Indeed, part of the attraction of the dialogue in the Enlightenment was its ability to use Socratic skepticism to criticize an intellectual position. As Bernard Mandeville said in *The Fable of the Bees* 'when partial men have a mind to demolish an adversary, and triumph over him with little expense, it has long been a frequent practice to attack him with dialogues.'²⁷

Influence

It is difficult to evaluate the legacy of Plato because generally seventeenth-century thinkers did not view Plato positively and his works were not widely available. Samuel Parker, for example, in *A Free and Impartial Censure of Platonick Philosophy* (1667) condemned Plato's ideas.²⁸ However, despite the scarcity of editions printed in England and the often unfavorable view of Plato it can still be seen that Plato certainly influenced some early modern writers of dialogues. The use of Plato by the Cambridge Platonists points to a change in his reputational fortune in the seventeenth century.²⁹ Henry More, Joseph Glanvill and Ralph Cudworth all drew upon Plato's dialogues for

²⁵ Prince, pp. 169–175.

²⁶ The most notable writers of Enlightenment dialogues were David Hume, George Berkeley, Richard Hurd, and Voltaire. Scholars who have studied Hume's and Berkeley's dialogues have seen the use of dialogue as being a crucial part of Hume and Berkeley's rhetorical strategy and have documented the influence of Plato on both Bishop Berkeley and David Hume. 'Corrigenda and Addenda to the Second Volume' *Biographia Britannica*, 2nd Ed. Vol III (1784); K. M. Wheeler, 'Berkeley's Ironic Method in the Three Dialogues', *Philosophy and Literature*, 4 (1980), 18–32 (p. 19); Micheal Morrisroe Jr., 'Hume's Rhetorical Strategy: A Solution to the Riddle of the Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 11 (1969), 963–74.

²⁷ Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: Or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits. With an Essay on Charity and Charity-Schools. And a Search into the Nature of Society* (London: J. Tonson, 1724), pp. 7–8.

²⁸ Samuel Parker, *A free and impartial censure of the Platonick philosophie* (1667) Plato's dialogues were published in 1673, 1675, 1683, and 1696

²⁹ Constantinos Apostolos Patrides, *The Cambridge Platonists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), v, pp. 1–6; A dated but useful survey of the Cambridge Platonists is Frederick J. Powicke, 'The Cambridge Platonists: A Study', 1926 <<http://philpapers.org/rec/POWTCP>> [accessed 24 March 2014].

their work.³⁰ More's *Democritus Platonissans* (1646) is obviously indebted, and he used the form of a dialogue in his work *Divine Dialogues* (1668). This change in Plato's influence can be seen in the only English edition of Plato in the seventeenth-century, *Plato his Apology of Socrates and Phaedo*, being published in 1675, along with favorable evaluations of Plato in René Rapin's *The comparison of Plato and Aristotle* (1673) and Meric Casaubon's *Platonick philosophy* (1670) that both viewed Plato positively.³¹ Another text that points to a change in attitudes towards Plato was Henry Neville's *Plato Redivivus* (1681), a title that the publisher had reservations about because it seemed absurd to the publisher that Neville would compare himself to 'the greatest Philosopher, the greatest Politician' that ever lived.³² The title *Plato Redivivus* was accepted because it signaled that the author 'did imitate his way of Writing, as to the manner of it.'³³ *Plato Redivivus*, along with Rapin and Casaubon, all helped to improve the exposure of Plato; however, it was not until the eighteenth century that the intellectual consensus on Plato was to change.

One way in which the influence of Plato on early modern dialogues can be seen is the use of dialogue to pre-empt and answer objections that was pioneered by Plato. The ability of dialogue to embody philosophical investigation was one reason the German philosopher Gottfried Leibniz used the dialogue form extensively within his work.³⁴ Plato was aware of the potential for dialogue to function as an instrument of persuasion. He believed that dialogue was the true art of persuasion and the embodiment of philosophical thought.³⁵ In his dialogue *Gorgias*, for instance, Plato did not simply use the dialogue as a rhetorical tool but saw the inquiry into the truth that was embodied in the dialogue as being at the heart of philosophy.³⁶ The ability of dialogue to embody philosophical investigation was one reason the German philosopher Gottfried

³⁰ Stuart Brown, 'Platonic Idealism in Modern Philosophy from Malebranche to Berkeley', in *The Cambridge Platonists in Philosophical Context*, ed. by G. A. J. Rogers, J. M. Vienne, and Y. C. Zarka, International Archives of the History of Ideas / Archives Internationales d'Histoire Des Idées, 150 (Amsterdam: Springer Netherlands, 1997), pp. 197–214.

³¹ Maia Neto and José Raimundo, 'Academic Skepticism in Early Modern Philosophy', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 58 (1997), 199–220.

³² The publisher said that he believed no one would buy a book with a title 'so insolent and presumptuous a Motto as Plato Redivivus.' Neville, *Plato Redivivus*, p. ii-iv.

³³ *Plato Redivivus*, p. iv.

³⁴ Gottfried Leibniz, *Real-Life Dialogue on Human Freedom and the Origin of Evil* (1695).

³⁵ Steven Rendall, 'Dialogue and Rhetoric: The Example of Plato's *Gorgias*', *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, 10 (1977), 164–79 (p. 164).

Leibniz used the dialogue form extensively within his work. For Leibniz, the attraction of the dialogue was because through dialogue 'one can even see the order of meditation itself, which proceeds from the known to the unknown.'³⁷ Thus, dialogue was perceived as a way in which not only could the truth be revealed through discussion, but it could also reveal the thought processes that would guide the reader to the truth.

Early modern writers, in particular, natural philosophers, often utilized this ability. The most famous example of this was Galileo's *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems* (1632), a work that Virginia Cox called 'a vehicle for one of the first great products of a recognizably modern scientific mentality.'³⁸ Galileo used the dialogue as a way in which he could raise objections against traditional astronomical theories while simultaneously suggesting a Copernican alternative. As Galileo told his friend Elia Diodati, 'the work will be quite large and full of many novelties, which by reason of the freedom of dialogue I shall have scope to introduce without drudgery or affection.'³⁹ Galileo believed that he could introduce new ideas via his dialogue 'without drudgery' because by using a dialogue structure he was able to simultaneously communicate the ideas and represent how these ideas should be received.⁴⁰

Two other notable examples of natural philosophers that used the dialogue within natural philosophy are Thomas Hobbes and Robert Boyle. As has been well documented by Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer the natural philosophers Hobbes and Boyle disagreed fundamentally over the nature of a vacuum and the role of experiment in the production of knowledge. The catalyst for this debate was Hobbes's *Dialogus physicus, sive De natura aeris* (1661), a dialogue that attacked Boyle and his friends who were forming themselves into a society for experimental research. Boyle would answer Hobbes' criticisms in *The Sceptical Chymist* where he noted that 'my adversary having proposed his problems by way of dialogue between A and B; it will not I presume

³⁷ Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Prima de motu philosophia* (1676)

³⁸ Marta Spranzi Zuber, 'Dialectic, Dialogue, and Controversy: The Case of Galileo', *Science in Context*, 11 (1998), 181–203; Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in Its Social and Political Contexts* Castiglione to Galileo, p. 5.

³⁹ Stillman Drake, ed., 'Letter of Galileo to Elia Diodati, October 1629', in *Galileo at work: His scientific biography* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

⁴⁰ Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in Its Social and Political Contexts*, p. 6; Nicholas Jolley, 'The Reception of Descartes' Philosophy', 1992, p. 407
<<http://philpapers.org/rec/JOLTRO-2>> [accessed 25 March 2014].

be wondered at, that I have given the same form to my animadversions.⁴¹ Shapin and Schaffer have called this text ‘a theatre of persuasion,’ as it was a literary exhibition of how consensus, dissension, and ultimately conversion ought to be conducted.

This was a powerful rhetorical tool for emerging ideas in the seventeenth century because new philosophical, religious and political ideas had to anticipate and pre-empt objections from the established, and still powerful, Aristotelian consensus.⁴² The ability to vocalize opponent’s anticipated criticisms and respond to them in a clear way within a text contributed to the convincing power of the dialogue genre and helps to explain its use as an instrument of persuasion in the early modern period.⁴³ The writer of *Chemical Disceptions* (1689) thus chose the dialogue structure because he believed ‘it most proper to instruct, and to give me room to refute all Objections, which should be raised to the contrary.’⁴⁴ A dialogic structure of text allowed writers to address objections that the reader might have and respond to them in the text. This had the rhetorical effect of making an idea appear more robust to the reader. By presenting objections and responses, a dialogue allowed the author to defend their ideas from potential objections and suggest that no other arguments could be brought against them.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life; Including a Translation of Hobbes’ ‘Dialogus Physicus de Natura Aeris’ by Simon Schaffer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 112–128.

⁴² For work on how new ideas in natural philosophy had to combat against traditional Aristotelian ideas see Daniel Garber, ‘Descartes, Mechanics, and the Mechanical Philosophy’, *Midwest Studies in Philosophy*, 26 (2002), 185–204 (p. 403); David Cunniff, *The Cambridge Companion to Descartes- Meditations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 1–29 ‘Introduction’; Stephen Gaukroger, ‘Introduction’, in *The Uses of Antiquity*, ed. by S. Gaukroger (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1991); Stephen Gaukroger, *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early-Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁴³ Stephen Clucas, ‘Galileo, Bruno and the Rhetoric of Dialogue in Seventeenth-Century Natural Philosophy’, *History of Science*, 46 (2008), pp. 410–411; Finocchiaro has argued that Galileo used the dialogue form to pre-empt objections, yet paid little attention to the form of Galileo’s work Maurice Finocchiaro, *Galileo and the Art of Reasoning: Rhetorical Foundations of Logic and Scientific Method*, Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science (Boston: Reidel, 1980), LXI.

⁴⁴ *Chemical Disceptions*, (1689), p. 4. Descartes similarly in his *Meditations* used a dialogic structure when at the end of the text he had various philosophers’ present objections to his *Meditations* to which he responded. In the Preface to the *Meditations*, Descartes asks the reader “not to pass judgment on the Meditations until they have been kind enough to read through all these objections and my replies to them.” René Descartes, *Oeuvre de Descartes*, 1864, p. xii.

⁴⁵ For a brief look at the dialogue genre in relation to chemistry see Robert P. Multhauf, ‘Some Non-Existent Chemists of the Seventeenth Century: Remarks on the Use of the Dialogue in Scientific Writing’, *AG Debus and Multhauf, Alchemy and Chemistry in the Seventeenth Century* (Los Angeles, Calif.: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1966), 1966, 31–50 (pp. 31–50).

The use of dialogue by Boyle and Hobbes differed significantly. Boyle's dialogues have the character of a convivial conversation among four participants, structured so that consensus was displayed as emerging through the conversation while Hobbes's *Dialogus* used the force of dialogue to voice skeptical arguments. In both cases, the literary structure of dialogue serves to dramatise the social relations and practices deemed appropriate to the production of knowledge. This approach to using dialogue as a means of debate owed its heritage to Plato. As was made explicit by John Dryden, who observed in his dialogue *The Defense of an Essay of Dramatick Poesy* (1668) that:

My whole discourse was sceptical according to that way of reasoning which was used by Socrates, Plato and all the academies of Old which truly all the best of the Ancients followed, and which is imitated by the modest inquisitions of the Royal Society.⁴⁶

Therefore, the influence of Plato is clear in terms of setting a precedent for using dialogue as an instrument of persuasion through voicing skeptical arguments with the aim of opening up a discursive space in which new ideas could contest old ideas. Looking at Plato's dialogues and his lineage it can be seen the significant features that he introduced to the dialogue genre was combining the capacity to combine the preservative power of the written word with the ability to respond to potential objections. While Plato was not as influential as Cicero, Lucian, or, Erasmus in the seventeenth century, he still manifested a limited influence, not so much from his works themselves, although this did happen, from dialogists who had previously been inspired and influenced by Plato. The most notable of these was Cicero, who modeled his dialogues on Plato's and, as will be shown in the next section, had a pervasive influence over early modern culture.

⁴⁶ John Dryden, *The Works of John Dryden, Volume IX: Plays: The Indian Emperour, Secret Love, Sir Martin Mar-All* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p. 15; Various interpretations of Dryden's remarks have been given by Eugene R. Purpus, 'The "Plaine, Easy and Familiar Way": The Dialogue in English Literature, 1660-1725', *ELH*, 17 (1950), 47–58 (pp. 47–48) and ; Ernst Behler, *Irony and the Discourse of Modernity* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), p. 45 Behler saw Dryden's comments being partially satirical. .

Cicero

The second writer to be considered is the Roman writer Cicero who preserved the legacy of Socrates by Romanizing the Platonic dialogues for his contemporaries.⁴⁷ In contrast to Plato's more sceptical approach to dialogue, Cicero used the form to present the reader with two different, fully argued for, positions side by side often with no conclusion as to which was the correct opinion.⁴⁸ This rhetorical tactic adopted by Cicero empowered readers to judge between the different positions that he presented, and this technique would be adopted by Renaissance humanists and later dialogists. As one seventeenth-century dialogist said, 'the best and most ingenious way of Conviction is to propose the Arguments fairly on both sides, without interposing my own Judgement, but to leave it to the intelligent, and impartial Reader to embrace that side on which he found most rational & convincing Arguments.'⁴⁹ This rhetorical strategy made the reader not simply a passive receptacle but an active participant, arbitrator and judge.⁵⁰ John Snyder in his work on Renaissance dialogues saw this as a crucial aspect of the humanist dialogue.⁵¹ He argued that the Renaissance dialogue drew upon Cicero's dialogues and used the form as a representation of a scene of speaking that functioned as a textual strategy for the discovery of truth by representing an inter-subjective exchange of contrasting ideas and intellectual perspectives, the Renaissance dialogue enabled the reader to discover the truth through the dialectic discourse.⁵² Thus, dialogue was a way

⁴⁷ Cicero adapted the form of Socratic dialogues for a Roman audience, as Robert Gorman has argued, and he brought in many aspects from Plato whilst at the same time Romanizing the dialogue to suit the audience of Rome Philip Levine, 'Cicero and the Literary Dialogue', *The Classical Journal*, 53 (1958), 146–51; Malcolm Schofield, 'Ciceronian Dialogue', in *The End of Dialogue in Antiquity*, ed. by Simon Goldhill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 63–84. John Glucker, 'Socrates in the Academic Books and Other Ciceronian Works', *Assent and Argument: Studies in Cicero's Academic Books*. Eds. B. Inwood and J. Mansfeld. Leiden/ New York/ Köln: Brill, 1997, 58–88 (pp. 58–88). Robert Gorman, *The Socratic Method in the Dialogues of Cicero* (New York: Steiner, 2005), pp. 5, 17, 28.

⁴⁸ Sayre, p. 59.

⁴⁹ James Tyrell, *Bibliotheca Politica* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1691), p. 132.

⁵⁰ Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in Its Social and Political Contexts*, p. 6; Tyrell, pp. 132, 338–341.

⁵¹ John R. Snyder, *Writing the Scene of Speaking: Theories of Dialogue in the Late Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), pp. 60, 70–75.

⁵² Snyder, p. 6.

of empowering readers to judge between different views through a medium that was perceived to be more trustworthy than oral communication.⁵³

Editions and Translations

Cicero's work was widely available in both Latin and English in the seventeenth century; his works were not only common in the seventeenth century, but also highly esteemed. Roger L'Estrange, in the preface to his translation of Cicero's dialogues, called Cicero's works 'one of the most exact pieces of the kind that was ever written.'⁵⁴ Thomas Cockman similarly said that Cicero was 'always looked upon as one of the perfectest pieces' of writing.⁵⁵ The popularity of Cicero is evidenced by the number of editions of his works published: one hundred and twelve editions in England during the seventeenth century (see figure 5), and one hundred and forty editions printed in the first half of the eighteenth century. The majority of these were in Latin with only twenty editions being English translations.⁵⁶

⁵³ Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in Its Social and Political Contexts Castiglione to Galileo*, pp. 4–5.

⁵⁴ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Certaine Epistles of Tully Verbally Translated: Together with a Short Treatise, Containing an Order of Instructing Youth in Grammer, and Withall the Use and Benefite of Verball Translations*, ed. by Johannes Sturm, Early English Books, 1475-1640 / 1406:06 (London: Printed [by N. Okes] for the Company of Stationers, 1611., 1611).

⁵⁵ Marcus Tullius Cicero and Thomas Cockman, *Tully's Three Books of Offices, in English* (A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, R. Gosling and J. Pemberton, 1732).

⁵⁶ These translations were: Haine, William. *Certain epistles of Tully verbally translated*. (1611); Brinsley, John. *The first booke of Tullies offices translated grammatically*. (1616, 1631); Webbe, Joseph. *The familiar epistles of M. T. Cicero englished and conferred with the French, Italian and other translations*, (1620); Anon. *Lessons and Exercises out of Cicero Ad Atticum, after the Method of Dr Webbe*. (1627); E. C. *Scipio's dreame: or the Statesman's extasie*. (1627); Austin, William, *Cato major: or the book of old age*. (1648, 1671); R.T. *Cicero's Prince*. (1668); Denham, Sir John. *Cato Major, of old age. A poem*. (1669); Wase, Christopher. *Cicero against Catiline*. (1671); Howard, Edward. *Poems, and Essays with a paraphrase on Cicero's Laelius*. (1673, 1674); Verse.Wase, Christopher. *The five days debate at Cicero's house in Tusculum*. (1683); L'Estrange, Sir Roger. *Tully's offices*. (1680, 1681, 1684, 1688, 1699, 1720); Anon. *Cicero's three books touching the nature of the gods*. (1683); Anon. *Cicero's Laelius: a discourse of friendship*. 1691. Cockman, Thomas, *Tully's three books of offices*. (1699, 1706, 1714, 1722, 1732, Dublin 1732, London 1739);

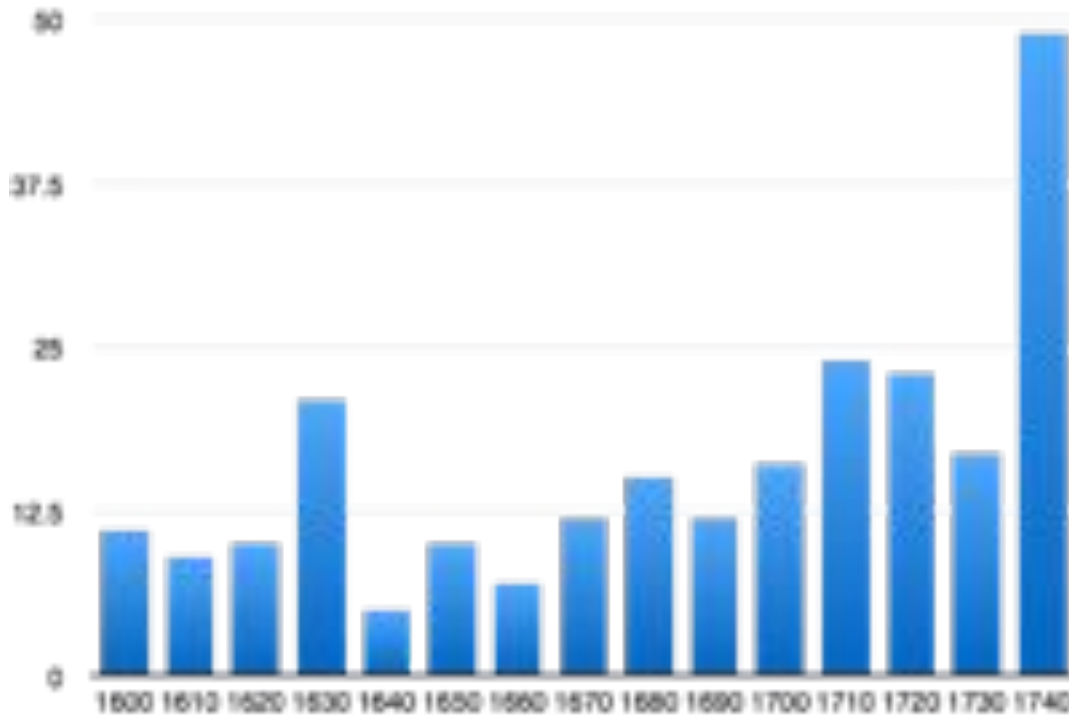


Figure 3.2: A graph showing the printings of Cicero in the period 1600-1750.

The high number of editions of Cicero in Latin the seventeenth century was because *De Officiis* and *De Oratore* featured on the reading list of almost every grammar school and university.⁵⁷ The fact that Cicero had such a central role in the curriculum meant that cheap copies of his works had to be readily available for use by students.⁵⁸ Indeed, the popularity of Cicero's text was acknowledged by Roger L'Estrange in his translation of *De Officiis*, when he said that Cicero's work was 'one of the commonest schoolbooks that we have.'⁵⁹ The primary way in which Cicero influenced the dialogue genre was through his central place in English education at this time.

Although most printings in England of Cicero were in Latin it is worth looking at some of the translations of Cicero. The first English translation in this century was by William Haine, who published *Certaine epistles of Tully verbally translated* (1611). Haine

⁵⁷ Joseph S. Freedman, 'Cicero in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Rhetoric Instruction', *Rhetorica*, 4 (1986), 227–54.

⁵⁸ Ian M. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (London: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2009), pp. 250–312.

⁵⁹ Marcus Tullius Cicero and Sir Roger L'Estrange, *Tully's Offices: In Three Books. Turned Out of Latin and Into English. By Sr. Ro. L'Estrange* (London: R. Bentley, J. Hindmarsh and J. Tonson, 1688).

in his opening essay made it explicit that his purpose for publishing his translation was for teaching grammar in schools. Haine believed that his interpretation of Cicero would assist students to learn how to translate Latin. The advantage of his translation, Haines believed, was that students could use his book to help memorise the translation that the master had provided by consulting it after the lecture. Haines also suggested that the master could use his translation and read it instead of translating Cicero every lecture. This was a contrasting method to the general approach which was for the Master to translate Cicero each time he read the Latin text. Similarly, John Brinsley provided another translation in 1616 for school-masters to use to teach students a 'pure Latin stile, and to expresse the mind more easily.'⁶⁰ Indeed, most of the translations of Cicero into English were done primarily to aid students in how to translate Latin efficiently and understand the Ciceronian style of Latin. Yet, not all translation were intended to be used to assist in learning Latin such as William Austin's translation *Cato major, or, The Book of Old Age* in 1648 and L'Estrange's *Tullys Offices* (1680). Austin differed from previous translations as his edition was not intended to be used in grammar schools or to help teach Latin, rather his translation was done so that the 'unlearned in the Latin Tongue... may in their own Language read the sage wisdom of former times.'⁶¹ Austin believed that *Cato* was a book that contained philosophical discourse that was worth reading for its content rather than its ability to help learn Latin. Austin was not the only one to provide a translation to help those without the capacity to read Latin understand Cicero. Indeed, the most notable example of translating Cicero for those unlearned in Latin was Roger L'Estrange's translation *Tully's Offices* (1680).

Roger L'Estranges translation was the most popular translation of Cicero and was reprinted six times in the final decades. L'Estranges translation is notable for several reasons namely, its style, how he believed the book should be used by readers and his purpose for translating it. Taking the latter first L'Estrange in his 'To the Reader' articulated his motives for publishing a translation in English. L'Estrange although glad that Cicero had a central place in education was critical of the fact that it was used primarily for teaching grammar and Latin, and was often used to teach 'the Boys, rather of *Syntax*, then *Morality*.'⁶² L'Estrange believed, in contrast, that it was more important

⁶⁰ Brinsley, *The First Book of Tully's Epistles* (1620) sig. A2v.

⁶¹ Cicero, *Cato Major, or, The Book of Old Age* (1648) translated by William Austin, p. ii.

⁶² Cicero, *Tully's Offices* (1680) Translated by Roger L'Estrange, p. iii.

that students used Cicero to learn the principles that he taught rather than his Latin syntax. That L'Estrange's translation was published in 1680 was not without significance, as he states it was printed in 'a *Place*, and *Season*, that extremely *needs* it.'⁶³ L'Estrange was acutely aware of the problems that society faced during this time with both the Popish Plot and the Exclusion crisis, as will be explored in greater depth in chapter six, on the minds of people. By providing people with Cicero's works, L'Estrange believed that it would teach readers how to act following their duties as citizens and would help to provide them with the principles of prudence and justice that he believed they needed to navigate these crises.

L'Estrange's translation, like his dialogue periodical *The Observer*, reflected his faith in prints ability to cure social ills. As he stated in the preface to *Tullys Offices*: '*Desperate Diseases* require the most *Powerful Remedies*' and by printing Cicero in English L'Estrange was part of the treatment to cure society.⁶⁴ L'Estrange believed that by bringing Cicero to the unlearned in Latin was a way to assist in educating people in the precepts for the individual action, civic duties and government as he said:

Let him be, *First*, and in his *Mother-Tongue*, instructed in the *Principles of Moral Duties*; and he shall then with the more *Ease*, *Profit*, and *Delight*, take the same Notions down in *Latin*, and Digest them.⁶⁵

Through educating the people in these values L'Estrange believed it would make readers of Cicero better citizens and help to stem the social unrest that plagued society. The final difference between L'Estrange's translation of Cicero and others is that L'Estrange's translation did not adhere very strictly to Cicero's style. Because L'Estrange's objective in publishing his translation was to educate students in Cicero's values rather than help them to learn correct Latin syntax it meant that like his other works, it was characterised by a style that was intended to be closer to how people spoke rather than a reflection of the pure Latin that Cicero was seen to embody by most educationalists.

In conclusion, the translations of Cicero above can be classified into two groups. The first was translations that were intended to be used in pedagogic settings by students and masters. These translations were primarily about reflecting the style of

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid. p. vi.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Cicero and helping readers to understand how to write and read Latin. The second type of translation were those that were published for those without a knowledge of Latin such as L'Estrange and Austin. These were translators who saw value in Cicero's work not for its functionality in Latin learning but the ideas and ethics that he wrote about and they believed it was important that these ideas were accessible to those without the ability to read Latin. It is evident from looking at the editions of Cicero printed that Cicero was widely accessible in Latin and increasingly become available in English through the century. Despite being widely available Cicero was not imitated as much as Lucian and his influence came primarily through his place in the school curriculum.

Influence

Cicero's dialogues had a considerable influence on the early modern period through their place in educational textbooks and dialogues that emulated his style.⁶⁶ The central role that Cicero's dialogues played in the educational curriculum meant that they were imitated in the early modern period. For example, William Niccols who in his dialogue *A Conference With a Theist* said that he was using 'the Pattern which the best of Writers, *Cicero*, in his Philosophical Tracts has set; whose very faults I should never be ashamed to imitate.'⁶⁷ Baldassare Castiglione modelled his highly influential *Il Libro Del Cortegiano* (1528), often known as *The Courtier*, on Cicero's *De Oratore*.⁶⁸ While Castiglione's imitation of Cicero was overlaid with other influences such as Boccaccio's *Decameron*, with its range of idealised speakers masked by poetic names, the footprint of Cicero in *The Courtier* would still become the core model for the vernacular dialogue in sixteenth-century Italy. The influence of Cicero on *The Courtier* would help to establish Cicero's influence on the Renaissance and developed his place as being 'central to the movement we call humanism.'⁶⁹ It would be through the courtier that Cicero would have an indirect influence on the seventeenth-century dialogue. Indeed, Peter Burke has shown *The Courtier* remained a popular book in the century after it was published with

⁶⁶ Marsh, *The Quattrocento Dialogue*, p. 15.

⁶⁷ Nicholls, *Conference with a theist*, (1696), p. xii.

⁶⁸ Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in Its Social and Political Contexts* Castiglione to Galileo, p. 15.

⁶⁹ David Marsh, 'Cicero in the Renaissance', in *The Cambridge Companion to Cicero*, ed. by Catherine Steel and Catherine Steel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 306–17 (p. 316).

editions being printed in English, French, German and Latin into the 1640s. The popularity of *The Courtier* helped to foster the development of conduct literature, which as will be seen in the following chapter often utilised dialogue as a way to educate readers in eloquence and how to conduct their selves in social situations.

As observed above Cicero was one of the most common school books used in teaching Latin. As a result of Cicero's place in educational curriculum most educated members of society were familiar with Cicero's dialogues through reading them in school. However, they not only read him as part of learning Latin but early modern educational handbooks also instructed students to read and translate Cicero, but they also encouraged them to imitate and compose texts in the style of Cicero.⁷⁰ As John Clarke instructed students in *Phraseologie Puerillis* (1638):

Take here and there the English phrase, and compose some short continued speech or interlocutory Dialogue, and make them strive to render it, in the idiom or propriety of the Latin phrase.⁷¹

This instruction for students suggests that students not only exposed to Cicero through Latin translation but through exercises such as the above they were able to read, understand and compose dialogues. As will be seen in the following students also encountered dialogues through catechisms. This meant that dialogues were a familiar form to people in the seventeenth century, and thus it was a useful form for writers to use because it would be instantly recognisable and comprehensible to them.

Summary

Cicero's dialogues established several generic tropes that could be found more broadly in seventeenth-century dialogues. Firstly, Cicero in his dialogues used faithfully represented characters as tokens of authority and symbolic representations to indicate certain intellectual positions, a trope that would be heavily utilised in the seventeenth century when the characters were used to indicate different positions and values.⁷² As will be seen later in the thesis characters used as symbols to represent different

⁷⁰ Ian M. Green, p. 200. John Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius: Or, The Grammar School* (London: Constable & co. Ltd., 1917), p. 148.

⁷¹ John Clarke, *Phraseologia Puerilis* (1638), p.15.

⁷² Peter Lake, 'Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (New York: Longman, 1989), pp. 72–103.

ideologies and beliefs would permeate the seventeenth-century dialogue. Cicero's use of dialogue also established the way in which a dialogue could present readers with various perspectives so that they were empowered to judge between them, a tactic often utilised by Renaissance humanists. However, the most important legacy of Cicero's dialogues within the context of seventeenth-century England is the central role that they had in early modern education. Cicero, and by extension the dialogue genre, was deeply embedded in the culture of early modern England because any educated member of society was exposed to Cicero throughout their educational life. This familiarity with dialogues through Cicero helped to make the dialogue a popular form of literature.

Lucian

The final figure in the trinity of 'fathers' of the dialogue is Lucian of Samosata (125-180AD). Lucian was a Greek writer who was part of a phase that scholars usually call the Second Sophistic, a period in which writers thought it desirable to imitate the language and style of the golden age of Greek literature.⁷³ The Second Sophistic period had stressed the practice of mimesis, or the creative re-imagining, of chosen models from the golden age of Greek literature.⁷⁴ Lucian was a reaction against this desire to replicate the literature of the past and instead manipulated the classical genre of dialogue to be a vehicle through which he could criticise society. Lucian's dialogues were a notable influence upon both the Renaissance and Enlightenment.⁷⁵ Although Lucian was printed far less often than Cicero in the seventeenth century (See figure 4.4 for comparison of outputs) he was imitated more and his 'dialogues of the dead' exerted a considerable influence on how the dialogue genre would be used in seventeenth and eighteenth century England. The chief ways Lucian adapted the dialogue genre was through the introduction of non-historical characters as interlocutors in a dialogue; the

⁷³ Lucian (of Samosata.), *Lucian: Selected Dialogues* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. ix.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. v-vii.

⁷⁵ David Marsh, for instance, has explored the way in which Renaissance writers adopted Lucian's dialogues in the fifteenth and sixteenth century Italy; while Frederick Keener has also shown how Lucian's dialogues of the dead were a particularly popular sub-genre of dialogue in the eighteenth century. Frederick M. Keener, *English Dialogues of the Dead: A Critical History, An Anthology and a Check List* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1973); David Marsh, *Lucian and the Latins: Humor and Humanism in the Early Renaissance* (Detroit: University of Michigan Press, 1998).

use of dialogue satire and comedy; and concern to comment on and observe the activity of humanity.

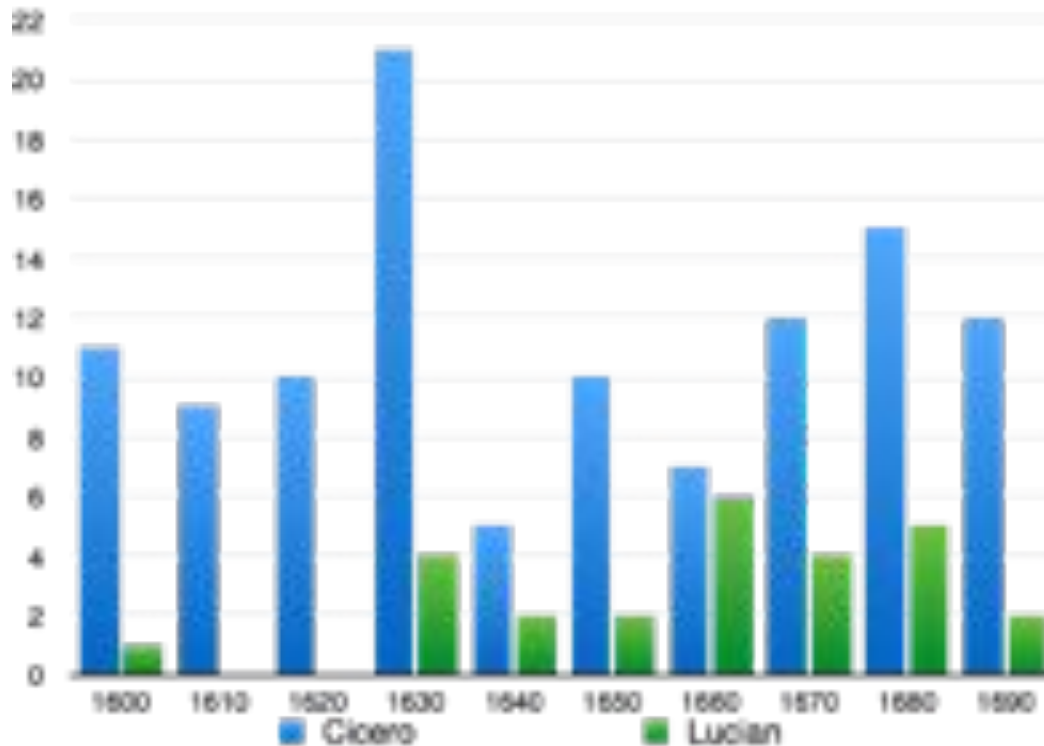


Figure 3.3: A comparison of printings of Lucian and Cicero in the period 1600-1700.

Plato and Cicero had both used dialogue for the discussion of serious topics, but Lucian made it a vehicle primarily for humour.⁷⁶ The use of dialogue for comedy was a popular use in the seventeenth-century dialogue with many advertising that they were full of mirth and wit. Lucian set the precedent for dialogue as a tool for humour, as he observes in *The Double Indictment*, when drew attention to how he had changed the function of dialogue when one of the characters, an ironic personification of 'dialogue', complains that he has been debased by Lucian and brought down from the lofty heights of philosophy and given the mask of being a comedy.⁷⁷ Indeed, Lucian's dialogues have been seen as crucial in establishing, and preserving, the genre of Menippean satire, an ancient genre named after the Greek writer Menippus, who mocked the high forms of epic and philosophical dialogue. The works of Menippus have been lost, but he remains

⁷⁶ Lucian: *Selected Dialogues*, p. ix.

⁷⁷ Lucian, *The Double Indictment*, pp. 33-4, in Lucian: *Selected Dialogues*.

the figurehead of the genre because his spirit persists through Lucian's use of him as a character in 'IcaroMenippus,' and 'The Oracle of the Dead.'⁷⁸

Editions

Lucian's works were lost after the fall of Rome and were, for the most part, unknown to the medieval world.⁷⁹ They were reintroduced at the beginning of the fifteenth century and the first printed editions of Lucian were produced in Rome and Florence between 1470 and 1500. However, it was with the Aldine edition in 1503 that Lucian became widely disseminated throughout northern Europe.⁸⁰ Lucian was especially influential on Erasmus and his *Colloquies* – a work that in many ways drew its heritage from Lucian and his Menippean satire.⁸¹ This relationship was not unnoticed by Erasmus, who said in a letter of 1511 to his friend Thomas More: 'They will loudly accuse me of imitating the Old Comedy or some kind of Lucianic satire, and of attacking the whole world with my teeth.'⁸² Such a conclusion by Erasmus's critics would not have been unreasonable given that from 1506, Erasmus had been translating Lucian's dialogues and had sent Josse Bade some of his translations of Lucian.⁸³

It would be through Erasmus that Lucian would be preserved through the sixteenth century. Erasmus, along with Thomas More, contributed to at least at an occasional acceptance of Lucian's works. Despite his influence on Erasmus, Lucian was regarded as a person of small importance in the sixteenth century. The principal reason

⁷⁸ Lucian's dialogue 'The Oracle of the Dead' resembles a work ascribed to Menippus by Diogenes Laërtius, namely *Necromancy*, and scholars have argued that Lucian was imitating Menippus's *Necromancy*. See Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VI p.101.

⁷⁹ Erika Rummel, *Erasmus as a Translator of the Classics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 49.

⁸⁰ Craig Ringwalt Thompson, *The Translations of Lucian by Erasmus and St. Thomas More* (New York: Vail-Ballou Press, 1940), pp. xxi–xxii. See also Thompson, Craig R. "Introduction to Translations of Lucian" in *The Collected Works of Sir Thomas More*. Vol. 3 Part 1. (Yale: Yale University Press, 1974) p. xvii–lxxii.

⁸¹ Howard D. Weinbrot, *Menippean Satire Reconsidered: From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2005), pp. 63–67.

⁸² 9 June [1511] (Letter 222 Vol. 2) in Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 163.

⁸³ Eric Nelson, 'Greek Nonsense in More's Utopia', *The Historical Journal*, 44 (2001), 889–917 (p. 889). This contributed towards, what Eric Nelson has described as a 'sixteenth-century Greek revival in England.' These translations along with others translated by Sir Thomas More that would be published in 1514 as *Luciani Erasmo interprete Dialogi & alia emuncta - Erasmus's translation of Lucian's Dialogues*.

for this was because his dialogues had a subversive and critical attitude towards religion and he was, as a result, regarded as an enemy to Christianity.⁸⁴ The perceived heretical nature of Lucian's dialogues meant that they were placed the list of banned books in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* of 1559 and 1590,⁸⁵ Moreover, as a result of this prohibition, there was an aura of heresy that surrounded Lucian and his dialogues.⁸⁶ In the seventeenth century, however, opinion on Lucian would change when his satirical dialogues were revived, adapted and used widely as models of imitation by seventeenth-century dialogists.

The first printed copies of Lucian in the seventeenth century were published in Greek. They were evidently for educational purposes because, like many texts used for translation in such settings, they were published in Latin and Greek simultaneously, the Greek text being placed on one page and the Latin translation on the other.⁸⁷ It was not until Francis Hickes' translation of Lucian's dialogues *Certain select dialogues of Lucian* in 1634 that Lucian would be available in English. The publication 'provoked a new interest in Lucian that would persist into the eighteenth century with a total of fifty-three printings of his dialogues in the period 1600-1750. Thomas Heywood provided an additional translation of Lucian's dialogue in 1637 and editions of Lucian's dialogues increased steadily in the following decades.

⁸⁴ Hardin Craig, 'Dryden's Lucian', *Classical Philology*, 16 (1921), 141–63.

⁸⁵ *Index Librorum Prohibitorum: Cum Regulis Confectis per Patres Tridentina Synodo Delectos, Auctoritate Sanctiss. D.N. Pii IV., Pont. Max. Comprobatus*, 1569.

⁸⁶ Daniel Javitch, 'Review of The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in Its Social and Political Contexts, Castiglione to Galileo. By Virginia Cox', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 47 (1994), 646–49 (p. 647).

⁸⁷ See: Lucian, *Luciani Samosatensis dialogorum selectorum. Graecolatinus. Liber Primus* (1636).

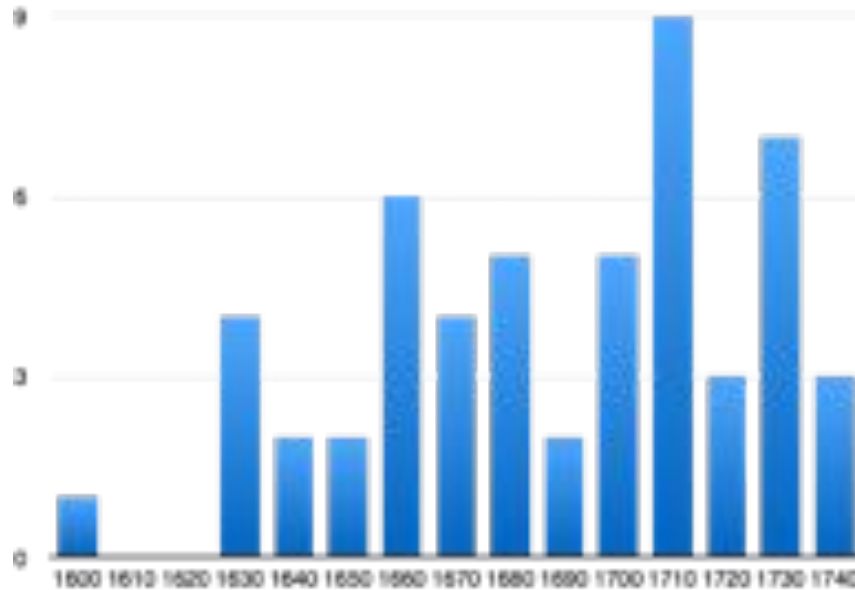


Figure 3.4 A graph showing the frequency of printings of Lucian in the Period 1600-1750.

Francis Hickes' translation of Lucian was significant because it brought Lucian into a vernacular language. Hickes believed that the dialogues could function as a 'happy example to posterity.'⁸⁸ He saw Lucian as 'a sharpe and earnest opposer of the titular and mock-Philosophers of that age' and while he conceded that Lucian was 'a most impious blasphemmer of our Saviour Christ' he believed that Lucian's dialogues should not be 'condemn'd to a perpetuall obscurity.'⁸⁹ Indeed, Hickes was so successful that Lucian's dialogues were widely imitated in the decades after his translation.⁹⁰

Influence

Translations were often triggers for imitation particularly in a time when knowledge of Greek was limited.⁹¹ Following Hickes translation in 1634 there were over a hundred imitations of Lucian's dialogues. In the tumultuous years of 1640 to 1660 there were fifty-six dialogues published that were Lucianic in style, with thirty-four of them being imitations of his dialogues of the dead. Jaspar Mayne, who published a

⁸⁸ Hickes, *Certain Dialogues of Lucian*, (1634), Sig. B5.

⁸⁹ Hickes, *Certain Dialogues of Lucian*, Sig B2-B3.

⁹⁰ Ibid. B4.

⁹¹ This was the case with Erasmus, who was translating Lucian while writing his Lucian inspired *Colloquies*. Lucian, *Works of Lucian*, (1998), p.xii.

collection of translations of Lucian's dialogues in 1663, capitalised on the renewed popularity of Lucian.⁹² Lucianic-inspired dialogues continued into the eighteenth century with Lord Lyttleton publishing his popular imitation *Dialogues of the Dead* in 1760.⁹³ One of the reasons for the popularity of dialogues of the dead in the 1640s and 1660s was that they created a space in which fictional conversations could be conducted for satire. Lucian's necromantic experiment with Menippus and his visit to Hades is an example of Lucian's dialogues of the dead. These were written fictional conversations between dead people in Hell and Heaven.⁹⁴ As a literary device this allowed Lucian to project opinions onto deceased people who commented on the goings-on in the world. Lucian's dialogues of the dead were frequently imitated in the early modern period.⁹⁵ The trope of an exploratory journey between the earth and heaven, or hell was used in his dialogue *Icaromenippus or high above the clouds* in which Menippus climbs Mount Zeus with the motive to try and make sense of the conflicting and contradictory theories from the philosophers. The trope was resurrected in the 1640s and 1680s at a time in which early modern England was trying to come to terms with the confusing debates that raged through society.

Through utilising Lucian's generic trope of dialogues of the dead writers were able to ascribe motivations to deceased people that could help make sense of their actions in the present. This allowed writers to use dialogue for ironic effect to reveal that what may have appeared to be the case with certain people differed radically from what the writers saw as actually being the case. The use of dialogues of the dead for ironic effect was particularly prevalent in the 1660s. In the wake of the restoration, for instance, many were still trying to come to terms with the events of the last decade and dialogues of the dead provided a space in which they could rhetorically redefine the motives of Oliver Cromwell and participants in the civil war. For instance, *A messenger from the dead* (1658), a conversation between King Charles I and Henry VIII attempted to reconfigure King Charles I as a martyr, and *The Case is Alter'd* (1660) had the ghost of Oliver Cromwell speaking to his wife of his 'horrid Vilanies' and how the 'Devil plaid his

⁹² Mayne, *Part of Lucian Made English*, (1663).

⁹³ George Lord Lyttelton, *Dialogues of the Dead. 2. Ed* (Sandby, 1760).

⁹⁴ Keener, *Dialogues of the Dead*,

⁹⁵ Anon, *News from Heaven*, (1679); Anon, *Bradshaw's Ghost*, (1660); Ellis Bradshaw, *A dialogue between the Devil and Prince Rupert*, (1649); Anon, *Strange Apparitions*, (1642); Anon, *A Dialogue Between the Ghosts of the Last Two Parliaments*, (1681); Thomas Brown, *Letters from the Dead to the Living* (1702); Anon, *An Emblem of Mortality*, (1684).

part, amongst my brethren bravely.⁹⁶ The Earl of Strafford was a frequent ghost in the 1680s and he was depicted in both positive and negative ways. In *Lords in the Tower* (1681) he would appear as a 'proto-martyr' with his opinions purged and clear, whilst in a *Sober Dialogue* (1681) he would return to the Lords in the tower to describe to them the great reception he had when he entered hell, with 'all the Popes and Cardinals that ever were in the World' there to greet him.⁹⁷ Dialogues of the dead were, therefore, able to show people from the past in what the writers believed was their true light, and was a way in which the dead could be 'unmask'd and truly represented.'⁹⁸

Dialogues of the dead also allowed famous people from the past to offer opinions on the present. The dialogue *News from Heaven* (1641), for instance, was a dialogue between the English martyrs John Bradford and William Tyndale in heaven. This conversation consisted of a discussion about the 'stirrs and discords there are at this time in our native Countrey England' and the two martyrs offered a solution to these problems.⁹⁹ Indeed, the dialogue claimed to be the antidote to the social discords offering the reader 'the right way to compose all differences and reconcile all disagreements' and William Howard, the Viscount of Stafford, would appear in six different ghostly appearances in the 1680s to offer up his opinions on the popish plot.¹⁰⁰ The reason the dead, such as Tyndale, Strafford and others, would offer 'Reflexions on the Follies of the living,' was because 'Death is suppos'd to have enlarg'd their views, corrected their Reasoning, and stripp'd [them] off their disguises.'¹⁰¹ Raising the dead in a dialogue created characters who were equipped with clarity and a better understanding to offer up opinions on the present events. As Mennipus said, his contemporaries 'all disagreed with one another and everything they said was conflicting and inconsistent', so that he 'despaired of learning any truth about these things on earth, and I thought the

⁹⁶ Anon, *The Case is Alter'd*, (1660) p.3, 7.

⁹⁷ Anon, *Sober Dialogue*, (1681), p. 2.

⁹⁸ John Reynolds, *Vox Coeli* (1624), p. 2.

⁹⁹ Anon, *News from Heaven* (1641), p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Anon, *A Description of the passage of Thomas late Earle of Strafford*, (1641); Anon, *A reasonable motion in the behalf of the clergie*, (1641); Anon, *The discontented conference betwixt the two great associates* (1641); Anon, *A Dialogue between Toney, and the late Lord Viscount Strafford*, (1681); Anon, *A dialogue betwixt William Howard and Charon* (1681); W.B, *Strange and Wonderful News* (1681).

¹⁰¹ M. de (Bernard Le Bovier) Fontenelle, *Lucian's Ghost: Or, Dialogues between the Dead, Wandering in the Elyzian Shades*.(1684), pp. xlvii, 3–4.

only escape from all my difficulties would be to acquire wings and go up to heaven.¹⁰² In a society in which everyone was in contention with each other Lucianic dialogues provided a stairway to heaven that could escape the social discords and provide a bird's-eye perspective on society.

Lucian had used this literary effect in *Charon and the Observers*, a dialogue between Hermes and Charon in which Hermes asks Charon to give him a bird's eye view of mankind so that he can be as the Gods and look down on men's activities with clarity. It is not insignificant that Roger L'Estrange incorporated a similar trope in his periodical dialogue *The Observer*, a title that alludes to Lucian's *Charon and the Observers*. L'Estrange's periodical did not use the dead to speak about the present but it did use dialogue to reflect upon, mock, and comment on the events of the 1680s. The parallel between Lucian and L'Estrange was not unnoticed and Ferrand Spence certainly saw L'Estrange as operating out of the heritage of Lucian when he said that:

Never was any writer to be compar'd to our Lucian unless it be our Present Observer, who not to speak of the unparallel'd generosity of his design, and inexhaustible stock wherewith it is maintained and Carried on, has all the Spirit and Genius, which the Art of Dialogue requires.¹⁰³

L'Estrange, like Lucian, was an expert in combining satire with perceptive criticisms of society.¹⁰⁴

The Lucianic influence on L'Estrange likely came through his translation of Quevedo's *Visions*; that was highly influenced by Lucian. L'Estrange is often studied in relation to his role as licenser and author of *The Observer*, yet he was a notable translator and produced translations of Cicero, Erasmus, and Aesop that were popular into the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁵ L'Estrange's translation of Francisco Quevedo's *Visions* in

¹⁰² Hickes, *Selected Lucian*, p. 49.

¹⁰³ Spence, *Works of Lucian*, (1686) p. 65.

¹⁰⁴ Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch, *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), p. 121-122.

¹⁰⁵ For a discussion of L'Estrange as a translator of Aesop see Dunan-Page and Lynch, pp. 142–160; For a discussion of the translation of *Quevedo* into English along with other Spanish texts see F. Javier Sánchez Escribano, 'English Translations from the Spanish through French in the 17th Century', *SEDERI: Yearbook of the Spanish and Portuguese Society for English Renaissance Studies*, 1990, 136–54 (pp. 177–178); W. S. Hendrix, 'Quevedo, Guevara, Lesage, and the "Tatler"', *Modern Philology*, 19 (1921), 177–86; George Mariscal, *Contradictory Subjects: Quevedo, Cervantes, and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

1667 was equally as popular and went through nine editions by the time of his death.¹⁰⁶ The *Visions* of Quevedo are a fusion of Dante's *Inferno* and Lucian's dialogues of the dead, made up of five dreams in which Quevedo converses with the devil who describes hell and discusses why people have wound up there. The literary trope of a conversation with a devil, although it had been used before L'Estrange, was given a new lease of life by L'Estrange's translation that prompted a second revival of Lucianic dialogues in the 1680s.

A reoccurring fear in the early 1680s was that they were a return to the early 1640s. As the preface to the reader in *Treasons-Ghost* (1680) described the period: it was 'a time which looks so black and dismal which seems to be as it were the ghost or representation in effigie of 1641.'¹⁰⁷ The turmoil of the succession crisis and popish plot was seen by many as a repeat of the English civil war and there was a fear that the events of 1641 would be repeated in 1681. This fear was manifest in literature through the appearance of ghosts of those who had lived through the civil wars who haunted the literature of the period by providing a warning about the danger of their actions. Oliver Cromwell, for example, appeared in dialogues of the dead in the 1680s, arguing with the Pope over who should have the presidency in hell.¹⁰⁸ There was a general revival of Lucianic dialogues in the 1680s, with 33 dialogues of the dead being published in the years 1679-1685, along with an increasing use of unusual characters in dialogues, and a general increase in the use of dialogue for satirical purposes. As one writer noticed in 1681, 'we have had so many arise from the dead of late; that they are grown familiar, and almost contemptible.'¹⁰⁹ Another popular Lucianic imitation in this period was dialogues with the devil. In *The plot discover'd* (1678), for example, the Devil was represented talking with his 'adopted heir,' the Pope, who confesses that he is 'all

¹⁰⁶ Francisco de Quevedo, *The Visions of Dom Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, Knight of the Order of St. James Made English by R.L.* (London, 1667) L'Estrange's translation would be printed in 1667, twice in 1668, 1671, 1673, 1678, twice in 1682, 1689 and 1696. Escribano; Cicero and L'Estrange; Desiderius Erasmus d, *Twenty Select Colloquies out of Erasmus Roterodamus Pleasantly Representing Several Superstitious Levities That Were Crept into the Church of Rome in His Days / Made English by Ro. L'Estrange*, (London, 1680).

¹⁰⁷ Anon, *Treasons Ghost* (1680), p. 2.

¹⁰⁸ See: Anon, *Cromwell's Ghost* (1680), Anon, *Oliver Cromwell's Ghost dropt from the clouds* (1681).

¹⁰⁹ Anon, *A Dialogue betwixt H. B.'s Ghost, and his Dear Author, R. L. S.* (1681), A2.

obedience to your [the Devil's] Commands.¹¹⁰ Also, in *A Dialogue betwixt the Devil and the Whigs* (1684) the Whigs complain to the Devil that they 'pursued the Plots thou didst Invent' yet their involvement in it achieved nothing and only let the Tories into power.¹¹¹ When he published the complete works of Lucian in 1684, Ferrand Spence said that he was publishing them because 'this present time is more prone to and fond of satyr' and he believed as a result of this that Lucian 'will certainly be sought after by all sorts of Persons.'¹¹² He was not the only one to capitalize on the popularity of satirical printed works and there were two adaptations of Spence's translation of Lucian soon after. The first was the semi-weekly periodical *Lucian's dialogues, (not) from the Greek* that appeared in the same year as Spence, in a burlesque style. Charles Cotton, in 1686 also produced a caricature of Lucian's dialogues as *The Scoffer Scoft*, which bowdlerised them into rhyming couplets designed for those 'who would rather laugh and be merry' (in a similar style to his popular *Scarronides* of 1664).¹¹³ Lucian's dialogues were, therefore, available in a range of styles, with various translations, imitations and adaptations in circulation at this time. This increased circulation resulted from and further enhanced, a change in attitude towards Lucian, and the salience of his satirical style.

In the first half of the century, Lucian was still perceived as an enemy to Christianity with Francis Hickes calling Lucian an 'impious blasphemer.' Pierre Loyer had called 'Lucian an Infidel, Atheist, and Scoffer' and Izaak Walton had not looked upon Lucian favourably, labelling him 'the father of the family of Scoffers' and those that emulated him as 'an abomination to mankind.'¹¹⁴ By 1696 when John Dryden wrote his 'Life of Lucian,' an essay that was to be prefaced to future editions of Lucian's works in the eighteenth century, the evaluation of Lucian had changed significantly with Dryden arguing that Lucian's attack on heathenism was, in fact, a positive assistance to Christianity.

The evolution of the image of Lucian from an infidel to a friend of Christianity can be seen in how Spence and Jaspar Mayne portrayed Lucian in their translations. Mayne was the first one to distance Lucian from the charges of blasphemy by claiming that 'the

¹¹⁰ Anon, *The plot discover'd*, (1678) 3. See also Anon, *Tom tell-troth* (1679), p. 1 and Anon, *The tears of Rome*, (1680).

¹¹¹ Anon, *A dialogue betwixt the devil and the Whigs* (1684), p. 3.

¹¹² Lucian, *Lucian's Works Translated from the Greek* (1684), p. xii.

¹¹³ P. N. Hartle, "Mr. Cotton, of Merry Memory": Charles Cotton (1630–1687), Poet', *Neophilologus*, 73 (1989), 605–19.

¹¹⁴ Izaak Walton, *Compleat Angler*, (1663) p. 80, Anon, *A treatise of Spectors* (1605).

Dialogues in which the *Christians* are reproached, were none of his' and that Lucian was in fact an asset to the Christian cause ('I know not to whose writings we more owe our Christianity').¹¹⁵ Spence shared Mayne's view when he said that Lucian 'Contributed more tow'rds the Extirpation of Paganism Root and Branch, than any of the Doctors of Christianity.'¹¹⁶ These portraits of Lucian show how he was transformed during the century from a blasphemous atheist to a pseudo-Christian who had helped to make the world safe for Christians who craved liberation from pagan theology.

The reconfiguration of Lucian as a friend to Christianity made him a more attractive figure for writers to emulate. Dryden listed twenty-five of his contemporaries who were influenced by Lucian, reflecting the high esteem that Lucian had gained.¹¹⁷ As a 1699 edition of his dialogues said:

The greatest Genius of all Antiquity, as to this manner of Writing, is *Lucian*, whose Language is easie and negligent but pure; his Repartees are lively and agreeable, and to say the truth, every one that hopes to manage this Province well, ought to propose to himself *Lucian* for a Copy to Write after.¹¹⁸

During the end of the seventeenth century Lucian's dialogues were cultivated into a form that was capable of articulating the tensions and complexities of the modern world. Fontenelle in 1684 would produce his Lucian-inspired *Dialogues of the Dead* as a way to contrast the ancient and modern thinkers, and his dialogues were almost immediately translated into English. They juxtaposed ancient and modern thinkers together in a conversation in heaven. This motif would also be used by Charles Perrault, who used the structure of a dialogue to frame his discussion of the merits of the Ancient and Modern thinkers in his *Parallèle des Anciens et des Moderns* (1688).¹¹⁹

Fontenelle's *Dialogues of the Dead* was the text that inspired William Temple to publish *Of Ancient and Modern Learning* in 1690. Temple's book sparked the debate over the

¹¹⁵ Weinbrot, p. 63. Mayne, *Works of Lucian* (1663).

¹¹⁶ Spence, *Select Works of Lucian*, (1684), p. 65.

¹¹⁷ Dryden lists the following as people who were all imitating Lucian: Thomas Brown, Charles Blount, T. Ferne, Walter Moyle, Sir Henry Sheers, Andrew Baden, Dr. Drake, S. Cob, Charles Gildon, Mr. Cashen, Mr. Vernon, Captain Sprag, Mr. Hill, S. Atkinson, Henry Blount, Captain Ayloffe, John Phillips, Lawrence Eachard, George Eachard, Mr. Savage, John Digby, Hon. Hugh Hare, J. Washington, Nahum Tate, James Tyrrell (*Lucian's Works*, 1711 edition).

¹¹⁸ Lucian, *Seven New dialogues*, (1699), p. 19.

¹¹⁹ Michel Delon, *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment* (Routledge, 2013); R. J. Howells, 'Dialogue and Speakers in the "Parallele Des Anciens et Des Modernes"', *The Modern Language Review*, 78 (1983), 793.

superiority of ancient and modern learning in England that would later be satirised by Swift in his *Battle of the Books* (1704).¹²⁰ William Wootton responded to Temple, contesting the supremacy of the ancients, with Richard Bentley showing that the epistles of Phalaris were neither genuine nor as old as Temple claimed. This debate caused William King to write *Dialogues of the Dead: Relating to the present Controversy Concerning the Epistles of Phalaris* (1699) that was intended to deliver the final blow to the debate over the ancients and moderns.

In a culture that was struggling to define its relationship with its past and was keen to establish a new order that would replace the old, Lucian was a salient figurehead. His dialogues had shown how the form of a dialogue could be used to reflect upon the relationship of the past with the present and could criticise the established ideas of the day. His dialogues were also a vivid way of juxtaposing the ideas of the past and present together so that they could be contrasted. A further appeal of Lucian was his iconoclastic tendencies: he was seen as a crucial figure for dismantling old systems of thought through satire and criticism. Jean Baptiste Helmont had said that ‘in the composing of a new philosophy, I should break down almost all things that have been delivered by those that went before.’¹²¹ As part of this project of demolition of the past Lucian was an attractive figurehead, because, as Ferrard Spence said in his *Life of Lucian* said, Lucian’s business was to ‘pull down everything’ rather than to ‘set up any thing.’¹²² It is not surprising therefore that when the debate between the ancient and moderns emerged at the end of the seventeenth century that Lucianic inspired dialogues would be a forum in which the ancients and moderns would converse.

¹²⁰ Joseph M. Levine, *Between the Ancients and the Moderns: Baroque Culture in Restoration England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999); Joseph M. Levine, ‘Ancients, Moderns, and History: The Continuity of English Historical Writing in the Later Seventeenth Century’, in *Studies in Change and Revolution*, ed. by Paul J. Korshin (New York: Scholar Press, 1972), pp. 43–77; Joseph M. Levine, ‘Latitudinarianism, Neoplatonism & Ancient Wisdom’, in *Philosophy, Science & Religion in England 1640-1700*, ed. by R. Ashcroft Richard Kroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 85–108; Joseph M. Levine, ‘Ancients and Moderns: Cross-Currents in Early Modern Intellectual Life’, in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 7–22; Richard Foster Jones, *Ancients and Moderns: A Study of the Rise of the Scientific Movement in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961).

¹²¹ Jean Baptiste Helmont, *Van Helmonts Works Containing His Most Excellent Philosophy, Physick, Chirurgery, Anatomy: Wherein the Philosophy of the Schools Is Examined*. (University of Illinois Library: Early English Books Online, 1664).

¹²² Spence, *Select Works of Lucian*, (1684), p. 65; See also John Dryden and John Davies, *The French Lucian Made English; By J.D. Esq* (1693), p. vii; Craig, p. 142.

Although Lyttleton, in his *Dialogues of the Dead* (1760), observed that England had produced nothing in the genre that was ‘worthy of note’, his comment misses the popularity of the form in the eighteenth century.¹²³ As Frederick Keener has shown, there were multiple dialogues of the dead in this period.¹²⁴ For instance, some pieces in the *Tatler and Guardian* were dialogues of the dead, and Thomas Brown published his *Letters from the Dead*.¹²⁵ Matthew Prior also wrote his dialogues of the dead, although these were only circulated in manuscript, and his dialogues, Keener has argued, were a rich piece of literature bringing Montaigne in conversation with John Locke, and the Vicar of Bray in dialogue with Thomas More.¹²⁶ Dialogues of the dead continued in popularity into the nineteenth century and were frequently published in *The Sentimental Magazine*, and *The Town and Country Magazine*. Lucian’s dialogues, therefore, can be seen to have introduced an enduring literary tradition in early modern England.

It is clear that Lucian influenced the dialogue genre significantly by introducing the popular genre of dialogues of the dead in England, a trope that would continue into the eighteenth century. The dialogues of Lucian also influenced the expansion of characters that featured in dialogues. Lucian’s dialogues are distinctive because of the characters he used and his unique literary style.¹²⁷ While Plato and Cicero had used the device of a real conversation between fellow Athenians and Romans; Lucian instead used fictional characters such as talking animals, gods and ghosts.¹²⁸ This gave his dialogues a more satirical and playful tone than the Socratic dialogues.¹²⁹ Through these alterations, Lucian transformed the function of dialogue and provided dialogists with a precedent for using a broad range of characters for satirical and humorous ends. In the seventeenth century this was manifest through the use of animals (a war-horse, dogs, and monkeys); talking cities (such as London, Amsterdam, Oxford and Paris); personifications of values (such as fame, faith, opinion, and reason); and mythical beings (such as death, the devil, and a variety of ghosts). The introduction of a

¹²³ Lyttleton, p. iv.

¹²⁴ Keener, pp. 1–53.

¹²⁵ Legg and Leopold George Wickham Legg, *Matthew Prior: A Study of His Public Career and Correspondence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹²⁶ Christopher Robinson; Dieter Fuchs, ‘Joyce, Lucian, and Menippus: An Undiscovered Rewriting of the Ulysses Archetype’, *James Joyce Quarterly*, 47 (2009), 140–46.

¹²⁷ Marsh, *Lucian and the Latins*, pp. 42–75.

¹²⁸ Keener, p. 15.

¹²⁹ Marsh, *The Quattrocento Dialogue*, pp. 4–5.

menagerie of fictional characters by Lucian allowed the dialogue genre space to not only represent authentic, or realistic conversations but also to create fictive worlds in which animals can talk to humans, ghosts can discuss the present events in Hades, and the devil could be represented speaking to his servants on earth. The use of such a variety of characters helped to transform the dialogue into a vehicle for entertainment and comedy, and utopian imaginings.

Lucian redefined the scope of the dialogue genre by showing that it could be used as an effective tool for satire and commentary. His dialogues were influential on Erasmus and his *Colloquies*, a text that as will be seen below, was deeply influential in early modern England; and on Roger L'Estrange and his periodical *The Observer*. Lucian and his works were widely imitated through variations of his dialogues of the dead and conversations with the devil in the seventeenth century. Further to this Lucian, in contrast to Plato and Cicero, had shown English writers that dialogues did not always have to be concerned with verisimilitude and mimetic representation of real conversations but could be used to create fictional worlds and characters in which animals and ghosts can talk, and that it could thus be used as a vehicle for satirical attacks, and political commentary.

Religious Dialogues

In addition to the above three canonical writers of dialogues it is also important to note two other lines of descent that influenced the shape of the dialogue genre in the seventeenth-century namely religious dialogues and Renaissance dialogues. Looking first at the genealogy of religious dialogue and the use of dialogue in religious writings from early Christian authors will show how the use of dialogue for evangelism, devotional literature, and apologetics found in the seventeenth century was shaped by the use of dialogue by early Christian writers.

Some scholars have argued that early Christian writers did not really embrace the dialogue form.¹³⁰ Despite these claims we can find examples of early Christian dialogues such as *The Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus* (Greek, 4th Century) ; *The Dialogue of Simon and Theophilus* (Latin, 5th Century); and *The Dialogue of Timothy*

¹³⁰ Simon Goldhill, 'Introduction: Why Don't Christians Do Dialogue?', in *The End of Dialogue in Antiquity*, ed. by Simon Goldhill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 9.

and *Aquila* (Greek, 6th Century).¹³¹ The criticism that has been raised in regards to these dialogues has been that they were not in a form that was similar to the dialogues of Greece and Rome.¹³² This may be the case, but, as this chapter shows, every epoch of dialogues differed in some form from other periods of dialogues. Indeed, one of the characteristics of the dialogue was that it was a dynamic and malleable form that adapted itself to its circumstances. Therefore, the fact that the dialogues of early Christianity did not resemble Socratic conversations, or Cicero's dialogues does not discount them from contributing to the heritage of the dialogue. In fact they contributed in a significant way to the trajectory of the dialogue as evangelical and pedagogical texts, conversion narratives, and vindications of martyrs. All of these functions influenced the religious dialogues of the early modern period.

The dialogue has been seen as a vital part of Christianity's struggle for self-definition and the dialogues of early Christianity have been shown to be a crucial part of early Christianity's rhetorical arsenal.¹³³ Primarily, the dialogues of early Christianity were evangelical documents that demonstrated the teachings of the Christian faith through presenting the words of the religious leaders themselves to their disciples. The genre was used as a vehicle for mass communication, as it enabled writers to speak in an intimate way without having to be face to face with them.¹³⁴ This allowed readers to

¹³¹ These dialogues along with others from this period have been translated in William Varner and Evagrius (Monachus), *Ancient Jewish-Christian Dialogues: Athanasius and Zacchaeus, Simon and Theophilus, Timothy and Aquila: Introductions, Texts, and Translations* (New York: E. Mellen Press, 2004).

¹³² Clark, in *End of Dialogue* Goldhill, pp. 6–7; Gillian Clark, 'Can We Talk? Augustine and the Possibility of Dialogue', in *The End of Dialogue in Antiquity*, ed. by Simon Goldhill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 117–34.

¹³³ Amos Wilder, Helmut Koester, and Jo-Ann Brant have all argued that Greco-Roman genres such as tragedy and dialogue were part of early Christianity's rhetorical arsenal. Amos Niven Wilder, *Early Christian Rhetoric: The Language of the Gospel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964). Helmut Koester demonstrated how the dialogues influence can be seen in the genre of the gospels Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (London: Continuum, 1990), pp. 173–194. Jo-Ann Brent illustrated how dialogue was incorporated into the gospel of John, arguing that the Grecian dialogue was a key influence upon its literary structure Jo-Ann A. Brant, *Dialogue and Drama: Elements of Greek Tragedy in the Fourth Gospel* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004), pp. 15–29. Amos Wilder discussed how dialogue was used in the non-canonical gospels dialogue such as the *Gospel of Judas*, that was a dialogue between Jesus and Judas, and *The Dialogue of the Saviour*, a conversation between Jesus and his disciples. Wilder, pp. 9-18, 35-31.

¹³⁴ Kate Cooper and Matthew Dal Santo, 'Boethius, Gregory the Great and the Christian "Afterlife" of Classical Dialogue', in *The End of Dialogue in Antiquity*, ed. by Simon Goldhill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 173–90.

situate themselves imaginatively as disciples who were being taught by the religious leader. The ability of dialogue to make readers into vicarious disciples meant that it was used as an important tool for evangelism and for the dissemination of the teachings of early Christian leaders as seen in the work of Saint Justin Martyr and Saint Methodius of Olympus who used dialogue as an evangelical tool.¹³⁵ Justin's *The dialogue with Trypho* (Latin, 2nd Century), for instance, was a conversation with a Jew that demonstrated the divinity of Jesus and revealed how dialogue could be used as a tool for dramatizing and making explicit the tension between Christianity and Judaism.¹³⁶ Dialogue's suitability for religious teaching would manifest itself in the early modern period with the use of dialogues as a popular way to instruct people in the values of the Christian faith and as a way of representing conversion, or at the very least attempts to convert another to the faith.

The principle way in which early Christian dialogues influenced the dialogue genre as a whole that can be seen in the seventeenth century was through its use in religious pedagogy, in particular with the development of catechisms. As Ian Green has shown, catechisms, a text similar in style to a dialogue with questions and answers often between a parent and child concerning the basic beliefs of the Christian faith, were pervasive in the early modern period.¹³⁷ They were hugely popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth century (see figure 7) with at least 50 catechisms published every decade during the seventeenth century.¹³⁸ Catechisms were seen as an effective way in which converts and children could learn the basic principles of Christianity. For most children *The Christians ABC with Catechism* would be the first book that they read, or had read to

¹³⁵ Joyce E. Salisbury, *Blood of Martyrs* (London: Routledge, 2004); Candida Moss, *The Myth of Persecution: How Early Christians Invented a Story of Martyrdom* (London and New York: HarperCollins, 2013).

¹³⁶ As Jaroslav Pelikan has observed, 'virtually every major Christian writer of the first five centuries either composed a treatise in opposition to Judaism or made this issue a dominant theme.' Jaroslav Jan Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971).

¹³⁷ For the history of catechisms see Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England C. 1530-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Deakins looks at the role of student -master dialogues in his Phd Thesis: Roger Deakins, 'The Tudor Dialogue as Literary Form' (unpublished Thesis, Harvard University, 1964); Novikoff looks at didactic dialogues in the middle ages in: Alex J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation*.

¹³⁸ They were printed in such high numbers because a requirement for confirmation by a bishop, or to be considered legible for partaking of the Lord's Supper, was often dependent upon familiarity with the accepted catechism of the church.

them.¹³⁹ The prevalence and popularity of catechisms meant that the first books early modern readers encountered were crude forms of dialogue. The relationship between dialogue and catechisms will be considered in greater depth in the following chapter.

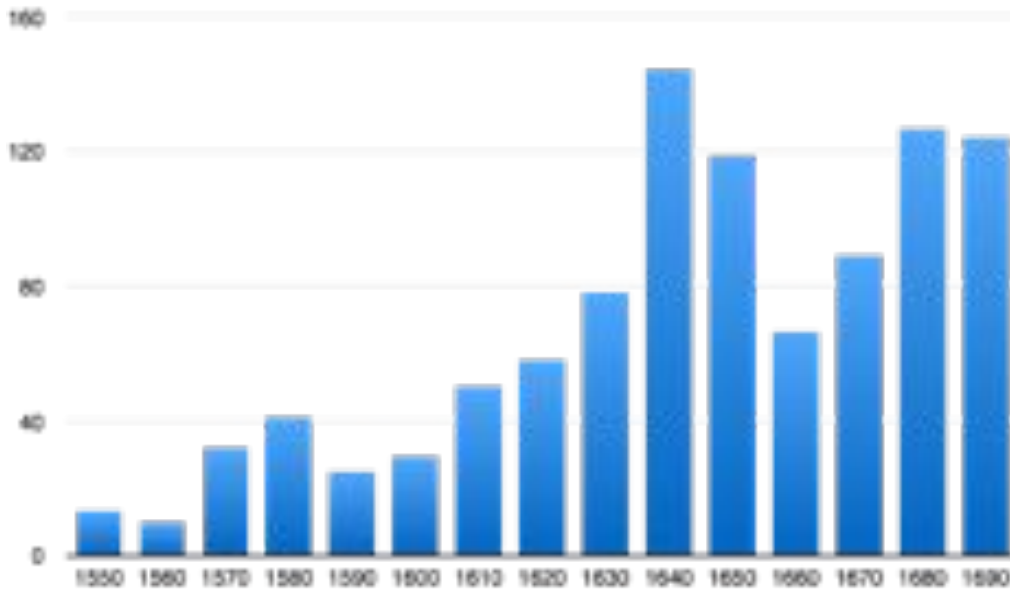


Figure 3.4 A graph showing the number of Catechisms published in the period 1550-1700

The second way in which early Christian dialogues left a later trace was in the construction of martyrdom narratives. The majority of accounts of martyrs from the first centuries of Christianity incorporated dialogues.¹⁴⁰ As Elizabeth Castelli has shown with the martyr Pionius, accounts were often composite texts made up from various sources that both incorporated dialogues from trials and executions, and often presented this information in a dialogue form.¹⁴¹ Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments* (1563) would adopt this approach: he incorporated dialogues, debates and the trials of martyrs within his text in order to have the martyrs defend their faith in their own words.¹⁴² Foxe used dialogic

¹³⁹ Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England C. 1530-1740*, p. 28.

¹⁴⁰ Moss, pp. 5–11.

¹⁴¹ Elizabeth Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2013), pp. 92–93.

¹⁴² Joseph Puterbaugh, “‘Truth Hath the Victory’: Dialogue and Disputation in John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*”, in *Printed Voices: The Renaissance culture of dialogue*, ed. by Jean-François Vallée Dorothea B. Heitsch (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 123–57 (pp. 140–141); John N. King, *Foxe’s ‘Book of Martyrs’ and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); This article looks at the way in which Fox compiled his book

forms within his book to sharpen the differences between Protestant and Catholic, and used dialogue as a means to highlight the moment of interrogation.¹⁴³ Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* was one of the most influential books published in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and as a result of this text the martyr dialogue was pervasive throughout the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁴

This influence manifested itself in several ways in the seventeenth century. One way was the publication of trials and scaffolding speeches. These dialogic texts often have the victim lament their fate through a narrative of persecution. Religious groups, in particular minority groups, used dialogues as a way to reveal and vindicate the persecution that they experienced. The Quakers consciously used dialogues to construct an identity that revolved around their persecution through the publishing of dialogues made from public debates and trials.¹⁴⁵ Anti-Quakers on the other hand used the printing of dialogues to undermine such narratives and portray them as religiously deluded and consciously rabble-rousing. These publications reinforced the Quakers persecution complex as Quakers responded to them with publications such as John Pitman's *Truth Vindicated* (1658) and Roger Haydock's *A Hypocrite Unveiled, and A Blasphemer Made Manifest* (1677) that accused the anti-Quakers of misrepresenting them. The use of the dialogue by Quakers reflects a trajectory established by early Christian dialogues: the genre could be used as an effective tool in the struggle for self-definition by minority religious groups.¹⁴⁶ Early Christians used the ability of the dialogue form to represent and dramatize public debates that occurred in the ancient Greco-Roman world with the aim of bolstering faith and highlighting martyrs who died defending their faith.¹⁴⁷

using a wide range of material. Thomas Freeman, 'Text, Lies, and Microfilm: Reading and Misreading Foxe's Book of Martyrs', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 30 (1999), 22–40.

¹⁴³ King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and Early Modern Print Culture*; For more on the reception of Foxe see John N. King, 'Reception of Foxe's Book of Martyrs by Eighteenth-Century Readers', *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews*, 21 (2008), 45–52.

¹⁴⁴ Charles the first for instance in *Eikon Basilike* would portray himself as a martyr. Andrew Lacey has looked at this in Andrew Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* (New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2003). See also Steven N. Zwicker, *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649-1689* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 37–60.

¹⁴⁵ *True relation of a dispute* (1656) and *The Christian a Quaker* (1674).

¹⁴⁶ For more on how religious writing was used to create or consolidate a religious community see Professor Anthony W. Johnson and Professor Roger D. Sell, *Writing and Religion in England, 1558-1689: Studies in Community-Making and Cultural Memory* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), pp. 2–5.

¹⁴⁷ Alex J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation*, p. 17.

Such a legacy could also work in favour of the orthodox. Augustine, for example, built upon early Christian fathers by using dialogue as a forum for an apologetic defence against attacks from heretics. In *Contra Academicos* we see Augustine combating the views of the Skeptics, Donatists and Manichaeans through the use of dialogue.¹⁴⁸ For Augustine discussion was the obvious pathway to truth and a dialogue was the ideal way to travel on it. Augustine's use of dialogue as a way of defending Christianity from heresy was emulated in the middle ages, reformation and seventeenth century.¹⁴⁹ In his *Confessions* (397-398) Augustine used dialogue in a very different way, to voice an internal conversation with God. In doing so Augustine moved dialogue from being a pedagogical device into a method of exegesis.

The use of dialogue as a tool for apologetics would be revived in the reformation with writers such as Thomas More, Martin Luther, and Hans Sachs all using the form for religious apologetics and polemic. Rainer Pineas has shown that writers of dialogues in the Reformation were not concerned with establishing truth through discussion, as the Italian humanists were, but instead they used the dialogue form for polemic and apologetic purposes.¹⁵⁰ The dialogue was attractive to them as a literary form because the genre provided a regulated forum that removed the antagonism manifest in face-to-face disputes.¹⁵¹ The ability of dialogue to represent debates to a broad audience whilst avoiding the danger of emotionally charged physical confrontations meant that it was a valuable tool both for protestant reformers and catholic defenders.

¹⁴⁸ John Heil, 'Augustine's Attack on Skepticism: The *Contra Academicos*', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 65 (1972), 99–116; Richard Miles, "'Let's (not) Talk about It': Augustine and the Control Epistolary Dialogue", in *The End of Dialogue in Antiquity*, ed. by Simon Goldhill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 135–48. Rainer Pineas, 'Thomas More's Use of the Dialogue Form as a Weapon of Religious Controversy', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 7 (1960), 193–206 (p. 203); Rainer Pineas, *Thomas More and Tudor Polemics* (London: Indiana University Press, 1968), p. 373.

¹⁴⁹ Miles; Brian Stock, *Augustine's Inner Dialogue: The Philosophical Soliloquy in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁵⁰ Pineas, 'Thomas More's Use of the Dialogue Form as a Weapon of Religious Controversy'; Antonia Bevan Zlatar, *Reformation Fictions: POlemical Protestant Dialogues in Elizabethan England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Alex J. Novikoff, 'Anselm, Dialogue, and the Rise of Scholastic Disputation', *Speculum*, 86 (2011), 387–418; Alex James Novikoff, 'Dialogue and Disputation in Medieval Thought and Society, 1050--1350', *Dissertations Available from ProQuest*, 2007, 1–313.

¹⁵¹ R. R. McCutcheon, 'Heresy and Dialogue: The Humanist Approaches of Erasmus and More', *Viator*, 24 (1993), 357–84 (p. 358).

The usefulness of dialogue for apologetics was captured when Spence said the dialogue was particularly useful for ‘containing the doubts and queries of an ingenious Scholar which are solv'd and decided by a knowing and Judicious Master.’¹⁵² The use of dialogue as a way of defending the faith would be preserved into the seventeenth century with John Graunt’s *A defence of Christian liberty to the Lords table* (1646) that provided answers to ‘many arguments, queres, suppositions, and objections.’¹⁵³ Dialogues allowed readers to see their faith defended and could provide them with arguments that they could use in their encounters with rival religious preachers and disciples. Dialogues could be used to assist in the teaching of the values of the Christian faith and to increase individual spirituality, a function used by John Bunyan and Arthur Dent in their popular dialogues.

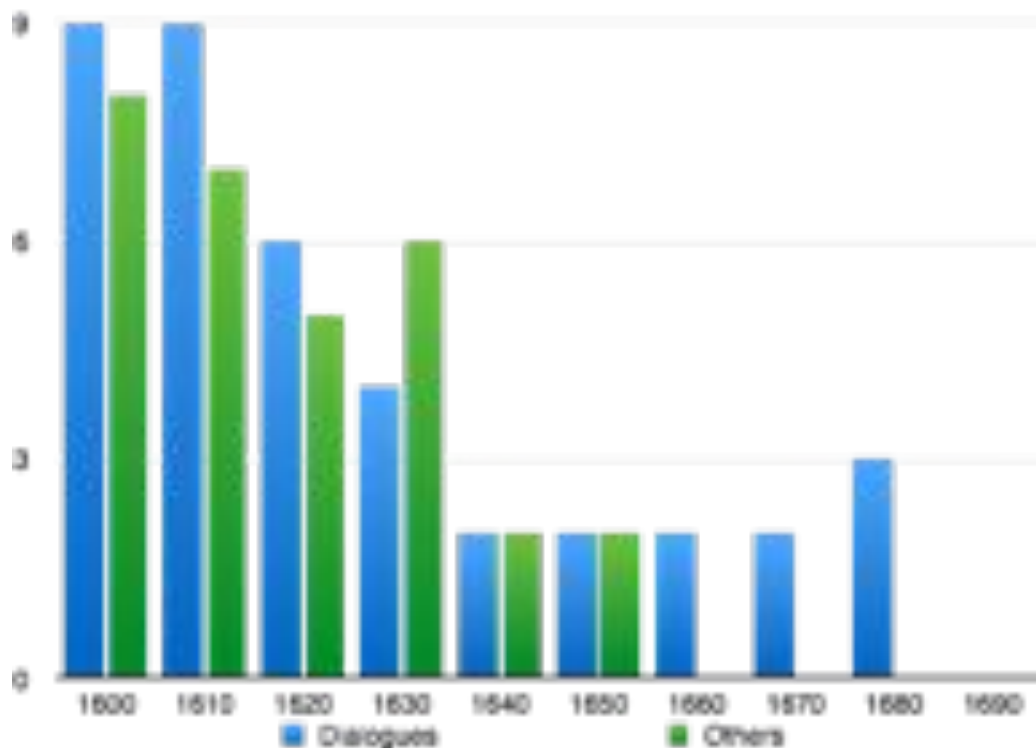


Figure 3.5 A graph showing the number of reprints of Arthur Dent’s works in the period 1600-1700

¹⁵² Ferrard Spence, *The Works of Lucian* (1686) p. xxxiv.

¹⁵³ Samuel Hill’s *A through examination of false principles* (1709) L.E’s *A Plain Defence of the protestant religion* (1687) and Fisher Ambrose’s *A defence of the liturgie of the Church of England* (1630) being a sample of texts that used dialogue to defend religious doctrines. format

As observed in the previous chapter Arthur Dent's *The Plain-Man's Pathway to Heaven* was one of the century's most reprinted texts. Looking at the publications of Arthur Dent reveals that not only was *The Plain-Man's Pathway to Heaven* his most reprinted book, with reprints of his dialogues consistently exceeding reprints of his other (non-dialogue) works in each decade (figure 2.17), but it was also the one that enjoyed the longest legacy, being reprinted up until the 1680s. This was also the case with John Bunyan and *The Pilgrim's Progress*.¹⁵⁴ Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was an instant success upon publication, with the second edition appearing in the same year.¹⁵⁵ Its popularity meant that it was reprinted consistently until the end of the seventeenth century. Such was the success of Bunyan's book that reprints of *The Pilgrim's Progress* would exceed the total of all his other publications (figure 2.18) and was the subject of multiple pirate editions and imitations that promoted themselves as sequels to *The Pilgrim's Progress*.¹⁵⁶ As the 'Book-seller to the Reader' states in the 1680 fourth edition:

The *Pilgrims Progress*, having sold several Impressions, and with good Acceptation among the People, there are some malicious men of our profession, of lewd principles, hating honesty, and Coveting other mens rights, and which we call *Land Pirates*, one of this society is *Thomas Bradyl* a Printer, who I Actually found printing my Book for himself.¹⁵⁷

As the previous chapter argued it was not uncommon for title pages of books to capitalise on an author's 'brand' and Bunyan was no different.¹⁵⁸ Due to the success of *Pilgrim's Progress* his name would be used to market his other books, with publishers

¹⁵⁴ John Bunyan had not initially used the dialogue form in his publications His first publications, such as *Some gospel-truths opened according to the Scriptures* (1656) and *A Few Sighs From Hell* (1658) were primarily scriptural expositions and Bunyan would not use the dialogue form until he published *Profitable meditations fitted to mans different condition* in 1661. He would not use the form of a dialogue again until 1675 when he published *Instruction for the Ignorant* and then in 1678 when he published *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

¹⁵⁵ For more on how Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* related to his other works see: Anne Dunan-Page, *Grace Overwhelming: John Bunyan, the Pilgrim's Progress and the Extremes of the Baptist Mind* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006); Barbara A. Johnson, *Reading Piers Plowman and The Pilgrim's Progress: Reception and the Protestant Reader* (SIU Press, 1992); Vincent Newey, *The Pilgrim's Progress: Critical and Historical Views* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1980).

¹⁵⁶ For more on how other printers and writers used the fame of Bunyan see Natasha Simonova, 'Passing Through Vanity Fair: The Pilgrim's Progress in the Marketplace', *Authorship*, 2 (2012).

¹⁵⁷ John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, (1680), A3v

¹⁵⁸ See Jukka Tyrkkö, Ville Marttila and Carla Suhr, 'The Culpeper Project: Digital Editing of Title-Pages', 2013 <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/14/tyrkko_marttila_suhr/> [accessed 3 March 2014].

announcing that the book was ‘written by John Bunyan, author of *The pilgrims progress*’.¹⁵⁹ The success of Bunyan and Dent’s dialogues influenced the dialogue form. Richard Baxter, for instance when he wrote his *Poor man's family book* (1680) acknowledge that his choice to ‘speak as much as I can in the Language of the Vulgar’ was because ‘Arthur Dent's path-way to heaven was so well accepted, because it was a plain familiar dialogue’.¹⁶⁰

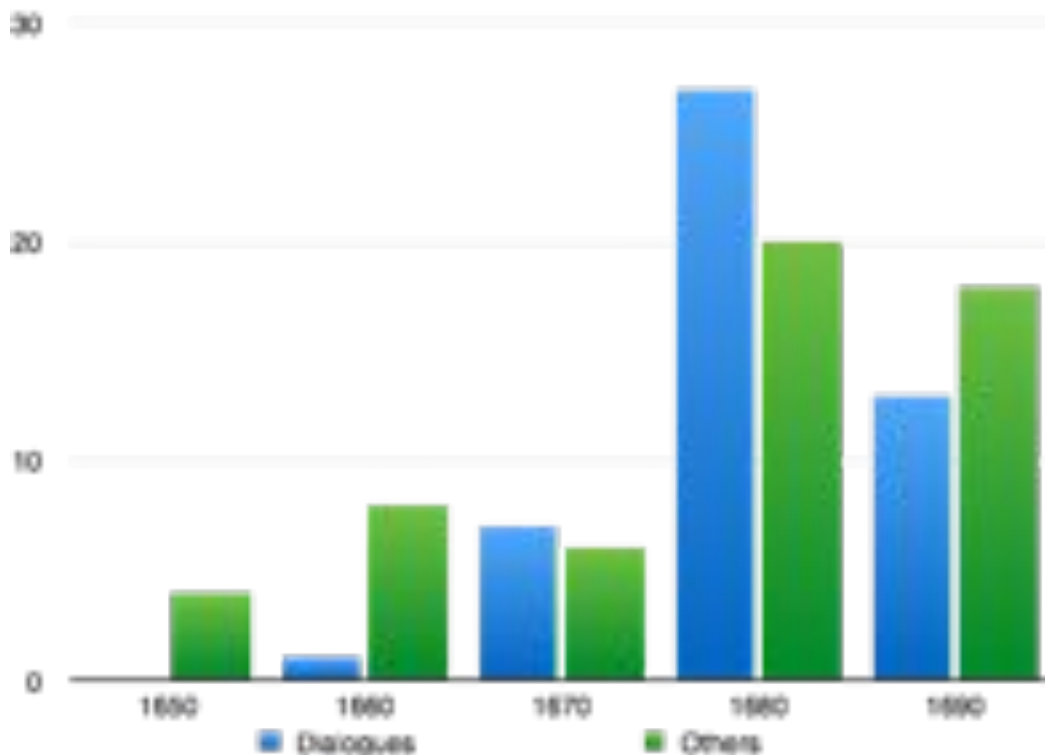


Figure 3.6 A graph showing the reprinting of John Bunyan in the period 1650-1700

The popularity of religious dialogues such as Dent and Bunyan’s and catechisms reveal the legacy that religious dialogues endured into the seventeenth century. Early Christian dialogues had used the form for evangelism, setting a precedent for later

¹⁵⁹ John Bunyan, *The advocateship of Jesus Christ clearly explained, and largely improved, for the benefit of all believers* (1688) A1r. John Bunyan, *The holy war, made by Shaddai upon Diabolus, for the regaining of the metropolis of the world, or, The losing and taking again of the town of Mansoul by John Bunyan, the author of the Pilgrims progress*, (1682), sig. A1r.

¹⁶⁰ Richard Baxter, *Poor man's family book* (1680), B2r.

minority groups and martyrologists. Dialogues gave Early Christians a tool for apologetics and to defend a religion from heresy or attacks from rival denominations. Therefore whilst the religious dialogues of early Christianity were not as famous, or esteemed as those of Plato, Cicero and Lucian, nevertheless, they profoundly influenced the genealogy of the dialogue genre by appropriating dialogue for their religious agenda and this set the precedent of using dialogue for religious ends that would permeate the early modern period.

Renaissance Dialogues

Peter Burke has observed 'that the Renaissance dialogue is rarely studied as a whole. As a period phenomenon, it is still somewhat undervalued.'¹⁶¹ Since Burke wrote this statement scholars have started to pay more attention, with Virginia Cox, John Snyder, and David Marsh all studying the Renaissance dialogue.¹⁶² This work has established that there were a wealth of writers of dialogues in the Renaissance such as Castiglione, Pietro Aretino, Leon dardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini, Lorenzo Valla and Leon Battista Bruni.¹⁶³ The number of dialogues and their prominence in the Renaissance has led Eva Kushner to conclude in *Printed Voices* that 'the dialogue is a genre that was so pervasive through the renaissance that it seems to be a fundamental component of the intellectual life of the Renaissance'.¹⁶⁴ In considering the way in which the Renaissance informed the dialogue genre in seventeenth century England it is worth dividing it up into

¹⁶¹ Peter Burke, 'The Renaissance Dialogue', *Renaissance Studies*, 3 (1989), 1–12. See also Kenneth J. Wilson, 'The Continuity of the Post-Classical Dialogue', *Cithara*, 21 (1981), 23–44.

¹⁶² Burke, 'The Renaissance Dialogue'; Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in Its Social and Political Contexts Castiglione to Galileo*; K. J. Wilson; Snyder; Marsh, *The Quattrocento Dialogue*; See also the following: Robert Buranello, 'Pietro Aretino between the Locus Mendacii and the Locus Veritatis', in *Printed Voices: The Renaissance Culture of Dialogue*, ed. by Jean-François Vallée Dorothea B. Heitsch (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 94–117; Carole Collier Frick, 'Francesco Barboro's De Re Uxoribus: A Silent Dialogue for a Young Medici Bride', in *Printed Voices: The Renaissance Culture of Dialogue*, ed. by Jean-François Vallée Dorothea B. Heitsch (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 193–205; Olga Zorzi Pugliese, 'The Development of Dialogue in Il Libro Del Cortegiano: From the Manuscript Drafts to the Definitive Version', in *Printed Voices: The Renaissance Culture of Dialogue*, ed. by Jean-François Vallée Dorothea B. Heitsch (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 72–94; J. F. Tinkler, 'Humanism and Dialogue', *Parergon*, 6, ns (1988), 197–214.

¹⁶³ Marsh, *The Quattrocento Dialogue*, p. 5.

¹⁶⁴ Eva Kushner, 'Renaissance Dialogue and Subjectivity', in *Printed Voices: The Renaissance Culture of Dialogue*, ed. by Jean-François Vallée Dorothea B. Heitsch (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 229–42 (p. 256).

the Italian Renaissance and English Renaissance dialogues as both traditions influenced the genre in different ways.

Italian Renaissance

The most notable work on Italian Renaissance dialogues is Virginia Cox's *The Renaissance Dialogue*, in which Cox argued that the dialogue genre gained popularity because it was 'a practical embodiment of a communicative ideal.' Cox convincingly argues that the genre's popularity was because the documentary dialogues represented and celebrated the art of civil conversation, as practised in the Italian courts, and thereby fulfilled a task of self-definition for the cultural elite of Italy.¹⁶⁵ Other work has highlighted additional features of the Renaissance dialogue. David Marsh in his study of the Quattrocento Dialogue in the early Renaissance showed how 'Italian humanists revived the Ciceronian model and fused that model with various elements from other traditions.'¹⁶⁶ John Snyder saw the Renaissance dialogue as 'a textual strategy for embodying dialectical discovery in discourse.' The appeal of the dialogue, Snyder suggested, was that it was 'a pleasant labyrinth for the readers as they navigated the diverse range of opinions.'¹⁶⁷ The consensus between Cox, Snyder and Marsh was that the Renaissance dialogue was a solidification of Italian humanists' faith in discussion and debate as a vehicle to uncover the truth and communicate effectively.¹⁶⁸ The main criticism that could be levelled at the work of Cox, Snyder and Marsh is that they are inclined to idealise the Renaissance dialogue and exaggerate its 'democratic' potential. As was shown earlier, the ability of dialogue to function as a democratic space in which

¹⁶⁵ Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in Its Social and Political Contexts Castiglione to Galileo*, p. 6.

¹⁶⁶ Marsh, *The Quattrocento Dialogue*, pp. 75–76.

¹⁶⁷ Snyder, pp. 78–79.

¹⁶⁸ Snyder, pp. 10–13; Marsh, *The Quattrocento Dialogue*, pp. 1, 12–13, 42; Christopher S. Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians, and Latin's Legacy* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2004), pp. 87, 100 says that 'many humanists participated in this culture of the disputatio' and that 'the verbally centered culture of the disputation was intimately allied to the progress of Humanism.'; Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in Its Social and Political Contexts Castiglione to Galileo*, pp. 67–68; E Cochrane, 'The Renaissance Academies in Their Italian and European Setting', in *The Fairest Flower: The Emergence of Linguistic National Consciousness in Renaissance Europe*, ed. by Fredi Chiappelli (Borgo: Firenze Presse Academim, 1985).

ideas were impartially presented to the reader was a theoretical ideal that often was not attained.

One of the most significant Renaissance dialogists was Castiglione.¹⁶⁹ Of all of Castiglione's works, it was *The Courtier* that was his most popular, a work that has been attributed by some scholars as one of the most influential books of the European Renaissance.¹⁷⁰ *The Courtier* is an unmistakably elite text; its characters are made up of a dozen or so individuals selected by social and cultural criteria that excluded almost everyone outside the Court.¹⁷¹ Castiglione utilised both print and manuscript to target specific audiences.¹⁷² Adapting his dialogues in their manuscript and print form allowed him to appeal to the elite while also reaching a broader audience. The fact that *The Courtier* offered such a candid view of the world of the Italian court, a world in which most people would never set foot, made it appealing to non-elite readers as they were, through Castiglione's faithful representation of the characters and conversation, made into vicarious spectators of court. Castiglione used his dialogue as a means by which the public and private realms could be blurred and crossed; a similar literary device that was used in cony-catching dialogues in sixteenth and seventeenth century England.¹⁷³ Renaissance dialogues, like *The Courtier*, were, for the most part, a culturally elite literary form that had its audience within the social and political elite of society. They served to embody the values of humanism while also working as a tool in which to propagate their values. Renaissance dialogues continued to have a residual cultural prominence in Europe through the reprinting of them in seventeenth century England. Castiglione's *The Courtier*, for instance, remained popular in England, as was Pietro Aretino's pornographic dialogues that were influential in setting the precedent for using

¹⁶⁹ Cox, Marsh and Burke all pay a substantial amount of attention to Castiglione. See Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in Its Social and Political Contexts* Castiglione to Galileo, pp. 36–59.

¹⁷⁰ Peter Burke in his study of the reception of *The Courtier* has shown how *The Courtier* was translated, reprinted, and spread widely throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth century see: Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2013); Peter Womack, *Dialogue* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2011), p. 18; Jennifer Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Pugliese, p. 84.

¹⁷¹ Womack, p. 19.

¹⁷² Pugliese, p. 83.

¹⁷³ See the following chapter for examples of cony-catching dialogues.

dialogue as a vehicle for erotic and libertarian literature.¹⁷⁴ Aretino's dialogues were translated and reprinted in England in the seventeenth century and there were various imitations of the text such as *The Wandering Whore*.¹⁷⁵

Renaissance Dialogues Published in England

The greatest legacy of the Renaissance on the dialogue genre, however, came from Desiderus Erasmus. Erasmus used the dialogue form several times, such as the popular *Colloquia familiares* and *The Ciceronian: A dialogue on the ideal Latin style* and, as noted previously, translating Lucian into Latin. Erasmus was widely published during the seventeenth century yet he was not seen as being His *Colloquies*, a collection of dialogues that discussed a wide variety of subjects, were a core text in English schools for the following centuries.¹⁷⁶ They were first written in the late 1490s as informal Latin exercises for Erasmus' own pupils and were first published in 1518 to Erasmus's disapproval, though an authorised edition appeared in 1522. In the aftermath of this publication Erasmus began to perceive the possibilities that this form might hold for continuing his campaign for the gradual enlightenment and reform of all Christendom. As Judith Coffin has observed, he realised he could use his colloquies to 'hold up contemporary religious practices for examination in a more serious but still pervasively ironic tone'.¹⁷⁷ Between 1522 and 1533 twelve new editions of the *Colloquies* appeared, each larger and more serious than the last, until eventually some fifty individual colloquies were included.¹⁷⁸ The topics of these colloquies ranged over varied subjects

¹⁷⁴ James Grantham Turner, 'Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality', *Politics, and Literary Culture*, 2001, pp. 1630–85.

¹⁷⁵ Pietro Aretino, *The School of Whoredom* (London: Hesperus Press, 2003); Sophie Carter, *Purchasing Power: Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century English Popular Print Culture* (London: Ashgate, 2004); Turner; Joan DeJean, 'The Politics of Pornography: L'Ecole Des Filles', *The Invention of Pornography*, 1993, 109–24 (pp. 114–115).

¹⁷⁶ Ian M. Green; Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Mary Hampson Patterson, *Domesticating the Reformation: Protestant Best Sellers, Private Devotion, and the Revolution of English Piety* (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2007); Dennis M. Gilkey, 'Erasmus's "First Reader": The Colloquies in Early English Pedagogy', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 10 (1985), 24–26; Carmen Luke, *Pedagogy, Printing and Protestantism: The Discourse on Childhood* (New York: SUNY Press, 1989); Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (London: Routledge, 2013).

¹⁷⁷ Judith Coffin and others, 'Western Civilizations: Their History & Their Culture' (2011), p. 463.

¹⁷⁸ Karl A. E. Enenkel, *The Reception of Erasmus in the Early Modern Period* (London: BRILL, 2013), pp. 15–19.

such as war, travel, hunting, sleep, beggars, funerals, and literature. Erasmus in the colloquies expanded the range of topics and subjects that the dialogue could be used to talk about significantly and partly accounts for the wider range of subjects that the dialogue genre was used for in seventeenth-century England.

The *Colloquies* of Erasmus were popular during the period of this study, with 57 editions published in the seventeenth century and 42 editions in the eighteenth century. Based on the number of editions Erasmus's popularity was between that of Cicero and Lucian. Notably, (as figure 4.7 shows) the majority of these printings were in Latin, because, as the dialogues of Cicero, they were intended for teaching Latin in schools. As Charles Hoole noted in his handbook for teaching, 'on Tuesdayes and Thursdayes in the after-noon (after they have done with *Corderius*) they may read *Helvici Colloquia* (which are selected out of those of *Erasmus*, *Ludovicus Vives*, and *Schottenius*.)'¹⁷⁹ The primary use of Erasmus as an educational text for students to translate means that there were very few editions of Erasmus published in English and none of these English editions stated that they are doing so to help others to read Erasmus, as translators of Lucian had done.

William Burton's *Seven dialogues* (1606) was the first English translation of Erasmus in the seventeenth century. Burton chose seven of Erasmus's colloquies to include, stating that 'I have tried all, and chosen the best.' The best, according to Burton, were the dialogues that were compatible with his Protestant beliefs, with four of them being dialogues with a clear anti-popery strain and were chosen to 'show how little the Papists have to boast of Erasmus as a man of their side.'¹⁸⁰ Erasmus's works were published in greater numbers following the Restoration and latitudinarians specifically and consciously built on the Erasmian Legacy.¹⁸¹ Erasmus was brought into the realm of political warfare with the rise of Catholic question under the Restoration and this marked the point when the *Colloquies* gained real popularity.

¹⁷⁹ Charles Hoole, *A new discovery of the old art of teaching schoole in four small treatises* 1643), p.121.

¹⁸⁰ Desiderius Erasmus d, *Seven Dialogues Both Pithie and Profitable The 1 Is of the Right vse of Things Indifferent. 2 Sheweth What Comfort Poperie Affordeth in Time of Daunger. 3 Is Betweene a Good Woman and a Shrew. 4 Is of the Conversion of a Harlot. 5 Is of Putting Forth Children to Nurse. 6 Is of a Popish Pilgrimage. 7 Is of a Popish Funerall. By W.B.*, Early English Books, 1475-1640 / 833:07 (London : Printed [by Valentine Simmes] for Nicholas Ling, and are to bee sold at his shop in Saint Dunstons Church-yard in Fleet-streete, 1606., 1606). Preface, p. xi.

¹⁸¹ Gregory D. Dodds, *Exploiting Erasmus: The Erasmian Legacy and Religious Change in Early Modern England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), pp. 159–201.

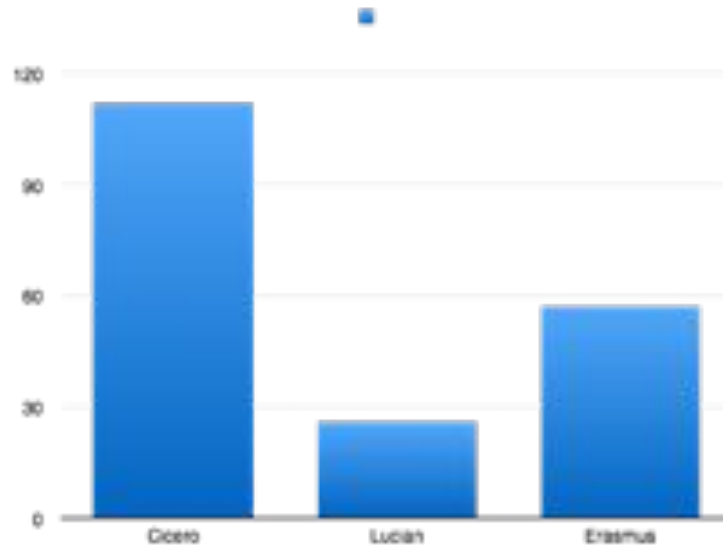


Figure 3.7 A comparison of the number of printings of the dialogues of Cicero, Lucian and Erasmus in the period 1600-1750.

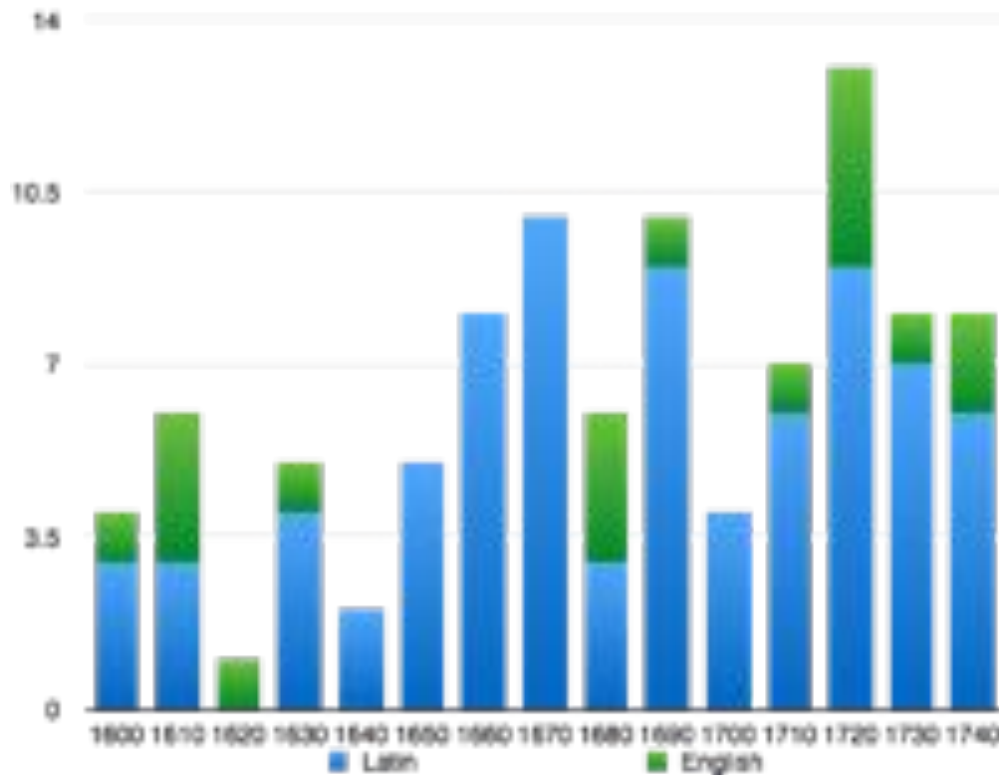


Figure 3.8 A graph showing the distribution of printings of Erasmus in Latin and English in the period 1600-1750.

A significant translation of Erasmus in this period was Roger L'Estrange's in 1680. L'Estrange had ulterior motives for his translation. He makes this clear in his preface that he published them 'for his own sake and not for [the readers]'.¹⁸² L'Estrange's character was a matter of violent discussion in his own day; the publication of the *Colloquies* in 1680 came at a moment when his effigy had been burnt in the streets of London and he had been obliged to quit the capital and go into hiding.¹⁸³ He wished to create an illusion of tolerance by appealing to Erasmus for support; and claimed that he was in exactly in the same position as Erasmus, regarded by one side as a Papist in disguise, by the other as a bigoted Protestant.¹⁸⁴ Nothing could express this point of view better than his own neat preface when he says of himself 'that with Erasmus himself, he is crush'd betwixt two extremes.'¹⁸⁵ L'Estrange thus appropriated Erasmus as a sponsor for his own orthodoxy in the face of polemical attacks on his character.

Burton and L'Estrange adopted Erasmus to fit into their individual ideology, but they were not the only ones to do so. Individual colloquies of Erasmus were also published to support specific religious agendas such as the dialogues published by Thomas Heywood, F.S and Robert Snawsel. F.S, for instance, published *The Picture of a Wanton women* in which he translated and edited Erasmus's *Adolescentis et Scorti*, while Robert Snawsel's dialogue *A looking glass for married folks* was based on Erasmus's *colloquy coniugium*.¹⁸⁶ However, neither of these were uncontaminated in the translation process. Snawsel, for instance, changed Erasmus' s focus on human agency to one that insisted on predestination and F.S added two new conversations to the text.¹⁸⁷ Both Snawsel and F.S did not rewrite Erasmus completely but rather they shaped and framed him for English readers in a way that would fit into their theology and suit their religious predilections. This was done through careful introductions that framed the

¹⁸² L'Estrange, *Twenty two colloquies*, (1680), p. ii.

¹⁸³ Margaret Mann Phillips, 'Erasmus and Propaganda: A Study of the Translations of Erasmus in English and French', *The Modern Language Review*, 37 (1942), 1–17; Sheila Williams, 'The Pope-Burning Processions of 1679, 1680 and 1681', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1958, 104–18.

¹⁸⁴ Phillips, p. 16.

¹⁸⁵ Desiderius Erasmus d, *Twenty Select Colloquies out of Erasmus Roterodamus Pleasantly Representing Several Superstitious Levities That Were Crept into the Church of Rome in His Days / Made English by Ro. L'Estrange*. (1680), sig. A2r.

¹⁸⁶ Dodds, pp. 30–70.

¹⁸⁷ Dodds, pp. 125–135.

text to suit a particular interpretation, and augmenting the text with extra sections and characters that manipulated Erasmus's text for a new purpose.¹⁸⁸ These adaptations revealed their motives for translating Erasmus: they wanted to recast Erasmus as a representative of English Protestantism.

The legacy of the Renaissance dialogues in England was concentrated in three writers: Erasmus, Castiglione, and Pietro Aretino. All made an imprint on the dialogue genre in early modern England. Pietro Aretino's Dialogues were reprinted several times and served as models for early modern erotica in England and France. Indeed, Aretino showed how a dialogue between two women could be used as sexual literature. Castiglione, although writing primarily for a cultural elite, showed how dialogue could function as a bridge between private restricted spheres, such as the court, and a wider public and helped to provide a blueprint for the popular conduct literature and manuals of eloquence. Erasmus helped to establish the dialogues place in education both through his *Colloquies* being used as a textbook in early modern schools, and the salience of dialogue as a tool for pedagogy. Further to this, he helped to show how dialogue could be used for satire a use that would be popular in the late-seventeenth and eighteenth century.

English Renaissance Dialogues

In looking at dialogues of the English Renaissance in the Tudor and Elizabethan period it is evident that they went against the conventions of the dialogue genre that the humanists had established in the Italian Renaissance. The dialogues of the English Renaissance, as a result, were a heterogeneous mix and were used in a variety of different ways and were more confrontational than Italian Renaissance dialogues.¹⁸⁹ They were used as a weapon for polemical purposes to defend orthodox Christianity from radical heretical ideas, as a spectacle in which the reader was vicariously made a literary spectator, an instrument for religious education, and they helped to spawn the utopian genre. Unlike other periods of dialogue production dialogues of the English

¹⁸⁸ Dodds, pp. 134–135.

¹⁸⁹ Roger Deakins, 'The Tudor Prose Dialogue: Genre and Anti-Genre', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 20 (1980), p. 5.

Renaissance were not often reprinted during the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁰ The importance of them on seventeenth dialogues came from the generic tradition that they established. The following will, therefore, focus on looking at how they informed the generic tropes and

Studies of the dialogue in Tudor and Elizabethan England have drawn attention both to their literary richness in this period and the ways in which sixteenth-century England appropriated the dialogue and adapted the form.¹⁹¹ Deakins, for instance, argued that puritans significantly changed the character of the dialogue form so that it became an 'effective vehicle for propaganda, yet retained theological, literary and educational aspects.'¹⁹² Deakins observed that two forms dominated the Tudor dialogue: the student-master dialogues that lent themselves to religious education, and polemical dialogues that were favoured by religious controversial treatises. Deakins summary of the Tudor dialogue was that the 'overarching characterisation of Tudor dialogue is dogmatism, but the dogmatism is of the sort which takes account of dissenting opinions.'¹⁹³ Day, in his study of Elizabethan dialogue, observed that dialogues did not adhere to any of the theories of dialogue that had been advanced in the Italian Renaissance, and saw the Tudor dialogue as being a manifestation of an anti-genre.¹⁹⁴ Antonia Zlatar studied a small corpus of dialogues from the reformation such as the English adaptations of Hans Sachs dialogues and the vigorous puritan dialogues such as Anthony Gilby's *A Pleasant Dialogue* and the dialogues of George Gifford.¹⁹⁵ From this study, Zlatar argued that Tudor and Elizabethan dialogues were 'rhetorical

¹⁹⁰ There were exceptions. Robert Green's cony-catching pamphlet dialogues were reprinted several times in the seventeenth century.

¹⁹¹ John T. Day, 'Elizabethan Prose Dialogues' (Harvard, 1977); Pineas, *Thomas More and Tudor Polemics*; Deakins, 'The Tudor Dialogue as Literary Form.' Andrew Miller MacLean, *Early Tudor Prose Dialogues: A Study in Literary Form*, 1971.

¹⁹² Day, p. 187.

¹⁹³ Deakins, 'The Tudor Dialogue as Literary Form', p. 20.

¹⁹⁴ Carlo Signio, *De Dialogo* (1561) Signio says that decorum is essential in the dialogue to convince the reader of the truth.

¹⁹⁵ Zlatar, p. 64. Zlatar highlights the ways that English dialogists interacted with continental writers showing that the dialogues of Hans Sachs were adapted in new forms for English readers and that John Véron borrowed judiciously from continental texts in his dialogues.

constructs produced by particular men at particular moments... with the aim of educating the 'unlearned' in the state of the English Church.¹⁹⁶

Just as the Renaissance was a pan-European movement dialogues were not confined to Italy and England, early modern Germany also had a rich heritage of dialogues in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁹⁷ The most notable Protestant dialogist in Germany was Ulrich von Hutten and in his dialogues the opponent was not reasoned with and responded to but was satirised and parodied.¹⁹⁸ Indeed, most polemical dialogues of the reformation, both by Catholics and Protestants, did not attempt to include the reader as part of the process of reasoning by persuading them intellectually through reason, as the humanist dialogues of the renaissance did; rather they aimed to humiliate the target of their polemic publicly. The reader was a spectator to this humiliation that was achieved by having the Catholic, or Protestant, 'enemy' voice absurd arguments, and by presenting the target in such a way that they condemned their position through their own words. Thomas More, in his response to Martin Luther's attack on Henry VIII, for instance, cited Luther verbatim so that he could not be accused of misrepresenting what Luther had said.¹⁹⁹ However, More reconfigured the order of Luther's words to highlight the self-contradictions within Luther's ideas.²⁰⁰ Dialogue was among the techniques that Luther frequently employed to enliven stories, to cultivate this two-sided sense of presence, or to enrich texts without a story line.²⁰¹

Dialogues of the reformation introduced the ability to respond to immediate social, political and religious events. Many of the religious polemical dialogues were written as a response to emerging threats to the established faith, and as a way to voice criticisms. J. Christopher Warner's work on dialogues surrounding the Henry VIII divorce controversy has shown how the genre was used as a vehicle for engaging in current

¹⁹⁶ Zlatar observed that ministers such as: Thomas Elyot, George Gifford, Job Throckmorton and John Veron, along with religious reformers such as Martin Luther and Hans Sachs, primarily wrote reformation dialogues.

¹⁹⁷ France also had a rich dialogue tradition that will be seen in later chapters.

¹⁹⁸ Dodds, pp. 30–45.

¹⁹⁹ Romuald Ian Lakowski. *Sir Thomas More and the Art of Dialogue*. Ph.D. Diss. (U of British Columbia, Fall 1993.)

²⁰⁰ The rhetorical role of the dialogue genre in the works of Thomas More and Thomas Elyot and has been studied in K. J Wilson, *Incomplete Fictions: The Formation of English Renaissance Dialogue* (Catholic University of Armedea Press, 1985).

²⁰¹ Robert Kolb, *Luther and the Stories of God: Biblical Narratives as a Foundation for Christian Living* (Baker Books, 2012), p. 54.

debates.²⁰² Warner's work highlights the fact that dialogues often 'are nearly always artifacts of specific political and religious controversies,' and that they tended to appear in clusters in response to specific crises.²⁰³ Other work, such as Cathy Shrank's on dialogues that discussed purgatory in Henrician England, and Phil Withington's work, on dialogues that discussed the commonwealth of England, has reinforced the sense that concerns that were foremost on the minds of contemporaries were often treated in the form of a dialogue.²⁰⁴ The work of Warner, Zlatar, Shrank and Withington has revealed that dialogues in the sixteenth century tended to cluster around specific issues and the ability of dialogue to respond to specific crises was an important innovation that will be seen in chapter six to be a fundamental part of the appeal of dialogue.

Thomas More, as noted above, used the genre in *The Dialogue Concerning Heresies* and *A Dialogue of Comfort in Tribulation*.²⁰⁵ The most pioneering use of dialogue by More, however, was in Book I of *Utopia*.²⁰⁶ Nina Chordas has argued that there was a link between the dialogue and utopianism due to the dialogue's ability to represent, or and become a distorted mirror to, the world.²⁰⁷ The fact that two of the greatest utopias

²⁰² J. Christopher Warner, *Henry VIII's Divorce: Literature and the Politics of the Printing Press* (New York: Boydell and Brewer, 1998).

²⁰³ J. Christopher Warner, 'Thomas More's Utopia and the Problem of Writing a Literary History of English Renaissance Dialogues', in *Printed Voices: The Renaissance Culture of Dialogue*, ed. by Jean-François Vallée Dorothea B. Heitsch (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 63–71 (p. 66).

²⁰⁴ Cathy Shrank, "Disputing Purgatory in Henrician England: Dialogue and Religious Reform," in *Representing Religious Pluralization in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andreas Hafele and others (Berlin; London: Lit, 2007), Phil Withington, "'For This Is True or Els I Do Lye': Thomas Smith, William Bullein and Mid-Tudor Dialogue," in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485-1603*, ed. Michael Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

²⁰⁵ For general studies of More's 'art of dialogue', see W. M. Gordon, "The Platonic Dramaturgy of Thomas More's Dialogues," *JMRS* 8 (1978): 193-215; G. Marc'hadour, "Here I Sit: Thomas More's Genius for Dialogue," *Thomas More: Essays on the Icon*, ed. D. Grace and B. Byron (Melbourne: Dove Publications, 1980), 9-42; and "Thomas More: De la conversation au dialogue," *Le dialogue au temps de la Renaissance*, ed. M. T. Jones-Davies (Paris: Jean Touzot, 1984), 35-57; R. Pineas, "Thomas More's Use of the Dialogue Form as a Weapon of Religious Controversy," *SRen* 7 (1960): 193-206; N. R. Sodeman, "Rhetoric in More's English Dialogues," *Moreana* 59/60 (1978): 13-18; R. S. Sylvester, "Three Dialogues," *Moreana* 64 (1980): 65-78; and K. J. Wilson, "Thomas More: The Transfiguration of Dialogue," *Incomplete Fictions*, 137-75.

²⁰⁶ For the dialogue in *Utopia*, see also D. M. Bevington, "The Dialogue in *Utopia*: Two Sides of the Question," *SP* 58 (1961): 496--509; and R. J. Schoeck, "'A Nursery of Correct and Useful Institutions': On Reading More's *Utopia* as Dialogue," *Moreana* 22 (1969): 19--32, rpt. in *Essential Articles for the Study of Thomas More*, ed. R. S. Sylvester and G. Marc'hadour (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1977), 281--89, 627--30.

²⁰⁷ Nina Chordas, 'Dialogue, Utopia and the Agencies of Fiction', in *Printed Voices: The Renaissance Culture of Dialogue*, ed. by Jean-François Vallée Dorothea B. Heitsch (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 29–41.

of the early modern period, More's *Utopia* and Thomasso Campanella's *The City of the Sun* used the dialogue format underscores this link. The fictionality of the dialogue, Chorda argues, functions as a reinforcement of the otherness and non-existence of the Utopia.²⁰⁸ Indeed, Chordas argues that the dialogue genre was crucial to the emergence of the utopian genre.²⁰⁹ The ability of dialogue to stage other worlds that embodied and portrayed idealised conversations and envisioned improvement to the social order of the day both lent itself to incorporation within utopian fictions whilst at the same time revealing the utopian side of the dialogue genre in its imagined ideal conversations.

In summary, sixteenth century dialogues' impact on the dialogue can be seen in three areas. Firstly they showed how dialogues could be used to deal with immediate concerns and problems, such as the divorce of Henry, the salvific efficacy of Mass, and the role of ministers. In engaging these debates Zlatar notes, they were 'consciously crafting a popularised response to, or version of, more formal works of controversy' a feature that would frequently be used in pamphlet dialogues of the seventeenth century.²¹⁰ Tudor and reformation dialogues were also inclined to use characters that were stark opposites whereas Italian Renaissance dialogists had used characters that were fairly equal in social rank and intellectual capacity.²¹¹ This heightened the friction between the characters and the polemical effect of the dialogues and showed the effectiveness of dialogue as a polemical weapon that would permeate the use of the form in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Tudor dialogues also continued the tradition of using dialogue for apologetic purposes, and as a tool to defend the faith from heresy and rival religious sects. The final use was in establishing the link between dialogue and utopia, and the ability of dialogue to stage idealised visions of the future, and present.

²⁰⁸ Thomasso Camopenella, *The city of the Sun*.

²⁰⁹ Nina Chordas, *Forms in Early Modern Utopia: The Ethnography of Perfection* (London: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013). See also: Warner, 'Thomas More's Utopia and the Problem of Writing a Literary History of English Renaissance Dialogues'; Robert Appelbaum, *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); Robert W. Haynes, 'Utopia Transformed: The Calculated Indirection of Thomas Starkey's Dialogue between Pole and Lupset', *Quidditas: The Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 30 (2009), 78–96. Nina Chordas, forms in early modern utopia

²¹⁰ Zlatar; Neil Forsyth, 'Reformation Fictions: Polemical Protestant Dialogues in Elizabethan England. By Antoinina Bevan Zlatar.', *Literature and Theology*, 27 (2013), 489–91.

²¹¹ Deakins, 'The Tudor Prose Dialogue', p. 20.

Conclusion

This genealogy of the history of the dialogue form has highlighted the various ways in which dialogue was used in the *Longue Dureé* and how antecedent dialogues influenced the seventeenth-century dialogue. It has shown how each period introduced a new strand to the tapestry of the genre and how this line of descent manifested itself in the early modern dialogue. The dialogues of Plato, for instance, introduced the dialogue as a way of voicing and prompting objections and as a form of literature that operated at the boundary between oral and literate cultures. Cicero showed how dialogue could be used to present competing arguments simultaneously and leaving the reader to judge between them. Lucian introduced a satiric edge and the trope of dialogues with the dead and devil. Early Christian dialogues showed how dialogue could function as a tool for religious ends that would be manifest in Bunyan's and Dent's popular dialogues. The dialogues of the middle ages showed how the form could be used to speak to audiences of different intellectual abilities, and in particular, could target less-educated members of society. While the dialogues of the Renaissance revealed how the form could be used to mediate between public and private spaces, as Renaissance dialogues allowed readers access into domains that were usually closed to them. Renaissance dialogues also revived Plato's belief that the dialogue form could demonstrate how the civil conversation could guide people to truth and served to embody humanist values. Finally, the Reformation dialogues sharpened the dialogue's engagement in controversial issues, and could be used as a religious, political, and polemical weapon, and highlighted how the dialogue could target contemporary issues and influence public opinion.

The dialogue in the seventeenth and eighteenth century drew upon these various strands for its models and precedents. The history of the dialogue reveals that the seventeenth and eighteenth-century dialogue did not have one model of dialogue that it emulated but rather a range of models and rhetorical uses, and examples of all these different purposes can be found in early modern dialogue. This accounts for why the dialogue of the seventeenth century was such a diffuse genre because writers drew upon all the variety of dialogues from the past. In looking at the canonical writers it is notable that Cicero, Lucian and Erasmus's dialogues were either translated or influenced Roger L'Estrange. The fact that L'Estrange had this connection with the heritage of the dialogue genre through various translations can help us to understand why he chose the

form of a dialogue for his popular periodical *The Observer*. As he stated in his preface to his translation of Cicero, it was the dialogues of Cicero that he believed could help to cure society of its maladies, therefore, it is not surprising therefore that when he decided to again use print to help cure society of its madness it was not simply the press that was to set the world right but, as will be explored in a later chapter, it was printed dialogues that would be his weapon of choice in helping to correct society.

This chapter has also shown that the dialogue genre was not rediscovered or invented in the early modern period; it was a child of a range of literary traditions and practices. It inherited a variety of characteristics from its literary lineage. Although the dialogue was not a novel form of literature, it did undergo intensification and change. This period saw an increase in the number of dialogues published, a diversification of the topics that were discussed in dialogues, and an expansion of the rhetorical role for which the dialogue genre was used.²¹² The story that the following chapters will tell therefore is not the story of how the dialogue was rediscovered in early modern England because the dialogue genre in seventeenth and eighteenth century had a wealth of precursors. Instead, the story will be one that shows the dialogue genre adapted to changing contexts and cross-fertilised with other literary forms in response to the distinctive social conditions of early modern England.

²¹² The diversity of the genre has been highlighted in Cox, *Renaissance Dialogues*, p. 27.

4. Dialogue and the Early Modern Print World

'A genre does not exist independently; it arises to compete or to contrast with other genres. Genres do not exist by themselves; they are named and placed within hierarchies or systems of genres, and each is defined by reference to the system and its members. A genre, therefore, is to be understood in relation to other genres, so that its aims and purposes at a particular time are defined by its interrelation with and differentiation from others.'

Sandy Cohen, History Out of Joint.¹

'I will not here take notice of the several kinds of dialogue, and the whole art of it, which would ask for an entire volume to perform. This has been a work long wanted, and much desir'd of which the Ancients have not sufficiently inform'd us, and I question whether any man, now living, can treat it accurately.'

John Dryden, Life of Lucian.²

The previous chapter gave an account of the literary genealogy of the early modern dialogue. It showed that the early modern dialogue had a wealth of precursors; however, these antecedent dialogues were only one factor that contributed to the heterogeneity of the genre. A second factor was contemporary print practice. Dialogues, like any literary genre, did not exist in isolation but were participants of a broader world of print that in turn influenced them.³ This chapter will explore such interactions and suggest that the dialogue was an amorphous form of literature that was assimilated into a wide variety of printed media.⁴

¹ Sandy Cohen, *History Out of Joint: Essays on the Use and Abuse of History* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006), p. 207.

² John Dryden, *The Works of John Dryden, Volume IX: Plays: The Indian Emperour, Secret Love, Sir Martin Mar-All* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 45–46.

³ Charles L. Briggs and Richard Bauman, 'Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power', *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 2 (1992), 131–72 (pp. 134–135).

⁴ Kelly Oliver, 'The Crisis Of Meaning', in *The Kristeva Critical Reader*, ed. by John Lechte and Mary Zourmizi (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), pp. 36–84; Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 4–21.

The argument that will be put forward is that dialogues, like most genres, absorbed the voices from the cultural and social realities that they were formed within.⁵ As Derrida argued, all texts are, to varying degrees, intertextual and 'every text participates in one or several genres.'⁶ Genres are influenced by other genres because, as Lord James Kame said, 'literary compositions run into each other, precisely like colours'.⁷ The appeal of mixing genres within literary compositions is that it allows writers to invoke other genres to give the text greater power and persuasive influence. As Nigel Smith has stated: 'most literary forms involve more than one genre, and the interaction of them constitutes a dynamic play of power relationships'⁸ The use of a synthesis of genres allows a text to increase its semantic potential by drawing upon the authority of other genres.⁹ In doing so, texts of lower status could draw upon higher literary forms. As John Frow has said:

Genre systems form a shifting hierarchy, made up of tensions between 'higher' and 'lower' genres, a constant alternation of the dominant form, and a constant renewal of genres through processes of specialisation or recombination.¹⁰

By examining the generic interactions of the dialogue genre with other literary forms in this period, this chapter will demonstrate the extent to which dialogues incorporated various elements from contemporary print practices and were themselves appropriated into other genres.¹¹

By drawing upon the scholarship of other literary forms such as ballads and newspapers this chapter will help to situate the dialogue within the terrain of early modern culture.¹² Viewing the dialogue in the context of broader print trends, discourses,

⁵ Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640-1660* (New Haven: Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 9.

⁶ Jacques Derrida and Avital Ronell, 'The Law of Genre', *Critical Inquiry*, 7 (1980), 55–81 (p. 62).

⁷ Lord Kame, *Elements of Criticism*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1762), III, p. 329.

⁸ Smith, p. 65.

⁹ John Frow, *Genre: The New Critical Idiom* (Taylor & Francis, 2006), p. 40. Brian Paltridge, *Genre, Frames and Writing in Research Settings* (New York: John Benjamins Publishing, 1997), p. 65.

¹⁰ Frow, p. 71.

¹¹ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 208.

¹² For instance, about two hundred dialogues were written in a ballad form, connecting the dialogue genre to the ballad genre, requiring studies such as Angela McShane Jones doctoral thesis on the role that the ballad played as a political vehicle and other works on the history of the English broadside ballad to be considered. Adam Fox, "Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England," *Past and Present* 145, no. 1 (1994),

and literary forms is crucial because dialogues drew upon and assimilated other discourses and literary genres within them.¹³ Furthermore, excavating these interactions will help to situate the dialogue within the early modern cultural world.

A Taxonomy of Dialogues

To make sense of the relationships between dialogue and the wider literary world this chapter has made use of a typology of dialogues as a schematic to structure the study.¹⁴ Most studies of the dialogue from the early modern period to today have proposed a way of organising the genre. Ferrand Spence in his discussion of the 'Art of dialogue' in 1684 provided one such typology:

Now of dialogue we are told there are three kinds, each of which has its peculiar use and character. First comes the dialogues which are properly called didactic, and have no other aim and tendency, then to instruct... The second kind replies in Opposition to the former, and we stile them Dialogues of Raillery, which consist only of Spruceness and Fine things, instruct by Mirth and Drollery, and lead us through the sweet to the Profitable... The third which he may look upon as Absolute: since having neither the severity of the first, nor the latters gayety and facetiousness, Yet it borrows something of Both.¹⁵

Spence thus gave a typology of three types of dialogue namely: didactic, raillery, and a fusion of didactic and raillery. Since Spence, scholars of the dialogue have proposed other ways of categorising the genre. Virginia Cox divided Renaissance dialogues into

Hyder E. Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan Ballads and Broadides Illustrating the Period of Great Rebellion 1640-1660* (New York: New York University Press, 1923), Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966). Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Ashgate, 1978), Matthew Dimmock, ed., *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (London: Ashgate, 2009), Tim Harris, ed., *Popular Culture in England 1500-1850* (London: St Martin's Press, 1995), Barry Reay, *Popular Cultures in England, 1550-1750* (London: Longmann, 1998).

¹³ Dialogue was not the only genre to do so. As Susan Wiseman and Joad Raymond have shown the 1640s was a period in which 'Whole modes of writing were, at this moment, hybridised and foreshortened to be reformulated as items saleable as news' Susan Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 28.

¹⁴ Dialogues were not the only genre that absorbed other literary genres. The approach taken here is to see dialogue as a form of literature in a similar way to Michael McKeon's study of the origins of the English Novel in the Eighteenth century. McKeon's dialectical transformation of Ian Watt's original description of the rise of the novel for example points to the shifting interplay of parts within a whole at a moment when a new genre emerges. McKeon invokes certain crises, both epistemological and cultural, as a background, and sees the novel as a means of negotiating these crises; the same could be said for the dialogue. Michael McKeon, *Theory of the Novel: A Historical Approach* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2000). See also

¹⁵ Spence, *Works of Lucian*, (1684) pp. 32-33

documentary and dramatic dialogues; and Elizabeth Merrill split the genre up into polemical, didactic and philosophical dialogues.¹⁶

This section will combine Peter Burke's typology of Renaissance dialogues with the typology given by Spence.¹⁷ Such an approach combines how a contemporary classified the types of dialogue with a retrospective categorization. Burke's typology is useful because he convincingly showed how dialogues could be conceptualised on a dramatic spectrum, classifying dialogues according to their dramatic element and the strength of the different voices in them. Burke used Bakhtin's conceptual scheme of monologic and dialogic to determine a spectrum of dialogues.¹⁸ On the monologic side of this spectrum he placed catechisms because he argued that they were, in essence, a monologue divided into two parts. The questions posed in catechisms only served to move the discourse on rather than offering a substantive alternative voice; they were in Bakhtin's words 'a simple form for expounding already found, ready-made irrefutable truth.'¹⁹ At the other end of the spectrum, Burke placed pamphlet plays and dramatic works that had multi-dimensional characters with distinctive voices and personalities. In between dramatic dialogues and catechistical dialogues Burke placed disputational dialogues and conversational dialogues. Disputational dialogues were dialogues that had more three-dimensional characters than catechisms. They were usually two characters that were arguing two different positions but had little, or no, character development in the dialogue. Conversational dialogues were ones that had several characters who were not antagonistic to each other but discussed things in a cordial manner and had a development of the characters' personality.

Like all typologies, Burke's has limitations in its utility and comprehensiveness.²⁰ It seems paradoxical to speak of a monologic dialogue because dialogues by their nature have two speakers. This contradiction can be traced back to Burke's use of Bakhtin for his typology since the latter introduced the terms dialogic and monologic as a schematic to describe different forms of *novels*. The authentic novel, according to

¹⁶ For a comprehensive survey of the different typologies of dialogues see Judith A. Deitch, 'The Genre of Logic and Artifice, Dialectic, Rhetoric, and English Dialogues, 1400-1600, Hoccleve to Spenser', 1998, pp. 30-30 <<https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/12400>> [accessed 4 April 2014].

¹⁷ Peter Burke, 'The Renaissance Dialogue', *Renaissance Studies*, 3 (1989), 1-12.

¹⁸ Tzvetan Todorov, *Introduction to Poetics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), pp. 24-25.

¹⁹ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, trans. by Caryl Emerson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 110.

²⁰ Ian Hacking, *Historical Ontology* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004).

Bakhtin was one that had a plurality of authentic voices present in the novel. In the case of novels, monologic and dialogic makes sense as an organising force, but the categories do not transfer so easily to the dialogue. There is still value in Burke's use of Bakhtin to draw a distinction between monologues in a dialogue form, and more authentic dialogues that had a plurality of voices but the terminology is inadequate. Instead of considering the dialogue spectrum as a continuum that runs from monologue to dialogue, a more productive way to think about them is as 'closed' and 'open' forms of dialogue. The open form of dialogue is what Bakhtin called dialogic, or dialogues that had the highest amount of multiple voices contained within it. The closed form of dialogue is what Burke labelled monologic dialogues.²¹

The second limitation is that two groups, in particular, are missing from his typology: namely, what Spence called 'didactic dialogues' and 'dialogues of raillery.' Although Burke included a group called 'catechisms' in his typology, 'that is unable to capture the full range of pedagogic use of dialogues. For this reason I have preferred to use Spence's category of 'didactic dialogues.' Burke's typology also fails to capture the abundance of satiric and entertaining dialogues. These were dialogues that Spence called 'dialogues of raillery,' or dialogues that contained 'Mirth and Drollery.' I have nevertheless used the label 'entertainment dialogues' in preference to Spence's label of 'dialogues of raillery' because this provided a broader category that could include a variety of dialogues that didn't fit other categories.

In addition to combining Spence's and Burke's typologies I have added a sixth category, namely 'Reports.' These were publications, such as Parliamentary proceedings, news reports, and trials that, as the following section will show, all appeared in dialogue form in the seventeenth century.

The result is the following typology of dialogues:

1. Dramatic
2. Entertainment
3. Conversational
4. Disputational
5. Didactic

²¹ This schematic is also more in accord with some of the criticisms of the form in the eighteenth century as rehearsed in chapter three and what recent historians have said about dialogue and its ability to open and close the discussion.

6. Reports

It should be noted that these categories are not mutually exclusive and dialogue often overlapped and interacted between these groups. Like any conceptual framework, this typology must not be considered as being a definitive ontology. It should be seen as a framework of analysis that will be useful in guiding the following discussions of the place of the dialogue within the geographies of early modern print.²²

Using this typology of dialogues this chapter will explore the way in which each group of dialogues engaged in the contemporary print practices by showing how different genres were incorporated within the dialogue. This chapter will also shed light onto how dialogue was appropriated into other literary forms. It will argue that the dialogue form was inherently inter-generic and drew upon, appropriated, mimicked, and satirised a range of other genres

1. Dramatic

The distinction between dramatic literary forms such as printed plays and the dialogue is difficult to make because they both made use of similar typography and both intentionally borrowed from each other.²³ Characters in plays would, for example, find themselves appearing in dialogues such as *The Sisters of the Scabard* and *Brothers of the Blade*. Other self-labelled dialogues were derived from plays and dramatic works, *A Merrie Dialogue, betweene Band, Cuffe, and Ruffe* (1615) stated that it 'was lately acted in a show at the University of Cambridge' and Francis Kirkman's *The Wits, or, Sport upon sport* consisted of selected pieces of drollery taken from the stage 'digested into scenes by way of dialogue.'²⁴ The line between dialogue and drama was one that was permeable and blurred, and writers utilised this fluid division between genres for rhetorical and political effect. There has, however, already been a significant amount of work that has looked at the relationship between dialogue and drama. This work is

²² 'scientific justification of genre study serves to convince theorists that genres actually exist, that they have borders, that they can be identified, that they operate systematically, that their internal functioning can be observed and scientifically described and that they evolve according to a fixed and identifiable trajectory.' Rick Altman and British Film Institute, *Film/Genre* (BFI Publishing, 1999), p. 6.

²³ There has been substantial work done on the relationship between plays and dialogues, particularly during the 1640s and the closure of the theatres. In looking at the generic interactions between dialogue and drama this section will survey this work rather than offer additional insight into the relationship.

²⁴ Anon, *Worke for cutlers*, (1615), sig. A1.

important in ways that I briefly outline, but, for reasons of space, the discussion thereafter will address forms that have received far less attention.²⁵

The chief similarity between printed plays and dialogues was typographic. They were visually similar to each other, with each participant's words demarcated clearly. Other similarities between them included the use characters to represent attitudes, personalities, and stereotypes. The major difference between plays and dialogues was the mode of production. Plays were first and foremost intended to be performed; the printing of the play came after the performance. As Claire Bourne has argued, plays were initially written with the theatre in mind and later developed into intelligible reading matter through their acquisition of bookish features, such as authorial attributions and dedicatory epistles.²⁶ Dialogues, by contrast, were intended to be printed, and their primary form was textual rather than performative. Although some dialogues were written to be read aloud or performed, their initial mode of production was print rather than the stage. Another difference was the number of characters: plays used a larger assembly of characters, even if they were performed by a small group of actors. Dialogues, by contrast, generally had less than four characters, with the majority of them being a conversation between two characters.

Pamphlet plays used the similarities between plays and dialogues for satirical and political effect. The pamphlet play became fashionable in 1641 as a vehicle for satire and the discussion of news.²⁷ It received further creative energy after the closure of the theatres in 1642 as hybrid texts that drew upon the pre-war stage to facilitate persuasion of their readers.²⁸ As Susan Wiseman has convincingly argued, pamphlet plays in the English civil war drew upon allusions to dramatic works and theatre to

²⁵ Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War*, Dale Randall, *Winter Fruit: English Drama 1642-1660* (University Press of Kentucky, 1995); Paul Voss, 'Printing Conventions and the Early Modern Play', *Médiév Renaiss Drama Engl*, 15 (2003), 98–115; Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, pp. 213, 218–220; Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 201–210.

²⁶ Claire M. L. Bourne, "'A Play and No Play': Printing the Performance in Early Modern England", *Dissertations Available from ProQuest*, 2013, 1–352.

²⁷ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, pp. 218–220. There were a few pamphlet plays published in the 1610s. See: Anon, *A merrie dialogue* (1615); Anon, *Exchange ware at the second hand* (1615). However it was in the 1640s that the sub-genre really flourished. Margot Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 107–121.

²⁸ Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War*, p. 28.

bolster their political power during the civil war.²⁹ Royalists, in particular, used the blurred boundaries between drama and dialogue as an act of political subversion and to increase the political traction of their texts.³⁰ The writers of pamphlet plays were aware of the political significance of the form that they were using when they advertised the dialogue as an alternative to the theatre.³¹ As the prefatory verses to *Craftie Cromwell* (1648) states, they were published because 'it is held as a crime that on the stage, wit should present itself.'³² There is little evidence that pamphlet-plays were performed, and the woodblock illustrations indicate that printing was a substitute for theatrical performance rather than an aid.³³ Pamphlet plays occupy a textual stage that embraced a performance of language and political satire rather than the embodied speech of the theatre.³⁴ Those that have looked at pamphlet plays have shown how they not only drew upon the theatre but also engaged with the nexus of news that permeated the period. As Susan Wiseman has said 'Dialogue, Play, and newspaper formed the defining borders of the pamphlet plays, which also mimic these adjacent genres.'³⁵

2. Entertainment

This section will look at dialogues that were primarily used for entertainment, and explore how the form engaged with ballads, satire, poetry, novels and miscellanies.

Ballads and Musical Dialogues

Within the corpus of dialogues there are one hundred and twenty-eight ballad dialogues.³⁶ Ballads, most scholars agree, were a literary product primarily aimed at the

²⁹ Ibid. pp.5-6, 27-30.

³⁰ Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 37, Dale Randall, *Winter Fruit: English Drama 1642-1660* (University Press of Kentucky, 1995). Although Susan Wiseman does point out that Royalists did not exclusively use pamphlet plays but parliamentarians also used pamphlet plays as a stage for political discussion. See Wiseman, pp. 15-17.

³¹ See Anon, *Committe men curried*, (1641).

³² Anon, *Craftie Cromwell* (1648), sig. A2r.

³³ Diane Katherine Jakacki, "'Covetous to Parley with so Sweet a Frontis-Peece": Illustration in Early Modern English Play-Texts' (University of Waterloo, 2010), pp. 16–21 <<https://uwspace.uwaterloo.ca/handle/10012/5518>> [accessed 14 April 2014].

³⁴ Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 208.

³⁵ Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War*, p. 27.

³⁶ For more on the ballad genre see Adam Fox, "Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England," *Past and Present* 145, no. 1 (1994), Hyder E. Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan Ballads and Broad-sides*

lower strata of people in England.³⁷ They could be commonly found in alehouses, inns, and taverns where they would frequently be sung, pasted onto the walls, and distributed through travelling chapmen.³⁸ Although primarily circulated amongst the lower and middling demographics of society, they also found an audience in the aristocracy and gentry as items for collection.³⁹ Dialogue ballads were targeted at the same market as ballads. They came out from the contemporary practice of jigs and dialogue poetry. They were, Spufford and Wurzbach suggest, small-scale dramatic performances that were suited for public social settings such as weddings, and marketplaces.⁴⁰ As a sub-genre, they have a high level of homogeneity in both form and content. In form, the majority of them emulated the generic protocols of ballads in their typographic layout, with stock woodcuts, borders, and black letter font.⁴¹ They also had similar characters, with the most common characters being maids, young men, lovers, husbands and wives who discussed love, marriage, and friendship. However, the content of ballad dialogues differs from the analysis of ballads given by scholars such as Angela McShane, Adam Fox and David Zaret, who have dwelt on the political content of ballads. McShane, for example, has drawn attention to the way in which 'ballads depended on and participated in an already informed and widespread debate about state affairs.'⁴² Adam Fox likewise has argued that people at this time composed and had written out ballads to publicise

Illustrating the Period of Great Rebellion 1640-1660 (New York: 1923), Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966).

³⁷ The question of ballad audience is a difficult one, as seen by Wurzbach's contradictory description of its buyers: "The mass of ballad public belonged to the urban bourgeoisie—merchants and craftsmen and the servants of their household—and secondly to the urban and agricultural working classes," she declares; but then on the same page she also asserts, "The ballad catered for a mainly lower-class, relatively uncultured, practically minded public with simple needs in the way of entertainment" (*Rise of the English Street Ballad*, 26) Zaret also said that 'Broadside ballads defined the low end of the market costing half a penny, roughly the cost of half a loaf of bread.' David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 151.

³⁸ Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, pp. 105–106.

³⁹ This was the case for Samuel Pepys who developed a significant collection of 'penny merriments' that were mostly ballads and chapbooks see: Hyder E. Rollins, *A Pepysian Garland: Black-Letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595-1639 Chiefly from the Collection of Samuel Pepys* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Margeret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 136, 157.

⁴⁰ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 31–32. Spufford; Natascha Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad 1550-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 188–193.

⁴¹ Hyder E. Rollins, 'The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 1919, 258–339 (pp. 258–260).

⁴² McShane Angela, "'The Gazet in Metre; or the Rhiming Newsmonger'", *The English Broadside Ballad as Intelligencer. A New Narrative' in Joop W. Koopmans (red.), News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)*, 2005, p. 156.

news, rumour, and information.⁴³ Zaret has similarly argued that the utility of ballads lay in their ability to facilitate the circulation of political rumour and news in eating and drinking establishments.⁴⁴

In contrast the ballad dialogues in my database show little engagement with either news or state affairs. Only twelve discussed politics, religion or news; the majority were devoted to love, courtships and marriage. *A Young man's joy, and the maids happiness* (1663), for instance, offered 'A pattern of true love' and went into detail of how courtship should be conducted between a young maid and farmers son.⁴⁵ Others were of a more salacious nature such as *The royoters ruine* (1670), *A way to wooe a witty wench* (1674), and *An amorous dialogue between Iohn and his mistris* (1685). These ballad dialogues detailed conversations between whores, amorous maids, and lusty young men in which young men convinced maids to 'tear [their] clothes asunder' whilst apprentices were seduced by their master's wife.⁴⁶ Others, such as *The witty damsel of Devonshire* (1685) and *The plough-man's praise* (1684), provided advice on marriage and how to choose a partner to marry. Another of these, Ballad dialogues also provided advice for those who were already married. *A good wife is a portion every day* (1670) offered a portrayal of the correct way in which husbands and wives should behave towards each other and *A Dainty Dialogue between Henry and Elizabeth* (1670) was 'penn'd to teach bad husbands how their lives to mend.'⁴⁷ Ballad dialogues were therefore not only a fusion of the ballad and the dialogue, but they were also engaging with the genre of conduct books by offering advice on how relationships and courtships should be performed.⁴⁸ The presence of dialogues in the ballad genre indicates the ubiquity of the dialogue form and how it permeated both popular and elite forms of literature.

Dialogues also featured in musical genres in what scholars have called 'role dialogues.' The role dialogue was a sung conversation that aimed to convey utterances realistically by certain groups and used different tunes to convey the different characters

⁴³ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

⁴⁴ Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, p. 123.

⁴⁵ See also *True love exalted* (1670); *The True lovers joy* (1670); *A mad kinde of wooing* (1629).

⁴⁶ Anon, *A pleasant dialogue betwixt two wanton ladies of pleasure* (1685) and Anon, *Loves triumph over bashfulness* (1670) has a courtship dialogue in which 'chastity [is] over-ruled.'

⁴⁷ See *The new married couple* (1675); *The Mother and daughter* (1672).

⁴⁸ Martin Parker, *Houshold talke or, Good counsell for a married man* (1629).

and voices within the dialogue.⁴⁹ Vocal ornamentation of the words played an important function, being necessary to creating the passion of the words.⁵⁰ The role dialogue was particularly popular in Italy with a variety of Latin role dialogues used in the liturgical services of churches,⁵¹ however, in England, there were a few instances of English sacred dialogues by John Hilton, Robert Ramsey, John Wilson, and Henry Purcell.⁵²

Role dialogues were a popular form of music and most songbooks devoted a section to the genre.⁵³ The subject of these musical dialogues was often pastoral in character with subjects that were mildly amorous in character and the participants in them described as nymphs, or given classical names such as Strephon, Cloris, and Damon. They were most popular before John Gamble's *Ayres and dialogues* (1657) and before the rise of operatic musical styles in England. After the first operatic ventures in the Restoration, Ian Spink has observed, there was a notable decrease in the role dialogues that were published.⁵⁴ It was not that the market for dialogues was spoiled by operas, he argues, but rather that the public preferred airs which they could sing, whistle or hum. This change in tastes is best seen in John Playford's songbooks. Playford's songbooks published prior to the restoration, such as *Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues* (1652) contained several dialogues; however in his *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues* published in 1676 he only included three dialogues, and when the songbook was reprinted in 1679 the term 'dialogue' was dropped entirely from the title and the collection contained no dialogues at all. Despite declining in popularity, the musical dialogues played a crucial role in the development of English music, in particular, the rise of the oratorio that would be adopted by Handel.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio: The Oratoria in the Baroque Era: Protestant Germany and England* (North Carolina: UNC Press Books, 1977), pp. 176–180.

⁵⁰ Ian Spink, 'English Seventeenth-Century Dialogues', *Music & Letters*, 38 (1957), 155–63 (p. 161).

⁵¹ Frits Noske, *Saints and Sinners: The Latin Musical Dialogue in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 3–8.

⁵² John Hilton wrote 'The dialogue of King Solomon and the Two Harlots' (1616) and Henry Purcell's most famous dialogue was 'In guilty Night' Spink; Ian Spink and John Playford, *Choice Ayres, Songs, and Dialogues* (New York: Stainer & Bell, 1989). Noske, p. 128.

⁵³ William Lawes, *Collected Vocal Music: Part 2: Dialogues, Partsongs, and Catches* (New York: A-R Editions, Inc., 2002), p. xv. Cyrus Lawrence Day and Eleanore Boswell Murrie, *English Song-Books, 1651-1702: A Bibliography with a First-Line Index of Songs* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society at the University Press, Oxford, 1940).

⁵⁴ Spink, pp. 162–163.

⁵⁵ Smither, pp. 181–183.

Ballads and other musical dialogues contained verse and the dialogue genre interacted with poetic genres in several ways. At the most basic it related to poetic forms by the fact that often the dialogue was written in rhyming couplets. Other ways in which it related was through fusing and combining with poetic literary forms as was the case with prose and ballad dialogues. These dialogues were almost always published in collections of poems. John Dryden, for example, included 'A dialogue between Horace and Lydia' in his *Misscellany Poems* (1702) and Edward Sherburne included the dialogue poem 'the Syracusians' in *Poems and Translations* (1650).⁵⁶ In such contexts they combined the dialogue with other poetic forms such as the pastoral and the elegy.

Novels

Dialogue was also present in the novelette, short story and romance fictions. It is beyond the capability of this thesis to explore the complex relationship between the protean forms of dialogues and novels. As one scholar has said:

Dialogue is so generically variegated, and the early novel so multiform and unclassifiable, that it is not just that there is an influence of dialogue on novel, or that dialogue becomes an important component of, and was absorbed into, the novel, but that the two genres overlap considerably enough that definitions become more problematical still.⁵⁷

Nevertheless, a few examples of the interaction of dialogues and novels can be seen in *The Pleasant History of Dorastus and Fawnia*, *Anthelogia*, Bunyans's *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Don Quixote*.⁵⁸ Similarly, the popular *Don Quixote* consisted mostly of a conversation between the knight and the squire; its narrative was strengthened by the differing perspectives of their social classes that was made explicit through their dialogue. The use of dialogue within *Don Quixote* provided realism to the story but also created distinctive new kinds of literary characters who develop and deepen rather than

⁵⁶ John Dryden, *Misscellany Poems* (1702) p113; Edward Sherburne, *Poems and Translations* (1650), p91-98.

⁵⁷ Bill Hughes, 'Talking Books: Conversational Life in the Eighteenth-Century Printed Dialogue', p. 11 <https://www.academia.edu/185898/Talking_Books_Conversational_Life_in_the_Eighteenth-Century_Printed_Dialogue> [accessed 17 January 2014].

⁵⁸ *Don Quixote* is used for although written initially in Spanish, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a plethora of English translations of it.

remaining static through the course of the book.⁵⁹ Such texts are not a clear dialogue even if they are a printed representation of a conversation between two people. Novels and romance fiction in contrast to dialogues had more narrative and editorial intervention as part of its literary mechanisms than dialogues; the words in the novel do not speak for themselves but are part of the machinery that helps to embellish the story and give it depth.

Satires

Lucian, as the previous chapter showed, established a precedent for using dialogue as a vehicle for comedy and satire.⁶⁰ Early modern England fully capitalised on the satiric potential Lucian uncovered within the dialogue genre, as work on early modern satire has highlighted, 'satire is often written in dialogue.'⁶¹ David Foxon, James McLaverty, and J. Paul Hunter have all looked at how satire employed print practices to control aspects of reception, interpretation, and reputation.⁶² Dialogue was one of the ways in which writers utilised print practices to control their text's reception and achieve their satirical ends. The satiric dialogue was the most protean of all the forms of dialogue. It could take on the characteristics of a debate, a question and answer catechism, a symposium, or become a quasi-play or novel, depending on what the writer emphasised or included as part of the dialogue.⁶³ Indeed, the full range of satiric dialogues is beyond the scope of this thesis.

When considering the relationship of dialogue to satire, it is worth understanding how the early modern period conceptualised satire. A 'Satire (satyra)' was defined by Thomas Blount in *Glossographia* (1661) as being 'a kind of Poetry, whereof there seems to have been two kinds; the one more ancient, which consisted only in variety of Verses; the other more modern, containing an open reprehension of men's Vices, without respect

⁵⁹ Intro, *Don Quixote*, P. xxiv.

⁶⁰ See chapter four for more on Lucian and the satirical use of dialogue.

⁶¹ Katherine Mannheimer, *Print, Visuality, and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Satire: 'The Scope in Ev'ry Page'* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 37. See also A. MacRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Chapter 5, pp. 155-188.

⁶² Mannheimer, pp. 2-3. J. McLaverty, *Pope, Print, and Meaning* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). David Fairweather Foxon, *Stitched Books* (London: Collector Limited, 1975); McLaverty; Michael Cyril William Hunter, *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation* (London: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010).

⁶³ George Austin Test, *Satire: Spirit and Art* (University Press of Florida, 1991), p. 129.

of persons.⁶⁴ Satire was not merely literature that was comical or even intended to make people laugh through ridiculing its targets, but was also literature that aimed to reveal men's vices. As Elias Coles put it in his *English Dictionary* (1677), a satire was an 'invective poem.'⁶⁵ Satire in the early modern world, therefore, was primarily seen not as a literary form of humour, but a literary form that was critical, abusive, and capable of holding people up to scrutiny and revealing their weaknesses and vices. One writer described the satirist Tom Nash as

a man of a sharp wit and the master of a scoffing Satirical merry Pen, which he employed to discover the absurdities of those blind malicious senseless Pamphlets.⁶⁶

Dialogues were able to hold people's vice's up to public scrutiny and scoffing through cony-catching dialogues (discussed more fully shortly), by exposing private motives, and using dialogue to create satirical portraits of people.

Early modern satire used visual and print culture and often relied on visual imagery as a way to satirise and mock its targets.⁶⁷ As was shown in Chapter three dialogues used printed images to help the reader imaginatively construct the setting of the dialogue. These printed images engaged with the broader genre of satirical and polemical prints that grew in the seventeenth century and flourished in the eighteenth century. Henry Peacham in *The World is Ruled & Governed by Opinion* (1641), for instance, has a dialogue between Opinion and the Visitor, with the visual and verbal intended to reinforce its message about the danger of print and public opinion (Illustration 4.1).⁶⁸ Satirical prints utilised what is best described as 'micro-dialogue.' They were printed images that had a dialogue between the characters in the image, yet this was not a sustained conversation between the participants, but rather a snapshot of the conversation. Examining the use of 'micro-dialogue' in printed images helps to show that dialogues' potential was not limited to literature but could be incorporated into the visual discourse as well.

⁶⁴ Thomas Blount, *Glossographia, or, A dictionary interpreting all such hard words of whatsoever language now used in our refined English tongue* (1661), EEBO, image 282.

⁶⁵ Elias Coles, *English Dictionary* (1677), EEBO, image 130.

⁶⁶ Richard Hooker, *The Works of Mr Richard Hooker (that learned and judicious divine)* (1666), p. 15.

⁶⁷ Mannheimer, pp. 1–2.

⁶⁸ Friest, *Governed by Opinion*, pp. 2-5.



Illustration 4.1 Henry Peacham, *The world is ruled & governed by opinion.* London, 1641. Image courtesy of Folger Shakespeare Library.

Micro-dialogues are often found in the visual satire of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The use of micro-dialogues was predominantly in broadsheets and pamphlets;⁶⁹ For example, illustration 4.3 shows the woodcut that accompanied *The*

⁶⁹ For other uses of micro-dialogues in pamphlets see: Anon, *The fooles complaint to Gotham colledge* (1643); Anon, *The malignants trecherous and bloody plot*, (1643); Anon, *Articles ministred by His Majesties Commissioners* (1641); Thomas Harby, *Divi Arminij mactatorum renata, et renovata petitio. Or the Arminian priests last petition for their former formalitie, and ancient innovation, both in church and common-weale*

Ranters Ranting (1650), which satirized a Ranter's meetings. However, micro-dialogues were not always satirical. Matthew Hopkin's *The Discovery of Witches* (1647) had a woodcut that showed witches speaking to their familiar spirits (illustration 4.2). Micro-dialogues featured in a broad range of texts and usually accompanied publications that were not in the form of a dialogue.⁷⁰ For example, Francis Rouse's *Treatises and Meditations* (1657), had allegorical characters vocalizing inner thoughts, and talking to each other (illustration 4.4); Richard Baxter's *A Christian directory* (1677) had representations of Christian values and principles speaking on the title (illustration 4.5).



Illustration 4.2 Detail from the frontispiece of Matthew Hopkins' *The Discovery of Witches* (1647).

(1641). For micro-dialogues in broadsheets see Anon, *A Tale of the tubbs, or, Rome's master peice defeated* (1679) and Anon, *The Royall Oake of Brittain* (1649).

⁷⁰ Middleton, *A game at Chaess* (1625).



Illustration 4.3 Frontispiece to Anon, *The Ranters Ranting* (1650). Image Courtesy of British Library.



Illustration 4.4 Printed image from Francis Rouse, *Treatises and Meditations* (1657). Image Courtesy of Folger Shakespeare Library.



Illustration 4.5 Printed image from Richard Baxter, *A Christian directory* (1677).

Image Courtesy of Folger Shakespeare Library.

The most prevalent form of micro-dialogue was in broadsheets and satirical prints. In *A Pious and Seasonable Persuasive* (1647), the broadsheet makes a plea for harmony and resolution of divisions; the micro-dialogue in the woodcut embodied the divisions that it attempted to remedy (illustration 4.6). The image of the broadside depicted a 'presbyterian' and a 'dissenting' brother who set aside the 'sword' of their theological differences. Instead of exchanging swords they took each other in the 'hand of fellowship,' while a Romish prelate and a Jesuit looked on their reconciliation, lamenting that their plot had been spoiled by the Christian sects uniting rather than disputing. Micro-dialogue was also used in the print *The Prodigal Son Sifted* (illustration 4.7).⁷¹ The young man in the print is seen being 'sieved' of his vices by his long-suffering parents, who sift the son 'to know what he has done.' Similarly, the satirical print *Si Populus Vult Decipi Decapcatur* (1720) used micro-dialogues as part of

⁷¹ This print has been discussed at some length in Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (Yale: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2010), pp. 194–198. For a history of the sifting metaphor see Sheila O'Connell and British Museum, *The Popular Print in England: 1550-1850* (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1999), pp. 76–77.

its satirical effect (illustration 4.8).⁷² The title of the print is a variant of a quotation from Petronius and translates as 'if the people want to be deceived, let them be deceived.' The image shows various merchants in a coffee house discussing their investments and how they had been tricked into investing poorly.⁷³ Micro-dialogue in these instances was used to reveal the true characters of the participants and through the combination of visual and textual dialogue helped writers achieve their satirical aim of making vices manifest.



Illustration 4.6 Anon, *A Pious and Seasonable Perswasive* (1647). Source: EEBO

⁷² Anonymous, *Si Populus Vult Decipi Decapcatur* (1720) British Museum: 1873,0712.920.

⁷³ Anonymous, *The Sequel, or the Banker a Bankrupt*, (1733), British Museum: 1855,0414.310.

During the seventeenth century some playing cards also carried satirical scenes, and occasionally micro-dialogues were used in them.⁷⁴ The playing cards that depicted the Rye House Plot (1683) are one example (illustration 4.9).⁷⁵ But the best is Thomas Bowles' South Sea Bubble Playing Cards that were published in 1720 (illustration 4.10).⁷⁶ The cards have satirical portrayals of the speculators involved in various commercial projects started during the South Sea Bubble of 1720. The micro-dialogue on them provided a unique record of the feverish atmosphere of the time.

⁷⁴ Micro dialogues also featured in Anonymous, *Marlborough and his Time* (1710-1725) British Museum 1982, U.4619.1-52

⁷⁵ Anonymous, Complete pack of 52 playing-cards depicting the Rye House Plot, British Museum Number: 1872,1012.1726-1777; Willshire, W H, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Playing and other Cards in the British Museum*, London, British Museum Trustees, 1876

⁷⁶ For more on the playing card trade in England see Nicholas Tosney, 'The Playing Card Trade in Early Modern England*', *Historical Research*, 84 (2011), 637–56. *South Sea Bubble Playing Cards* ([London: Printed for Carington Bowles, 1721).



*Illustration 4.9 Playing-cards depicting the Rye House Plot, British Museum
Number: 1872,1012.1726-1777*



Illustration 4.10 A selection of micro-dialogues from the south sea bubble playing cards (1721). Images Courtesy of Harvard University Library.

The dialogue engaged in a range of satirical forms of literature. The dialogue was thus also incorporated into the satirical character sketch genre. With examples such as *The Phanatick in his colours being a full and final character of a Whig* (1681) which was part of the series of character satires, such as *The Character of a Disbanded Courtier* (1682), *The Character of a Church-Papist* (1681), and *The Character of a Sham-Plotter or Man-Catcher* (1681). The fusion of micro dialogue with visual satire, arguably, could be seen as a step towards the satirical prints of William Hogarth, George Townshend and the political cartoons that would develop in the eighteenth century.⁷⁷

Cony-catching

The pamphlets of Robert Greene in the sixteenth century set the stage for the emergence of cony-catching or rogue pamphlets, which were collections of anecdotes and descriptions of the different villains that supposedly inhabited the country, with details of the tricks they played, their habits and language.⁷⁸ Greene's pamphlet *The Defence of Conny-catching* claimed to be a plea for the disreputable thief and contended

⁷⁷ Charles Press, *The Political Cartoon* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981).

⁷⁸ Anna Bayman, 'Rogues, Cony-catching and the Scribbling Crew', *History Workshop Journal*, 63 (2007), 1–17; Steve Mentz, *Magic Books: Cony-Catching and the Romance of Early Modern London* (na, 2004).

that worse crimes were to be found among the respectable classes.⁷⁹ This argument merely served as a pretext for exposing the dishonesty of usurers, millers, butchers, lawyers and tailors. Similarly, Greene's *A Disputation Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conny-catcher* (1592) took the form of a dialogue between a pickpocket and a whore, each of whom defends the claim that his or her trade has done more damage to the commonwealth by telling stories celebrating its practitioners.⁸⁰ Rogue dialogues, such as Greene's, offered a portrait of the criminal underworld and were satirical because they aimed to expose the vices of these inhabitants, achieving their satirical ends by having villains condemn themselves in their own words. This self-incrimination was made easier through a dialogue that could represent the person speaking things that revealed their true character, nature and motives.⁸¹

Writers used dialogue to provide an insight into a criminal underworld and the lifestyle of sex workers through erotic whore dialogues. A conversation between two bawds in *The Crafty Whore* (1658) was included so that 'city-curtesans may see their soul-destroying art, and crafty devices, whereby they ensnare and beguile youth.'⁸² *Strange newes from Bartholomew-Fair* (1661) similarly contained a conversation with between whores as a means to expose their practice and make their 'secrets laid open, unveiled, and spread abroad.'⁸³ Within the dialogue they discuss their trade and ask each other 'what means use you for the enticing of young hectors into your Garrison?'⁸⁴ The dialogue between whores and pimps was used not only as a way of providing an insight into the trade and their corrupt practices but also to extend the erotic literature in the seventeenth century.⁸⁵ Joan De Jean used the dialogue *L'Ecole des Filles*, a volume

⁷⁹ Lori Humphrey Newcomb, 'A Looking Glass for Readers: Cheap Print and the Senses of Repentance', *Kirk Melnikoff and Edward Gieskes*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 133–56.

⁸⁰ Linda Woodbridge, 'Jest Books, the Literature of Roguery, and the Vagrant Poor in Renaissance England', *English Literary Renaissance*, 33 (2003), 201–10.

⁸¹ The dialogue could also be used to show transformations of character as Susan Wiseman has shown in her study of *The Black Dogge of Newgate* (1596) See Susan Wiseman, *Writing Metamorphosis in the English Renaissance: 1550–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 39–42.

⁸² Anon, *The Crafty Whore* (1658), sig. A1r, p. 1-2

⁸³ Anon, *Strange newes from Bartholomew-Fair* (1661) Sig. A1

⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 3

⁸⁵ Lynn Avery Hunt, *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800* (New York: Zone Books, 1993); Paula Findlen, 'Humanism, Politics and Pornography in Renaissance Italy', *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity*, 1993, 1500–1800. Similarly, Margeret C. Jacobs drew upon the dialogues *L'Acadmie des dames* and *Les Dialogues de Luisa Sigea* to explore the way in which pornography embodied new materialist philosophical and scientific thought. Margaret C. Jacob,

of dialogues between Fanchon and Susanne published in 1667 and 1668, to look at the emergence of libertine morals in the seventeenth century and explore the politics of pornography.⁸⁶ James Turner used the whore dialogues that were written in England to explore libertine morality in early modern London and saw the form as a vehicle through which libertine values were disseminated.⁸⁷

Dialogue was used as an instrument for revealing the criminal underworld; however, its scope for exposing corruption and villainy was broader than just thieves and prostitutes.⁸⁸ The use of dialogue to show corruption in trade can be seen in *Two knaves for a penny or, a dialogue between Mr Hord the meal-man and Mr Gripe the broker* (1647) in which tradesman discussed their practice of keeping stock from the market so they could later sell it for more in their shop.⁸⁹ Similarly, the writer of *The two grand ingrossers of Coles* used a dialogue between a Chandler and wood-monger to reveal 'their unjust, and cruell raising the price of coales, when, and how they please, to the generall oppression of the poore.'⁹⁰ The dialogue exposed the practice of with-holding wood and coal to increase the value of the stock that the traders could then sell at an inflated price to the poor. Other professions that had their inner workings exposed through dialogue were legal clerks, lawyers, poets, and accountants. *The Star-chamber epitomised*, for instance, revealed the corrupt practices of clerks who extorted high fees

'The Materialist World of Pornography', *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity*, 1993, 1500–1800. Joan DeJean, 'The Politics of Pornography: L'Ecole Des Filles', *The Invention of Pornography*, 1993, 109–24 (p. 114).

⁸⁶ *L'ecole des filles* although published in France was widely circulated in early modern England. Ian Frederick Moulton, *Before Pornography: Erotic Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 150–154. Samuel Pepys famously described his encounter with the book at Martin's his bookseller when he called it 'the most bawdy, lewd book that ever I saw, rather worse than "Putana errante," so that I was ashamed of reading in it. A month later Pepys would buy the book and describe his experience thus: 'I did read through L'escolle des filles; a lewd book, but what doth me no wrong to read for information sake' Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: 1668-1669* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 22, 58. See also Kathleen Lubey, *Excitable Imaginations: Eroticism and Reading in Britain, 1660-1760* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012), p. 35. See Haig A. Bosmajian, *Burning Books* (McFarland, 2006), pp. 181–182.

⁸⁶ James Grantham Turner, 'Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality', *Politics, and Literary Culture*, 2001, 1630–85.

⁸⁷ James Grantham Turner, 'Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality', *Politics, and Literary Culture*, 2001, 1630–85.

⁸⁸ Kate Loveman, "'Eminent Cheats": Rogue Narratives in the Literature of the Exclusion Crisis', in *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s*, ed. by Jason McElligott (London: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 108–23.

⁸⁹ Anon, *Two knaves for a penny or, a dialogue between Mr Hord the meal-man and Mr Gripe the broker* (1647).

⁹⁰ Anon, *The two grand ingrossers of Coles* (1648).

from clients.⁹¹ The dialogue was a means of unmasking, or at least it purported to be unmasking, the hidden workings of the star-chamber and making them public. Similarly *The true picture of an ill practiser of the law* (1706) used a dialogue between a lawyer and a client to highlight how lawyers could 'torment and ruine hundreds of honest men, nay thousands of us linkt together can torment and ruine to a whole kingdom' through having 'more tricks than a Dancing Bear.'⁹² Dialogue was thus used as a means through which, as the title of one dialogue proclaimed, 'England's Corruptions and Mismanagements [were] discover'd.'⁹³

The reach of dialogue went beyond exposing corrupt practices in trades and was used as a means to expose plots, conspiracies, and secret motives. Print itself was vulnerable to such plots. The printer in *The hawkers lamentation* (1682), for example, says to a hawker: 'What think you of Inventing [a plot] among ourselves of the great Turk and the French Kind, they say they have a very great Plot in Hand against Christandome.'⁹⁴ Conspiracies and exposés of plots helped sell more books.⁹⁵ Another common device was revealing that religious sects were secretly in the service of the Jesuits. *The Quakers Pedigree* (1676) aimed to show 'how the mystery of Quakerisme was first hatcht by the Jesuites.'⁹⁶ The conversation within it between a Quaker and Jesuit has the latter tell the former that the Jesuits used Quakerism as a means 'to unsettle all things in church and estate... and so a door to let Popery in gross and you will be in all points fit to be received into the bosome of our Mother church.'⁹⁷ In a similar way, the dialogue *A Rent in the lawne sleeves* describes the conversation of a Bishop and a Jesuit, depicting the Bishop as being in the service of Jesuit and harbouring popish desires to bring England back to 'conformity of obedience unto Rome.'⁹⁸ Dialogue

⁹¹ Anon, *The honest London spy, discovering the base and subtle intregues [sic] of the town. Part I In several witty dialogues; between I. A Norwich weaver, his factor in London, ... II. A linnen-drapeer's prentice, his Miss, and her landlady. ... To which is added a short poem in praise of a single life.* (1706); Anon, *The Downefall of temporizing poets* (1641); Anon, *The Two city iuglers Tichborn, and Ireton: Being a dialogue: wherein, their rebellions, treacheries, treasons, and cheats, are fully discovered and brought to light.* (1660).

⁹² Anon, *The true picture of an ill practiser of the law* (1706), p. 3, 9.

⁹³ Anon, *England's Corruptions and Mismanagements discover'd* (1702).

⁹⁴ Anon, *The hawkers lamentation* (1682), p. 3.

⁹⁵ For more on printers using plots to sell books see Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War*, pp. 19–20.

⁹⁶ Anon, *The Quakers Pedigree* (1676), sig. A1v.

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 6-7

⁹⁸ Anon, *A Rent in the lawne sleeves* (1641) sig. A1v

was a potent tool for exposing plots and corruption as it allowed the writer to have the perpetrators reveal the corruption in their own words.

Conversations

Ralph Johnson, in *The Scholars Guide* (1665), spoke about the need to use dialogue in education: he stressed that scholars 'must especially observe the decorum of the speakers' so that they could learn the correct social protocols in conversation.⁹⁹

Although what follows focuses on conduct books several other sub-genres could also be included under this heading. The language-learning dialogues discussed in didactic dialogues, for instance, could equally be seen as conversational dialogues; similarly, conversion narratives were often conversational in tone. This underscores that these categories of dialogue are not mutually exclusive.

Manuals of Courtesy and Conduct Books

Conduct books, manuals of courtesy and gentleman guides were a popular form of literature in the early modern period.¹⁰⁰ Jacques Carré in *The crisis of courtesy* listed over one hundred conduct books published between 1600 and 1700.¹⁰¹ An example of conduct literature is Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* that was an influential conduct book used by Steven Shapin to explain the rise of civility and gentleman's trust that helped to shape a new scientific discourse in the seventeenth century.¹⁰² into gGentleman guides, conduct books and manuals of eloquence, such as *The Academy of Complements* also incorporated dialogue into their text.¹⁰³ The purpose of using dialogue

⁹⁹ Ralph Johnson *The Scholars Guide* (1665) p. 35.

¹⁰⁰ An excellent work that has used conduct books to trace changing attitudes to courtesy and conduct is: Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

¹⁰¹ A sample of these are M R, *Mother's Counsell, or Live within Compass* (1631); Nicholas Caussin, *The Holy Court* (1631); Richard Braithwait, *The English Gentlewoman* and other pieces (1631); Humfrey Crouch, *'Kinde Husbande's Advice to his Wife'* (1637). For a full list of conduct literature see Jacques Carré, *The Crisis of Courtesy: Studies in the Conduct-Book in Britain, 1600-1900* (London: BRILL, 1994).

¹⁰² Shapin did not rely entirely on Peacham for his argument but also used Allestrees, *A Gentleman Calling* (1668) see: Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 51–56.

¹⁰³ *The Academy of Complements* was a popular book going through at least twelve editions during the seventeenth century. Its popularity meant that there were numerous imitations published such as William Elder's *Pearls of Eloquence*, Thomas Blunt's *Academie of Eloquence* (1654), and *The Academy of Pleasure* (1658).

in conduct books was to teach readers how 'to speak gracefully for the attaining of their desired ends' such as offering their service to a queen, noble, or friend to teaching them how to 'entertain a gentle-woman at your bedchamber'.¹⁰⁴ Dialogue provided readers with a range of exemplary conversations that they could study and copy in their life.

The tension within conduct literature such as the *Academy of Complements* is that while it presented itself as offering ideal conversations for courtship, or greeting people, many people viewed them cynically. As Scarron said of 'Students in the Academy of Complements' and those who used its 'set-speeches to Gentlewomen', they were 'charged with, nay, convicted of, an airy flirtatious eloquence'.¹⁰⁵ Similarly in the dialogue in the preface to *The Quakers Art of Courtship* a gentleman objected to the style of language used in the book saying that 'it is not to be imagined that a *Stile* so Luxuriant will pass amongst Men of *Judgment* and *Temper*, but that it will be hiss'd off as an insufferable *Indecency*'.¹⁰⁶ *These unfavourable opinions of courtesy manuals led Philip Ayres to say that 'no wise man keep in his House the Academy of Complements.'*¹⁰⁷

Dispute

Edward Philips used the dialogue form to educate students in a 'new invented Art of Logick, so plain and easy by way of Questions and Answers, that the meanest capacity may in a short time attain to a perfection in the wayes of Arguing and Disputing'.¹⁰⁸ Dialogue not only aided debate but was also widely used to represent such disputations s.¹⁰⁹ For example, as Bernard Capp has shown, the seventeenth century

¹⁰⁴ Anon, *Academy of Pleasure*, (1658) sig. A1v, p. 90-93.

¹⁰⁵ Scarron, *Scarron's novels ... rendred into English, with some additions*, by John Davies (1665) p.25.

¹⁰⁶ Author of Teagueland jests, *The Quakers Art of Courtship*, (1689) sig. A3r.

¹⁰⁷ Philip Ayres, *The fortunate fool written in Spanish by Don Alonso Geronimo de Salas Barbadillo of Madrid*; translated into English by Philip Ayres. (1670), p. 348.

¹⁰⁸ Edward Philips, *The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence*, p.23

¹⁰⁹ Of course, the seventeenth century was not the only context in which a culture of debate flourished and its precedent can be found in the middle ages, reformation, and in Renaissance humanism. Alex Novikoff has for instance brought attention to the role of disputation in the medieval period. Alex J. Novikoff, 'Anselm, Dialogue, and the Rise of Scholastic Disputation', *Speculum*, 86 (2011), 387–418; Alex James Novikoff, 'Dialogue and Disputation in Medieval Thought and Society, 1050--1350', *Dissertations Available from ProQuest*, 2007, 1–313; Alex J. Novikoff, 'Toward a Cultural History of Scholastic Disputation', *The American Historical Review*, 117 (2012), 331–64. Similarly, the renaissance has been a period that many have looked to for the emergence of the a culture of debate. Christopher S. Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians, and Latin's Legacy* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2004), pp. 87, 100.

saw a rise in public disputes where religious ministers from different sects met publicly to debate with each other over matters of doctrine.¹¹⁰ The dialogue genre can thus be used to help understand the culture of debate in the early modern period because it was used as a structuring agent by early modern writers and as a means to represent disputed points.

The artificial nature of the dialogue allowed writers to create a space in which two conflicting parties could clearly give voice to the pros and cons of each position. This manufactured conversation enabled them to show the conflict clearly without the complication of emotionally charged polemics in public debates. *A Dialogue between Three Travellers* (1641), for example, reported the conversation of three travellers who discuss theological issues. The dialogue embodied the writer's hope that discussion and debate was the method through which people could, and would be, converted to true beliefs. In it, a Catholic says to the Protestant: 'Not so hasty Master wrest-wright, a good cause should be disputed with reason, not with passion.'¹¹¹ Dialogue was seen as a way of defusing the emotionally charged rhetoric of public debates, as a space in which debate could occur in a rational and critical way. The conflict was accommodated in dialogue through mutual toleration of different beliefs and opinions. *A dialogue betwixt rattle-head and round-head* (1641), for example, demonstrated how the conflict could be moderated and handled without necessarily converting the other. The dialogue showed the mutual 'peaceable agreement' between the two interlocutors, who despite their political disagreements were able to have a 'conference for maintaining their several opinions.'¹¹² By the end of the dialogue the interlocutors established the points on which they agreed or disagreed and demonstrated how two rival factions could converse without descending into volatile polemic debates.

The dialogue form allowed writers to stage a debate in an arena which they had the ability to control, enabling them to voice criticisms they could refute, and remain silent those they could not. This sense of control of the characters led some to complain that many dialogues were a sham debate and the characters in them no more than puppets, used for the writer's own devices. As William Nicholls said

¹¹⁰ Bernard Capp, 'The Religious Marketplace: Public Disputations in Civil War and Interregnum England', *The English Historical Review* (2013), p. 326.

¹¹¹ Anon, *A dialogue between three travellers* (1641), p. 2.

¹¹² Anon, *A Dialogue Betwixt a Rattle-Head and a Round-Head* (1641) sig. A1v-r.

I have avoided the dry method of the scholastic objection and solution, where the objection is proposed without any manner of life, only in order to be refuted, which can never be pleasant to the reader, who at first sight sees that the Author sets it up only as a straw man which when he fights with, he shall be sure to get the better of.¹¹³

Nicholls was aware that writers of dialogues could manipulate characters to give a false victory in the controversy by using characters as a rhetorical ploy, rather than as participants in the pursuit of truth. As James Harrington said in *Valerius and Publicola* (1659) 'The way of the dialogue, being not faithfully managed, is of all other the most fraudulent.'¹¹⁴

Dialogues had the ability to expose and articulate controversial ideas and contentious doctrine, but they could also serve as a model for demonstrating how such disputes and problems could be resolved. The presentation of a controversy through a dialogue amongst friends in a cordial and respectful manner provided an example of how debates and controversies could be reconciled without reaching for polemic and derogatory language. This was one of the dialogue's merits because it could serve as a social script for how a debate could be won. This created an idealised forum for staging a debate, a space in which ideas could be presented equally for the reader to judge, as Edward Fisher did in the *Marrow of Modern Divinity* (1645): 'we made bold to come unto you all three of us, to pray you heare us, and to judge of our differences.'¹¹⁵ In a politically divided nation in which controversy and debate permeated society, the resolution of these contentions was crucial to stabilising society. Dialogue was used as a means of creating controversy by highlighting areas of contention, but could also be used as a solution to controversy by showing how disagreements could be reconciled or resolved.

¹¹³ William Nicholls, *A conference with a theist* (1694) sig. A3v. Shaftesbury similarly complained that 'Tho they bear different Titles, and are set up to maintain contrary Points; they are found, at the bottom, to be all of the same side; and they co-operate in the most officious manner with the Author, towards the display of his own proper Wit, and the establishment of his private Opinion and Maxims. They are indeed his very legitimate and obsequious *Puppets*.' Anthony Ashley Cooper Earl of Shaftesbury, *Shaftesbury: Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Vol. 2, p. 179.

¹¹⁴ James Harrington, *Valerius and Publicola* (1659) sig. A2v.

¹¹⁵ Edward Fisher, *Marrow of Modern Divinity* (1641), p.4.

Apologetic

Debates that were ‘very hotly pursued’ amongst religious leaders often found themselves articulated in the form of dialogue.¹¹⁶ Thomas Rogers used the form to answer an ‘old question lately renewed regarding kneeling at the alter when participating in the Lord’s supper’;¹¹⁷ moreover, anxieties regarding witches during the early seventeenth century also found articulation through dialogue, with King James VI and George Gifford both using the form to discuss the menace and describe how the devil deceived witches and others into errors.¹¹⁸ The tension between the Catholic Church and Protestantism, like most religious writing of this period, was also a popular theme in the genre. Dialogues exposed the differences between Popery and Protestantism, such as *Certamen Religiosum* (1649), that had the aim of listing ‘the main differences now in controversy between the Papists and the Protestants;’ a dialogue between a minister and a gentleman used as a foil for discussing the reform of the *Book of Common Prayer*.¹¹⁹ In it, a gentleman, who had ‘never heard of any blasphemy’ contained in the *Book of Common Prayer*, was instructed by a Protestant minister about the various ways in which the *Common Book of Prayer* was ‘full of Popish errors, and hath appointed horrible blasphemies, and lying fables to bee read to the people.’¹²⁰ Dialogue was thus seen as a way in which the differences between Protestants and Catholics could be accentuated and as a means to educate the ‘unlearned’ about how to detect popery.

Highlighting the differences between Papists and Protestants enabled writers to defend Protestantism from Papist threats as seen when John Mayer published *An Antidote to Popery* (1625) ‘sufficient to enable any Protestant of mean capacity, to understand and yield a reason of his religion, and to encounter with and foil the

¹¹⁶ Thomas Rogers, *Two dialogues, or conferences*, (1608), sig. A1v.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ George Gifford, *A dialogue concerning witches and witchcrafts* (1603); John Wagstaff, *The question of witchcraft debated* (1669); James I, *Daemonologie* (1603)

¹¹⁹ Peter Lake, ‘Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice’, in *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (New York: Longman, 1989), pp. 72–103; Peter Lake and Michael Questier, ‘Puritans, Papists, and the “Public Sphere” in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 72 (2000), 587–627; Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005).

¹²⁰ Lewes Hughes, *Certaine Greevances* (1640), p. 3-4.

adversary.¹²¹ The target of these apologetic texts was not always the Catholics, but other religious groups who were perceived as a threat to the status quo – such as Quakers, Anabaptists, and.¹²² These dialogues functioned as what Michel Questier has called ‘a systematic answering machine’ to counter their opponents’ tracts and views.¹²³

Apologetic dialogues were a way of highlighting controversial areas and instructing readers how the controversy could be navigated with responses that could be used by readers. This can be seen in a dialogue by William Caton that was a ‘description of several objections which are summed up together and treated upon by way of conference.’ The dialogue was a means by which he could show ‘answers to the many objections that are frequently produced by their opponents.’¹²⁴ Dialogues were a particularly effective vehicle for religious apologetics because they could show the defeat of rival theological views and thus help others to defend their faith from rival religious groups.

Conversion

Recent work by scholars has drawn attention to the increase in conversion narratives in the early modern world.¹²⁵ Pious members of religious sects cultivated and

¹²¹ Mayer, *An Antidote to Popery*, 1625, A2v.

¹²² On Quakers see: Francis Bugg, *Quakerism Struck Speechless* (1706) and *Quakerism Anatomized*, (1709); Edward Fowler, *A friendly conference between a minister and a parishioner* (1676); Benjamin Keach, *The grand impostor discovered* (1675). On Anabaptists see Henry Ainsworth, *A censure upon the dialogue of the Anabaptists* (1623); William Penn, *The counterfeit Christian detected* (1674). On deism see C.N., *The Religion of the wits at Button's refuted* (1716); Henry Hill, *A dialogue between Timotheus & Judas, concerning a pamphlet called, The Growth of Deism in England* (1646).

¹²³ Michael C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 18.

¹²⁴ William Caton, *The Moderate Enquirer Resolved in a Plain Description of Several Objections*, (1658) sig A2r.

¹²⁵ The most recent attraction of the form is the two projects on conversion narratives by the University of York ‘Conversion Narratives in Early Modern Europe, 1550-1700: A Cross-Confessional and Comparative Study’ <<http://europeanconversionnarratives.wordpress.com/about/>> [Accessed 17th April 2014] and McGill University’s ‘Early Modern Conversions: Religions, Cultures, Cognitive Ecologies’ <<http://earlymodernconversions.com>> [Accessed 17th April 2014] See for example David M. Luebke and others, *Conversion And The Politics Of Religion In Early Modern Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012); Jane Hwang Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance on the Early Modern Stage* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010); Lieke Stelling, Harald Hendrix and Todd Richardson, *The Turn of the Soul: Representations of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature* (London: BRILL, 2012); Molly Murray, *The Poetics of Conversion in Early Modern English Literature: Verse and Change from Donne to Dryden* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Questier; Kathleen M. Swaim, *Pilgrim's Progress, Puritan Progress: Discourses and Contexts* (Michigan: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

developed narratives that were used to bolster individual faith and help to define their identity as a community.¹²⁶ On the whole, conversion narratives were highly personal biographical accounts of individual enlightenment; they detailed how the pious individual had discovered the error in their ways and subsequently found the truth.¹²⁷ Inner conversion could be dramatically portrayed and used as an instrument for the conversion of others.

The portrayal of individual conversion came in two forms. First, dialogues that represented individual spiritual conversion, such as a sinner repenting and renewing their faith. An example of these 'inner conversion dialogues' is Benjamin Keach's *War with the Devil*, which showed a youth in dialogue with his conscience over how he should live his life.¹²⁸ Second, 'outer conversion dialogues which were depictions of people converting to a new religious affiliation through conversation, such as *The reclaimed papist* (1655) which showed the conversion of a Catholic to Protestantism.¹²⁹ The most popular conversion dialogues were 'inner conversion' dialogues that were focused on the individual's journey to obtain salvation and devotion to God. Examples of these were *St. Bernard's vision* (1663) and *Youth's Tragedy* (1671).¹³⁰ The most popular texts of this period were variants of the inner conversion dialogue: Arthur Dent's *A Plain-Man's Pathway to Heaven* and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, for instance, were part of in this devotional literature that described the soul's pathway to heaven.¹³¹

Outer conversion dialogues were capable of rendering the individual conversion process public by portraying a person discovering the truth and becoming converted. The conversion of Bessie Clerkson, for instance, was revealed through her conversation with a priest. At the start of the dialogue, Bessie declares that she 'cannot get faith to

¹²⁶ Kathleen Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 73–112.

¹²⁷ Irene Fosi, 'Conversion and Autobiography: Telling Tales before the Roman Inquisition', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 17 (2013), 437–56; Lynch, pp. 179–201. Peter Mazur and Abigail Shinn, 'Introduction: Conversion Narratives in the Early Modern World', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 17 (2013), 427–36 (p. 429).

¹²⁸ See also Laurence Claxton, *A paradisaical dialogue betwixt faith and reason* (1660); Samuel Bradley, *The afflicted and retired mans meditations* (1663); P.B., *Juvenilia sacra* (1664); John Bunyan, *Instruction for the Ignorant* (1675).

¹²⁹ See also Matthew Poole, *A Dialogue between a Popish Priest and an English Protestant* (1667).

¹³⁰ William Cowper, *A most comfortable and Christian dialogue* (1617); Bartholomew Robertson, *The crowne of life* (1618); William Hunnis, *Seven Sobs* (1621); Jakob Boehme, *Two theosophicall epistles wherein the life of a true Christian is described* (1645).

¹³¹ Anna Carrdus, 'Consolatory Dialogue in Devotional Writings by Men and Women of Early Modern Protestant Germany', *The Modern Language Review*, 93 (1998), p. 411.

believe in God' and throughout the rest of the dialogue the reader witnesses her conversion as the Priest teaches her and brings her into the fold of Christ.¹³² Dialogue could also be used to show the failure to convert. *A Mothers Teares Over Her Seduced Sonne* (1627), for example, contains a conversation between a mother and son regarding his faith in the church of Rome; despite the mother's lengthy pleas for her son to reject his popish ways he remains staunchly a papist leaving her to lament his eternal soul.¹³³ Similarly, Matthew Poole's *A Dialogue between a Popish priest and an English Protestant* (1667), although intended to convert Catholics to Protestantism, used an interesting rhetorical ploy. It starts with the Popish Priest claiming that he will force the Protestant 'to leave [his] damnable errors and to return to your ancient Mother, the Church of Rome.'¹³⁴ The ensuing discussion, however, exposed the priest's failure to persuade the Protestant and ends up with him doubting his faith in his church as the Protestant consistently defeats his arguments. The dialogue between them showed the inability of the Catholics to convert Protestants away from their faith but also revealed that Catholic priests were 'obstinate and incorrigible' and could not be persuaded by reason, only defeated in argument.¹³⁵

Conversion narrative dialogues also functioned as evangelical guides to convert others. This was done by providing readers with model scripts that they could use to help convert others or dialogues that exposed errors in rival religious groups' arguments. Francis Savage's *A conference betwixt a mother a devout recusant, and her sonne a zealous protestant* (1600) was thus a conversation between a son and his recusant mother. The son decides 'to winne her unto the trueth, and publike worship of God established nowe in England.' Savage's book thus functioned as a handbook for Protestant evangelists, providing them with model arguments against recusancy.¹³⁶ Dialogues were also written to try to convert Papists. John Mico's *A Pill to Purge out Poperie* (1623), for example, was intended to show Catholics that they were really 'gross heretics,' and *A Profitable Dialogue for a Perverted Papist* (1609) sought to 'lay open

¹³² William Livingston, *The conflict in conscience of a dear Christian named, Bessie Clerkson* (1685), p. 1.

¹³³ Anon, *A mothers teares over hir seduced sonne* (1627).

¹³⁴ Matthew Poole, *A dialogue between a Popish priest and an English Protestant* (1667), p. 2.

¹³⁵ Ibid, p. 232.

¹³⁶ Timothy Scott McGinnis, *George Gifford and the Reformation of the Common Sort: Puritan Priorities in Elizabethan Religious Life* (Kirkville: Truman State Univ Press, 2004), p. 2.

unto [the papist] his own error.'¹³⁷ It is questionable the extent to which these dialogues were intended for a Catholic audience, and if they were aimed at Catholics how effective they were. The audience was most likely Protestants and they were used as a way of bolstering their faith, as they saw Catholics being shown to be heretics. Conversion dialogues thus operated within a variety of audiences for a range of purposes: they were written as a way to increase the faith of the individual, help others to defend their faith, and functioned as evangelical handbooks to convert others.

Animadversion

Animadversions had a similar typographic style to dialogues. They were not dialogues in the strict sense of being a written conversation; nevertheless, they shared many features with dialogues. Animadversions took a disputed text and then quoted passages from it, followed by a response to it¹³⁸ The animadversion created an artificial conversation between two positions by juxtaposing quoted passages with a refutation, objection or response to the passage added by its author.¹³⁹ Both animadversion and dialogue fluctuated between two different positions through the text and used typography as a form of distinguishing between truth and falsehood. The rationale for reprinting disputed passages verbatim in the text lay in the belief that people could only judge the legitimacy of an argument if they had both texts in front of them.¹⁴⁰ Absolute transparency in presenting both views was vital as a rhetorical strategy to inform the readers that it was not a caricature or unfair representation of an opinion they were arguing against.¹⁴¹ This tactic was not without its risk as it could potentially encourage the spread of the argument it sought to rebut.

Despite its similarities with the dialogue, the animadversion was not seen as being as useful for managing controversy because animadversions engaged in a text page by page; this meant animadversions were lengthy books making them an unwieldy read for most readers. As the writer of *Bibliotheca Politica* noted:

¹³⁷ John Mico, *A Pill to Purge out Poperie* (1623) sig. A1v; Anon, *A Profitable Dialogue for a Perverted Papist* (1609) sig. A1v.

¹³⁸ Richard Mather, *A modest & brotherly ansvver to Mr Charles Herle his book*, (1644).

¹³⁹ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, p. 95.

¹⁴⁰ Walsham, "The Spider and the Bee: The Perils of Printing for Refutation in Tudor England," p.169.

¹⁴¹ Rainer Pineas, *Thomas More and Tudor Polemics* (London: Indiana University Press, 1968), pp. 16–17.

How troublesome and tedious it would prove to my self, as well as the Readers, to pursue and confute the opinions of any Author page by page, since it must be chiefly imputed to that manner of managing controversies, that answers to Books prove so unacceptable to the world.¹⁴²

Animadversions had the danger of being tedious because of their lengthy engagement with a text, whereas dialogues were able to condense arguments into shorter conversations. Dialogues synthesized ideas and arguments from a variety of sources and texts together because they were 'Collected out of the most approved Authors both Antient and Modern' so that a reader could be aware of the different stances and arguments for each case and 'freely examine them, in order to an impartial discovery of Truth.'¹⁴³

The pro and con of the animadversion could also be found in dialogues that were structured as objections and responses. This can be seen in the dialogue *A medicine for malignancy* (1644) that aimed to purge malignant ideas that the writer perceived to be held by those not in favour of republicanism. The dialogue served as a defence of the parliamentary position and presents various anti-parliamentarian positions. It aimed to provide a comprehensive answer to any objection to the Republican position so that 'thou mayest (good reader) suddenly find the answer to any scruple.'¹⁴⁴ By presenting the arguments and objections to the ideas within the text, it was able to accommodate these criticisms and functioned as a type of animadversion.

Writers also used the format of dialogue as a way of attacking an opponent by making them look humiliated, weak or ridiculous. The anonymous dialogue *a Dispute betwixt two clergie-men upon the roade* (1641) used the form to humiliate the clergy by highlighting the clergyman's inability to engage and defend his position. This method was deployed in *The Papists politicke projects discovered* in which two fictional characters converse so that the reader may 'plainly perceive your roguery as you have here declared it.'¹⁴⁵ William Laud, the Bishop of Canterbury, in the 1640s and 1650s also the target of polemical attacks in a cluster of dialogues that all had the aim of character defamation through making public what writers believed where his 'true' private

¹⁴² Tyrell, *Bibliotheca Politica*, p. 13.

¹⁴³ Ibid. sig. B6v.

¹⁴⁴ W.L., *A Medicine for Malignancy* (1644), sig. A1v.

¹⁴⁵ Anon, *The Papists politicke projects discovered* (1641), p. 4-5.

motives.¹⁴⁶ They all used purported dialogues with people who were able to infiltrate the private realm of Laud to give the impression of looking beyond the veneer of his public image and exposing the nature of the ‘real’ Bishop of Canterbury. *The Bishops Potion*, for example, has Laud’s doctor come to treat Laud and in their private conversation Laud inadvertently reveals to his Doctor his popish tendencies as he urinates his popish books into the doctor’s basin.¹⁴⁷ Likewise, *The last true newes from the Tower* has Laud confess and repent of his papist tendencies privately to Judge Barkley and *Canterbury’s Will* has him reveal his secret thoughts in the course of preparing his will, declaring to the Scrivener that his ‘manuscripts I bestow to the fire for popery.’¹⁴⁸ Dialogue was a thus mechanism of making public the true motives that were normally hidden from the public and could only be made manifest in private dialogues.¹⁴⁹

Didactic

As Spence noted, a recurring use of dialogue throughout its history was as a pedagogical device.¹⁵⁰ Dialogues were a fundamental part of a child’s education and dialogues were used to educate all members of society. Early modern children first encountered crude dialogues in the form of catechisms and if they went to a grammar school, as shown in the previous chapter, they would have studied dialogues by Cicero and Erasmus as part of the process of learning Latin.¹⁵¹ The salience of the form for pedagogy was that it provided more animation to the text than a monologue. As the educational handbook *Ludus Literarius* (1612) put it:

¹⁴⁶ Anon, *Canterbury’s will* (1641); Anon, *The Bishops potion*, (1641); Anon, *The discontented conference betwixt the two great associates* (1641); Anon, *The last true newes from the Tower* (1641).

¹⁴⁷ Anon, *the Bishops Potion* (1641), p. 3-4.

¹⁴⁸ Anon, *Canterbury’s Will*, (1641), p. 5.

¹⁴⁹ Although as Dagmar Freist observed, there was no rigid distinction between public and private, although the household was conceptualised as a private space. Freist, p. 22. See also Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2006).

¹⁵⁰ David Cressy, ‘Literacy in Context: Meaning and Measurement in Early Modern England’, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 314 (1993); David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹⁵¹ Ian M. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2009), pp. 127–150.

For the liberty and boldnesse used in it, consider that it is but a Dialogue to incite and encourage others; as, I tooke it, farre more profitable and delightsome to reade, then a bare narration.¹⁵²

Didactic dialogues were a popular type of dialogue that, as the following will show, interacted with how-to-guides, trade books, conduct books, and language learning books. The use of the dialogue as a pedagogical device can be found in books targeted at a range of audiences from John Norden's *Surveyors Dialogue* that was intended to educate Lords on how to survey their land, to grammatical books of instruction. Looking at the way the dialogue interacted with educational manuals highlights how the form imitated the learning process of seventeenth-century educational institutions.¹⁵³

Catechisms

Catechisms sit at the intersection between monologues and dialogues.¹⁵⁴ They were monologic because only one view was presented within the text with the other interlocutor there to provoke a response from the main character and move the discussion forward rather than offer an opinion. The characters in them had little, or no, characterisation and were often simply designated by letters such as Q and A, or, as the student and master rather than having unique names or titles.¹⁵⁵ The lack of depth to their characters resulted in a one-dimensional conversation. Nevertheless, they were still a type of dialogue because they were a representation of a conversation between two people.

The most obvious similarity between dialogues and catechisms is the similar typography, with the different speakers being broken up by typographical arrangement

¹⁵² John Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius: Or, The Grammer School* (1612)

¹⁵³ Lawrence Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', *Past and Present*, 1964, 41–80.

¹⁵⁴ For work on catechisms see: Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England C. 1530-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Hans Sauer, 'A Didactic Dialogue in Old and Middle English Versions: The Prose Solomon and Saturn and the Master of Oxford's Catechism', in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence: Papers Presented at the International Conference, Udine, 6-8 April 2006*, ed. by Maria Amalia D'Aronco, Loredana Lazzari, and Patrizia Lendinara (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 363–98; K. J. H. Berland, 'Didactic, Catechetical, or Obstetricious? Socrates and Eighteenth Century Dialogue', in *Compendious Conversations: The Method of Dialogue in the Early Enlightenment*, ed. by Kevin Cope (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), pp. 93–104.

¹⁵⁵ Bartholow V. Crawford, 'Questions and Objections', *PMLA*, 41 (1926), 110–25 (pp. 112–113).

and the different participants in both genres given a name, or a letter.¹⁵⁶ The crucial difference between them was the purpose of them. The aim of a catechism was the oral teaching of the faith through a set of clear and memorable instructions.¹⁵⁷ They were used to teach the basic principles and doctrines of the Christian faith and were particularly helpful in assisting poorly educated people to learn a small body of information by memorising it.¹⁵⁸ Dialogues, by contrast, were often not concerned with the dispensing of information for memorization but were used for the questioning and interrogation of knowledge and information, or the dissemination of news and opinion on current affairs.

Despite this difference between the two forms there were plenty of crossovers between dialogues and catechisms and at times they were seen as being synonymous. Immanuel Bourne in his *Light from Christ Leading Unto Christ* (1646), for instance, said that his book was written 'by way of catechism or dialogue' and Samuel Purchas spoke of 'a short Catechisme' that was 'by way of Dialogue'.¹⁵⁹ Catechisms were published that had the trappings of a dialogue; namely opening sentences, more three-dimensional characters, and greater interaction between the participants than a simple question and answer. These were catechisms by name but resembled the dialogue genre in form.¹⁶⁰ Similarly, dialogues were published that resembled more closely the archetypal catechism and the permeable boundary between the two forms meant that writers, as authors of the pamphlet-plays, could play with the generic forms for satiric and polemical effect. This similarity makes it difficult to draw a neat line of delineation between dialogues and catechisms.

In the 1640s the close relationship between catechisms and dialogues was used for polemical and satirical effect through publications such as *The Quakers Catechism* (1655), *The Cavaliers Catechism* (1649), *The Protestant Catechism* (1645), and, *The True-protestant Catechism* (1681).¹⁶¹ These were closer to disputations and satirical dialogues than true catechisms. They blurred the distinction between dialogue and

¹⁵⁶ Bartholow V. Crawford, 'Questions and Objections', *PMLA*, 41 (1926), 110–25.

¹⁵⁷ Roger Deakins, 'The Tudor Dialogue as Literary Form' (unpublished Thesis, Harvard University, 1964).

¹⁵⁸ Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England C. 1530-1740*, pp. 23–28.

¹⁵⁹ Samuel Purachas, *Purchas his pilgrimes In five books*, (1625) p. 1745.

¹⁶⁰ See: Peter Manby, *A reformed catechism*, (1687); Anon, *The Palatines Catechism*, (1709); Anon, *The Wid. Catechism*, (1709); Anon, *A short catechism for all the kings majesties loyal subjects*, (1660).

¹⁶¹ Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England C. 1530-1740*, p. 245.

catechism by satirising the catechism format for polemical effect. For example, William Popple's *A rational catechism* (1687) was a conversation between a father and son, but unlike most catechisms the son was not a passive receptacle that simply absorbed the knowledge from the father; rather he questioned, argued and engaged in the discussion.¹⁶² This fusion of dialogue with catechisms played with generic tropes to show how dialogue did not engage with debate or encourage discussion. The crucial difference between a catechism and a dialogue was that catechisms disseminated information rather than questioned a position. This difference was a product of the different purposes that dialogues and catechisms served: catechisms were a tool for religious education, whereas dialogues were more suited as a tool for religious and political controversy.¹⁶³

Textbooks and Trade books

As William Eamon has shown the early modern period saw a rise in the popularity of books of secrets, recipes, formulas, and experiments associated with one of the crafts, how-to manuals for tradesmen and householders.¹⁶⁴ These were books such as John Bate's *Mysteries of Nature and Art* (1634), John White's *A rich Cabinet, with variety of inventions* (1651) and Gervase Markham's practical guidebooks, that claimed to reveal secret knowledge and mystical wisdom. Markham's series of books on horsemanship, for instance, offered to the reader 'secrets before unpublished' that would provide them with 'all possible knowledge whatsoever which doth belong to any smith, farrier or horse-leech.'¹⁶⁵ Books of secrets were thereby advertised as being able to provide the reader with trade secrets and insider knowledge.

Dialogue was appropriated into these books of secrets and how-to manuals, with numerous dialogues offering insights into trade secrets through a conversation between the tradesman and an apprentice. *A familiar dialogue betwixt one Physiologus* (1612) for

¹⁶² Eugene Robert Purpus, *The Dialogue in English Literature, 1660-1725*, 1943, pp. 14–15.

¹⁶³ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 377–378.

¹⁶⁴ William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

¹⁶⁵ Gervase Markham, *Cauelarice, or The English horseman contayning all the arte of horse-manship*, (1607) sig. A1v; See also Markham's books *The English Husbandman drawne into two books*, (1635); *How to chuse, ride, trayne, and dyet, both hunting-horses and running horses vvith all the secrets thereto belonging discovered. An arte neuer heeretofore written by any author*, (1606).

instance claimed that it 'doth make manifest to him many secrets of nature in the soyling, plowing, and sowing of the earth' and Thomas Tymme's *A dialogue Philosophical* (1612) claimed that within its dialogue 'natures secret closet is opened.'¹⁶⁶ Similarly, Thomas Tryon's *The Way to Health* (1697) claimed that it displayed 'the most hidden secrets of philosophy' and that it was 'made easie and familiar to the meanest capacities.'¹⁶⁷

One of the most popular dialogues that used the form for educational purposes was Izaak Walton's *Compleat Angler*.¹⁶⁸ Walton used a conversation between two anglers as a means to teach the art of fishing but Walton's text was not the only book to use dialogue with the aim of educating readers in an art, craft or skill. John Norden's *Surveyors Dialogue* (1618), for instance, used dialogue as an appropriate framework because early modern surveys entailed a process of social negotiation.¹⁶⁹ The scope of pedagogic uses of the dialogue was vast, with John Matlock's *Fax nova artis scribendi* (1685) using dialogue to teach the art of writing; John Smith's, *Horological Dialogues* (1693) teaching the art of watchmaking; and John Tapp's *The path-vvay to knowvledge containing the whole art of arithmeticke* teaching mathematics through a dialogue between a student and a master. Dialogue was even used to teach the art of fencing, with one example offering 'A few directions for the more regular assaulting in schools.'¹⁷⁰

The appeal of the form for educational manuals was that it used the structure of student and mentor to reconstruct the reader-author relationship. The representation of the reader as the protégé in the dialogue gave the illusion of an active engagement in the discussion.¹⁷¹ The student voices the questions the reader might have in their mind as they press the master to explain more, as seen in *Horological Dialogues* when Chiv responds to the master, saying 'I am still ignorant, and therefore would be gladly

¹⁶⁶ Anon, *A familiar dialogue betwixt one Physiologus* (1612), sig. A3r.

¹⁶⁷ Thomas Tryon, *The Way to Health* (1697), sig. A1v-r.

¹⁶⁸ David Hill Radcliffe, "'Study to Be Quiet': Genre and Politics in Izaak Walton's *Compleat Angler*", *English Literary Renaissance*, 22 (1992), 95–111; John Rex Cooper, *The Art of The Compleat Angler* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1968).

¹⁶⁹ Mark Netzloff, *John Norden's the Surveyor's Dialogue (1618): A Critical Edition* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), p. xviii.

¹⁷⁰ Anon, *The fencing-master's advice to his scholar* (1695) sig. A1v; See also William Hope, *The compleat fencing-master*, (1710).

¹⁷¹ Adrian Wallbank, 'Political, Religious and Philosophical Mentoring of the Romantic Period: The Dialogue Genre 1782-1829' (University of Warwick, 2008), p. 16; Adrian Wallbank, *Dialogue, Didacticism and the Genres of Dispute: The Literary Dialogue in an Age of Revolution* (Pickering and Chatto, 2012), pp. 11–12.

informed somewhat thereof.¹⁷² The master 'whose knowledge was compleat in those things', responds to the student's questions that he 'purposed to inquire after.'¹⁷³ The materiality of the text rendered it incapable of acting directly as a mentor. The process of mentoring was represented through the interplay of words and ideas between the interlocutors on the page and thereby functioned as a vicarious form of mentoring.¹⁷⁴ Dialogue's ability to function as a virtual mentor was often used as a selling point for trades books. *The Merchants Mirror* and *The Compleat Compting-house* were both advertised as being a way of teaching apprentices the art of accounting without so much effort by the master. As *The Merchants Mirror* put it, 'the Master is saved much labour, and the Lad is led by the hand to all his Work and Business.'¹⁷⁵ They were consciously marketed at the Master, who bought the book so that he could give it to his apprentices to learn from instead of teaching them himself.

There was also a proliferation of dialogues that were used as medical textbooks such as *Approved Directions for Health* (1612), *Enchiridion medicum* (1609) *Colloquia Chirurgia* and *Helmont Disguised*.¹⁷⁶ Medical dialogues were not the driving force of medical innovation but were a vehicle for teaching established ideas. They drew upon a pre-existing wealth of medical literature and then integrated them into practical advice through a dialogue with the writer. These were aimed at a broad range of audiences some were aimed at those of lower educational status such as *Kitchin-Physick: Or, Advice to the Poor* (1676), and J.T. *The hunting of the pox a pleasant discourse betweene the authour, and pild-garlicke* (1619) that provided readers with rudimentary cures and ways of treating common illnesses. Others were aimed at a higher social stratum such as Henry Power's *Experimental Philosophy* (1664) and Samuel Parker's *An Essay upon the Duty of Physicians and Patients* (1715) that were designed to instruct a person on how to become a physician.

Language and Travel Guides

¹⁷² John Smith, *Horological Dialogues*, (1693), pp. 2-3.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* p. 4

¹⁷⁴ Wallbank, p. 11.

¹⁷⁵ John Vernon, *Compleat Compting House*, A1v.

¹⁷⁶ Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta, *Early Modern English Medical Texts: Corpus Description and Studies* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010).

One of the lasting effects of the dialogue in educational practice was the use of dialogues in the process of language learning. As observed in the previous chapter the dialogues of Erasmus and Cicero were often utilised in the process of learning Latin in grammar schools.¹⁷⁷ Latin in early modern England was taught in a two-stage process: students learnt Latin through the combined use of grammatical textbooks such as William Livy's *Introduction to Latin Grammar* and Latin source texts such as Cicero, Erasmus and Aesop that they would read and translate.¹⁷⁸ Early modern educational manuals had stressed the need to learn the grammatical rules of Latin before reading and writing Latin, and due to Henry VIII's establishment of Livy's grammar as the standard textbook the learning of Latin was mostly standardized by the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁹ The languages of French, Italian and Spanish in comparison were not part of the grammar school curriculum and had to be learnt informally.¹⁸⁰ The lack of formal educational settings for learning these languages created a space for language books particularly aimed at those who could not afford a private tutor.

Language guides assimilated aspects of the dialogue genre's capacity to summarise information. As Pietro Paravicino said of his book *The True Idioma of the Italian Tongue* (1660) readers in using the book were saved 'the trouble of reading such Authors as I have herein extracted the very Quintessence from.'¹⁸¹ The first part of the standard Latin educational book was a pronunciation guide that would be accompanied by the rules of grammar, tables to find out the gender of all nouns, and the conjugations of verbs, regular and irregular. This would be followed by a set of practical exercises that would almost always be in the form of a dialogue.¹⁸² Structuring the books in this way combined the two stages of Latin learning into one book, mirroring the way grammar

¹⁷⁷ Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (London: Routledge, 2013).

¹⁷⁸ Ian M. Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 127–150.

¹⁷⁹ William Lily, *Lily's Grammar of Latin in English: An Introduction of the Eyght Partes of Speche, and the Construction of the Same: Edited and Introduced by Hedwig Gwosdek* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. vii–viii.

¹⁸⁰ Kathleen Rebillon Lambley, *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England During Tudor and Stuart Times: With an Introductory Chapter on the Preseding Period* (The University Press, 1920), iii.

¹⁸¹ Pietro Paravicino, *The true Idioma of the Italian Tongue*, (1660) sig. A2v

¹⁸² Lambley, iii, pp. 6–7; Douglas A. Kibbee, *For to Speke Frenche Trewely: The French Language in England, 1000–1600. Its Status, Description and Instruction* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1991); Gesa Stedman, *Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century France and England* (London: Ashgate, 2013).

schools taught students. The result was that in one book the reader could find the rules of the language with examples of how these rules were used.

Language textbooks used dialogue as a way to present the reader with exemplar conversations.¹⁸³ These were arranged in two parallel columns on a page: the foreign language on one side, with the English translation on the other as a way to help readers to learn the language. The interaction between two speakers in the dialogue taught the learner how a foreign language functioned in everyday conversations. As Michel Malard boasted about his language guide, it 'contains so noble, fine, and delightful Dialogues upon all the choicest and fittest Subjects, to speak French in Conversation and about any business besides the French Particles and Traveller's Guide.'¹⁸⁴ Writers of these language guides expected that their readers would emulate and copy the scripts provided. Giovanni Torriano's *The Italian reviv'd, or, The introduction to the Italian tongue* (1673), for instance, explained that:

These dialogues, as my former consist of general phrases familiar but not vulgar, fit for imitation, only I, here and there, have made bold to make the Collocutors to speak of the Re-building of London and some other signal places of England.¹⁸⁵

These language guides did not claim to be comprehensive courses in language. They offered the basic rules, vocabulary and exemplary conversations that a traveller, merchant or scholar would need on their voyage onto foreign soil. This condensed material meant that the buyer of them would become familiar with the language in a matter of months. Michel Malard's *The True French Grammar* (1714) thus claimed that his book contained 'all that is necessary to the speedy learning of the French tongue.'¹⁸⁶ They did warn the reader however that they should not presume to be fluent in the language even if they could speak the basic French, Italian, or Spanish phrases included in the dialogues.

The language-learning dialogues were also promoted as a travel companion for those who were journeying abroad. *Dialogues in the English and Malaiane Language*

¹⁸³ See: William Colson, *The first part of the French Grammar* (1620), *The Flower de Luce* (1619); Paul Cougneau, *A sure guide to the French tongue* (1635).

¹⁸⁴ Michel Malard, *The French and Protestant Companion*, (1719), sig. A1v.

¹⁸⁵ *The Italian reviv'd, or, The introduction to the Italian tongue*, (1673), sig. A3v-A3r.

¹⁸⁶ Michel Malard, *The True French Grammar* (1714), sig. A1v. See also Jacob Villiers, *Vocabularium Analogicum*, (1680), p.5-6.

(1613) addressed itself to those ‘who happily shall hereafter undertake a voyage to the East-Indies.’¹⁸⁷ *A compendious introduction to the French tongue* (1655) claimed that it was ‘useful for persons of quality that intend to travel into France, leading them, as by the hand, to the most noted and principal places of that kingdom.’¹⁸⁸ The dialogues given in them included typical conversations, such as how to ask someone to ‘go fetch the second course’, greet people, and conduct small-talk with French nobility, along with comprehensive dialogues that instructed the reader on how to get to and find significant places in France by asking for directions to see places of notable interest.¹⁸⁹

They were also marketed as guides that would help the traveller become acquainted with the rules of social decorum and manners in the foreign country. *The princely way to the French tongue*, *Vocabularium analogicum*, *The true idioma of the Italian tongue* all provided a set of contrived dialogues that the typical traveller would expect to encounter.¹⁹⁰ The dialogues in them not only helped the reader to speak the language, but they also showed them how to navigate the maze of foreign manners and social protocols. *The French and Protestant Companion*, for instance, provided a set of exemplary dialogues for the person to speak in French social situations and included notes on cultural norms and protocols. Also, these model conversations provided the reader with social, political, and religious information designed to acquaint the reader with the way in which they should interact with the French.

It is evident that dialogues engaged with a wide variety of pedagogic literature. Spence, drawing on Montaigne, had praised the dialogue for didactic purposes because it presents ‘the order of knowledges in a more neat lively and animated manner than a bare naked Discourse could do.’¹⁹¹ The frequent use of dialogue as a tool for pedagogy supports the views of Montaigne and Spence as they were used within language guides, trade and craft books, and catechisms. As a genre, they helped students to memorise information through providing small chunks of information, and could function as a vicarious mentor for students. Dialogues also helped readers to see language in action

¹⁸⁷ Arthus Gotthard, *Dialogues in the English and Malaiane Language* (1613), sig. A1r.

¹⁸⁸ Pierre de Lainé, *A compendious introduction to the French tongue* (1655), sig. A4v.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* pp.130-135, 211, 234.

¹⁹⁰ Pierre de Lane, *The princely way to the French tongue* (1690), *Vocabularium analogicum*, *The true idioma of the Italian tongue*, Michel Malard, *The French and Protestant Companion*, (1685).

¹⁹¹ Spence, *Works of Lucian*, (1684) pp. 34.

through language-learning textbooks that used dialogue to show how language functioned in a foreign language so that readers could imitate and learn from it.

5. Reports

Lastly, dialogue was incorporated within the literary form of news reports, printed parliamentary proceedings, and scaffold speeches. Dialogues included information from reports for their content, and reports adopted the typographical style of dialogues as part of their report. In considering the relationship between dialogue and reports I will use the division of 'mediated' and 'unmediated' dialogues. Mediated dialogues were reports that incorporated dialogue within them - the dialogue within the report was mediated by the editor or narrator; whereas unmediated dialogues were dialogues that functioned as reports or utilised reports in the dialogue. In an unmediated dialogue the words of the dialogue were presented verbatim with little or no editorial intervention.

Mediated dialogues: Reports, Proceedings and Traveller Dialogues

Mediated dialogues could record a speech through a narrator, reporter, or another third party. The first news book, the *Heads of Severall Proceedings*, for example, was written in a semi-dialogue form.¹⁹² Similarly *A narrative of the proceedings of George Keith at Coopers-Hall in the city of Bristol (1700)*, and *The Wicked Resolution, Certamen Brittanucum*, and *Strength out of Weakness (1649)* both incorporated dialogue as part of the report. The participants in these reports were not distinguished through a typographical device that separated their speeches, nor did they make any distinction between the different speakers.¹⁹³ The reporter included the dialogue as part of a broader narrative and was used in these texts as evidence that supported the larger ideological argument in the text.

Traveller dialogues were used as a way of reporting news in a mediated form and were popular in the 1640s and 1660s. They emulated the vectors of oral communication by having participants report on various events as they travelled together on the road.¹⁹⁴ These would often start with one of the travellers overtaking the other on the road and

¹⁹² Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 103.

¹⁹³ Anon, *A Contention for Truth: in Two Several publique Disputations (1658)* *Papimus Lucifugus (1668)*

¹⁹⁴ Anon, *Nevves from the North*, (1641), Anon, *The Country-mans Care*, 1641).

then asking 'I pray can you tell me any good news?'¹⁹⁵ The following dialogue between them would have the traveller give a report of the news from his place of origin, often giving his opinions on the news as he shared it. Traveller dialogues were thus dependent on other sources, such as oral and scribal reports, for their information and they presented this news in a mediated form through the conversation of the participants. These dialogues imitated the oral transmission of news reports and provided news in a way that aided its reception with a primarily oral audience. As *A dialogue betwixt a courtier and a scholar* (1642) puts it, the dialogue was presenting the news for the 'further satisfaction of the common people.'¹⁹⁶

The majority of traveller dialogues were published in the 1640s and discussed the civil war and its implications in different locations.¹⁹⁷ In *News from the North* (1641), for instance, two soldiers give each other reports on the war in the north, and in *Sions Charity* (1641) a country gentleman is overtaken by a citizen of London who gives the former a report on the goings-on in London and the impact of the war in the capital.¹⁹⁸ The dialogue, because of its plurality of voices, was able to provide the news with vibrancy and a vestige of discussion. For instance, in *One more Blow at Babylon* (1641), the news concerning the unrest in Parliament is reported between two travellers. The information was not simply passed from one traveller to another, but emerged in a dynamic process through the engagement between the two characters, as the following excerpt shows:

E. I know not much news, but what I suppose you hear of as well as my self.

T. I here none, but that the Presbyterian Ministers in many places, but especially in and about the City of Exeter, are much vexed, at the Parliaments and Independents proceedings.

E. Truly Sir, that is all I can tell you.

T. But Pray sir if I may make so bold with you: what is that doth so much stomach the Ministers against the Parliaments and Independents?¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ Anon, *The Last News In London*, (1642), p.3.

¹⁹⁶ Anon, *A dialogue betwixt a courtier and a scholler*, (1642) sig. A1v.

¹⁹⁷ See also Anon, *Vox borealis, or the northern discoverie* (1641).

¹⁹⁸ Anon, *A Conference Between Two Souldiers meeting on the roade* (1659); Anon, *A New (and too true) Description of England: briefly delineating the carefull condition of the court*. (1643).

¹⁹⁹ Anon, *One more Blow at Babylon*, (1641) p. 2.

The traveller dialogues were concerned with understanding the implications of the news. The conversation of the travellers revolved around questioning the sharer to gain a fuller comprehension of the different facets of the news. It was not enough, for instance, to know that the ministers in Exeter were vexed but the news-conscious person needed to understand the reasons why they were agitated and the broader ramifications of the news. The reporting of news was thus mediated through the different interpretations of events that the participants gave in the dialogue.

In providing interpretation of the news traveller dialogues would often be mediated by other people's opinion and interpretation of the news. *The wishing Common-wealths men* (1642) claimed, for example, that the views contained within were 'indeed the common town-talk.'²⁰⁰ Within traveller dialogues it was common for the interlocutors not only to ask for news but also to inquire about the popular opinion about the news. This can be seen in *A Dialogue Betwixt a Courtier and a Scholler* (1642) in which the scholar asks 'what say the people in those parts where you have been, concerning the differences betwixt the King and Parliament?'²⁰¹ Traveller dialogues verbalised what writers believed the common opinion on matters was. As one dialogue claimed, it set 'forth the condition that the Scots are in, the opinions that the Welch are on' concerning the recent events.²⁰² Traveller dialogues were thereby used as a way to share news in a way that allowed it to be laced with interpretation and opinion.

Unmediated Dialogues: Printed Trial Reports and Scaffold Speeches

Mediated dialogues were able to share news in a way that also contained commentary on the current affairs. Unmediated dialogues, by contrast, used the words of the participants of the dialogue without any commentary as a way to share the news. The two primary forms of unmediated dialogues were trial reports and scaffold speeches. They can be classed as a species of dialogue because they were a representation of a conversation between two people.²⁰³ The seventeenth century saw

²⁰⁰ Anon, *The wishing Common-wealths men* (1642), sig. A1v-r.

²⁰¹ Anon, *A dialogue betwixt a courtier and a scholler* (1642) p. 1.

²⁰² Anon, *A new dialogue or, a brief discourse between two travellers*, (1648) sig. A1v.

²⁰³ There have been very few studies on printed trials as a genre. Attention has focused on individuals and the witchcraft trials. Arthur E. Sutherland, 'Crime and Confession', *Harvard Law Review*, 79 (1965), 21; Michael Mendla, 'The "Prints" of the Trials: The Nexus of Politics, Religion, Law and Information in the Late Seventeenth Century', in *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s*, ed. by

an increase in the printing of trials. One early seventeenth-century catalyst was the Thomas Overbury trial of 1615. This trial started when Thomas Overbury died in prison in September 1613 after intervening in Robert Carr's relationship with Frances Howard. In the years after Overbury's death rumours started to circulate that suggested foul play in the cause of his death when a letter from George Villiers to King James claimed that one of the warders had brought Overbury 'poisoned food and medicine'.²⁰⁴ During the murder trial the court had encouraged hack writers and publishers to publicise the affair.²⁰⁵ The printing of dialogue in the trial reports became a weapon that political reporters used to give their reports a veneer of authenticity and suggested to the reader that they were reading the actual words of the participants in the trial. The Overbury scandal, in conjunction with the fascination with the salacious and sensational gossip it generated, helped to increase the popularity of printed trial reports in the seventeenth century.²⁰⁶

Printed trial reports often drew upon the dialogue genre as part of its presentation and typography. The trial of John Lilburne, for instance, spawned a variety of reports that all claimed to provide a 'true narrative' of the proceedings of the trial.²⁰⁷ Some of these reports recreated the rhetorical typography of dialogues by having defendants words in a Roman font whilst all other voices were printed in italics, or they divided up the speeches in the same form as a dialogue as was done in the trial report *The whole triall of Connor*

Jason McElligott (Ashgate, 2006), pp. 123–38; Robert B. Shoemaker, 'The Old Bailey Proceedings and the Representation of Crime and Criminal Justice in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of British Studies*, 47 (2008), 559–80; Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2008); Malcolm Gaskill, 'Witchcraft in Early Modern Kent: Stereotypes and the Background to Accusations', *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, 237–57.

²⁰⁴ Miriam Allen Deford, *The Overbury Affair: The Murder Trial That Rocked the Court of King James I* (Literary Licensing, LLC, 2012).

²⁰⁵ Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 219; Curtis Perry, *Literature and Favoritism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 105–106; Deford, p. 118.

²⁰⁶ Peter Lake, '10. Deeds against Nature: Cheap Print, Protestantism and Murder in Early Seventeenth-Century', *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, 1993, 257.

²⁰⁷ See in particular *The tryall, of L. Col. Iohn Lilburn at the Sessions House in the Old-Baily, on Fryday, and Saturday, being the 19th and 20th of this instant August* (1653) that clearly utilised dialogue typography. See also Anon, *The Triall of Mr. John Lilburn, prisoner in Newgate, at the Sessions of Peace, held for the city of London, at Justice-Hall in the Old-Baily; sitting upon Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the 13, 14, 15, and 16 of July, 1653*, (1653) and Anon, *The Triall of Mr. John Lilburn, prisoner in Newgate, at the Sessions of Peace, held for the City of London, at Justice-Hall in the Old-Baily; sitting upon Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the 13, 14, 15, and 16 of July, 1653*. These trial reports of the trial embedded the dialogue in a narrative of the proceedings with a mixture of quotes and paraphrasing of speeches.

Lord Macguire (1645), and the reports of King Charles I's trial, such as *The tryal of the pretended judges, that signed the warrant, for the murther of King Charles* (1660).²⁰⁸ Like the trial reports of the Overbury trial the printing of the defendant's words verbatim was used to suggest to the reader that the report was a 'true narrative' rather than an interpretation of what had happened. It led readers to believe that they were judging the trial themselves as the text brought them in as virtual judges of the trial.

Trials were also published in the form of a mediated dialogue. In *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster* (1613), and *The Tryal and Condemnation of Several Notorious Malefactors* (1681) the writers mixed verbatim quotes from the defendant and prosecutor with paraphrases and editorial intervention in the trial report. Mediated trial reports were often more polemical in tone than unmediated trial reports. They were used to question a judgement in a trial and expose how justice had been avoided, or how the innocent was wrongly convicted. The writer in these reports was interpreting the trial and wanted the reader to view the trial in the same way that they did. They were a stark contrast to unmediated trial reports that left the reader to come to their own conclusion. In both its mediated and unmediated forms dialogues were used in trial reports to suggest accuracy in the report. Verbatim quotes helped to impress upon the reader that they could trust what they were reading.

The second way in which dialogue engaged with reports in an unmediated way was through scaffold speeches and last-minute confessions.²⁰⁹ Michel Foucault in *Discipline and Punishment* drew attention to the theatricality of public executions and argued that the scaffold in many ways functioned as a public stage.²¹⁰ Printed dialogues helped textually to construct this stage and functioned as a virtual performance of the execution. As a genre scaffold speeches assimilated dialogue with a news report to

²⁰⁸ Anon, *England's black tribunall set forth in the triall of K. Charles I at a High Court of Justice at Westminster-Hall* (1660); Anon, *The Arraignment, tryal and condemnation of Thomas Harrison*, (1660) For more on Lilburne's trial see Michael Mendle, 'News and Pamphlet Culture of Mid-Seventeenth Century England', in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Brandan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 57–80 (p. 66).

²⁰⁹ For the popularity of scaffold speeches in the sixteenth century see Elizabeth Bouldin, "'Dying Men's Wordes': Treason, Heresy, and Scaffold Performances in Sixteenth-Century England', 2005 <<http://repository.lib.ncsu.edu/ir/handle/1840.16/1256>> [accessed 1 May 2014].; J. A. Sharpe, "'Last Dying Speeches': Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past & Present*, 1985, 144–67; Charles Carlton, 'The Rhetoric of Death: Scaffold Confessions in Early Modern England', *Southern Speech Communication Journal*, 49 (1983), 66–79; Frances E. Dolan, "'Gentlemen, I Have One Thing More to Say": Women on Scaffolds in England, 1563-1680', *Modern Philology*, 92 (1994), 157–78.

²¹⁰ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Vintage Books, 1977); Ben Quash, *Theology and the Drama of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 27–28.

provide a dramatic reconstruction of the condemned's final words because it brought readers into the scene as virtual witnesses of the hanging.²¹¹ This was notably done with the final conversation between Bishop Laud and his hangman that had Laud's dying moments captured in the form of dialogue.²¹² In the 1660s the dialogue genre was also used to report the final words of Oliver Cromwell's chaplain Hugh Peters in *The Most vile and lamentable confession of Hugh Peters (1660)*. To be sure, not all scaffold speeches were in the form of dialogue; however, the use of dialogue helped to increase the sense of verisimilitude and accuracy of the report. Trial reports and scaffold speeches containing dialogue created a textual performance in which the reader could witness the trial and become vicarious participants.

In summary, dialogues were utilised in reports in a variety of ways. The typography and style of dialogues were used as a means to bring the reader vicariously into the scene of a trial or execution. News reports deployed dialogue within them as a form of documentary evidence that suggested to the reader they could trust the reports content. Reports also used dialogue to imitate the oral transmission of news as seen in traveller dialogues that were an imitation of how news travelled orally.

Conclusion

Outlining the literary geography in which the dialogue genre was situated underlines how it interacted with a range of other genres regarding typographic similarity, topic, and form. Given the inherent hybridity and the way in which the dialogue genre overflowed and incorporated other literary genres and print forms it is impossible to form a conclusive parameter of the dialogue genre. Indeed, if dialogues are an identifiable type of literature, part of that identity was a blurring of the boundaries with other genres.

Several themes have emerged that require further attention. The first is the role of dialogue in the mediation between public and private spheres. Dialogues had the ability to bridge the gap between public and private. Cony-catching dialogues, for example, made private conversations public, whereas dialogues that were reports of public disputes, allowed people in private to vicariously participate in a public arena. Exploring

²¹¹ Anon, *The Archbishop of Canterburie his speech, or, His funeral sermon preached by himself on the scaffold on Tower-hill on Friday the tenth of January, 1645, upon Hebrews 12, 1, 2* (1645) pp. 5-6.

²¹² Mendle, p. 65.

this dimension of the dialogue would help to understand how the concepts of privacy and public were represented in literature. More research also needs to be done on how dialogues were used in pedagogy. This chapter showed that it was used in a wide variety of genres that aimed to teach readers, from how-to-guides, conduct books, language manuals, through to dialogues that taught readers how to engage with rival religious groups. Paying greater attention to the dialogue and its role in early modern educational literature and practice would underscore the broader cultural value that the form had and can help to explain further its appeal as a literary form.

Throughout this exploration of dialogue with other literary genres it has been apparent that the dialogue was particularly useful in providing exemplary social scripts to readers. The dialogue was used to demonstrate how a foreign language functioned in common social situations and conduct literature used dialogue to teach readers the correct protocols of courtesy they should use. Polemical and apologetic dialogues provided readers with ready-made arguments that they could utilise when they encountered rival groups and conversion dialogues used dialogue as a way to show readers how they could convert people to their faith. In these instances dialogues provided an idealised forum that could be used by writers to show conversion, education, and debate and this feature were also be used in the periodical dialogues studied in chapter seven.

5. Characters

*'I would desire the Reader in the perusal of these lines, to adde to them something of action; for it is impossible to personate a French-man aright, unless he with it play the Antick: My request therefore is to all those who shall read this book in Taverns, Ale-houses, or Coffee-Houses, to have special care therein, that I may not be murdered in my own lines, but to adde to it a graceful shaking of the head, drawing back the legs, and thrusting out the shoulders, and then it will be a la mode France.'*¹

Anon, *Poor Robin* (1666)

Both Plato and Cicero had used real characters in their dialogues. This led many early modern writers to argue that the genuine dialogue must be a conversation between historical or living people.² In the preface to the fourth edition of *Moral and Political Dialogues* (1763), for instance, Richard Hurd said that the character of a true dialogue was: 'an imitated, and mannered conversation between certain real, known, and respected persons, on some useful or serious subject: in an elegant, and suitably adorned, but not characteristic style.'³ For Hurd, the most important aspect was that 'In Dialogue, we must have real persons, and those only.'⁴ Hurd derived his view of dialogue from classical precedents and this led him to argue that a dialogue should be between real people. Such a purist view was moderated by Spence's more applicable injunction that those in dialogues had to be accurately portrayed so that they would 'never act contrary to [their] character.'⁵ As the publisher of *Plato Redivivus* said, the writer of a dialogue needs to ensure that 'he does make a pretty near Representation and

¹ Poor Robin, *Poor Robin's Character of France*, (London: 1666), a2r

² Michael Prince, *Philosophical Dialogue in the British Enlightenment: Theology, Aesthetics, and the Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Kevin L. Cope, 'Seminal Disseminations: Dialogue, Domestic Directions, and the Sudden Construction of Character', in *Compendious Conversations: The Method of Dialogue in the Early Enlightenment*, ed. by Kevin Cope (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), pp. 167–80.

³ Richard Hurd, *Moral and Political Dialogues* (London: T.Cadell, 1776), p. xlvii.

⁴ Hurd, p. xxi.

⁵ Lucian, *The Works of Lucian*, (1684), p. 65.

Character of some Persons.⁶ This accuracy meant that interactions between characters should at least be plausible. As one dialogist said ‘He who will observe the rules of Dialogues ought not to bring in two persons talking together, who can never be supposed to do so.’⁷ Characters were meant to be of equal social status. If characters were of different social classes then their social interaction was supposed to have been plausible. For example, conversations between a landlord and a tenant, a shopkeeper to a Lord, or a peasant to a priest were deemed acceptable; this was because dialogues were meant to be reflective of conversations between people who in real life were likely to converse with each other.

To apply the requirement that only dialogues that used real characters, or faithfully portrayed their characters could be considered a dialogue would exclude vast swathes of dialogues. The majority of self-labelled dialogues did not use real characters; they used fictional characters, caricatures of real people, stereotypes, and speakers represented simply by letters. Indeed, the most prevalent character type in the dialogue genre was fictional, with nearly half of all dialogues using them. Fictional characters were interlocutors who were not based on a real person or a group of individuals in society. As Jeremy Collier said of his fictionalisations: ‘here are no particular Characters attempted, nor is there the least Intention to provoke or expose any Person Living.’⁸ Fictional characters came in a variety of guises and forms.⁹

This chapter will explore the dynamics of this broad range of characters within early modern dialogue. It will first look at what character names can tell us and how different types of character names were used within the genre. Secondly, it will look at how the rich tapestry of characters was representative of society in the early modern world and the role that political and religious views, social hierarchy, occupation, and gender played.¹⁰ Finally, it will articulate the relationship between different formats of

⁶ Neville, *Plato Redivivus*, (1681) sig. A3v.

⁷ Anon, *In Answer to a Scandalous Pamphlet*, (1677), p. 4.

⁸ Collier, Of Pride, one of the four dialogues which make up the bulk of *Miscellanies in Five Essays* [1694], sig. A2r.

⁹ A popular form was to have characters that had names derived from Greek, such as Philoletes, Piscator, Lucretius, or Apollos. Other popular fictional characters were talking animals, personified values, archetypal characters, and sentient cities Walton, *Compleat Angler*, Charleton, *Immortality of the Soul*. (1657)

¹⁰ The playing with characters names was, by no means, limited to the dialogue genre. Alistair Fowler, for instance, has shown how early modern writers played with personal names through pseudonyms, enigmatic initials, and anonymity. See: Alastair Fowler, *Literary Names: Personal Names in English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Janet Wright Starnier, ‘Anonymity in Early Modern England: Whats in a Name? Introduction’, in *Anonymity in Early Modern England: Whats in a Name?*, ed. by Howard Trastler

dialogues and the types of characters that were used in the dialogue and explore some of the ways in which authors used character types for satirical and rhetorical ends.

Character Names

Names at their most basic level are a verbal and oral form of identification that can be used to identify a specific individual or group of people. In order to study the 5,600 characters that featured in seventeenth-century dialogues I have used their names as an avenue to studying them. Each character name was categorised as belonging to a particular type as seen in Figure 5.1. The graph below shows the distribution of different types of names and has divided the characters into six types of name: socio-economic descriptors; living and historical people; Greek and Latin-based name; fictional; personifications; and letters.¹¹

Janet Wright Starnes (London: Ashgate, 2011). It should also be stressed that this thesis does not claim that playing with character names is distinctive or limited to the dialogue genre but it looks at the way in which the dialogue genre used and developed these literary devices. Milton in his *Paradise Lost* played upon naming conventions in the text by blotting out of the rebel angels' names, and Satan's deliberate misapplication of names, Stephen B. Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 50–51. For work on early modern characters outside of the dialogue genre see: Bruce Thomas Boehrer, *Animal Characters: Nonhuman Beings in Early Modern Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); Theodora A. Jankowski, *Women in Power in the Early Modern Drama* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Thomas L. Berger, William C. Bradford and Sidney L. Sondergard, *An Index of Characters in Early Modern English Drama: Printed Plays, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Bianca Calabresi, *Gross Characters: The Unseemly Typographies of Early Modern Drama* (Columbia University, 2003); Imtiaz Habib, "'Hel's Perfect Character'; or The Blackamoor Maid in Early Modern English Drama: The Postcolonial Cultural History of a Dramatic Type', *Lit: Literature Interpretation Theory*, 11 (2000), 277–304.

¹¹ It should be noted that there is potential crossover between categories. Many Greek named characters were fictional, satirical, or historical people. However, for the sake of simplicity these categories were treated as mutually exclusive in the classification of the characters and the subsequent analysis. In deciding which category to prioritise in the classification the decision was made from the name alone. If the name was in the style of Latin or Greek then it was categorised as being Greek and Latin, as determining if the character was fictional or real could not always be made from looking at the name alone.

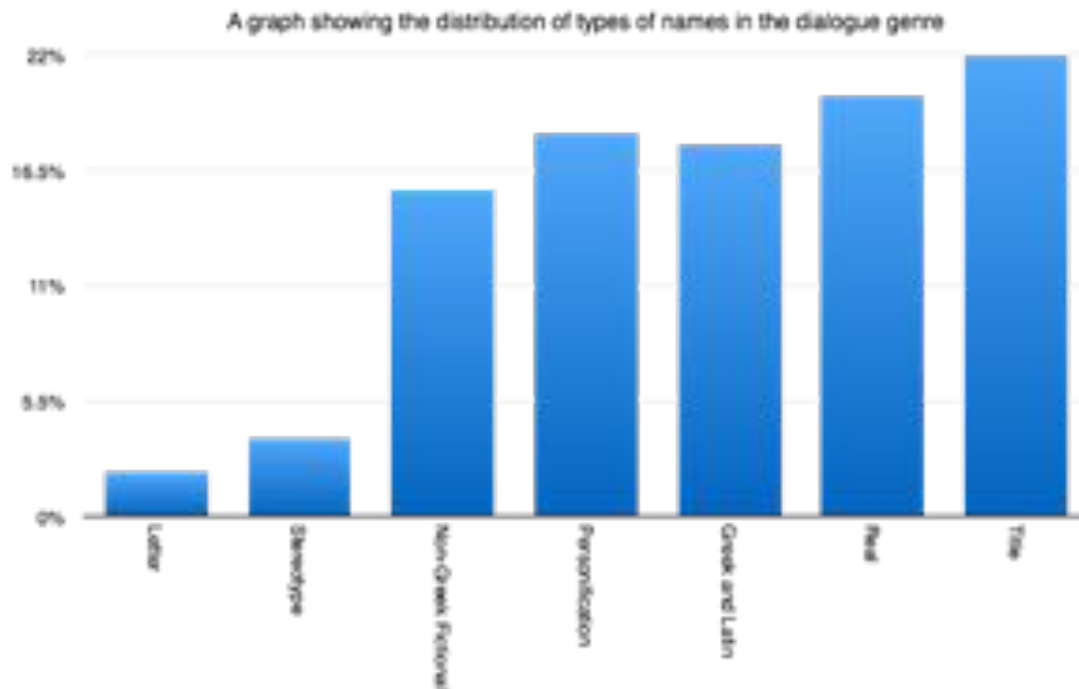


Figure 5.1 A graph showing the percentage of characters that had different types of name.

In addition each character was classified as falling into types of character that were defined by the following aspects: social status, religious affiliation, profession, political views, personality, non-human, intellectual position, geographical location, gender, and educational prop.¹² This grouping is not without its difficulties as some characters could be classified into multiple groups, such as the character 'Sceptic' who represented both an intellectual position and a personality type.¹³ Similarly, the character 'Country Gentleman' simultaneously indicated the character's social position, his geographic association, gender, and a cultural set of attitudes. In instances when it was not obvious or multiple identities were contained within the name, it was necessary to look at the context in which that character was used. In the case of the 'Country Gentleman', for example, it was the geographic region that was chosen as the dominant identity marker, because this aspect of the character's name provided the reader with more significant interpretative indicators than the clues about gender and social status of

¹² As observed in previous chapters in creating this schema I am aware of the limitations and problems that this can result in. Indeed, it is possible that the number of categories and the types of categories included here could be expanded, modified, or reduced. Nevertheless, this range of categories was seen as covering the majority of types of categories manifest in the characters of the genre while also allowing sufficient analytical traction.

¹³ John Goodman, *A Winter-evening Conference* (1684) and Francis Gastrell, *The Principles of Deism* (1709).

the character.¹⁴ The 'Country Gentleman' was juxtaposed with a 'Citizen of London' in order to help draw a contrast between the attitudes of the city and country. Of course, the city and country were not simply geographic divides but also indicators that symbolised a wider range of cultural and social principles.¹⁵ This demonstrates one of the limitations of this type of analysis: that it is unable to be sensitive to the nuances of the multi-dimensionality of the characters. This can result in conservative readings of the characters that takes them at face value and can fail to recognise the use of irony and satire by writers in the characters. A second limitation is that many names did not immediately define the character's identity to the reader. The character 'John' who featured in *An Amourous dialogue between John and his Mistriss* (1685), for example, provided no clues as to the personality, or nature of the character from his name. Similarly, in the dialogue *The Lawfulness of mixt-marriages weighd* (1681) all of the characters are simply identified by letters, thereby providing the reader with no clues from the character's name so these characters were classed as unknown. Notwithstanding these the limitations the following will show some insights that can be obtained from this mode of analysis.

¹⁴ See: Thomas Brewer, *A dialogue betwixt a citizen, and a poore countrey-man and his wife*, (1636); Thomas Jordan, *A pleasant dialogue between the country-man and citizen*, (1660); Anon, *The Country-mans care*, (1641); Anon, *The City and Countrey Mercury* (1667).

¹⁵ Perez Zagorin, *The Court and Country: The Beginning of the English Revolution* (London: Routledge 1969). Anne Hughes, 'Local History and the Origins of the Civil War', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (New York: Longman, 1989), pp. 72–103.

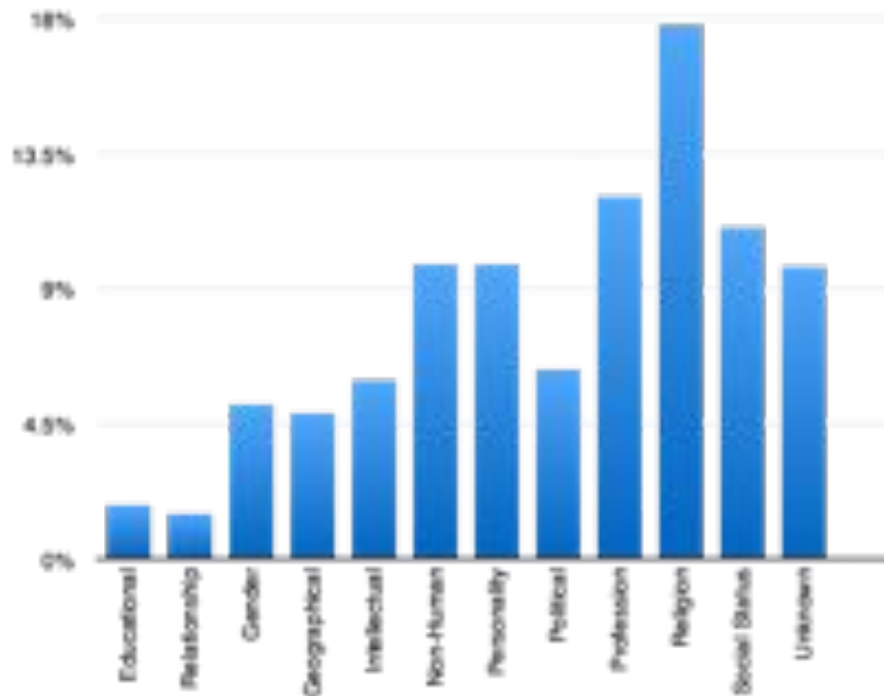


Figure 5.2 A graph showing the percentage of different character name types in the dialogue genre.

Before looking in greater depth at how dialogues used characters it is necessary to understand what kind of information can be obtained from a character name. The common-sense view on names was best articulated by John Stuart Mill in *A System of Logic* where he defined a name as ‘a word that answers the purpose of showing what thing it is that we are talking about but not of telling anything about it.’¹⁶ For Mill, a proper name had no intrinsic semantic content but was merely a way of identifying people, or things.¹⁷ Since Mill, others have argued that names are not simply forms of identification but that names do have meaning and that this semantic content is provided entirely by the referent.¹⁸ In contrast to Mill’s view on names, Derrida argued that a name should be considered as an abstract word that is filled with semantic content by others.¹⁹ The

¹⁶ John Stuart Mill, *A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive* (London: Bookpubber, 2014), p. 128.

¹⁷ The name John Milton, according to the classical theory of names, simply refers to an individual that is identifiable as John Milton and provides no other semantic content

¹⁸ Fowler, pp. 9–14; Willy van Langendonck, *Theory and Typology of Proper Names* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007).

¹⁹ ‘The battle of proper names’ in Jacques Derrida, *The Derrida Reader: Writing Performances* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), pp. 74–87. Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Kathleen M. Swaim, *Pilgrim’s Progress, Puritan Progress:*

proper name, he argues in *On Grammatology*, is caught up in a context of social, spatial and temporal differences that made it meaningful names do not have a static meaning and a name's meaning changes, develops and is contested over time.²⁰

Naming is, in one sense, a way of picking one human from all others; it is also always charged with messages about power and solidarity.²¹ John Frow observed 'we seldom name ourselves. We routinely name others.'²² Similarly, nick-names are also embedded in networks of power and authority in the giving of names: as the character By-ends in *The Pilgrim's Progress* says, 'That is not my name, but indeed it is a Nick-name that is given me by some that can not abide me, and I must be content to bear it as a reproach, as other good men have born theirs before me.'²³ By-Ends' observation highlights how nicknames, and names generally, are bound up with structures of authority and power that can impose a nomenclature onto a group of people or individual.¹ Group names, in particular, are focal points on which a society and cultures' anxieties about identity coalesce. As Edward Said's work on Orientalism has convincingly shown, there is a process of 'othering' whereby a society and culture constructs a cluster of meanings around an alien group through a series of false representations that become embodied within a cultural or national name.¹ This process of othering can be seen in Peter Lake's work on popery that has shown that the group broadly labelled 'papists' became symbols that personified society's anxieties regarding the Catholic church.²⁴ The Papist was the 'other' and by naming a group of people as being papists Protestants could establish themselves as true Christians. Lake's work

Discourses and Contexts (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1993); D. Stimson, 'Puritanism and the New Philosophy in Seventeenth Century England', *Bull. Inst. Hist. Med.*, 1935, 321–34.

²⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976).

²¹ John Frow, *Character and Person* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 193.

²² Earl Roy Miner, *Naming Properties: Nominal Reference in Travel Writings by Bashō and Sora, Johnson and Boswell* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), p. 252.

²³ John Bunyan, *The Pilgrims Progress*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 58.

²⁴ We might say that a name is just as bound up in the dominant discourse as any other word. As Foucault has shown with the name of an Author, an authors name is a legal and literary construction that is the product of the social and cultural context in which it functions. See Michel Foucault, 'What Is an Author?', 2013 <<https://saylor.org/longsight.com/handle/1/8920>> [accessed 14 January 2015]; Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. by A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972); Sean Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author: Criticism and Subjectivity in Barthes, Foucault and Derrida* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998).

demonstrates that naming people, groups, and objects is a process of demarcating different kinds of people from others and establishing their identity.²⁵

Names were used in the dialogue as signposts to help guide the reader in how they should interpret the dialogue, and indicated what were the important attributes, principles, or personality within the context of the dialogue. By using nicknames for characters, stereotypes, or groups of people it provided writers with a shorthand way of referring to larger group of beliefs, ideas and people, and it helped readers to understand a debate and conversation.²⁶ As the author of *A Free Conference* (1681) said, he used 'the nick-name of Trimmer for one of the Persons, because his principles and Temper are better known by that character then if I had called him *Moderate Church-man*, or anything else.'²⁷ In the dialogue, the name of the character as 'trimmer' was designed to indicate to the reader the principles of the character in the dialogue. W. E. H. Stanner has argued, 'names are verbal projections of an identity.'²⁸ Naming places us, designating such things as gender, birth-order, clan, geographical provenances, ethnicity, and religion; therefore a character's name indicated the interlocutor's relationship to the world that they inhabited, and gave the reader salient information about their personality, background, or social position.²⁹ In picking one name over other possible character names, the writer identified the heart of the characters' personality or identity.³⁰ For instance, a character who had a name such as 'Tom Tell-Troth,' 'Honest

²⁵ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (Penguin: London, 2001); There is a vast body of work on Said's classic text and the way in which the 'orient' was constructed by western writers. It is impossible to fully engage with this literature here and I have relied on the summary of Said's work and the subsequent decades of engagement with it from the following: Daniel Martin Varisco, *Reading Orientalism: Said and the Unsaid* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2012); Ian Richard Netton, *Orientalism Revisited: Art, Land and Voyage* (London: Routledge, 2013).

²⁶ Susan Schoenbohm, 'Heidegger's Interpretation of Physis in Introduction to Metaphysics', *A Companion to Heidegger's Introduction to Metaphysics*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 157 (pp. 150–151); Richard F. H. Polt and Gregory Fried, *A Companion to Heidegger's Introduction to Metaphysics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

²⁷ Anon, *A free conference* (1689), A3r.

²⁸ William EH Stanner, 'Aboriginal Modes of Address and Reference in the North-West of the Northern Territory', *Oceania*, 7 (1937), pp.300–315, p. 301.

²⁹ John Frow, *Character and Person* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 193.

³⁰ Goffman in *Stigma* argued that identity could be split into dominant and subordinate identity. This division also follows a social and personal component. A prejudice he argued came when a society established one aspect of a person's identity as being the most dominant over the many other facets of their identity. For instance a person who had been to prison could find that his dominant identity within society was of being a criminal and this aspect would eclipse all other parts of who they were. Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (New York and London: Simon and Schuster, 2009), pp. 2–3, 30–37. One of the main advocates for this is Erving Goffman who in his work argued that identity is a performance in which individuals stress different facts of their identity to shape their self-hood see: Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Peter Smith Publisher, 1999); Richard Jenkins, *Social*

Man,' 'fanatic,' or 'Orthodoxus' was named to reflect his personality or intellectual position. The defining feature of the character in the context of the dialogue was that they were honest, devoted, orthodox, or fanatical. The names of the character thus provided the reader with cues about either the characters' individual personality, position in society, or political and religious views.

The complexities of names and labelling have been further nuanced in the past decades by the work of Ian Hacking and George Lakoff. Both argue that names and classifications can influence how people conceptualise and understand the world. As Lakoff argues: 'An understanding of how we categorise is central to any understanding of how we think and how we function, and therefore central to an understanding of what makes us human.'³¹ This was understood by some of the early moderns. Roger L'Estrange, for instance in 1681, remarked that the 'calling of names is speaking to the people in a language that they do both understand and believe.'³² L'Estrange recognised that using nicknames for groups of people helped people to understand what he was trying to communicate because it helped to organise information into a familiar form. Similarly, Ian Hacking in his work on historical ontology has shown that the creation of new categories and labels through the naming of a group of people is not just labelling a pre-existing phenomenon, but part of the process of creating new forms of being.³³ The manifestation of this creation of new types of people through nicknames and names can be seen in early modern England by the renewed popularity of 'The Character of' literature in the seventeenth century.³⁴

Identity (Devon: Routledge, 2014); Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2009). Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2013).

³¹ George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 6–7.

³² Anon, *Citt and Bumpkin, the second part*, (1680) p. 26.

³³ This is best articulated in his essay 'Making up People' in which he argues that the process of naming a class of people creates that type of people; the labelling of a class of people is therefore not only just the recognition of the existence of a type of people but the classification of a group brings that group into existence as Hacking puts it: 'our classifications and our classes conspire to emerge hand in hand, each egging the other on.' Ian Hacking, *Historical Ontology* (Ann Arbor: Harvard University Press, 2004); Ian Hacking, 'Making up People', *The Science Studies Reader*, 18 (1999), 590 (p. 591). Ian Hacking also makes the argument that the ability to count and classify people helps to solidify the existence of groups of people. See Ian Hacking, 'Biopower and the Avalanche of Numbers', *Humanities in Society*, 5 (1982), 279–95.

³⁴ The following is a sample of this literature: *The Character of a Disbanded Courtier* (1682); *The Character of an Ignoramus Doctor* (1681); *The Character of a Leading Petitioner* (1681); *The Character of a Sham-Plotter or Man-Catcher* (1681) *The Character of a Jesuit* (1681); *The Character of a Protestant Jesuit* (1682); *The Character of a Church-Papist* (1681); *The Character of a True Protestant* (1682); *The Character of a Fanatic in General* (1681).

The character-sketch, or 'Character,' as it came universally to be called in the seventeenth century, was a short account, usually in prose, of the properties, qualities, or peculiarities that served to individualise a type.³⁵ The 'Character,' like the dialogue, had its roots in ancient Greece when Aristotle's student Theophrastus wrote *The Characters* (c.319 BC) that illustrated thirty different character types.³⁶ The genre of the early modern 'Character' was expansive and was popular in the 1680s. Several dialogues were written as part of this literature such as *The Character of a Puritan* (1643), *The Joviall Crew, or, The devill Turn'd Ranter: being a Character of the Roaring Ranters of these Times* (1651), and *The Devil and Broker, or, A Character of a Pawn Broker* (1676). These texts all made use of dialogue to define these groups satirically and to help identify the characteristics of those who belonged to those groups. Evidence of this can be seen in the character sketches of a 'Tory' and 'Trimmer' in *A Description of his Majesties True and Loyal Subjects Scandalously called Torys* (1682) where the author portrayed a Tory as being a loyal subject and attempted to control the designation of what a Tory was. This attempt was in response to derogatory uses of the name such as *The Phanatick in his Colours* (1681) and *The Character of a Tory* (1681) that had represented a Tory as a fanatic in disguise and a non-loyal papist.³⁷

Character sketches and nicknames were also used to bypass partisanship by creating an alternative, less divisive, group.³⁸ Roger L'Estrange thus took up the character of a Trimmer when he changed the characters of his periodical *The Observer* in the autumn of 1682 from 'Whig' and 'Tory' to the 'Observer' and 'Trimmer'.³⁹ For L'Estrange, the changing political context in which he was writing required changing the participants in his periodical to reflect the current climate as seen

³⁵ For a study on the history and development of the genre of character sketches see Edward Chauncey Baldwin, 'The Relation of the Seventeenth Century Character to the Periodical Essay', *PMLA*, 19 (1904), 75–114.

³⁶ Warren D. Anderson and others, *Theophrastus: The Character Sketches* (Kent State University Press, 1970); John William Smeed, *The Theophrastan Character: The History of a Literary Genre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

³⁷ For more texts that tried to define what a Whig, Tory, and Trimmer were see: Anon, *The Character of a Modern Whig or Alamode True Loyal Protestant* (1681); Anon, *A description of his Majesties True and Loyal Subjects Scandalously called Toreys* (1682); Anon, *The Character of a Trimmer. Neither Whigg nor TORY* (1682); Anon, *The Trimmer Catechised or, a Serious Discourse between Trueman and Trimmer* (1681); Anon, *The Character of a Good man Neither Whig nor Tory* (1681)

³⁸ In *The character of a good man; neither Whig and Tory* for instance attempts to by pass the stereotypes of 'Whig' and 'Tory' through the use of the nickname 'Trimmer' to avoid the political division of the Whigs and Torys. See Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis 1678-1681* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 284.

³⁹ Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch, *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008), pp. 80–81.

by L'Estrange's choice of characters in *The Observer*.⁴⁰ In the first editions, the characters L'Estrange used were simply 'Q' and 'A' but these were changed to the more developed 'Whig' and 'Tory', and then to 'Whig' and 'Observer' for 33 papers. The use of Whig and Tory as characters were intended to reflect the debates that were going on within society at this time between the Whigs and Tory's. L'Estrange was not the only writer to use the Whig and Tory as characters the anonymous publications *A new song* (1681), *A Friendly Dialogue between two London-apprentices* (1681), and *The Whigg and Tory's Friendly Dialogue* (1682) all also featured the same characters as L'Estranges publications. L'Estrange also shifted to 'Whig' and 'Courantier for six papers) reflecting his concerns about Henry Care and his publication *The Popish Courant* and its effect on society.⁴¹ L'Estrange finally settled down to 'Trimmer' and 'Observer' for the remaining editions.⁴² In all these mutations, the Tory satirist (whether he was called 'Tory' or 'Observer') was presented with appropriate outbursts of polemic, invective, and bitter irony.⁴³ The 'Whig,' on the other hand, was presented as a naïve individual whose main fault was not that he was a Whig but that he was a Whig because he has no mental capacity for discrimination. Thus, the 'Whig' appeared a foolish and amusing figure when pitted against the sophisticated 'Tory.' The 'Trimmer,' by contrast, was a much more intelligent opponent, one who was given the liberty of satirising 'Observer' himself.

The development of the characters in *The Observer* allowed L'Estrange to offer opposing ideological views that could equip readers with the arguments needed to respond to rival political groups. More broadly the characters names allowed him to satirise popular groups in society at the time and the ideas and views that they held. The changing characters in *The Observer* thus reflected the emergence of new groups that L'Estrange could utilise as characters within his periodical.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ The use of the Courantier as character revealed L'Estrange's fixation on Henry Care, publisher of the *Popish Courant*, who L'Estrange blamed for the misleading of the public. Lois G. Schwoerer, *The Ingenious Mr. Henry Care, Restoration Publicist* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2001), pp. 142–143.

⁴² The trimmers represented not a way to bypass partisanship but they were an enemy close to actual dissenters, who through their 'pulpit ambiguities and equivocations' promoted 'lenity and tolerance' of dissent under the guise of 'moderation.' See Donald R. Benson, 'Halifax and the Trimmers', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 1964, 115–34; Thomas C. Faulkner, 'Halifax's "The Character of a Trimmer" and L'Estrange's Attack on Trimmers in "The Observer"', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 1973, 71–81.

⁴³ Robert C. Elliott, *The Power of Satire: Magic, Ritual, Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 133-136, 164-165.

Writers also used names for groups that may not have corresponded to actual groups. In *The Joviall Crew, or, The Devill Turn'd Ranter: Being a Character of the Roaring Ranters of These Times* (1651) the writer tried to define the counter-cultural movement of the 'Ranters'. J.C. Davis, however, has suggested that there was no Ranter group or movement: the Ranters, he argues did not exist but were a myth created by the press and sustained by sectarian leaders.⁴⁴ Names such as the Trimmers, therefore, could be used to classify people and create new categories that people could be organised into; on the other hand, names could also be used to cause the perception of categories of people that may not have corresponded to actual people.

Letters, Latin and Greek names

Dialogue was an ideal form for educational texts. One feature of educational dialogues was that they often used characters who were identified either through a letter or Latin and Greek based name. Characters who were identified by a letter or an initial were the simplest of character types. These characters were abstract characters or an interlocutor who had little that identified them as a real person or a group of people.⁴⁵ Many of these used a simple question and answer format with characters just labelled 'Q' and 'A'. A few dialogues, such as those by Thomas Hobbes and Ezekias Woodward's *The Solemne League and Covenant of Three Kingdomes* (1643), gave speakers letters rather than names. The most common context in which these characters appeared was pedagogical, such as Robert Norton's *The Gunners Glass* (1647) and John Jones *Practical Phonography* (1701), or animadversions, such as William Mitchell's *A Sober Answer to an Angry Pamphlet* (1671) and Henry Ainsworth's *A Censure upon a Dialogue of the Anabaptists* (1644). As a character type these bold and simplistic characters were not used to question or interrogate an idea but were predominantly used as a device to provoke the respondent to move the discourse in a new direction rather than a fully developed character.⁴⁶ The rhetorical effect of this type of participant was that there was little to divert the reader's attention away from the content of the dialogue.

⁴⁴ J. C. Davis. *Fear, Myth and History: The Ranters and the Historians*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.

⁴⁵ Characters who had letters for their name was a common type of character with over two hundred dialogues that used letters rather than names to represent their characters.

⁴⁶ This was particularly true of dialogues that resembled catechisms that tended to use letters rather than names for the characters.

This helped to provide information in an uncontaminated form and by designating the participant as a 'Q' or 'A' the writer drew upon the familiarity that catechisms had with almost every person who could read. Schoolteachers had used the popular Elizabethan catechism *The ABC with Catechism* to teach generations of English schoolchildren to read and dialogue thus provided authors with a convenient format for organising instruction that was familiar to most readers. The appeal of letters for characters within pedagogical texts was that they had little characterisation to distract the reader from the content of the dialogue. The characters served as a schematic for organising how the information was to be shared to the reader rather than as characters

The second type of names used frequently within educational dialogues was names that were derived from Greek, or Latin, such as Philoletes, Lucretius, or Apollos.⁴⁷ Many of these characters were in the printed editions of dialogues by Lucian, Plato, and Erasmus and Latin and Greek names were also used to identify the character's personality.⁴⁸ The character Philomathes, from the dialogue *The Arte of Vulgar Arithmetike both in Integers and Fractions* (1600) and Phily-mathe, from the dialogue *The Merchants Mirror* (1651), for example, both used the name to identify that the character was a lover of mathematics. Latin and Greek-named characters appeared more frequently in books than in pamphlets and were usually present in religious, educational, or philosophical works such as the 'how-to-guides' *The Ordering of Bees* (1634) and *The Compleat Angler* (1653) that used Latin-derived characters like Tortrona and Piscator. In both these cases, the use of Latin characters demonstrates that these books were written for a more educated audience than the bulk of pamphlet dialogues. Izaak Walton's *Compleat Angler* was full of citations from the learned authors; the text was a quilt work of poetry, song, and balladry brought together through strands of inference, symbol, and allusion to classical literature. Similarly, more philosophically dense texts such as *Mr Hobbs's State of Nature Considered* (1685) and *The Case of Deism* (1706) also used Latin-derived characters as its participants in homage to the philosophical dialogues of Plato.⁴⁹ Not all characters that were derived from Latin, or

⁴⁷ It is possible that the use of Greek and Latin-derived names was because early modern writers were trying to emulate the prestige that the classical dialogues had within society.

⁴⁸ Occasionally famous Greek and Italian writers would feature such as the Greek poet Antimachus, for instance, who appeared in the dialogue *A dialogue or Conference Betweene Irenaeus and Antimachus* (1600) and Socrates who obviously appeared in the editions of Plato's dialogues.

⁴⁹ It is perhaps notable that Henry Neville's *Plato Redivivus* (1681) that obviously was in homage to Plato did not use Greek based characters but instead used an Englishman, Venetian, and Doctor.

Greek, were in scholarly books for educational purposes, however. The characters Alexis and Strephon, were used in the black-letter ballad *The Jolly Shepherd, and Jovial Shepherdess* (1673), and in several poetic dialogues, and other Latin-based characters would appear in collections of poetry such as *Poems by Thomas Carew* (1640).

Fictional Names

Fictional characters came in a variety of forms such as talking animals, personified values, archetypal and stereotypical characters, and sentient cities.⁵⁰ In some sense all characters in dialogues were fictional, even those who had the names of real people fictionalised them in ways to suit their purpose. The category fictional characters was used for characters who were not based on living people. In using the group 'fictional characters' it referred to characters that matched Jeremy Collier's description of his characters: 'here are no particular Characters attempted, nor is there the least Intention to provoke or expose any Person Living.'⁵¹ The distinction that was made between personifications and fictional characters was that personifications included abstract values, talking inanimate objects, or animals, whereas fictional characters were entirely fictional humans who were not named after their occupation, title, or based on Greek or Latin words. Some fictional characters indicated the character's personality: for instance, in *Two Knaves for a Penny* (1643) the character Mr Gripe's name shows his attitude, as did the name of the character Honest John in the dialogue *A Pleasant Dialogue Betwixt Honest John and Loving Kate* (1685). Fictional characters sometimes were simply names, such as Dick, Tom, Elizabeth, and Alice, rather than reader aids that provided information about their personality and identity. Their name served no broader purpose in highlighting the character's personality, social position, or occupation and because it contained no clear social and economic indicator meant that the character could stand for everyman. This allowed writers to use these characters to give the dialogue a universal appeal to a wide variety of readers.

⁵⁰ There have been several studies into the representation of anthropomorphism in literature. Onno Oerleman's, for instance, has looked at how animals featured in literature through allegorical meaning see Onno Oerlemans, 'The Animal in Allegory: From Chaucer to Gray', *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, (2013).

⁵¹ Collier, "To the Reader," in the prefatory material to 'Of Pride', one of the four dialogues which make up the bulk of *Miscellanies in Five Essays* (1694), sig. A2r.

Often dialogues would combine fictional characters with characters based on real people. The previous chapter established the fact that Lucian's dialogues set a precedent for featuring a broad range of characters, and the seventeenth century was particularly fond of imitating his dialogues of the dead. It is worth, therefore, paying closer attention to how the characters in Lucianic imitations were used for satiric and polemic effect through combining fictional characters with real people. One of the favourite tropes in Lucianic dialogues was dialogues that involved the Devil, Pope, and other characters from the after-life. In doing so dialogues used an ubiquitous trope that was pervasive through the seventeenth century of Popery being synonymous with the Anti-Christ. This trope was often used to establish principles through their antithesis with Popery and Popish conspiracies. These themes of an individual's covert popish inclinations and the often invoked rubric that certain ideas, movements, and people were a vehicle for malicious attacks on 'true Christianity' were pervasive through the century. As work on popery by Peter Lake has established the figure of the 'papist' was a figurehead through which societies anxieties and fears were clustered around and helped to established Protestantism through its opposition to Papism. Dialogues with the Devil and Pope drew upon this culture in which Rome was a metaphor for the Anti-Christ and used conversations with the devil to implicate certain people, ideas and political ideologies as being subversive and tools employed by Rome and by extension the Devil to ruin the country.

It was common for these dialogues to have three characters one of them being the target of the pamphlet and the other two characters being the Pope and the Devil. The use of this trio of characters implied before any words had been spoken in the dialogue was that the target of the dialogue was both a Catholic and in league with the Devil. This trope can be seen in dialogues such as *Carmina Colliquia* (1649) in which the Devil is conversing with an independent about how he is building his kingdom in England. The Independent in the dialogue is clearly shown as being a conspirator with the Devil and the Devil explains how he introduced doctrines such as salvation for all, and the Levellers as a means to enslave the nation. Lake has shown that Protestant Englands vision of true Christianity was established through setting it in opposition to popery. In a similar manner, the pamphlet argued that the regicide of Charles I and the ensuing Republic was a way for the Devil to try and destroy England and claimed that it would

only be through the restoration of the monarchy and the triumph of Protestantism that England could prevent Satanic dominion over England.

The trope of conversations with a Devil as a device to reveal a diabolic conspiracy overtake the nation was revived in the late 1670s and 1680s. Given the extent that the fictitious conspiracy, or Popish Plot, concocted by Titus Oates gripped the Kingdoms of England and Scotland between 1678-1681 it is not hard to understand the appeal of using dialogues with a Devil to engage in this debate. This resulted in dialogues such as *The Plot Discover'd* (1678) in which the Pope and Devil reveal their diabolic plot to overthrow England and Scotland and *A Dialogue Betwixt the Devil and the Ignoramus Doctor* (1679) in which Titus Oates discussed his fate with the Devil. These dialogues helped to embellish the plot but also were used to suggest those who were involved in the plot. Roger L'Estrange was a victim of this rhetorical trope when a dialogue was published entitled *Triologue or, A Threefold Discourse Betwixt the Pope, The Devil, and Towzer, concerning the Affairs of England* (1680). This pamphlet accused L'Estrange of only appearing to criticise the popish plot as a means of helping Popery to gain a stronger foothold in society. The implication of having him converse with the Devil and Pope was that his objection and attempts to stem the hysteria that surrounded the Popish Plot was part of a scheme to help Popery gain greater control over England.

After the mass executions of Priests suspected to be involved in the plot, many believed the plot had failed and this too was reflected in conversations with the Devil. In *The Tears of Rome* (1680), for example, the Pope and Devil lamented the fact that their plot had failed. The trope of dialogues with the Devil remained used through the 1680s with *A Satyr by way of Dialogue between Lucifer and the Ghosts of Shaftsbury and Russell* (1683), *A Dialogue Betwixt the Devil and the Whigs* (1684) and *A Dialogue between the Devil, the Pope and the Chancellor* (1689). Like the prior dialogues with the Devil all three of these dialogues used conversations with a devil to implicate various movements and people as being in league with the devil. As the writer of *A Dialogue Betwixt the Devil and the Whigs* said: 'Now Reader, tell me if you can, which is the Devil, and which the Man?' The message that the ensuing dialogue established was that Whigs were in league with the devil to such an extent that they ultimately resembled him. The use of the Devil and the Pope as characters in a dialogue was a way to satire and criticise prominent members of society.

Personifications and Anthropomorphic Characters

The next type of character type to be considered is anthropomorphic characters. Of all the character names, anthropomorphic characters were the most diverse and they spanned from personified abstract values, talking animals, buildings, cities, through to furniture.⁵² The most common personification was the character of the 'body' that appeared in dialogues between the body and the soul such as *The Complaint or Dialogue, betwixt the Soule and the Bodie of a Damned Man* (1621), *The Vision, or, A dialog between the Soul and the Bodie* (1651), *St Bernard's Vision* (1640), and Andrew Marvell's *Dialogue between the Body and Soul* (1689).⁵³ In these texts, like the medieval soul-body debates, the body lamented his frailty and sinful state, while the soul offered hope of a renewed energy when the body and soul were resurrected.⁵⁴ However, the majority of anthropomorphic characters were personifications of values, such as Faith, Reason, Passion, Prudence, and Truth;⁵⁵ Talking animals, such as horses, apes, and dogs; and embodied locations such as London, England and Westminster.⁵⁶

One of the most notable personified values was 'Opinion', that featured in Henry Peacham's *The World is Ruled & Governed by Opinion* (1641), and 'Reason', that appeared in a range of dialogues as a character that either countered the poor logic of the ideas the writer was attacking or showed how reason and faith could be reconciled, as was the case in *A Paradisical Dialogue betwixt Faith and Reason* (1660).⁵⁷ With the

⁵² Anthropomorphism was not a novel invention of the dialogue genre; abstract values had been personified through allegorical characters for centuries before the seventeenth-century. During the middle ages they personified the seven liberal arts as muses as an embodied being. Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (London and Devon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 8–9; Adolf Katzenellenbogen, 'The Representation of the Seven Liberal Arts', *Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, 1966, pp. 39–41; Michael Masi, 'Boethius and the Iconography of the Liberal Arts', *Latomus*, 1974, 57–75. The Ancient Greeks also personified various virtues and vices. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art: From Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*, 243 (London: WW Norton, 1964).

⁵³ For a study of Marvell's religious dialogues see A. D. Cousins, 'Marvell's Religious Dialogues: The Ordo Salutis, Home and Doubt', *English Studies*, 96 (2015), 139–56. A close analysis of Marvell's dialogue of the body and the soul and its relation to other literary forms can be found in Kitty Scoular Datta, 'New Light on Marvell's 'A Dialogue between the Soul and Body'', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 22 (1969), 242–55.

⁵⁴ For more on the heritage of body-soul debates see Michel-André Bossy, 'Medieval Debates of Body and Soul', *Comparative Literature*, 28 (1976), 144–63.

⁵⁵ These characters appear in Gervase Babington, *A briefe conference betwixt mans frailty and faith* (1602) John Dryden, *Miscellany Poems* (1702), Roger Williams, *The bloody tenent, of persecution* (1644).

⁵⁶ These characters appear in Thomas Dekker, *The dead tearme*. (1608), Anne Bradstreet, *The tenth muse lately sprung up in America or severall poems* (1650).

⁵⁷ Anon, *The dissenting casuist* (1682), Anon, *A dialogue between Mr. Prejudice, a dissenting country gentleman, and Mr. Reason* (1682).

revival of Lucianic dialogues and the influence of Aesop, there was also a range of talking animals. In 1643, for instance, a 'War-horse' and a 'Mill-horse' discuss the merits of the Civil War in *A Dialogue Betwixt a Horse of Warre, and a Mill-horse* (1643) and in *A new Bull-bayting* (1649) dogs from England, Ireland, and Scotland discussed the different types of baiting in their respective nations.⁵⁸

Other anthropomorphic characters were talking objects, drinks, and food as seen in *The Honest Tradesman's Honour Vindicated* (1670) where there is a talking sword, and in *Mother Shipton's Christmas Carrols* (1668) there is a dialogue between a 'Mince-pie' and 'Roast-Beef'. Some of these talking objects were inserted purely for entertainment and comedic value, while others were used for more polemical purposes such as in *Rebellions antidote* (1680) where the characters 'Tea' and 'Coffee' discussed the 'rebellion, treason, and sham-plotting sin' that ale and wine had caused, and offered coffee as the antidote that would help people move from 'perfect madness to moderate strain.' Anthropomorphic characters were extremely varied and their use as characters equally spanned a variety of different types of dialogues.

Stereotypes and Socio-economic Titles

Dialogues also provided the opportunity to speak for entire groups. Characters in a dialogue, like the characters in Morality plays, could be types of people rather than individuals.⁵⁹ These characters purported to offer opinions for the representative characters and their thoughts, and they were used as embodiments of certain intellectual positions and ideologies, along with representing different occupations. As one dialogue writer said: 'Authors Insert or Borrow such denominations of persons as are most suitable to their purpose.'⁶⁰ This was manifest with characters that had socio-economic titles for their names that identified them by a description such as 'priest,' 'gentleman,' 'farmer,' or, 'tradesman'. They were characters whose name primarily identified their

⁵⁸ Dogs also feature in John Taylor's *A dialogue, or, Rather a parley betweene Prince Ruperts dogge whose name is*

Pvddle, and Tobies dog (1643).

⁵⁹ J. Christopher Warner, *Henry VIII's Divorce: Literature and the Politics of the Printing Press* (New York: Boydell and Brewer, 1998), pp. 28–29; The use of characters in a morality play and its relation to the dialogue genre has been explored by Pineas in Rainer Pineas, 'The English Morality Play as a Weapon of Religious Controversy', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 2 (1962), 157–80.

⁶⁰ Anon, *Carolaides*, (1689).

position within early modern society through their occupation, family, or social status. This covered a broad range of characters, from the common Scholar and Master characters who featured in a wide range of pedagogical literature, through to country gentleman, citizen's, merchants, and travellers. It also covered a wide variety of religious characters such as Priests, ministers, and bishops. Characters whose names were used only as a descriptive term were mostly fictional characters, although they were also fictionalised versions of real people, such as in *The Soldiers Language* that purported to be a real conversation between two soldiers, but presented the interlocutors as titled characters rather than using their real name.

Using stereotypes allowed writers to project opinions onto characters who were not clearly identifiable as any living individual. As the publisher of *Plato Redivivus* said regarding the characters in the Henry Neville's dialogue:

Talking of State Affairs in a Monarchy must needs be more offensive than it was in the Democracy where Plato lived... therefore, our Author has forborn the naming the Persons who constitute this Dialogue.

This abstraction of ideas onto stereotypes, fictional characters and socio-economic groups gave writers the liberty to voice opinions and criticisms with less fear of reproach from state censors since the writer (and printer or publisher) could claim that no single character represented his own views. This gave an author an essential safeguard against retribution: plausible deniability.⁶¹

The use of stereotypes and fictional characters, however, was liable to abuse. The Earl of Shaftesbury believed that the use of them was the main reason that modern dialogists had debased the dialogue form. The problem, he believed, was that writers were using characters in their dialogues as puppets to voice opinions and ideas that no one held. As Matthew Poole said in 1687 regarding his character of the Papist in his dialogue: 'I make the papist speak what I please, not what they think.'⁶² To give the illusion of having defeated an opponent, a writer used stereotypical characters as a straw man with weakened arguments and misrepresented opinions for them to gain a shallow victory over. The result of this, Shaftesbury believed, was that dialogue had

⁶¹ Adam Yoksas, 'Doubting Thomas: A Study of Thomas Hobbes's Post-Restoration Dialogues', *Dissertations*, 2010, p. 56 <http://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss/221>.

⁶² Matthew Poole, *A Dialogue between a Popish Priest and an English Protestant*, (1681), p. ii.

been turned into a sham debate that served only as a rhetorical ploy to conceal the author's ideological designs rather than as a model of free debate and discussion.⁶³

In looking at characters names it is important to remember the use of humour by dialogue writers. It was not uncommon for dialogues to be marketed on their title page as being 'full of wit' or 'repleat with mirth.'⁶⁴ As *A Dialogue Between a Pedler and a Popish Priest* (1697) said it on its title page that it was 'full of mirth, truth, wit, folly and plain dealing,' and Laurence Price claimed that his *A New Dialogue between Dick and Watt* (1654) was ideal to 'passe away some dolesome dayes' and 'tedious melancholy nights' because it contained 'mirth and joy.'⁶⁵ One way that humour was manifest was through using characters for satiric and comedic effect through either mocking the characters or using stereotypes that were parodied and satirised. This was particularly true of the range of character dialogues seen above in which dialogue was used ironically to portray the character of a particular socio-economic group or stereotype. Comedy was also incorporated into the conversation as light relief in *A Dialogue Betwixt a Rattle-head and Roundhead* (1641) where the writer within the dialogue used witty comments by the characters to add humour to a text that was intended as a polemic against the Cavaliers and reveal what the true character of a Cavalier was.

Comedy was also manifest through using stereotypes. In *The Devil and Broker* (1676) the writer used the stereotype of a Country-bumpkin for both comedic effect and to expose the deceit of pawn-brokers. In the dialogue the Country-bumpkin was presented as a man who supposed himself to be a man of 'excellent parts' yet appears a bumbling fool in the dialogue. The dialogue recounts how the Country-bumpkin left the countryside to live in London, a place that upon staying there he describes as 'Heaven on Earth.' It is at this point he is found discussing with a pawnbroker who offers to educate him in his trade so that he can remain in London. The Country Bumpkin is taken in by the pawnbroker's advice on account of his simple-mind and desire to wear fashionable clothes and starts to practice as a pawn-broker until he is eventually caught and prosecuted. The moral that the dialogue provided was that the City had a corruptive influence on the honest people found in the countryside that migrated to London for a better life. Indeed, the dialogue ends with the Country Bumpkin leaving the city and

⁶³ Shaftesbury, *Characteristics*, p. 242.

⁶⁴ Anon, *A dialogue betwixt a Rattle-head and a Roundhead*, (1641).

⁶⁵ L.P., *A new dialogue between Dick of Kent, and Wat the Welch-man* (1654) Sig. A1.

resolving that 'he'll never come to London more'. The stereotype of the country bumpkin was both a comedic device and a tool to illuminate immorality. This reflects the influence of Lucian on the dialogue tradition through the incorporation of comedy and satire within dialogues as a means to uncover the truth and reveal immorality in both tradesmen and figures of authority through dialogues with a Devil.

Non-Fictional Characters

Characters with real names such as King Henry VIII, Oliver Cromwell, and Henry Vaine should have been the most complex characters within the genre; in reality, they were mostly simplistic caricatures that featured in either dialogues of the dead, or, satirical attacks on them in pamphlet dialogues. They varied from notable people from the past, who appeared in dialogues of the dead, to contemporary political leaders, through to local priests in a public debate. Bishop Laud appeared in several dialogues in 1641 after his imprisonment for treason such as *The Bishops potion* (1641), and *The last True Newes from the Tower* (1641) in which he secretly confessed his true popish association. Similarly, the parliamentarian, Arthur Haslerig, who had been instrumental in the Civil War, appeared in several dialogues after the Restoration such as *Haslerig & Vain* (1660), and *The Hang-mans Lamentation* (1660) in which he clarified his motives for his involvement in the conflict. Not all real characters were as famous, or more accurately infamous, as Archbishop Laud and Arthur Haslerig. Many real characters were local priests holding public debates with rival sectarian leaders such as in *The Romish Fisher caught and held in his owne net* which contained a reported dialogue between Daniel Featley and Mr. Fisher in which Mr Fisher's erroneous religious views were exposed as false.⁶⁶ Although characters with names of real people had some variety, they were all generally of an upper and middling socio-economic background and tended to appear in similar types of text.

Just because a character had the name of a real person it did not mean that it was an accurate representation of them. When authors used real people in their

⁶⁶ Bernard Capp, 'The Religious Marketplace: Public Disputations in Civil War and Interregnum England', *The English Historical Review*, 2013, cet326; Ann Hughes, 'Public Disputations, Pamphlets and Polemic', *History Today*, 41 (1991), 27–33.

dialogues they often satirised, mocked, and misrepresented them.⁶⁷ Shaftesbury described these characters as being ‘so far from representing any particular man, or order of men, that they scarce resemble any thing of the kind. It is by their names only that these characters are figured.’⁶⁸ The ability of dialogues to represent people made them an effective weapon for satire and *ad hominem* attacks on political and religious leaders. This was done through distorting their words; weakening their arguments; portraying them as ignorant, stupid, or mad; and having them contradict themselves in their own words. One writer defined dialogue as a way of writing in which ‘(they say) a witty man may make any thing look as uncouth and ridiculous as he pleases.’⁶⁹ Indeed, dialogue in these instances allowed the ordinary man to humiliate those in positions of power. These partial fictions were not always vituperative and real people were occasionally idealised through polishing their speech, strengthening their arguments, improving their wit, and heroically portraying them defeat their opponents in the debate. For the most part, however, they were fictionalised for polemical purposes and the dialogue genre functioned as space in which people could be idealised, attacked, and misrepresented for various rhetorical purposes.

It is evident from this synopsis that there were many different types of character in the genre. The variety of characters reflects the range of uses that dialogue was used for. In all the different types the characters were capable of being used for satire and comedy. However, understanding how they were utilised requires further information about the nature of the characters in the dialogue which can be obtained by a further stage of analysis and categorisation. This has been achieved by looking at the character’s name to determine what was the prime characteristic of the character. For example, the character of a Lawyer establishes that the most salient part of the characters identity is his occupation. By contrast, the character of the Welshman from the dialogue *A new dialogue between Two Travellers* (1648) shows that the most significant identity that the writer wanted the reader to understand was that the character was from Wales.

⁶⁷ See for example the dialogues that had Bishop Laud in them. Anon, *The Conference of William Laud and Mr Fisher* (1639); Anon, *Canterbury’s Will* (1640); Anon, *The Bishops Potion* (1641); Anon, *The Discontented conference between two great associates* (1641); Anon, *The Last true newes from the tower* (1641); Henry Hickman, *Laudensium Apostasia* (1660)

⁶⁸ Shaftesbury, pp. 88-90.

⁶⁹ Samuel Parker, *A discourse of ecclesiastical politie*, (1671), p. xiv.

Character Types

The most common type of name indicated the character's religious affiliation, or position within a religious group (Figure 5.2). The second most common type of name was based on the character's profession, trade, occupation, or employment such as lawyers, doctors, merchants, and members of the military. Many characters were also given names that established or indicated their social status; these were often real people who held a certain position within society. For instance, Oliver Cromwell appeared in multiple dialogues because of his position as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England.⁷⁰ Not all names that established a character's social status were real people: the popular characters of the Gentleman, Lady, and Lord all established the character's social status, although these names also provided the reader with other clues about the character's gender, education, and socio-economic background. The following will look at how dialogues used these names for types of characters that were used for various rhetorical purposes that ranged from satire, pedagogy to political and religious discussion.

A significant number of characters were defined through their name by a personality trait. These were characters such as 'Moderate' that featured in John Humfrey's *Plain-Dealing* (1681) and the anonymous dialogue *A short way with the Papists* (1706) in which the name indicated that the character's personality was moderate. Richard Baxter's character of 'Doubter', found in his dialogue *The Full and Easie Satisfaction which is the True and Safe Religion* (1674), indicated the personality of the character to help the reader understand the character's role in the dialogue. Other character types that are worth mentioning are characters defined by their pedagogic function, geographic region, and intellectual position. It is worth outlining these groups here even if they are not explored to their full potential in this thesis. Pedagogic characters were characters like 'Question' and 'Answer' that helped to move the conversation forward.⁷¹ Characters such as 'Wife' and 'Husband', were defined primarily

⁷⁰ See for example: Anon, *The World in a Maize* (1659); Anon, *Cromwell's Thankes* (1660); *Man in the Moon, New-Market Fayre* (1661); Nathaniel Fiennes, *Monarchy asserted to be the best, most ancient and legal form of Government* (1660); Anon, *Cromwells Complaint of Injustice* (1681).

⁷¹ Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England C. 1530-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 50–58.

by their gender role and relationship.⁷² Similarly, characters such as 'Friend,' 'Nephew,' and 'Daughter' were defined by their relationship to another character. Characters defined by their geographic region were characters whose name identified where the character was from, such as 'Englishman,' 'Welshman' and 'London Citizen.' As characters, they tended to feature in news-based dialogues, which were often in the form of traveller dialogues in which two travellers from different geographic places exchanged news on the road as they travelled. Characters defined by intellectual position were characters in which the name clearly indicated their intellectual stance, such as 'Libertine,' 'Philologus,' and 'Polymathes.' The following analysis will look at the four of the most popular types of characters as seen in the graph below: characters who were identified primarily by their profession, religious affiliation, social position and characters that were non-human.

Demographics of Dialogue Participants

Looking at the demographics of characters in dialogues can help to understand what types of characters were used and how they were used across the century. As seen in figure 5.2 one of the most common types of character name followed the nature of employment, with fifteen per cent of all characters being defined by their profession or job.⁷³ To understand the role that occupation played in the dialogue genre requires a way of organising the various different professions, occupations, and jobs so that trends can be tracked. This is not without its problems because, as Rosemary O'Day has observed, professions in early modern England were not uniform, or even unified entities; many professionals disagreed amongst themselves about their own identity and place within

⁷² The defining identity category 'gender role and relationship' used here is different from the gender of the character that will be studied later in the chapter. To demonstrate this difference a character could be female or male, but not defined by their gender such as Joan Cromwell, or the character of a 'Bawd,' where the character was defined by their real name and their occupation rather than their gender. In contrast, a female, or male character, was classified as being defined by their gender or relationship when the name only provided information about their gender role or relationship to another character, such as characters named Daughter, Son, Woman, and Father.

⁷³ In using the term profession I accept that there is a degree of anachronism in applying this term as profession in the early modern period was limited to only three domains: law, medicine, and the clergy. Similarly, the terms occupation and employment seem difficult to use in the early modern context, and to have drawn a distinction between a professional, a worker, tradesman, or apprentice, would have been to difficult to have consistently applied, therefore I have grouped trades, workers, professionals, and employees into the same group of 'profession' and refer to occupation and profession interchangeably.

society.⁷⁴ Similarly, it is not clear how the historian should describe the social structure of the early modern world which is resistant to being easily categorised both in modern terminology and, in actors' categories.⁷⁵ Notwithstanding these difficulties, it is still possible to classify characters into various occupations by drawing upon previous scholars' work on the social organisation of the seventeenth century and broadly grouping together various groups into larger categories.⁷⁶ Cases where an occupation was identifiable in the character's name, were classified according to the following typology: labourers and paupers, tradesmen and merchants, professionals, clergy, military, gentry, and royalty.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Rosemary O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450-1800: Servants of the Commonwealth* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 6–7.

⁷⁵ Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580–1680* (London: Routledge, 2013). Barry Coward, *Social Change and Continuity: England 1550-1750* (London: Routledge, 2014). James B. Collins, 'Class, Status, and Order', in *Europe, 1450 to 1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World*, ed. by Jonathan Dewald (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2004), I, 517–23.

⁷⁶ I have primarily drawn upon the following sources. For most of the groups I have drawn upon Keith Wrightson's study *English Society 1580–1680* (London: Routledge, 2013). This has been supplemented with information from Ronald G. Asch, 'Aristocracy and Gentry', in *Europe, 1450 to 1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World*, ed. by Jonathan Dewald (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2004), I, 96–102; Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1994); Merry E. Wiesner, *Early Modern Europe, 1450-1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Jean-Pierre Poussou, 'Mobility, Social', in *Europe, 1450 to 1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World*, ed. by Jonathan Dewald (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2004), IV, 156–60.

⁷⁷ As schematic it must be conceded this is rudimentary and fails to capture the full diversity of the social organization of early modern Britain, yet to have analytic traction when looking at a large data set there must be some generalization. For instance this typology does not take into account Yeoman, Citizens, and Freeholders who scholars have stressed were significant groups of early modern England. Likewise it has not included vagrants, criminals and rogues in this typology. Nor does not take into account that many military leaders came from the gentry. (See Wrightson, *English Society 1580–1680*, pp. 15–25) and it has reduced the finer grades of distinction that existed between different types of laborers, and gentry, that scholars have highlighted as significant parts of how early moderns understood their social position. Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age: England, 1603-1714* (Pearson Education, 2003), pp. 50–58.

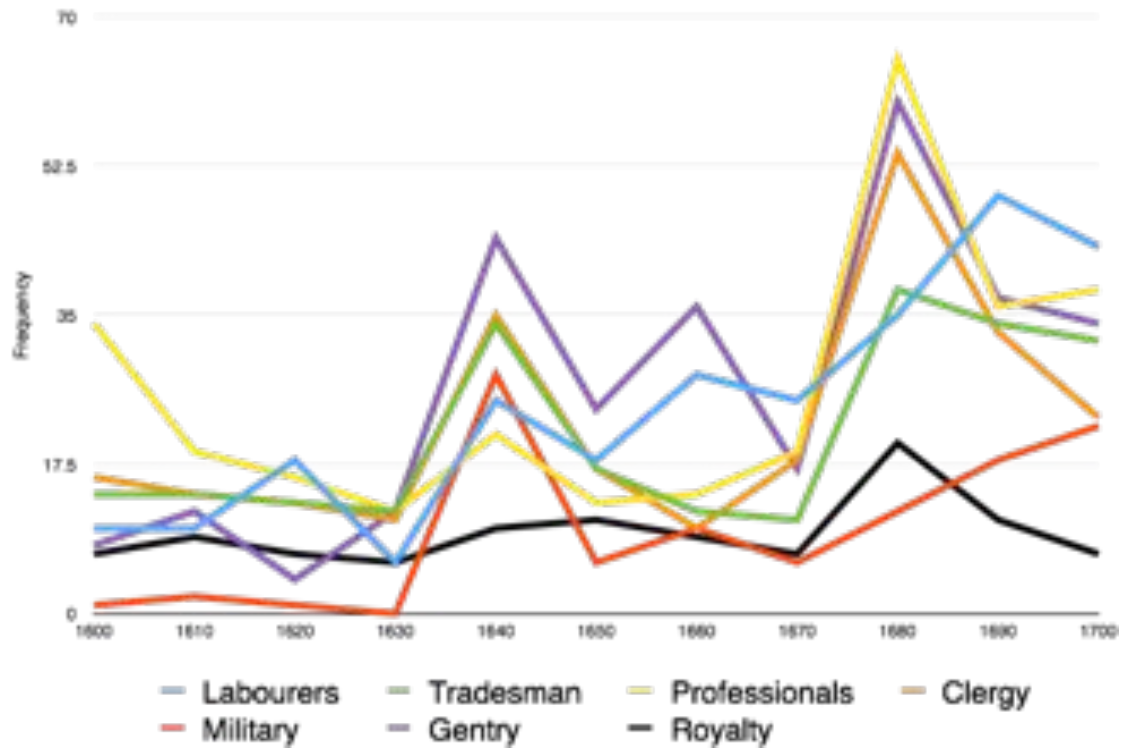


Figure 5.3 A graph showing the absolute frequency of different occupations of character's in the dialogue genre.

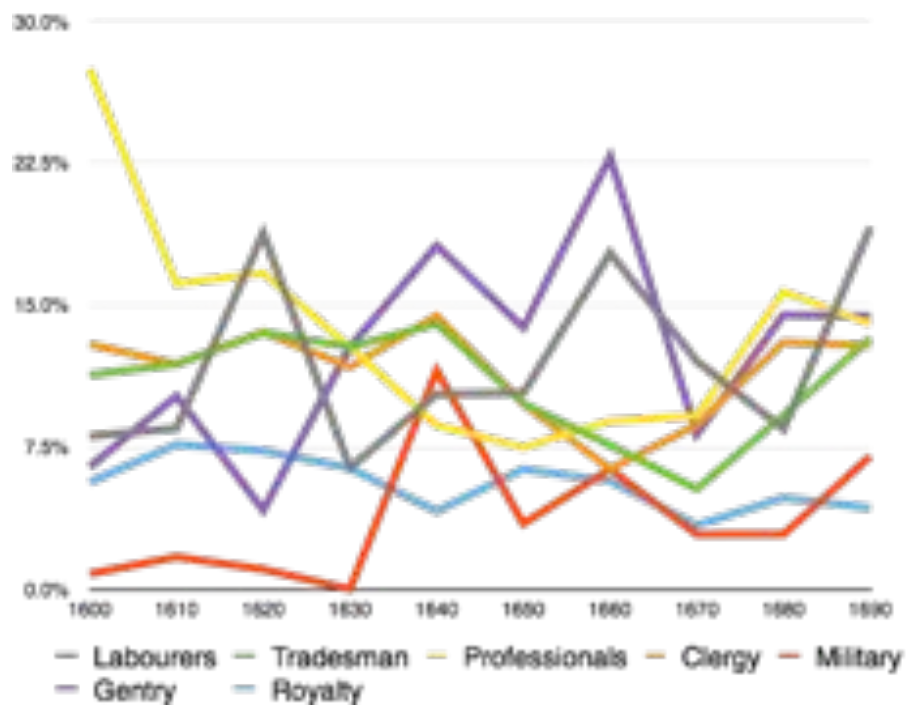


Figure 5.4 A graph showing the percentage of dialogues that used different character occupations.

The frequency of the different occupations across the century, as seen in figure 5.3, does reveal some interesting trends. The first is the significant increase in the number of characters named after their occupation in the 1640s and 1680s. It is possible that this spike is an artefact of the increase in the number of dialogues published in the 1640s rather than an increase in characters being defined by their occupation. However, when this is examined in relation to all characters in the dialogue genre (as seen in figure 5.4) there is still a proportionate increase in characters defined by some occupations, relative to other character types in the 1640s. One of the most noticeable trends is the increase in characters from the military in the 1640s, with eleven per cent of all characters in this decade from the military. Other interesting trends are the rise of characters from the gentry in the middle of the century, and the decline in the number of professional characters, from twenty-seven per cent of dialogues to six per cent in the 1650s.

One of the most obvious explanations for the significant increase of characters from the military is the context of the Civil War during this decade. The character of a Soldier, for example, was used in thirteen dialogues in the period 1640 to 1660. Characters that were from the military were used as a vehicle to provide news on wars and battles, through an insider's perspective. *Ormondes Breakfast* (1649) provided what it claimed was 'private soldiers chat' that was 'A true relation of the salley and skirmish performed by Collonell Michael Iones and his party, against the Marques of Ormonde, and his forces encamped before Dublin the second of August 1649.' Similarly, the dialogue *A New (and too True) Description of England* (1643) and *A Conference Between Two Souldiers Meeting on the Roade* (1659) had two soldiers from Scotland and England meeting on the road to exchange information from the region they were travelling from. Like the cony-catching dialogues in the previous chapter, the strength of these dialogues came from the fact that it was participants who revealed a first-hand insight into these events. This allowed writers to use dialogue to have Royalist and Parliamentary soldiers self-condemn themselves.

Characters from the military were also used to expose what writers claimed were the true motivations for the war. For instance, one dialogue has a soldier reveal that 'the warr which is making against General Monck, is for no other cause, then his faithful

standing up for his master the Parliament.⁷⁸ Likewise, dialogues such as *The Wicked Resolution* (1642) had characterised Royalist soldiers as full of malice and hate who wanted to take citizens' wives and 'ravish them against the cross' and 'kill, slay, and murder the Roundheads.'⁷⁹ In response to these slanderous representations of soldiers, other dialogues had soldiers offering responses to this 'evil service' that they had been accused of doing to the State. For instance, John Prounset's *Certaine Scruples from the Army Presented in a Dialogue* (1647) had a Soldier defend the army's devotion to God and the State, and thereby 'inform others in the Truth' of their 'own innocence.'⁸⁰ The popularity of characters from the military in the 1640s underscores the importance of character choice for increasing the dialogues effectiveness in conveying its message.

Characters and Social Status

Figures 5.3 and 5.4 allow us to understand the role of social position in the dialogue. Describing the social structure of early modern England through classifying people into social groups is fraught with difficulties.⁸¹ As Coward has shown, many early moderns described their social world in terms of degree in which a rigid social hierarchy governed the world.⁸² Others, such as K. Wrightson, have adopted the language of sorts to describe early modern England.⁸³ Despite the limitations of broadly categorising the diverse social spectrum of seventeenth century England into 'better,' 'middling,' and

⁷⁸ Anon, *No Parliament, no penny* (1660), p. 2.

⁷⁹ Anon, *The Wicked Resolution* (1642) p. 2-4.

⁸⁰ John Prounset, *Certaine scruples from the army presented in a dialogue* (1647), sig. A2r-A3.

⁸¹ J. Thirsk, *The Myth of the Middle Class in Tudor England* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1961). David Cressy, 'Describing the Social Order of Elizabethan and Stuart England', *Literature & History* 3 (1976), 29-44; Keith Wrightson, 'Aspects of Social Differentiation in Rural England, C. 1580-1660', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 5 (1977), 33-47.

⁸² Coward, *Social Change and Continuity*, pp. 12-15.

⁸³ This initially was a two-part model ('the better sort' and 'the poorer sort') that was later expanded to include 'the middling sort.' This had attraction for social historians because it provided a group that helped to capture the expansion of merchants, craftsman, and professionals who did not fit into analytical models based on rank, land ownership, or degree. This can be seen in Richard Gaugh's study into the 'middling sort' that helped to capture the structure of early modern social hierarchy that was embodied in the seating arrangement of the local church See Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680* (Routledge, 2013). John Richard Edwards, 'A Business Education for "the Middling Sort of People" in Mercantilist Britain', *The British Accounting Review*, 41 (2009), 240-55; Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (University of California Press, 1996); H. R. French, 'Social Status, Localism and the "Middle Sort of People" in England 1620-1750', *Past & Present*, 2000, 66-99. Jonathan Barry and C. W. Brooks, *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society, and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (Macmillan Houndmills, 1994), p. Introduction p. 5-9. Neale, R.S. *Class in English History, 1680-1850* (Oxford, 1981). Richard Gough and David Hey, *The History of Myddle* (Penguin, 1988).

‘poorer’ groups of people, such stratification can provide insight into the characters in the dialogue genre, and the relationship between social status of a character and format of dialogue. The graph below shows the percentage of characters that were classified into each social group.⁸⁴ The first significant feature is the significant decline in the 1640s of the number of characters who had an unknown social status. This supports the stance outlined earlier that articulating a character’s occupation, and by extension their social group, was used in the 1640s to help articulate the interest and motives of the characters.

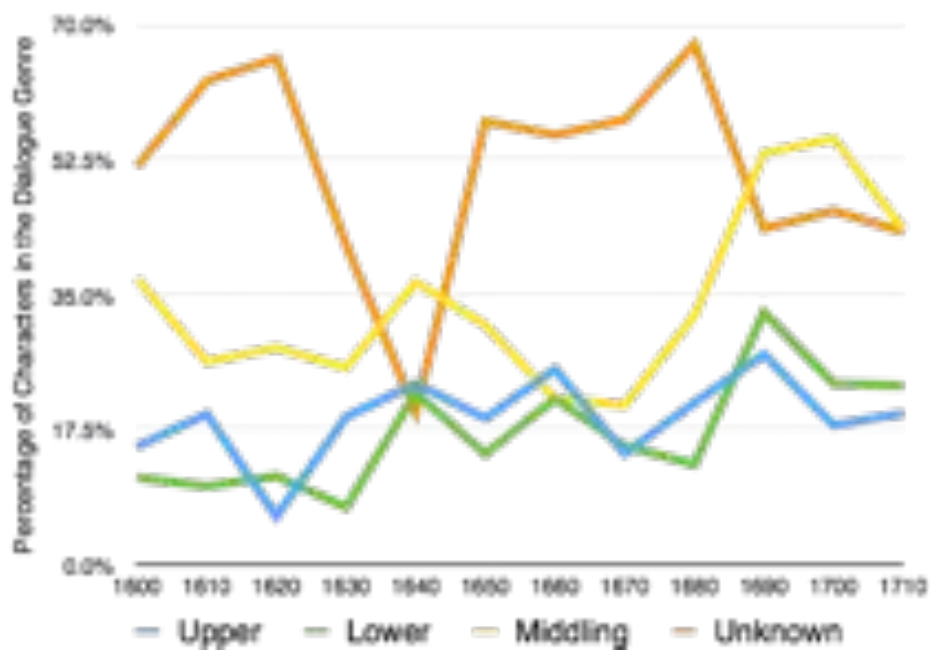


Figure 5.5 A graph showing the distribution of the different social groups of characters in the dialogue genre.

The second notable trend is the significant rise in the number of characters that came from the ‘middling sort’ in the later decades. This change in the demographics of dialogue characters could arguably reflect broader developments in English society during this period.⁸⁵ As some studies into the ‘middling sort’ have argued, early modern

⁸⁴ In grouping the different groups the following division was used: labourers and tradesmen were classed as ‘poorer sort’; professionals, military and clergy were classed as ‘middling sort’; and gentry and royalty as the ‘better sort.’ There are obvious limitations to this in that tradesmen often fell into poorer and middling categories.

⁸⁵ This is difficult to fully establish as scholars vary significantly on the seventeenth century social and economic context. W.E Minchton and John Nef for example both described it as a period of steady

England had a shifting social structure and witnessed an expansion of people who could be described as being part of the 'middling sort.'⁸⁶ Although these studies have stressed that the middling sort were still far from every-man and every-women, with the vast bulk of society still less fortunate than the middling sort, there was still an increase in the number of people who made up the middling sort.⁸⁷ Studies such as Craig Muldrew's study on obligation and credit, for instance, have shown that Early Modern England had some degree of social mobility and that it was possible for people through managing their reputation to increase their wealth and social status.⁸⁸ Others have also shown that within the middling sort there was an increase in the levels of literacy during the century.⁸⁹ It should be stressed that the correlation between the rise in characters classed as being of the middling sort in dialogues, and the expansion of a middling sort in society, does not necessarily mean that the two changes are related.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that along with the increase in the numbers of people that historians consider as comprising the middling sort, there was also a rising level of literacy amongst them.⁹¹

This rise in literacy across the social spectrum suggests that it is possible that the increase in characters in printed dialogues of the middling sort was because they

commercial and industrial expansion, with Nef claiming that this period witnessed a 'first industrial revolution.' See John Ulric Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry* (Routledge, 2013); Walter E. Minchinton, *The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Methuen, 1969). Others have argued that the period was one of economic stagnation, limited market growth, and primitive technological innovation. See Leslie A. Clarkson, 'Pre-Industrial Economy in England 1500-1750', 1971, pp. 22-25.

⁸⁶ Alan Everitt, 'Social Mobility in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 1966, 56-73; Jean-pierre Poussou, 'Mobility, Social', in *Europe, 1450 to 1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World*, ed. by Jonathan Dewald (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2004), iv, 156-60; Barry Coward, *Social Change and Continuity: England 1550-1750* (London: Routledge, 2014). The rise in the political weight of the middling sort has been stressed by John Morrill, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Tudor and Stuart Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 204-215. Richard Dean Smith, *The Middling Sort and the Politics of Social Reformation: Colchester, 1570-1640* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004).

⁸⁷ Gough and Hey, pp. 6-15; Barry and Brooks, pp. 67-95.

⁸⁸ Muldrew in particular highlighted the case of Samuel Pepys who through careful management and careful loans builds his credit and social status. Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (London: Macmillan, 1998).

⁸⁹ Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*, 1986, 97-131; David Cressy, 'Literacy in Context: Meaning and Measurement in Early Modern England', *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 314 (1993), pp. 306-308; David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Edwards.

⁹⁰ This is because as Ian Green has noted that readerships, and by extension literacy can not be distinguished along lines of status, education or access to books, as it was a very flexible definition of reading, and there were numerous ways in which a person could engage with a text. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, pp. 17-18.

⁹¹ David Cressy, 'Educational Opportunity in Tudor and Stuart England', *History of Education Quarterly*, 16 (1976), 301-20.

represented this growing demographic of literate members of society who had the ability to purchase this printed material.⁹² Indeed, Laura Stevenson has made this argument in her study of some of the most popular books in the Elizabethan period. Stevenson has shown that twenty-seven per cent of the most popular publications were concerned with merchants, clothiers, and tradesmen and she argues that this prominence of the 'middling sort' reflected their prominence as book buyers and readers.⁹³ The relationship between the social demographics of the characters in dialogues, and the type of texts they appeared in can be investigated further by looking at the types of publications that characters of the middling sort appeared in, in comparison to characters of the upper and lower sort.

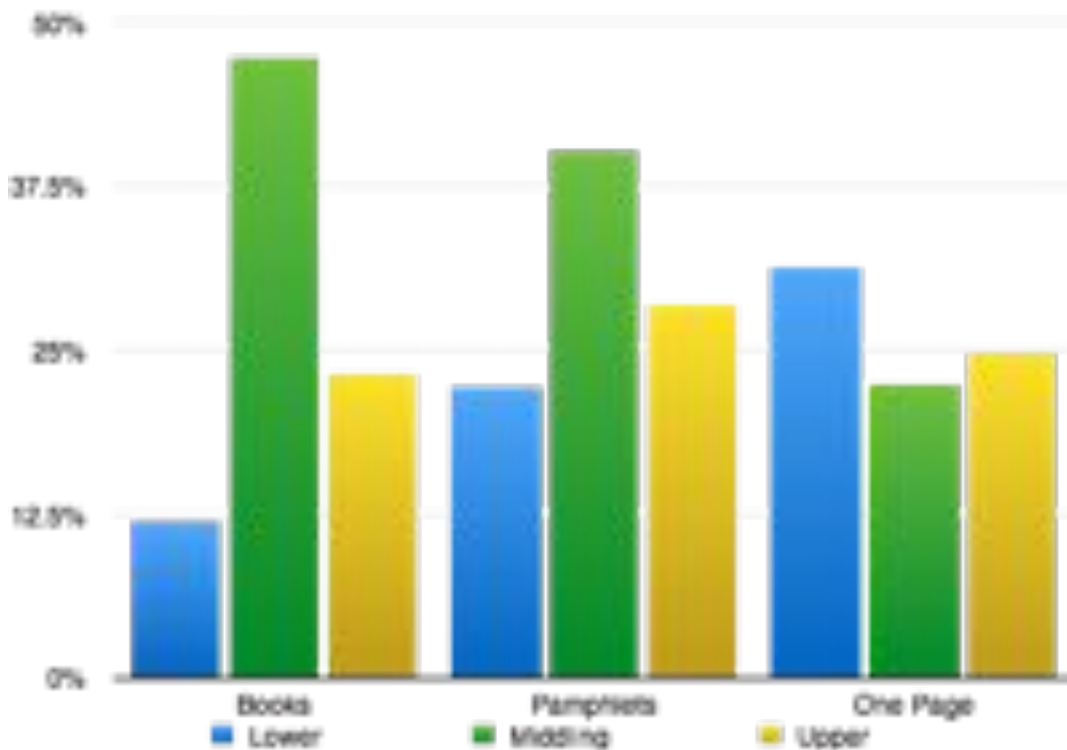


Figure 5.6 A graph showing the distribution of characters of different social rank in each format of dialogue.

⁹² Adam Fox has said that 'Early modern England was, therefore a much more 'literate,' environment than has ever been fully appreciated. It was also a much more 'literary' on than has yet been generally accepted.' See Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 409. Margaret Spufford for instance has gone so far as to say that there was a steady trickle of semi-literate people into the laborers. See Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 32–34.

⁹³ Stevenson, pp. 23–28.

As figure 5.6 shows there is a clear correlation between the sort of character and format of dialogue. Books predominantly had characters of a middling social rank, whereas characters of lower social status appeared in higher numbers in pamphlets and broadsheets. When characters of the lower sort are used in books, they appear either in collections of poetry (in which they usually feature in pastoral dialogues where shepherds and maids muse upon the simple lifestyle of a shepherd) or in conduct manuals (for example, in which they feature in conversations that show noblemen how to woo a lusty maid).⁹⁴ Dialogues that were written in a pamphlets and one-page broadsheets tended to use characters of lower social status because they were marketed as being ‘the common town-talk’ and were written for the ‘further satisfaction of the common people’. It was important that these dialogues had characters to whom the less-literature readers could relate. Indeed these characters often spoke in plain and easy style because they were intended for the simple, the common or vulgar minds of less-literary people. Eburne’s *Plaine way to Plantations*, for instance, was ‘Written for the perswading and stirring up of the people of this land, chiefly the poorer and common sort to affect and effect these attempts better then yet they doe.’ This meant, as John Brinsley observed, that they could ‘lead the poorest by the hand, and to support their weakness, to help to confirm weak hands and weary knees, that all herein may help together.’⁹⁵ Therefore, the format of a dialogue was a means by which the poor and less literate could be included within print culture because it was a form of literature that leant itself to helping the ‘poorer and common sort.’

Characters of the middling sort were clearly correlated to a certain format of publication, with the highest number of characters of the middling sort featuring in book-length dialogues, and the lowest amount appearing in one-sheet dialogues. This trend can also partly be explained by the fact that religious characters, such as priests and ministers, were classified in the database as being of the middling sort.⁹⁶ Given that religious dialogues, as observed in chapter two, were primarily written in books, the high number of middling characters in books can simply be explained by the number of

⁹⁴ See the previous chapter for examples.

⁹⁵ John Brinsley, *The fourth part of the true watch containing prayers and teares for the churches* (1624) sig. A3r.

⁹⁶ This highlights the problem with using a large database as the span of those who were part of the clergy spanned from those who were son’s of the gentry through to those of more humbler lineage.

religious texts, and the ministers and priests who predominantly featured in these publications. But this does not account entirely for the rise in characters of the middling sort at the end of the century because the number of religious dialogues was in decline. Books that contained middling characters in the 1680s show that the majority of them appear in religious texts such as Benjamin Keach's *War with Devil* (1680) and Richard Baxter's *The Poor Man's Family Book* (1680). A few characters of the middling sort also appeared in pedagogic dialogues, such as 'how-to-manuals' like *The Parents Primer and the Mothers Looking Glasse* (1681) and language-learning text books such as *The Way of Teaching the Latin Tongue by Use* (1685).

Figure 5.7 shows that there was a significant increase in characters of the middling sort in pamphlets in the 1640s, and in the 1680s, and that there is a rise in the number of characters of the middling sort across all formats of dialogues during this period. The rise in characters of the middling sort in one-page length dialogues in the 1680s was due to the rise in periodical dialogues in this period. Periodical dialogues, as will be explored in the final chapter, were clearly marketed to those who frequented coffee houses and frequently bought news-based publications. The characters that featured in these dialogues therefore often reflected the patrons who they anticipated would purchase them. Merchants, judges, citizens, and gentlemen all appear in these short news based dialogues. These dialogues, as will be seen in the final chapter, also mimicked the situation that they anticipated they would be read in, by setting the dialogue in a coffee house.



Figure 5.7 A graph showing the frequency of characters of the 'middling sort' in different formats of dialogue.

The rise of characters of the 'middling sort' in pamphlets in the 1640s can be partly explained by the rise in characters from the military such as Anthony Gilby's *A Dialogue Between a Souldier of Barvvick, and an English Chaplain* (1642) and *The Reformed Malignants* (1643). This is because characters from the military were generally classed within this typology as falling within the middling sort.⁹⁷ Other explanations for the rise in the 1640s of characters of the middling sort are the increase in pamphlets that had a citizen feature within it, such as *The Country-Man's Care* (1641), *Plaine Truth, Without Feare, or Flattery* (1642) and *The Wishing Common-wealths Men* (1642); and the rise of pamphlets that had ministers condemn current affairs such as *An Alarme for London to Awake and Mourne for Sin* (1643) and *A New Mercury called Mercurius Problematicus* (1644). The reason for the popularity of the 'citizen' as a character was because during the civil wars citizenship was often invoked as a way to establish communal identity and allegiance to the commonwelath. As Phil Withington has shown during the sixteenth and

⁹⁷ This highlights the difficulty in using typologys. Characters from the military could come from a variety of socio-economic groups making it difficult to identify where they should be placed in any social heirarchy.

seventeenth century urban citizenship played an increasingly pivotal place within the larger commonwealth.⁹⁸ Within this context the language of citizenship implied the liberty of a subject and as a character type it signalled to the reader the cultural ideology of the urban community, that was frequently contrasted against the attitudes represented by the character of a 'Country Gentleman.'

In contrast to characters of the middling and lower sort, those of a higher status within society appear fairly evenly across the formats. Characters who were identified as being of a higher class, such as members of the gentry, royalty, or aristocracy were primarily identified through their name. Although some were identified through generic titles, such as 'gentleman' or 'country gentleman' the majority were identified through their real names. Characters who were at the lower end of the social spectrum in contrast were almost always identified through their profession, or place within society and their name was their occupation, or social status, rather than their personal name.

Gender

Cataloguing the characters in the dialogue genre can also show patterns relating to gender. Figure 5.8 shows that women were increasingly used as characters. In the decades after 1680, there is a significant increase in the number of female characters and a decrease in the number of male characters. Female characters prior to this point only accounted for 10-12 per cent of all participants in a dialogue. However, after 1680, this doubled to 24 per cent, and by the end of the century, women and men were almost equally represented. This suggests that as a form the dialogue was becoming increasingly inclusive and provided a forum in which women and/or socially marginal groups that generally had no voice within print was able to find an outlet for expression in print.

⁹⁸ Phil Withington, 'Public Discourse, Corporate Citizenship and State Formation in Early Modern England', *The American Historical Review*, 112 (2007), 1016–38.

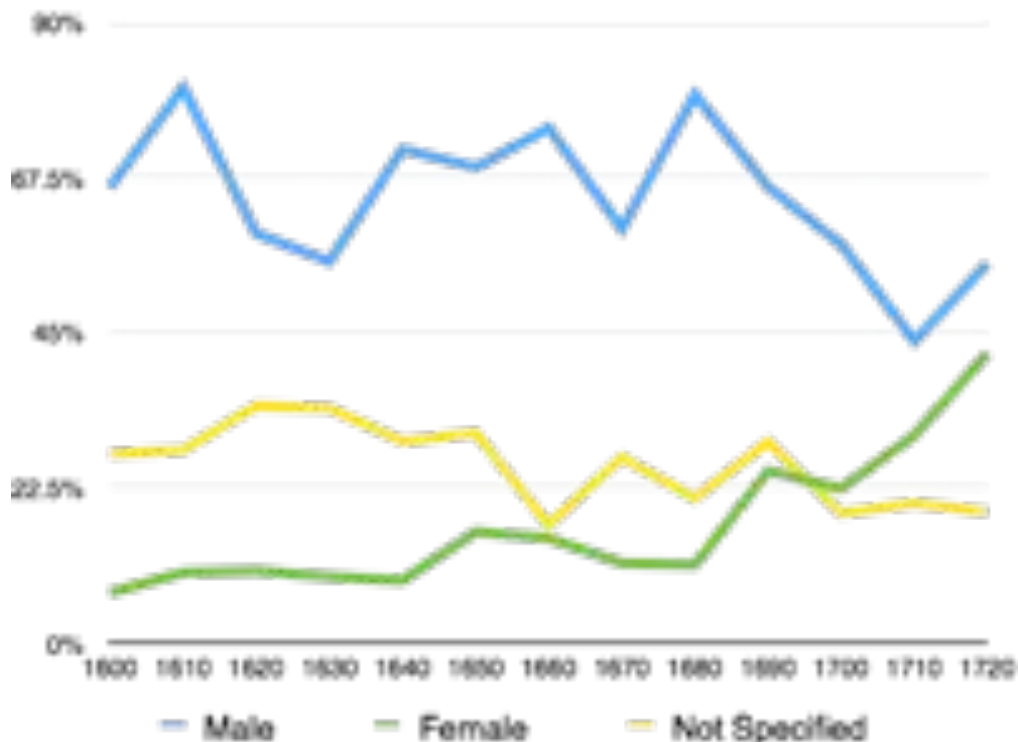


Figure 5.8. A graph showing the percentage of characters of different gender in the dialogue genre.

Studies on dialogues in France support this interpretation, and have argued that dialogue offered a forum for the female voice to find expression. Many were written by women, such as Marguerite de Navarre's dialogues *Navire* and *Heptameron*;⁹⁹ the esteemed novelist Madeleine de Scudery;¹⁰⁰ and the schoolmistress Madame De Maintenon.¹⁰¹ Janet Smarr has explained the prevalence of female-written dialogues in France by arguing that they allowed women to enter and engage with print culture, since they provided women with access to the male-dominated print universe.¹⁰² As Smarr states: 'Friendly dialogue with an educated man - or with a learned women - becomes the university that is open to women, the means by which they can access the kinds of

⁹⁹ Reinier Leushuis, 'Dialogue, Self, and Free Will: Marguerite de Navarre's Dialogue En Forme de Vision Nocturne and Petrarch's Secretum', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 66, 69–89.

¹⁰⁰ Madeleine de Scudery, *Selected Letters, Orations, and Rhetorical Dialogues* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Penny Brown, "'Girls Aloud': Dialogue as a Pedagogical Tool in Eighteenth-Century French Children's Literature', *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 33 (2009), 202–218.

¹⁰¹ Madame de Maintenon, *Dialogues and Addresses* (University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 12.

¹⁰² Janet Levarie Smarr, *Joining the Conversation: Dialogues by Renaissance Women* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005); Manuela Mourao, 'The Representation of Female Desire in Early Modern Pornographic Texts, 1660-1745', *Signs*, 1999, 573–602; Joan DeJean, 'The Politics of Pornography: L'Ecole Des Filles', *The Invention of Pornography*, 1993, 109–24.

learning from which they are otherwise excluded'.¹⁰³ The case for the inclusive use of dialogues in France has been strengthened by Penny Brown who has shown that dialogue was often used as a tool for the education of women.¹⁰⁴ As a form, Brown argues, it encouraged inclusion and involvement for parts of society that have traditionally been seen as marginal, such as women, and members of lower social status

Caution must nevertheless be exercised in the extent to which the number of female characters in English dialogues was evidence of the inclusive potential of dialogue and its ability to represent those outside of the dominant culture. Comparing the English dialogue tradition to the French dialogues above reveals that English dialogues were significantly *less* inclusive and concerned with the education of women than the French dialogues. To understand this difference requires looking at the women that are represented within the genre. Comparing the social group of female characters in comparison to male characters (Figure 6.10) shows that there is a clear difference between their social status. The majority of male and female characters both had unknown social status but where social status could be identified female characters were mostly of lower and middling social status, whereas male characters were mostly of middling and upper social status. The majority of female characters are used in a romantic capacity, or in relationship to a male character, with the most popular female characters in the genre being the character 'wife' followed by 'maid'.

¹⁰³ Smarr, p. 15.

¹⁰⁴ Brown; Connie Capers Thorson, 'The Female Participant in the Anti-Papist Dialogue, 1660-1746', in *Compendious Conversations: The Method of Dialogue in the Early Enlightenment*, ed. by Kevin Cope (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), pp. 293–305.

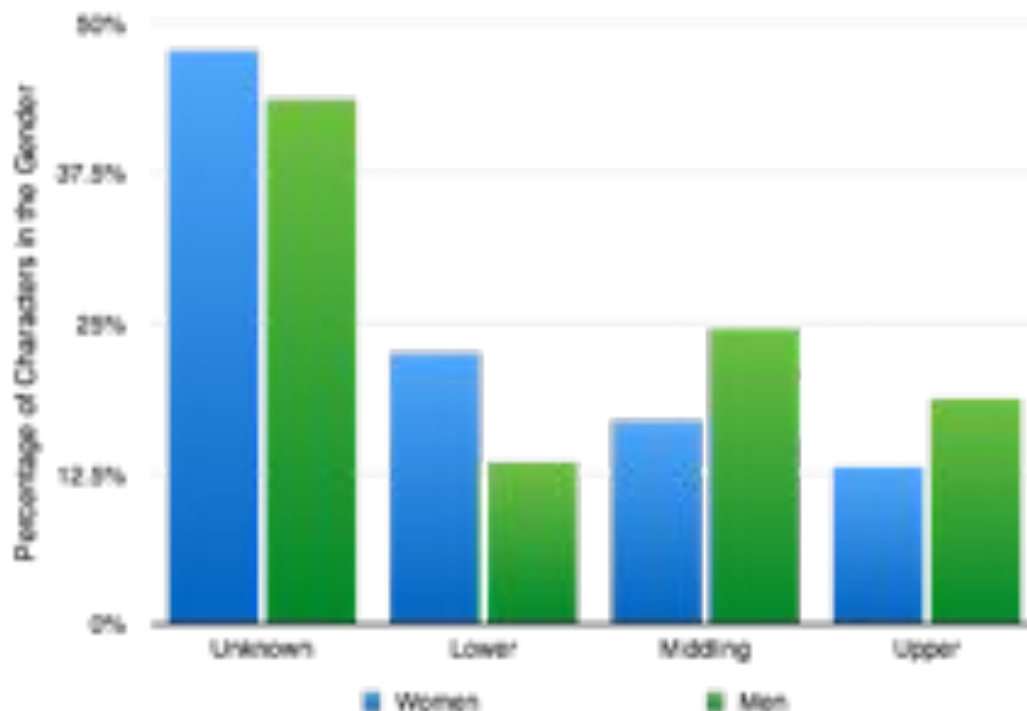


Figure 5.9. A graph showing the difference between the social class of male and female characters in the dialogue genre.

Female characters often featured in conduct manuals, romantic ballads, and erotic literature.¹⁰⁵ Lower class female characters were primarily whores, lusty maids, or lovers whose presence in the dialogues was as an object of seduction by men, who were often of a higher social status than the women, or in conversation with their contemporaries as seen in the whore dialogues.¹⁰⁶ In these situations the female characters were one dimensional and their identity was often tied to their relationship to a male such as the maid in *The Maiden's Delight* (1663) who in the ballad dialogue expressed that 'the greatest comfort of her life, was to be made some honest trade-mans

¹⁰⁵ There have been studies on gender in relation to female characters in Shakespeare's plays and early modern drama more generally. See Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Karen Raber, *Dramatic Difference: Gender, Class, and Genre in the Early Modern Closet Drama* (Kansas City: University of Delaware Press, 2001); Wendy Wall, *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Natasha Korda, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies: Gender and Property in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

¹⁰⁶ Ian Frederick Moulton, *Before Pornography: Erotic Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 2004); James Grantham Turner, 'Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality', *Politics, and Literary Culture*, 2001, 1630–85.

wife.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, in *A Merry new Dialogue between a Courteous Knight and Young Maid* (1688) it showed the maid give in to the demands of the Knight who wanted to make her his wife and offered the conversation as a 'pattern be to virgins fair' in how maids should be submissive to male desire.¹⁰⁸ Female characters of lower class generally are presented in dialogues as characters that had little, or no autonomy to act for themselves and either conceded to the demands of the male character in the dialogue after an initial reluctance or were entirely submissive.

Female characters of middling and higher status, although less sexual than their lower status counterparts, were also primarily defined by their relationship to a male, with characters such as 'gentleman's wife' or 'Gentleman's Daughter'.¹⁰⁹ Significantly, most female characters were not identified by their personal name, even with those of higher social status, where the most prevalent female characters are named 'lady' and 'gentlewomen.' The only instances when real women are represented in the genre, are when they are upper class women such as the Duchess of Porthsmouth, Lady Jane Grey, and Oliver Cromwell's wife, Joan Cromwell, and their presence is usually part of a broader polemic or satire against their husbands. This occurs in *The Case is Altered, or, Dreadful news from Hell* (1660) in which Joan Cromwell meets the ghost of her late husband Oliver Cromwell who confesses to his crimes. These were exceptions, however, and the majority of female characters were fictional and identified primarily through their relationship to males, with very few dialogues having females speaking with other females. In contrast to females of lower social status these female characters often had a stronger voice and are found to be rebuking males for their actions, expressing their own opinion, and are not just objects of seduction.

The use of female characters in the dialogue genre shows that the increase in female characters in the genre is not because it became a more inclusive space in which women could find expression within print culture. Looking at female characters in English dialogues shows that female characters were not being employed as a way to educate women. Nor were they used as a way to allow women access to the male-dominated

¹⁰⁷ Anon, *The Maiden's Delight* (1663) Sig A1.

¹⁰⁸ Anon, *A Merry new Dialogue between a Courteous Knight and Young Maid* (1688) Sig. A1.

¹⁰⁹ The fact that women were often defined by their sexuality in relation to men has been the subject of Laura Gowing's study into sexual slander in early modern England that showed that a women's identity was tied to their marital choice. Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 3–6, 123–128.

print universe as scholars have observed in the French dialogue tradition.¹¹⁰ Rather, women in the English dialogue genre were present as ancillary characters to men. They mostly appeared in dialogues that were overtly comical, satirical, or for entertainment and were particularly prevalent in ballad dialogues and conduct manuals. Male characters, in contrast, appeared in a variety of dialogues from serious academic dialogues on theology to satirical and comic pamphlets.

Conclusion

The previous chapter highlighted the similarities between plays and dialogues yet it is clear that dialogue characters played a different function to dramatic characters within literature. Looked at as a whole it is evident that dialogues used characters in a distinctive way. One of the most obvious differences between play characters and dialogue participants is the one-dimensionality of the characters. Characters in dialogues had less development and emotional interiority than characters in plays. In plays the characters often had their emotional life exaggerated and developed through existential crises and development, whereas dialogue characters were emotionally muted with generally static personalities across the dialogue and this was one of the strengths of the form. The lack of emotional depth of characters meant that dialogues were suited to debate and discussing contentious issues because one of the problems with public debates was their emotional intensity and rhetorical education had taught debaters that the key to successful rhetoric was emotional manipulation.¹¹¹ In highly charged situations appeals to emotions, however, were dangerous and liable to inflame situations. Writers of dialogues were able to present themselves as free from emotional manipulation so that, as one character in a dialogue observed, 'a good cause [c]ould be disputed with good words, and confirmed with reasons, not with passions.'¹¹²

Analysing this diversity of characters has shown that a large database can provide information about a genre that close-reading of a small cluster of dialogues cannot provide. It is worth reflecting at this point on the benefits and limitations of this method,

¹¹⁰ It is possible that looking at female writers of dialogues might present a different picture to female characters in dialogues, however the gender of authors of dialogues was not something that was investigated in this thesis.

¹¹¹ As Quentin Skinner in his work on the rhetoric of Thomas Hobbes observed powerful rhetoricians used *pathos* to excite emotional responses to persuade listeners to accept their views. Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 97–103.

¹¹² Anon, *A dialogue betwixt three travellers, as accidentally they did meet on the high-way*, (1641) A2v.

and how this could be used for further study. One of the biggest limitations of this study is the typology that has been used to classify the characters because the categories were chosen at the point of the database creation without an in-depth knowledge of social history and knowing what types of characters featured in the genre. The problem with this is that it resulted in characters being marshalled into pre-existing groups that, with hindsight, are not fully reflective of their character. Notwithstanding this flaw, this research demonstrates that with further refinement, this method of analysis can reveal interesting literary trends that can help to illuminate literary history, and more broadly, the relationship between literature and its context.¹¹³

The result of this analysis is the ability to see the relationship between social groups of characters and the type of dialogue in which they appear. This has revealed patterns of generic tropes within the genre such as the changing demographics of the characters. One of the most notable changes it has highlighted has been the increase in the number of female characters and the rise in the number of characters of the middling sort within the genre. As demonstrated, characters in dialogues often reflected the audience that writers thought they would reach. Thus the rise in the number of female and middling characters, arguably, can be seen as evidence of an increase in the levels of literacy in these demographics.

¹¹³ Particularly interesting avenues for future study are the extent to which the demographics of the characters in the dialogue genre were representative of early modern society. Furthermore, how does the representation of these demographics compare to other forms of literature?; and to what extent was the relationship between characters and the type of literature that they appeared in, reflected across the various types of dialogues.

6. Dialogues and the Deluge of Print and News

*'Considering the brevity of our life, and the multitude of things which we are not obliged to know, e're one can be reckoned amongst the number of learned men, do not permit us to all ourselves.'*¹

Gabriel Naudé, *Instructions concerning the erecting of a library*, (1661)

*'We must indeed restate the facts, but not all in the same way; we must assign different causes, a different state of mind and a different motive for what was done.'*²

Thomas Wilson, *Art of Rhetoric*,

This chapter will look how dialogues were used to solve two problems encountered by early modern readers: the excess of printed books and the increase in news and political discussion.³ It will argue that dialogues were used as a print strategy to engage with the problem of the increase in printed works, news, and the rabble of popular opinion.⁴ This chapter will not look at the strategies and technologies that were deployed in establishing the veracity of news and establishing news as matters of fact since others have already performed this task.⁵ It will examine how periodical dialogues and the form in which the news was being discussed influenced how people *understood* the news and will outline how dialogue helped readers to engage with the multitude of books through condensing information into a succinct form.⁶

¹ Gabriel Naudé, *Instructions concerning the erecting of a library*, (1661), p.60-61

² Thomas Wilson, *Art of Rhetoric*, In Skinner p111

³ It will look in particular at Roger L'Estrange's *Observer* (1681), Henry Care's *Heraclitus Ridens* (1681), Nathaniel Thompson's *Loyal Protestant* (1681), and Henry Care's *Weekly Pacquet* and *Popish Courant* (1681).

⁴ Harold M. Weber, *Paper Bullets: Print and Kingship Under Charles II* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), pp. 181–192.

⁵ This has already been treated by Steven Shapin, Mark Knights, Barbara Shapiro, and Joad Raymond. See Mark Knights, 'Judging Partisan News and the Language of Interest', in *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s*, ed. by Jason McElligott (London: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 204–21; Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003); Barbara Shapiro, *Political Communication and Political Culture in England, 1558-1688* (Stanford University Press, 2012); Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

⁶ Peter A. Cramer, *Controversy as News Discourse* (Springer Science & Business Media, 2011), pp. 41–51.

This chapter will argue that the dialogue periodical emerged as a way to manage the problem of news and public discussion. It will argue that Roger L'Estrange, and other ideologues used the form as an attempt to manage the flow of public opinion. As has been seen in previous chapters L'Estrange prior to establishing *The Observer* had a rich heritage of classical dialogues having translating the dialogues of Erasmus, Cicero and Quevedo. L'Estrange had published Cicero's dialogues in an attempt to redeem society, as he stated in his preface to *Tully's Offices* 'Desperate Diseases require the most Powerful Remedies' and he believed publishing the dialogues of Cicero was part of these 'Powerful remedies.' This influence of classical dialogists and the belief that print could help to save society from social and political unrest is clearly evident in *The Observer* that shared the same title as one of Lucian's dialogues and reiterated L'Estrange's faith that print could redeem society from its madness in its first issue. The similarity between Lucian and L'Estrange was not unnoticed by his contemporaries as Ferrard Spence observed that 'Never was any writer to be compar'd to our Lucian unless it be our Present Observer.'⁷ *The Observer* demonstrates how dialogues were shaped both by its literary heritage and contemporary practices. In particular it underscores how the dialogue genre adapted itself in response to changing social and political conditions.

Looking at periodical dialogues will also help to understand the extent that Timothy Dykstaahl's argument that dialogue functioned as a proto-public sphere holds weight. Dykstaahl, Zaret and Friest have all made compelling arguments that there was a link between dialogue, public opinion and the public sphere. Dykstaahl looked at the canonical dialogues by Hobbes, Harrington and Mandeville to try and show that dialogue became an apolitical realm in which politics could be discussed.⁸ However, his focus on only a few dialogues failed to establish a convincing link between dialogue and the public sphere. If dialogues did contribute to transformations in the public sphere, then such a case must be made for the genre as a whole and not a few isolated and canonical instances. Similarly, David Zaret argued that 'print culture was a prototype for democratic models of the public sphere because it fostered discourse orientated to a virtual community to which widespread, though not universal, access existed.'⁹ His argument

⁷ *Observer* was one of L'Estranges many nick-names by other writers. Spence, *Life of Lucian*, p. xiii

⁸ Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, pp. 133-140

⁹ Freist, *Governed by Opinion*, pp. 238-241

rested on the role of print in the 'imposition of dialogic order' on conflict and controversy. Zaret suggested that the dialogue, and the associated dialogic order, was crucial to changes in communicative practices that fostered a more democratic form of political involvement. Finally, Dagmar Freist similarly used dialogues in her study into how changes in print and communicative practices contributed to the mechanisms whereby ordinary people were empowered to voice their opinions as part of an early modern plebeian public sphere.

'Tis press that has made 'em mad'

In 1681 Roger L'Estrange began publishing *The Observer*. L'Estrange was not the first to write a periodical dialogue, an accolade that goes to Edward Rawlins's *Heraclitus Ridens* (1681-1682).¹⁰ However, it was Roger L'Estrange's *Observer* that was the most popular periodical dialogue in this period. It was first published as *The Observer in Question and Answers* from April 1681-July 1681 and then changed its name to *The Observer in Dialogue* until March 1687. Other dialogue periodicals soon emerged, such as *Heraclitus Ridens*, *Democritus Ridens* and *The Popish Courant*. The popularity of periodical dialogues can be seen by how Henry Care justified his usage of the form for the latter on the grounds that 'folks are so set upon dialoguing.'¹¹ Later, after the Glorious Revolution, there was also a spate of imitative 'Observers': *The English Spy: Or, the Critical Observer* (1693); *The Poetical Observer* (1702); Tutchin's *Observer* (1702) and Leslie's *Observer* (1704); *The Comickall Observer* (1704); and *The Observer Reviv'd* (1707). The number of editions of *The Observer* (It ran for over 900 editions) and the range of imitations of L'Estrange's *Observer* is evidence of the popularity of the periodical dialogue.

To understand the emergence of the periodical dialogue it is necessary to understand the context that led to writers embracing the dialogue: the anxieties in the aftermath of the liberty of the press and the rise in the force of public opinion. In the first two years after being restored to the monarchy, King Charles II appointed Roger

¹⁰ *Heraclitus Ridens* announced its first issue on 1st February 1681 and ran until 27th August 1682. The editor is commonly attributed to Edward Rawlin's although Thomas Flatman is thought to have contributed to its contents. It was later revived as *Heraclitus Ridus Redivodus* in 1688 by Thomas Brown and was more fully restored in 1703 when William Pittis reestablished it and it ran bi-weekly from 31st July 1704 to 14th March 1704.

¹¹ Henry Care, *Popish Courant*.

L'Estrange as the chief licenser of the press in 1662. L'Estrange's appointment came as a result of King Charles II's anxieties about the disruptive potential of print. In light of the previous decades of political instability Charles believed that keeping the monarchy secure required restricting the avenues that had helped spread dissension and radical ideas in the previous decades. L'Estrange and King Charles believed that one of the causes of civil war was that people had made poorly informed choices about political allegiance because of misinformation and bad judgments based on their reading of news-books.¹² They pinned the blame for the civil unrest of the previous decades on the pulpit and the press for the misinformation that had led to civil war. As Hobbes stated: 'the Presse also did contribute much stubble; What base scurrilous Pamphlets were cryed up and down the streets, and dispersed in the Countrey? What palpable and horrid lies were daily printed? How they multiplied in every corner in such plenty, that one might say there was a superfetation of lies, which continue unto this day?'¹³ Charles believed that preventing future civil rebellion required control of the public social spaces in which rebellion was cultivated, along with regulating the press, in particular, the press's ability to disperse news amongst the population.¹⁴

L'Estrange, like Charles, wanted to find a way to safeguard the public from the danger of false news and making poor judgments about it. This anxiety was heightened in the decades after the restoration of the monarchy, particularly during the fevered period of the popish plot and exclusion crisis.¹⁵ As part of L'Estrange's strategy to prevent false news he established a governmentally approved newspaper, *The London Gazette*, in 1665.¹⁶ Initially, L'Estrange had wanted to have no public news, as was made clear just after being appointed as the chief licenser of the press in 1663:

Supposing the press in order [and] the people in their right wits ... a public Mercury should never have my vote; because I think it makes the multitude too familiar with the actions, and counsels of their superiours, too pragmatistical and

¹² Pauline Croft, 'Libels, Popular Literacy and Public Opinion in Early Modern England', *Historical Research*, 68 (1995), 266–85.

¹³ Hobbes, *Behemoth*, p115

¹⁴ Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

¹⁵ Kate Loveman, "'Eminent Cheats': Rogue Narratives in the Literature of the Exclusion Crisis', in *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s*, ed. by Jason McElligott (London: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 108–23; Peter Hinds, *The Horrid Popish Plot: Roger L'Estrange and the Circulation of Political Discourse in Late Seventeenth-Century London*, 2009.

¹⁶ It was initially called the *Oxford Gazette* but became the *London Gazette* in 1666.

censorious, and gives them not only an itch, but a kind of colourable right, and licence, to be meddling with the government.¹⁷

Providing the general population with news, according to L'Estrange, was dangerous because it gave them a licence to form opinions on the actions of the government, and it was these 'censorious' opinions that encouraged the public to meddle with the government.

Through the establishment of *London Gazette* Roger L'Estrange believed he could prevent the influence of news by limiting what was shared with the public. As he states in the first issue of *London Gazette*, his aim was to 'redeem the Vulgar from their former Mistakes and Delusions.'¹⁸ However, the publication of the *London Gazette* and the licensing act of 1662 did little to prevent the production and dissemination of the literature it was designed to curb. Although the *Gazette* was the only regularly printed newsheet there were still a variety of avenues through which news was shared. King Charles II and L'Estrange were especially worried about the use of coffeehouses as a social space that was liable to encourage civil unrest. This fear was cemented when on 12 June 1672 the king issued a proclamation titled *Restraining the spreading of False news, Licentious talking of Matters of State and, Government*:

Men have assumed to themselves a liberty; not onely in Coffee-houses but in other places and meetings, both publick and private, to censure and defame the proceedings of State, by speaking evil of things they understand not, and endeavouring to create and nourish an universal Jealousie and Dissatisfaction in the minds of all his Majesties good subjects.¹⁹

The proclamation identified coffee-houses as the pre-eminent location of 'speaking evil' of the government. Coffeehouses were social spaces in which gossip, rumour, and criticisms of the state jostled with each other. As one critic observed, they were places

¹⁷ L'Estrange, *The Oxford Gazette*, (1663) No. 1.

¹⁸ The *London Gazette* was published from 1666 until 1679 and during this time it was the only officially licensed newspaper. The *Gazette* has received comparatively little scholarly attention. It was primarily filled with royal proclamations and sanitised versions of foreign news. Scholars have dismissed the *Gazette* as a thin and vapid government organ. Macaulay and Bourne both considered it as containing nothing notable in it except 'its emptiness and worthlessness.' See Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II.* (E. H. Butler & Company, 1849), pp. 380–381; Geoffrey Alan Cranfield, *The Press and Society: From Caxton to Northcliffe* (Longman London, 1978), p. 20; Sutherland, p. 20; Henry Richard Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers: Chapters in the History of Journalism* (Chatto & Windus, 1887), I, p. 41.

¹⁹ See also: *Restraining the spreading of False news, Licentious talking of Matters of State and, Government* (London: John Bill, 1674).

where 'like so many frogs in a puddle they sup muddy water' and the patrons all 'talked at once in Confusion, and ran from point to point insensibly.'²⁰

The significant factor that encouraged the production of dialogue news periodicals was the increase of news in the wake of the expiry of the Licensing Act in 1679. In the excitement of the popish plot in 1678 the King was at loggerheads with the House of Commons and decided to dissolve Parliament in January 1679. Upon being called again it attempted to introduce a bill to exclude the King's brother James from being able to succeed Charles.²¹ In this period of continual political crisis the Licensing Act was allowed to expire by Parliament and it was not long after its lapse before some unlicensed newspapers started to appear.²² This resulted in a dramatic increase in printed material and periodical dialogues were a useful way of navigating this deluge of information.

Some impressions of the impact of the expiry of the Licensing Act can be obtained from looking at the print statistics. Figure 6.1 shows that before 1679 the number of printed texts had been at around 1100 titles.²³ In the year that the Licensing Act lapsed this had increased by 500 titles and by 1680 the number of titles was almost double the pre-1679 amount. A sense of the dynamics of this spike in printed works can be seen from looking at how this increase appeared within the dialogue genre. Figure 6.2 shows that the increase in printed titles, within the dialogue genre, was almost entirely due to pamphlets and one-sheet dialogues, rather than books.²⁴ Looking at the subjects of these titles show that this increase was mostly due to an increase in dialogues that discussed news and politics. The increase in dialogues in 1679-1681 can, therefore, be accounted for by an increase in pamphlets and dialogues on one printed sheet that discussed news and politics.

²⁰ Well-Willier, *The Women's Petition against Coffee* (1674), p. 4.

²¹ Kevin Williams, *Read All About It!: A History of the British Newspaper* (London; Routledge, 2009), p. 24-29; Paul Arblaster, 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers: England in a European System of Communications*', *Media History*, 11 (2005), 21-36.

²² Sutherland, pp. 11-15.

²³ The statistics on the number of publications is taken from the English Short Title Catalogue.

²⁴ See chapter two for the difference between the different types of publications. Periodicals are grouped with dialogues of one printed sheet.

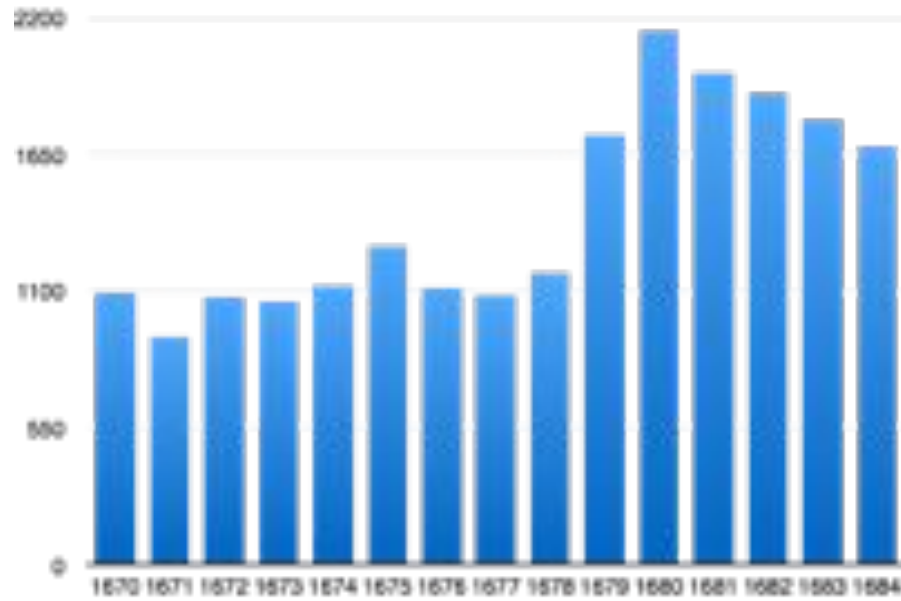


Figure 6.1: A graph showing the number of printed texts in the period 1670-1685.

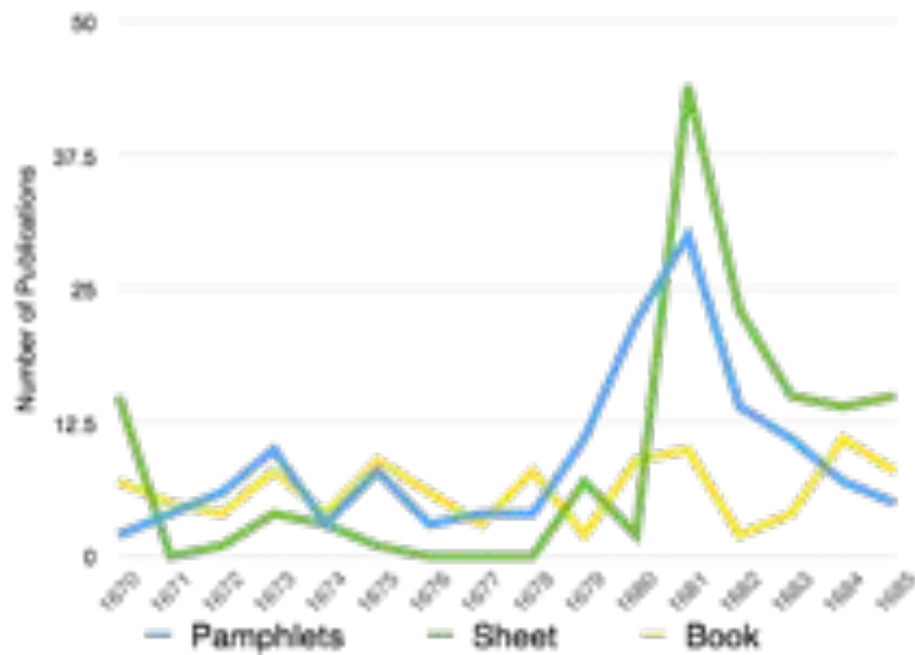


Figure 6.2. A graph showing the formats of dialogues published in the period 1670-1685.

The dialogue periodical as a reflection of public debate

Coffee-houses were far from being the pictures of rational-discourse and civil conversation that Habermas suggested.²⁵ L'Estrange saw coffeehouses as sites of gossip and rumours and in the *Observer* the Whig reprimands the Tory for 'the habit y'ave [sic] got of Scandalizing, Wrangling, Falisifying, and Reviling'.²⁶ In the first issue of *The Observer*, 'Tory' asks 'Whig' what is the source of this accusation when he asks:

Tory: Where are these inventions found?

Whig: In your Pulpits, in your papers, in your Common Discourse, in your Coffee-Clubs and Caballs.²⁷

The Whig saw common discourse that went on in coffee-clubs not as a rational-critical discussion but rather a place in which news was distorted and resembled gossip more than reasonable discourse. This was dangerous in L'Estrange's eyes because falsified news fostered sedition and could lead people astray. For Roger L'Estrange the problem of news and coffee houses was twofold: presses were giving people access to more information than they could comprehend and people were coming to the wrong conclusions about what the news meant. At the same time, the sheer variety of readers and the contexts in which they were reading meant that writers knew that meaning could be misconstrued further.²⁸

Writers of dialogues were aware that the discussion of news was to be found throughout society from travellers on the road, coffee houses, inns and marketplaces.²⁹ Coffee houses and periodical dialogues were an arena in which news, rumour, and information circulated between each other. Coffee-houses would contain printed news, which would inspire political discussion and rumour that would, in turn, end up in print. As 'Momus' in *Democritus Ridens* explained, 'I'll tell you what the people say at the

²⁵ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. By Thomas Burger (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), pp. 33–35. Eric Laurier and Chris Philo, "'A Parcel of Muddling Muckworms': Revisiting Habermas and the English Coffee-Houses", *Social & Cultural Geography*, 8 (2007), 259–81.

²⁶ *Observer* 1 Oct 1681.

²⁷ *Observer* 1 Oct 1681.

²⁸ For the role of context on how texts gained new political weight see Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000).

²⁹ News publications were circulated within coffee shops and they were often read out in coffee houses where listeners were invited to discuss the news. David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

coffee-houses, for I haunt them continually as much as you do Taverns.³⁰ Print and the periodical dialogue, in particular, was seen as a way of intervening and influencing the conversations of the social spaces of coffee-houses. As a letter to Dr Chamberlain demonstrates: 'The censures and aspersions uttered, in coffee houses and elsewhere may make it necessary to put something into the next news-book or Gazette for the right informing of people, which must be, managed by our discreet friends at Court.'³¹ News-based dialogue periodicals were an attempt to forge a new discursive space that operated at the boundaries of different genres and oral discourse.

The dialogue periodical as a means of coping with extensive reading

Dialogues were able to provide social scripts for readers to follow and this ability to demonstrate model behaviour was used by writers to show readers how to engage with printed books, as the opening passage of the dialogue *The Unlawfulness of Mixd Marriages* demonstrates:

F: Have you not seen a Book Entitled Mixt-Marriages Vindicated a Dialogue between A. and B. the Author Stephen Tory.

E. Yea, I have seen it.

F. That Book hath been some trouble to me, nor am I yet so well satisfied, as I would I were.

E. There is an answer to it, in a Conference between C. and D. written by I. D. have you not seen that?³²

The remainder of the dialogue consisted of F and E discussing the two books with E explaining the contents and the problems to F. The use of this literary technique allowed the reader of the pamphlet to obtain knowledge of a variety of other books and be provided with an example of how to discuss literature with others.³³ It is impossible to know exactly the extent to which dialogues were actually performed, or read out loud to

³⁰ *Democritus Ridens* 11th April 1681.

³¹ [1294], '— — to Dr. Chamberlayne [1294]', in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles II, 1671-1672, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Ed. F.H. Blackburne Daniell. Vol. 12: Dec 1671-May 1672 London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1897.*, SP 29/303 f.304, 1672, p. 201.

³² John Griffen, *Unlawfulness of Mixd Marriages*, (1681), p1. See also J.D, *The lawfulness of mixt marriages* (1681), pp. 1-6 and Stephen Tory, *Mixt Marriages vindicated* (1680), pp.1-3 that all discuss each other's books.

³³ Thomas Guidott, *Gideons fleece* (1684).

others; however it is clear that writers of dialogues at the very least imagined that they were being read out loud, as the following passage from *The Coffee-House dialogue examined* indicates:³⁴

B. Good Morrow, Neighbours, If you please, I will make bold with that paper when you have read it.

Neighbours. Welcome Neighbour B. Or, if you please I will begin it, and Read it to you.

B. With all my Heart if you please. He reads it and having done asks the opinion of His neighbours.³⁵

Such passages reveal that writers of dialogues saw dialogues operating at the boundary between oral discussion and printed debate. Dialogues were read orally in coffee houses and what was said in coffee-houses about these dialogues could, in turn, end up in print. This ability to engage in oral and print culture can account for why Roger L'Estrange used dialogue in *The Observer* and the rise of the periodical dialogue.

Periodical dialogues were an attempt, paradoxically, to reign in the liberty of the press by debating ideas and exposing their errors in print. In his first issue Rawlins stated that his purpose was:

Nothing less I assure you then the Publick good, in earnest, and to prevent the Mistakes and False News, and to give you information of the State of things, and to advance your understandings above the common rate of Coffee-House Statesmen who think themselves wiser then the Privy-Council, or the Sages of the Law, when in truth they are only fit to make senators of Goatham, to hedge in a Cuckow, or drown an Eel.³⁶

Both the *Observer* and *Heraclitus Ridens* situated themselves as the remedy to the problem of information and misinterpretation and claimed that they would advance readers' understanding of current affairs. *The Observer's* first issue explicitly states that it is an antidote to the confusion that the vast amount of news, rumour and gossip generated:³⁷

³⁴ As Spufford said in her study of chapbooks 'it is difficult if not impossible to show a humble reader actually in possession of the ballads and chap books.' Margeret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 45.

³⁵ Anon, *A coffee-house dialogue examined*, (1680), p.1.

³⁶ *Heraclitus Ridens*, 1st February 1681, No. 1.

³⁷ Roger L'Estrange first published *The Observer* in 1681.

Tis the press that has made 'em mad, and the press must set 'em right again.
The distemper is epidemical; and there is no way in the world but by printing, to
convey the remedy to the disease.³⁸

The problem of the excess of printed news was not simply establishing the veracity of news; it was also ensuring the information was interpreted correctly by its readers. As the character 'Somebody' said in 1681 concerning the misinterpretation of news: 'it was not the Text, but the ill-handling of the Text.'³⁹ The problem according to 'Somebody' was not the facts the text had provided but the fact that readers had distorted and misunderstood the significance of this information.

The writers of these periodical dialogues were aware that the political commentary on news that they offered operated as filters that influenced how people understood the news, as the following satiric advertisement from *Democritus Ridens*, attacking its rival *Heraclitus Ridens*, shows:

If any person has a desire to be taught the art of Spelling and Reading
backwards, or of understanding of any thing contrary to its true sence and
meaning... let them repair to the Pedant Heraclitus Ridens.⁴⁰

The writer of *Democritus Ridens* thus realised that periodical dialogues had the ability to influence how people understood things but also that this power was potentially dangerous. He described *Heraclitus Ridens* as a publication that provided its readers with a lens that distorted reality and rendered 'Old things New, small things great, Men Monsters, Loyalty Rebellion, the People Monkies, Truth Error and Religion a May-Game.'⁴¹ Dialogue periodicals were concerned not only with how news was distributed but they were also worried about how the news was interpreted and comprehended within existing ideological systems. In particular, the *Observer* and other periodical dialogues tried to guide people through the news to help them come to the right conclusion. By placing news within a broader discursive field in the dialogue, dialogue periodicals allowed news writers to politicise and endow events with greater polemical and political force. This was particularly true of highly charged moments, such as the succession crisis and the popish plot that intensified religious and political debate and

³⁸ Roger L'Estrange, *Observer*, (1681) No. 1.

³⁹ Anon, *A new dialogue between somebody and nobody*, (1681).

⁴⁰ *Democritus Ridens*, (1681), No. 2.

⁴¹ *Democritus Ridens*, (1681), No. 13.

provided powerful paradigms into which events could be categorised and interpreted in light of them.

Periodical dialogues become highly charged vehicles that offered competing interpretations in which the power to establish normative frameworks for understanding complex phenomena was at stake.⁴² The writers of periodical dialogues often disagreed with the interpretation of the news by rival periodicals as the following discussion about *The Observer* demonstrates:

Tory. But wherein is our *Observer* disingenuous?

Courantier⁴³. In perverting the meaning of that Author (for in that juggle your Towzer⁴⁴ is an incomparable tool) for he most impudently insinuates, as if that Author had laid presumptions of the Kings misgovernment, citing some lines, which he drags by head and shoulders to favour his interpretation, which can no way express the Authors mind without foregoing and subsequent Phrases, which make an exact coherence. But the Politick *Observer* omits what he thinks prejudicial to his design.⁴⁵

The author of *Democritus Flens* accused L'Estrange of selectively picking evidence that supported his interpretation and omitting information that contradicted his opinion. Other publications such as Benjamin Harris's *The Domestick Intelligence*, *The London Gazette*, Henry Care's *The True Protestant Mercury*, Nathaniel Thompson's *The Loyal Protestant*, Edward Rawlins's *Heraclitus Ridens*, and *Democritus Flens* also engaged with the *Observer* regarding what the news meant. The use of periodicity helped to encourage this intertextual conversation as characters could respond to previous periodicals' interpretation. This can be seen in *Heraclitus Ridens* that discussed news from Nathaniel Thompson's *Loyal Protestant* and *True Domestic Intelligence*, (no 61) and the ramifications and implications of this news within a broader and more general context. The news discussed in *Heraclitus Ridens* had previously been discussed in the *Observer* and L'Estrange used it as evidence of a Protestant plot in which the Whigs

⁴² Michael Prince, *Philosophical Dialogue in the British Enlightenment: Theology, Aesthetics, and the Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 20. In the debate over the efficiency of dialogues it questions the status of dialectic itself and its ability to reconcile intellectual differences and cognitive dissonance.

⁴³ The character of the Courantier was intended to represent Henry Care who published the *Popish Courant*.

⁴⁴ Towzer was a nickname for Roger L'Estrange.

⁴⁵ *Democritus Flens*, 30th November 1680, no. 4.

fabricated the popish plot to push forward their agenda of anti-popery while *Heraclitus Ridens* argued this showed the extent to which popery had infiltrated society. The public dialogue that occurred between Rawlins, L'Estrange and Henry Care across dialogue periodicals was not new, as Raymond has shown Mercuries had often engaged in an intertextual dialogue between each other. What was new was the frequency and intensity of the dialogue with responses and rejoinders appearing within days.

It is clear that the writers of *The Observer*, *Heraclitus Ridens*, and the *Protestant Observer* assumed that readers were familiar with the other publications and already had at least a partial knowledge of the current news they were discussing. Periodical dialogues commonly referenced other news books and pamphlets within the dialogue and relied upon people already knowing what the news was that they were discussing. Periodical dialogues were an attempt to help readers to comprehend a broad range of information. In doing so, they were drawing upon a precedent of using dialogue as a way to help readers make sense of the multitude of books and pamphlets.

The increasing number of printed works in the early modern period had caused some to be concerned about what seemed to them to be an 'infinite multitude of books.'⁴⁶ William Gouge, for instance, remarked that despite 'knowledge and learning [being] wonderfully increased by the benefit of Printing' there was a 'common complaint against [the] multitude of Books.'⁴⁷ Authors in this period frequently spoke of the problem of having too many books.⁴⁸ One complaint that was made against the 'glutting of the world' by the multitude of books was that 'there are more Books then Readers.'⁴⁹ Some countered these complaints by saying that the excess in book production was more a complaint about the increase in 'idle & evil Books' and that 'the mischiefs which they complain of have proceeded not from their number, but quality.'⁵⁰ It was the idle and evil books that authors spoke of when they said that 'Books have brought some men to knowledge, & some to madness.'⁵¹ The following discussion will argue that dialogue was

⁴⁶ John Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, (1583) p. xx.

⁴⁷ William Gouge, *The Whole-armor of God: Or, A Christian's Spiritual Furniture*, (1619), A2r; See also Edward Dering, *A Briefe & Necessary instruction verye needefull to bee known of all housholders*, (1572).

⁴⁸ Brian Dupper, *A Guide for the Penitent* (1664), sig. A1r; Of course this complaint may simply be a product of economic market forces rather than about the quality of the new books. With more books there is an increase in competition between authors, publishers, and booksellers for buyers of their books.

⁴⁹ Anthony Burgess, *CXLV Expository Sermons* (1656), sig. A2v; John Dunton *The Informers Doom*, (1683) sig. A2v.

⁵⁰ Joseph Glanvill, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing*, (1661), sig. A4v.

⁵¹ William Gouge, *The Whole-armor of God: Or, A Christian's Spiritual Furniture*, (1619), sig. A2r-A3v.

used as a form to help readers digest the abundance of printed material and that it was able to assist readers in filtering books for content as well as making quantity manageable.⁵² This ability to condense a wide variety of material into one form can help explain why L'Estrange chose the form of a dialogue for *The Observer*.

Critics of the multitude of books agreed that to respond to the 'multitude of books' required new reading strategies. As Robert Burton said of his 1,700 books in his library 'I have read many books but to little purpose, for want of good method, I have confusedly tumbled over many Authors in our Libraries, with small profit, for want of art, order, memory, judgement.'⁵³ Similarly, William Freke, in his educational manual, remarked 'till I purified thus my Method [of reading], the more I studied, the more I was confounded.'⁵⁴ The problem for Burton and Freke was that with so many books available, a strategy was required to read them effectively. As Barnaby Rich described the situation, it was a world overcharged with books and readers who are unable to 'digest the abundance of idle matter that is every day hatched and brought into the world' and what was required was a method to be able to comprehend it.⁵⁵

Scholars have started to pay attention to the way in which early modern readers, such as Francis Bacon and John Dee, navigated this information overload.⁵⁶ Ann Blair, for instance, has looked at how early modern readers made notes, selected and sorted with various motives and technologies.⁵⁷ She argued that early modern readers developed shortcuts to process books so they could retrieve items with less investment of time.⁵⁸ William Sherman similarly showed how John Dee 'sifted, sorted and

⁵² The popularity of print meant that now there more books, of varying degrees of quality and importance, then it was possible for any person to read in a lifetime. Ann Blair, 'Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload Ca. 1550-1700', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64 (2003), 11–28 (p. 22).

⁵³ Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, 1652), sig. A4v.

⁵⁴ Freke, *Essays*, p214

⁵⁵ *A new description of Ireland* in Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Francis Bacon offered one solution to this problem when he suggested that 'Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others' as a way to digest more material.

⁵⁶ As one study remarked 'creating lists was an important part of the process of bringing order to this vast and potentially incendiary array of printed matter.' Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou, *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print* (London: BRILL, 2013), p. 4.

⁵⁷ Jacob Soll, "From Note-Taking to Data Banks: Personal and Institutional Information Management in Early Modern Europe," *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 3 (September 1, 2010): 355–75; Ann Blair, "The Rise of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe," *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 3 (2010): 303–16.

⁵⁸ Ann Blair, "Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload Ca. 1550-1700," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 1 (January 1, 2003): 15–16; Blair, "The Rise of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe."

interpreted his information.⁵⁹ Others have turned to the use of commonplace books as a way to study how the early modern reader navigated through a wealth of information.⁶⁰ Ann Moss, for instance, has shown how they 'worked as a memory store of quotations which could be activated to verbalise present experience in the language of familiar moral paradigms.'⁶¹ Such solutions were not universally accepted. Some early modern writers criticised the use of the strategies outlined by Blair, Moss and Sherman, denouncing those who 'picked up from Commonplace Books, and Indexes, where they find Stuff ready made up to their Hands, and so they vend it without more to do.'⁶² Charron accused those who sifted through commonplace books for content: 'having nothing to say for themselves, they make other People speak for them.'⁶³ Indeed, although Francis Bacon praised commonplace books he observed that many saw them 'as causing a retardation of Reading, and some sloth or relaxation of Memory'⁶⁴ Common-place books, although an important way in which large amounts of information could be categorised and organised were not the only way in which the information excesses of the seventeenth century were tackled.

The major limitation of the work of Moss and Sherman is that it has focused on those who had access to a large library of books to read.⁶⁵ Economic factors were a significant barrier for the majority of early modern people in consuming printed works, despite the rising volume of cheap printed material available. Therefore, most members of early modern England could not afford, or did not have access to, the vast array of

⁵⁹ William Howard Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Univ of Massachusetts Press, 1997), p. 60.

⁶⁰ Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Lucia Dacome, 'Noting the Mind: Commonplace Books and the Pursuit of the Self in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 65 (2004), 603–25; Stephen Colclough, 'Recovering the Reader: Commonplace Books and Diaries as Sources of Reading Experience', *Publishing History*, 44 (1998), 5–37; Ann Moss, 'The Politica of Justus Lipsius and the Commonplace-Book', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 59 (1998), 421–36.

⁶¹ Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 111.

⁶² Pierre Charron, *Of wisdom three books*, (1608), p.lix.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Stephen Gaukroger, *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early-Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 33–35. Francis Bacon, *Two Bookes*, (1605), p. 58.

⁶⁵ Sherman for instance only really considers John Dee's reading habits. See Sherman, pp. 60–71; Moss, on the other hand, looks at the role of commonplace books in how readers read and collect quotes from different texts. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought*; See also: Richard D. Katzev, *In the Country of Books: Commonplace Books and Other Readings* (London: Troubador Publishing Ltd, 2009).

books studied by Moss and Sherman.⁶⁶ However, the fact that many could not afford to buy books did not stem these concerns about print. Edward Welchman believed that print and its potential corrupting influence on society could extend beyond those who could buy the book, as he remarked in the preface to his dialogue: ‘few people will be at that Expence, either of Money or Time, which is required for large Books: And yet it is necessary, that every Body should be provided against these seducers.’⁶⁷ Society, according to Welchman, needed a way to guide themselves against books that could potentially lead them into sedition, false religious beliefs and potentially dangerous political opinions, even if they never read books that had corrupting potential. Dialogues helped those of lower socio-economic status to navigate the print excess and marketed themselves as a means to educate a broader range of people so ‘that [readers] would with ease, and little cost, acquire what’s worth much labour and a large expence.’⁶⁸ The fact that dialogues, in particular, periodical dialogues, were shorter than the texts from which they drew their information also made this information more affordable. Thus, they were an efficient medium through which writers could educate readers about how to defend themselves from corrupting printed material because they were able to condense a range of material into a manageable form that those with less wealth and time could more easily afford.

Writers used dialogues because they would appeal to a wide demographic. Gervase Babington highlighted this when he said that he used the ‘plaine order of dialogue to help, if it please God, the conceit and feeling of the simplest.’⁶⁹ Dialogues drew upon the existing knowledge, discourses, and concepts and reconstituted them into a new form in two ways: by digesting a range of other texts and bringing them together in one form; and through commentary on other printed material.

Dialogues, like newsbooks, were often anthologies of other modes of speech and writing. The text was essentially a patchwork of quotations and ideas lifted from a variety of other texts that had coherence only by inclusion and juxtaposition.⁷⁰ Thus, they were a

⁶⁶ It should be noted that books were becoming increasingly accessible. The rise of coffee-houses, for instance, helped many to gain access to a wider range of publications. It should also be noted that before the turn of the century there is little mention of book lending on a widespread basis. D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 168–203.

⁶⁷ Edward Welchman, *Dialogue betwixt Protestant and a Protestant*, (1673) sig. A1r-A3v.

⁶⁸ Anon, *A help to discourse* (1619).

⁶⁹ Gervase Babington, *A briefe conference betwixt mans frailty and faith*, (1602), p. iv.

⁷⁰ Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), p. 136.

form of literature that embodied Barthes' description of intertextuality because they were 'woven entirely with citations, references, echoes, cultural languages.'⁷¹ This condensation of various sources resulted in characters that were used to embody groups of texts and views. Thomas Hicks stated in his dialogue on Quakers, for instance, that his text was created 'out of the writings of several of their principal leaders' and Richard Eburne said that his book was made from a variety of sources 'digested all into the forme of a Conference or Dialogue.'⁷² Dialogues thus served to supplement other texts and often reproduced this information in a more comprehensible manner.

Dialogues condensed other literature, as Spence recognised when he said the genre enabled 'the Art of reducing.'⁷³ An excellent writer of dialogues, according to Spence, was one who had a wide range of knowledge of the material used and was able to reduce this material into a form to 'avoid tediousness and tautology'.⁷⁴ Dialogues were able to condense information into a succinct form: as one dialogue marketed itself 'thou has in one collected, what once lay in many volumes.'⁷⁵ The dialogue could inform its readers about a wide variety of material taken from other books and offer 'all bookes in one book inclosed.'⁷⁶

An example of how dialogues could help organise information was the series of dialogues published as *Bibliotheca Politica*. This listed the books that had been used in the creation of the dialogues, such as Dr Johnston's *Excellency of Monarchial Government*, R. Filmer's *Freeholder's Grand Inquest* and *Anarchy of Mixt Monarchy* and Hunton's *Treatise of Monarchy*.⁷⁷ *Bibliotheca Politica* condensed these texts into a comprehensible form, giving arguments against them. The purpose of this, the author claimed, was so that the reader was eased of 'the trouble of buying, or reading more discourse on these subjects, then what he takes to be absolutely necessary.'⁷⁸ By drawing upon other discourses and texts the dialogue functioned as an artistically organised system for distilling information and bringing different discourses into contact

⁷¹ Roland Barthes, *Image - Music - Text* (London: Fontana, 1977), p. 160.

⁷² Richard Eburne, *Plaine-way to Plantation* (1624), Sig. A1r.

⁷³ Ferrard Spence, *Works of Lucian*, (1684), p. 61.

⁷⁴ Ibid. Sig. C4r.

⁷⁵ Anon, *A Help To Discourse*, (1619), Sig. A2r.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ This is just a sample of a few books used each dialogue has a more comprehensive list of books used at the start of each dialogue. James Tyrell, *Bibliotheca Politica*, (1694), p. 306.

⁷⁸ Ibid, pp. 303-4.

one with another, with the purpose being the illumination of one discourse through another discourse.⁷⁹ By condensing a wide range of different discourses, texts, and culture, dialogues were able to function as guides to other print. A reader could become educated about a wide-range of books through purchasing and reading a single text. Dialogues thereby were a way in which readers could navigate the 'multitude of books' by helping readers understand a range of literature without actually reading this material.

Writers of periodical dialogues recognised the potential of the periodical to educate their readers about an array of publications. This is evident from the vast array of quotes and references that the characters in the dialogue periodicals make to other texts, as this excerpt by L'Estrange illustrates:

Q: Where are the instances you promis'd me Last Bout?

A: The Protestant Mercury (Numb 21)⁸⁰ gives you a Copy of a very Loyal Address; that was sign'd at the election of the knights of the Shire for the County Palatine of Chester; which he was was offer'd by John Egerton, Peter Shakerly and Lestwich Oldfield."

Q: Don't you observe how Slily Harris (Numb. 104)⁸¹ passes over an Honest Adresse of Maldon in Essex, that Was Presented, and Slurrs you off with a Tale of another that Should have been presented?

A: Yes, and pray take notice how Insolently the Protestant Mercury (N. 24)⁸² reflects upon a great Forgery and Abuse, (as he calls it) put upon the city of Bristol.⁸³

By referencing three other texts L'Estrange's dialogue helped the reader to sift the various interpretations of this news. However, by including references to the sources he could also make it possible for readers to seek out the original publication to find out more about the issue.

Dialogue periodicals also used nicknames and stereotypes that drew upon the wider textual and literary culture in which they existed. Roger L'Estrange in particular,

⁷⁹ Bakhtin, 1981, p361.

⁸⁰ Henry Care, *The Protestant Mercury*, 25th February 1681 No. 21

⁸¹ This refers to Benjamin Harris's newspaper *Domestick Intelligence: Or News both from City and Country* (1679-1681). W. C. Ford, 'Benjamin Harris, printer and bookseller', *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 57 (1923-4), 34-68

⁸² *The Protestant Mercury* 16th December 1681 No. 24.

⁸³ *Observer* 26th April 1681, No. 6.

developed in the *Observer* a set of code names for various people.⁸⁴ Using quotes and references in the dialogue encouraged readers to engage actively with his writing by trying to identify who the nickname referred to: several copies have marginalia naming them, as a copy of *Heraclitus Ridens* (Illustration 7.1) demonstrates.

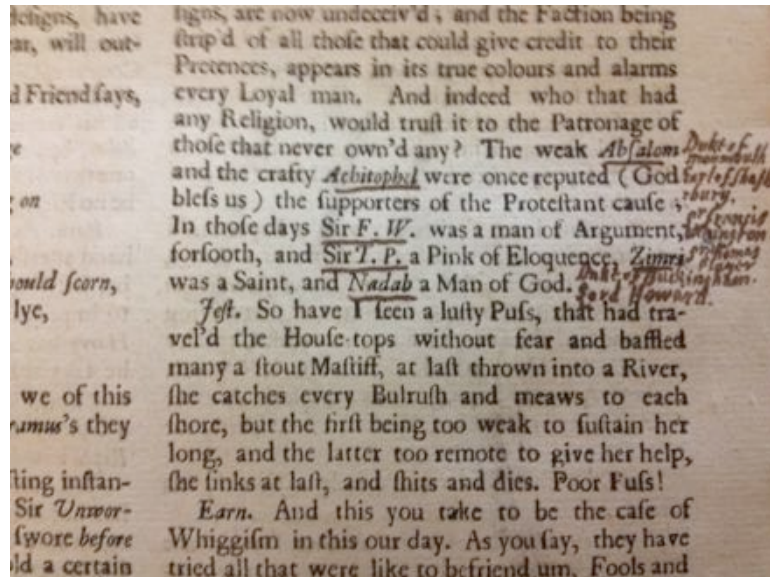


Illustration 6.1 Notes made on *Heraclitus Ridens* January 17th 1681 kept at Bodleian Library collection Nich4a.

Conclusion

The dialogue model was significant because it served as a framework for condensing information from a range of different sources.⁸⁵ Dialogue periodicals stated that their objective was to educate the public and prevent mistakes and false news. In doing so, they invoked the reader as judges and contributed to the broader evolution in how readers engaged with print culture. They gave the veneer of a critical discussion in which knowledge and news was shared, discussed, and then inserted into a wider discursive field while appearing to leave the reader free to judge the information. Reading them conservatively would support a Habermasian model of the public sphere. The use of the form for political commentary encouraged readers to judge the merits of the positions of the interlocutors; readers had moved beyond passive receptacles that

⁸⁴ It is not clear if this was done for reasons of censorship and protection of identity or as a game for readers to try and work out who he was referring to.

⁸⁵ *The dialogue model in the arts*, p. 5.

soaked up information from the books they were reading to engage with the print they consumed. Popular opinion was increasingly invoked as an arbiter of truth and a process of legitimation under the rubric of the public good.⁸⁶

The periodical dialogue was part of these wider appeals to popular opinion and part of a project for organising new knowledge, fitting information into a mental framework to prevent people from misunderstanding or becoming confused by the news. Yet, looking at the periodical dialogues shows that the motives were less to empower readers to make informed choices about politics, rather they were an attempt to regulate and control popular opinion. More broadly this chapter has shown that the rise of *The Observer* and other dialogue periodicals was not a tool to encourage discussion but they were published as a response to the lack of rational discussion. L'Estrange did not see Coffee-houses as being the site of rational public discussion and published *The Observer* as a way to stem the discussion that was occurring at coffee-houses.

Periodical dialogues were an attempt to control discourse by anticipating that their readers would be engaged in print and politics in other arenas.⁸⁷ They flourished as a form because they could engage in both printed and oral discourse and attempted to constrain the interpretative liberties of readers in both domains. Writers of political and religious dialogues used the form as a way of showing people how to reach the *correct* opinion and frequently stated that they were using a dialogue to correct false opinion in order to 'redeem the Vulgar from their former Mistakes and Delusions' rather than helping readers to judge rationally between two different positions.⁸⁸ Writers believed that the general populace were often misled and needed instruction to correct them.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Lake and Questier - "Puritans, Papists and the 'Public Sphere' in Early Modern England: The Edmond Campion Affair in Context." *JMA*, 2000. See also Phil Withington, *Public Discourse*, p 1015.

⁸⁷ As literary theorists have argued genre flourishes at the thresholds of communities of discourse, patrolling or controlling individuals participation in the collective, foreseeing or suspecting their involvement elsewhere. John Frow, *Genre: The New Critical Idiom* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2006), p. 12.

⁸⁸ Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (Yale University Press, 2008), p. 235.

⁸⁹ *Heraclitus Ridens*, (Jan 1681), no. 1.

Appendix

The following is a list of dialogues that have been used in the database.

Author	Title	Printer	Publisher	Year
(T.W) Thomas Wilson	<i>An exposition of the two first verses of the sixth chapter to the Hebrews</i>	Thomas Snodham	.	1600
Anon	<i>A dialogue between two members of the new and old East-India Companies</i>	Booksellers	.	1600
Anon	<i>The great messenger of Mortality,</i>	Bow Church	.	1600
Antonio de Torquemada	<i>The Spanish Mandeule of miracles, Or The garden of curious flowers</i>	James Roberts	.	1600
Francis Savage	<i>A conference betwixt a mother a devout recusant, and her sonne a zealous protestant</i>	John Legat	University of Cambridge	1600
James Balmford	<i>A dialogue against playing at cards and Tables</i>	John Harrison	.	1600
Thomas Hylles	<i>The arte of vulgar arithmeticke both in integers and fractions</i>	Gabriel Simson	.	1600
William Hunnis	<i>Seven sobs of a sorrowfull soule for sinne</i>	Peter Short	.	1600
Gervase Babington	<i>A briefe conference, betwixt mans frailtie and faith</i>	Henry Midleton	.	1600
Richard Hakluyt	<i>The Principal Navigations</i>	George Bishop		1600
Ben Johnson	<i>The Comical Satyre of Every man out of his humour</i>		William Holme	1600
John Darrel	<i>A detection of that sinnfull, shamful, lying and ridiculous discours</i>	English Secret Press		1600
John Bodenham	<i>England's Helicon</i>	I.R	John Flasket	1600
William Perkins	<i>A Golden Chaine</i>	John Legat	University of Cambridge	1600
Anon	<i>A discourse of the conference holden before the French King at Fontaine-belleau</i>	Richard Field		1601
Anon	<i>Certaine questions by way of conference</i>	R. Schliders		1601
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen.</i>	Robert Dexter	.	1601
E. Nisbet	<i>Caesars dialogue</i>	Thomas Purfoot	.	1601
Edward Maxey	<i>A new instruction of plowing and setting of corne</i>	Felix Kyngston	.	1601
John Mush? (W.W)	<i>A dialogue betwixt a secular priest, and a lay gentleman.</i>	Rhemes	.	1601
William Fulbecke	<i>A parallele or conference of the ciuill law, the canon law, and the common law</i>	Adam Islip	Thomas Wright	1601
William Fulbecke	<i>A parallele or conference of the ciuill law, the canon law, and the common law</i>	Adam Islip	Thomas Wight	1601
John Deacon	<i>A summarie answer to all Material Points</i>	George Bishop		1601
John Deacon	<i>Dialogicall discourses</i>	George		1601

		Bishop		
Christopher Sutton	<i>Godly Meditations upon the most holy sacrament</i>	John Windet	Cuthbert Burby	1601
Anon	<i>A dialogue and complaint made vpon the siede of Oastend</i>	R. Read	.	1602
Gervase Babington	<i>A briefe conference betwixt mans frailty and faith</i>	James Roberts	.	1602
John Golburne	<i>Acts of the dispute and conference holden at Paris</i>	Thomas Creed	.	1602
William Fulbecke	<i>The second part of the Parallele, or conference of the ciuill law, the canon law, and the common law</i>	Adam Islip	Thomas Wright	1602
William Hunnis	<i>Seuen sobs of a sorrowfull soule for sinne</i>	Peter Short	.	1602
Francis Davison	<i>A Poetical Rapsody</i>	V. Simmes	John Bailly	1602
(T.P) Thomas Powell	<i>A Welch bayte to spare prouender</i>	Valentine Simmes	.	1603
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	R. Bradock	Robert Dexter	1603
George Gifford	<i>A dialogue concerning vvitches and witchcrafts</i>	R. Field	F.K Felix Kingston	1603
James Balmford	<i>A short dialogue concerning the plagues infection</i>	R. Field	.	1603
James I	<i>Daemonologie</i>	R. Bradock	.	1603
James I	<i>Daemonologie</i>	Arnold Hatfield	Robert Waldgrave	1603
James I	<i>Daemonologie</i>	William Cotton	.	1603
Matthieu Virel	<i>A learned and excellent treatise</i>	R. Bradock	Robert Dexter	1603
Nicholas Breton	<i>A dialogue full of pithe and pleasure</i>	Thomas Creed	.	1603
Nicholas Breton	<i>A merrie dialogue betwixt the taker and mistaker</i>	R. Field	James Shaw	1603
Pietro de Lucca	<i>A dialogue of dying wel</i>	A.C	.	1603
Plutarch	<i>The philosophi, commonlie called, the morals</i>	John Hatfield		1603
Anon	<i>Desiderius A most godly, religious, and delectable dialogue</i>	Roane	.	1604
Christopher Saint German	<i>The dialogue in English</i>	Adam Islip	Thomas Wight	1604
Jeremy Corderoy	<i>A short dialogue</i>	Joseph Barnes	Simon Waterson	1604
Samuel Hieron	<i>The preachers plea</i>	R. Field	Simon Waterson	1604
William Hunnis	<i>Seuen sobs of a sorrowfull soule</i>	Humfrey Lownes	.	1604
William Warford	<i>A briefe instruction By way of dialogue</i>	Laurence Kellan	.	1604
Nicholas Breton	<i>Grimellos fortunes</i>	E. Alde	E. White	1604

Barnabe Rich	<i>A souldiers wishe to Britons welfare</i>	Thomas Creed	Jeffrey Chorlton	1604
John Panke	<i>A short admonition by way of dialogue</i>	Joseph Barnes	Simon Waterson	1604
F.T	<i>The case is altered How? Aske Dalio, and Millo.</i>	T. Creed	John Smethicke	1604
Roberto Bellarmino	<i>An Ample Declaration of the Christian Doctrine</i>			1604
Thomas Middleton	<i>The Meeting of Gallants</i>	T. Creede	Matthew Lawe	1604
(I.M) Alonso de Madrid	<i>A breefe methode or way teachinge all sortes of Christian people</i>	S.N	.	1605
(N.B) Nicholas Breton	<i>I pray you be not angrie a pleasant and merry dialogue</i>	W.W	William Jones	1605
Samuel Gardiner	<i>A dialogue or conference betweene Irenaeus and Antimachus</i>	R. Bradock	Thomas Bushell	1605
Samuel Hieron	<i>A short dialogue prouing that the ceremonyes, and some other corruptions now in question, are defended</i>	W. Jone's Secret Press	.	1605
Samuel Hieron	<i>The preachers plea</i>	Unknown	Simon Waterson	1605
Thomas Hutton	<i>Reasons for refusal of subscription to the booke of common praier</i>	Joseph Barnes		1605
F.T	<i>The case is altered How? Aske Dalio, and Millo.</i>	Jaggard	Thomas Payer	1605
Giacomo Affinati	<i>The dumbe divine speaker</i>	R. Braddock	William Leake	1605
Oliver Ormerod	<i>The Picture of a Puritan</i>	E.A	Nathaniel Forsbroke	1605
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	Thomas Creed	Edward Bishop	1606
Henry Jacob	<i>A Christian and modest offer of a most indifferent conference</i>	W Jones' Secret Press		1606
John Coperario	<i>Funeral teares</i>	John Windet	John Brown	1606
Juan De Flores	<i>A paire of turtle doues</i>	W. Jaggard	Francis Burton	1606
Robert Greene	<i>A quip for an vpstart courtier</i>	E.A	Edward White	1606
Thomas Hutton	<i>The second and last part of Reasons</i>	John Windet	Companie of Stationers	1606
William Middleton	<i>Papisto-mastix</i>	Thomas Purfoot	Arthur Johnson	1606
Nicholas Breton	<i>Choice, chance, and change: or, Conceites in their colours</i>	R. Braddock	Nathaniell Fosbrooke	1606
Alexander Craig	<i>The Amorse Songes</i>	William White		1606
Desiderius Erasmus	<i>Seven Dialogues</i>	Valentine Simmes	Nicholas Ling	1606
Henry Greenwood	<i>A treatise of the great and generall daye of Judgement</i>	Richard Bradock	Henry Bell	1606

Oliver Ormerod	<i>The Picture of a Papist</i>	R. Bradock	Nathaniel Fosbrooke	1606
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	Melchisedech Bradwood	Edward Bishop	1607
Christopher Saint German	<i>The dialogue in English</i>	Adam Islip	.	1607
John Norden	<i>The surueyors dialogue</i>	Simon Stafford	Hugh Astley	1607
Matthieu Virel	<i>A learned and excellent treatise</i>	Eliot's Court Press	Edward Bishop	1607
Richard Humfrey	<i>The conflict of lob By way of dialogue</i>	William Iaggard	.	1607
Thomas Ford	<i>Musicke of sundrie kindes</i>	John Windet	John Brown	1607
Robert Greene	<i>Pandosto The triumph of time</i>	T. Purfoot	George Potter	1607
Henoch Clapham	<i>Error on the left hand</i>	Nicholas Oakes	Nathaniel Butter	1608
Henoch Clapham	<i>Error on the right hand</i>	W.W	Samuell Moseley	1608
Jeremy Corderoy	<i>A warning for worldlings</i>	Thomas Purfoot	Lawrence Lyle	1608
Thomas Æ Kempis	<i>Soliloquium animae</i>		William Leake	1608
Thomas Dekker	<i>The dead tearme.</i>	H.L		1608
Thomas Morley	<i>A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke</i>	W. Jaggard	.	1608
William Tye	<i>A matter of moment</i>	Humfrey Lownes	.	1608
Thomas Rogers	<i>Two dialogues, or conferences</i>	Robert Raworth	Henry Ball	1608
	<i>A fruitfull conference, or communication, touching the receiving of the holy communion</i>	Henry Ballard	.	1608
T.P	<i>The great frost. Cold doings in London, except it be at the lotterie</i>	Humfrey Lownes	Richard Bonian	1608
Anon			Henry	
Anon	<i>Desiderius</i>	R. Raworth	Gobson	1608
		W. Stansby	John Wright	1609
			B. Sutton and W.	
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	Unknown	Barrenger	1609
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	H.L	W. Berrenger	1609
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	Melchisedech Bradwood	Edward Bishop	1609
John Dod	<i>Ten Sermons</i>		Roger Jackson	1609
John Rainolds	<i>The summe of the conference betveene Iohn Rainoldes and Iohn Hart</i>	William Hall	Thomas Adams	1609
		W. Hall		
Matthieu Virel	<i>A learned and excellent treatise</i>	Melchisedech Bradwood	Edward Bishop	1609
Petrus Pomarius	<i>Enchiridion medicum</i>	Henry Ballard	George Potter	1609

R.M, Student in Divinity	<i>A profitable dialogue for a peruered papist</i>	Simon Stafford	.	1609
SÃ©bastien Castellion	<i>Good and true A holy collection made out of the Old and New Testament</i>	Thomas Snodham Nicholas Oakes	Henry Rockit William Welby	1609
Thomas Bell	<i>A Christian dialogue</i>			1609
Thomas Morton	<i>A direct answer vnto the scandalous exceptions</i>	Richard Field		1609
Thomas Walkington	<i>An exposition of the two first verses of the sixt chapter to the Hebrewes</i>	Unknown	Joseph Bulkley	1609
William Hunnis	<i>Seven sobs of a sorrowfull soule</i>	Peter Short William Stansby	. George Potter	1609
Robert Greene	<i>Pandosto The triumph of time</i>		Ed. Blunt and W.	1609
Alexander Cooke	<i>Pope Ioane A dialogue betwene a protestant and a papist</i>	R. Field	Barret	1610
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	G. Eld	John Wright	1610
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	Melchisedech Bradwood Nicholas Oakes	Edward Bishop Samuel Rand	1610
Arthur Golding	<i>A Most excellent and profitable dialogue</i>		Roger Jackson	1610
John Dod	<i>Ten Sermons</i>	William Hall		1610
John Harington	<i>A dialogue betwene Neshama, the soule, Nephes, the bodye, and Orthodoxus, A dialogue betwene the Catholick and the Cacolicke</i>	Unknown	.	1610
John Harington		Unknown	.	1610
John Harington	<i>A question of the Trynytye, dialogue wyse Whether it be dampnation [sic] for a man to kill himself</i>	Unknown	.	1610
John Harington		Unknown	.	1610
John Norden	<i>The surueyors dialogue</i>	William Stansby Nicholas Oakes	I. Busby	1610
Robert Snawsel	<i>A looking glasse for married folkes</i>		Henry Bell	1610
Hugh Broughton	<i>Iob. To the King</i>	Giles Thorpe	.	1610
Arthur Dent	<i>The Opening of Heaven Gates</i>	G. Eld	John Wright	1610
Edmond Bolton	<i>The Elements of Armories</i>	George Eld		1610
William Perkins	<i>A garden of Spiritual Flowers</i>			1610
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	G. Eld	John Wright	1611
Henry Barrow	<i>Mr Henry Barrowes platform</i>	Unknown	.	1611
John Dod	<i>Ten Sermons</i>	Unknown	Roger Jackson	1611
William Cowper	<i>A most comfortable and Christian dialogue</i>	T.S	John Budge	1611
John Spicer	<i>The sale of salt Or The seasoning of soules</i>	Nicholas Oakes	Simon Waterson	1611
Anon	<i>Jacobs ladder</i>	William Hall	Thomas Wilson	1611
Robert Chester	<i>The Anuals of Great Brittain</i>	E. Alde	Mathew Lownes	1611

Francis Davison	<i>A poetical Rapsodie</i>			1611
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	Melchisedech Bradwood Thomas Dawson	Edward Bishop Thomas Adams Felix Kingston	1612
Barnabe Rich	<i>A Catholicke conference</i>			1612
George Gifford	<i>A brieft discourse of certaine points of the religion</i>	Richard Field		1612
Matthieu Virel	<i>A learned and excellent treatise</i>	Melchisedech Bradwood Nicholas Oakes	Edward Bishop John Royston	1612
Petrud Pomarius	<i>Enchiridion medicum</i>			1612
Richard Bernard	<i>Iosuahs godly resolution in conference with Caleb,</i>	John Legat William Stansby	University of Cambridge Richard Moore Clement Knight	1612
Rooke Church	<i>An olde thrift newvly reuiued</i>			1612
Thomas Tymme	<i>A dialogue philosophicall</i>	T.S		1612
Urbanus Rhegius	<i>The sermon</i>	William White	.	1612
William Jones	<i>A pithie and short treatise by vvay of dialogue</i>	Richard Field Thomas Creed	William Jones	1612
H.R	<i>Haigh for Deuonshire</i>			1612
Anon	<i>A pithie and short treatise by vvay of dialogue,</i>	R. Field	William Jones	1612
Anon	<i>A familiar dialogue betwixt one</i>	Joseph Barnes	.	1612
Italian	<i>Physiologus</i>	Thomas Snodham	John Stepneth	1612
Benvenuto	<i>The Passanger</i>	Humphrey Lownes		1612
John Brinsley	<i>Ludus Literarius</i>		Thomas Man	1612
Christopher Saint German	<i>The dialogue in English</i>	Adam Islip	Company of Stationers	1613
G.E, Minister of god's word	<i>The Christian schoole-maister</i>	Thomas Creed Thomas Purfoot William Stansby	.	1613
John Tapp	<i>The path-vvay to knowvledge</i>		Thomas Pauier	1613
William Cowper	<i>Seuen dayes conference</i>	Eliot's Court Press	John Budge Nathaniel Fosbrooke	1613
Alexander Gee	<i>The ground of Christianity</i>			1614
John Dod	<i>A brieft dialogue, concerning preparation for the worthy receiuing of the Lords Supper.</i>	I. Beale	Roger Jackson	1614
John Dod	<i>Ten Sermons</i>	T. Snodham	Roger Jackson	1614
Thomas Wilson	<i>A commentarie vpon the most diuine Epistle of S. Paul</i>	W. Jaggard	.	1614
William Wright	<i>A discovery of certaine notorious shifts, evasions, and vntruthes</i>	English College Press		1614
Arthus Gotthard	<i>Dialogues in the English and Malaiane</i>			1614

	Language			
Anon	<i>A merrie dialogue</i>	William Stansby	Myles Partrich	1615
Anon	<i>Exchange ware at the second hand</i>	William Stansby	Myles Partrich	1615
Anon	<i>The louers guift</i>	E. Alde	John Trundle	1615
Anon	<i>VVorke for cutlers</i>	Thomas Creed	Thomas Jones	1615
Edward Hoby	<i>A curry-combe for a coxe-combe</i>	William Stansby	Nathaniel Butter	1615
Edward Willis	<i>The blinde mans staffe</i>	George Purslowe	Henrie Bell	1615
Pierre Du Moulin	<i>A conference held at Paris</i>	Eliot's Court Press	John Barnes	1615
R.R, Minister of Gods Word	<i>The house-holders helpe</i>	George Purslowe	John Budge	1615
Rochard Mocket	<i>God and the King:</i>	John Beale	King James Thomas	1615
Thomas Dekker	<i>The cold yeare</i>	W. White	Langley	1615
Thomas Helwys	<i>Obiections: answered by way of dialogue</i>	S.N	.	1615
William Bedwell	<i>Mohammedis imposturae</i>	Richard Field		1615
Jeremy Corderoy	<i>A short dialogue, wherein is proved, that no man can bee saved without good workes</i>	Joseph Barnes	.	1615
Thomas Lupton	<i>A dreame of the devill and Dives</i>	Edward Alde	Sara White	1615
Anon	<i>A merrie dialogue, betweene Band, Cuffe, and Ruffe</i>	William Stansby	Miles Patrich	1615
Robert Greene	<i>Theeves falling out</i>	Henry Bell	.	1615
William Bedwell	<i>Mohammedis Imposturae</i>	Richard Field		1615
F.S	<i>The Picture of a Wanton</i>			1615
Lady Jane Grey	<i>The Life, Death and Actions of Lady Jane Grey</i>	G. Eld	John Wright	1615
Richard Mocket	<i>God and the king</i>	By Majesties Command	.	1616
Thomas Æi Kempis	<i>Soliloquium animae</i>	Humfrey Lownes	.	1616
William Goddard	<i>A satirycall dialogue or a sharplye-invectiue conference</i>	George Waters	.	1616
William Warford	<i>A briefe instruction by way of a dialogue</i>	English College Press	.	1616
William Wright	<i>A treatise of the church</i>	English College Press	.	1616
John Walker	<i>The English pharise, or religious ape</i>	S.N	.	1616
John Deacon	<i>Tabacco Tortured</i>	Richard Field		1616
James I	<i>The Works of James I</i>	Robert Barker	John Bill	1616
Persius	<i>Aulus Persius</i>	Joseph Barnes		1616
Leonel Sharpe	<i>A looking-glasse for the Pope</i>	Edward Griffin		1616

Antonio de Molina	<i>A treatise of mental prayer</i>	English College Press	.	1617
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	G. Eld	John Wright	1617
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	John Legat	Edward Bishop	1617
Leonora	<i>The ghost of the Marquesse d'Ancre</i>	Thomas Snodham	Nicholas Bourne	1617
William Cowper	<i>A most comfortable and Christian dialogue Vices anotimie [sic], scourged and corrected, in new satirs</i>	George Purslowe	John Budge	1617
Robert Anton	<i>Robert Green</i>	Bernard Alsop	Roger Jackson	1617
Robert Green	<i>Greenes groatsvworth of witte</i>	Bernard Alsop	Henry bell	1617
Robert Greene	<i>Theeves falling out</i>	W. White	.	1617
Concino Concini	<i>The Last will and Testamentr of the Marquis d'Ancre</i>	Felix Kyngston	William Arondell	1617
Antonio de Torquemada	<i>The Spanish Mandeuille of myracles</i>	Richard Bernard Alsop	Hawkins	1618
Bartholomew Robertson	<i>The crovvne of life</i>	E. Griffin	John Marriot	1618
John Norden	<i>The surueiors dialogue</i>	T. Snodham	.	1618
Nicholas Breton	<i>The court and country</i>	G. Eld	John Wright	1618
William Fulbecke	<i>A parallele or conference of the ciuill law</i>	Adam Islip	Company of Stationers	1618
William Hunnis	<i>Seven Sobs of a sorrowfull Soule</i>	H.L	Company of Stationers	1618
William Lithgow	<i>The pilgrimes farewell</i>	Andro Hart	Financed by Author	1618
Arthur Newman	<i>Pleasures vision with deserts complaint</i>	G. Eld	Thomas Bayley	1619
Pope Paul V	<i>Prosopopoeia</i>	S.N	.	1619
Richard Bernard	<i>The fabulous foundation of the popedom</i>	John Lichfield	William Spier	1619
Robert Snawsel	<i>A looking glasse for married folkes</i>	Unknown	Henry Bell	1619
William Wright	<i>A discovery of certaine notorious shifts</i>	English College Press	.	1619
William Basse	<i>A helpe to discourse</i>	Bernard Alsop	Leonard Becket	1619
Robert Greene	<i>Pandosto The triumph of time</i>	Edw. Alde	George Potter	1619
Patrick Hannay	<i>A Happy Husband</i>	John Beale	Richard Redmer	1619
J.T	<i>The Hunting of the Pox</i>	.	.	1619
Anon	<i>Clods carroll</i>	Henry Gosson	.	1620
Anon	<i>Haec-vir: or, The womanish-man</i>	A.M Eliot's Court Press	I. Trundle	1620
David Calderwood	<i>A dialogue betwixt Cosmophilus and Theophilus</i>	G. Thorpe	.	1620
John Dod	<i>Ten Sermons</i>	Roger Jackson	.	1620

John Floyd	<i>God and King</i>	English College Press	.	1620
Robert Greene	<i>A quip for an vpstart courtier</i>	George Purslowe		1620
Robert Sherrard	<i>The countryman vvith his houshold</i>	Edward Griffin	Jonah Man Leonard	1620
William Basse	<i>A Helpe to memory and discourse What God hath Predestonated concerning</i>	Bernard Alsop	Becket	1620
John Murton	<i>Man</i>			1620
Virgil	<i>Virgil's Eclogues</i>	Richard Field	Thomas Man	1620
Thomas Wilson	<i>Saints by Calling</i>	W. Iaggard		1620
Henry Goodcole	<i>The wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth Savvyer</i>	A. Mathewes	William Butler	1621
John Dod	<i>Ten Sermons</i>	Thomas Purfoot	Roger Jackson	1621
John Tapp	<i>The path-vvay to knowvledge</i>	Thomas Purfoot	Thomas Pauier	1621
Robert Aylett	<i>The Song of Songs</i>	William Stansby	.	1621
William Crashaw	<i>The complaint or dialogue, betvvixt the soule and the bodie of a damned man</i>		Leonard Basket	1621
William Hunnis	<i>Seven Sobs</i>	G. Eld		1621
Robert Greene	<i>Theeves falling out</i>	Andro Hart	.	1621
Richard Brathwaite	<i>Times Curtaine Drawn</i>	W. White	.	1621
Francis Davison	<i>Davison's Poems</i>	John Dawson	John Bellamie Roger	1621
David Lindsay	<i>A true Narration of the General Assembly</i>	Bernard Alsop	Jackson	1621
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	William Stansby	Ralph Rounthwait	1621
Gervase Babington	<i>The workes of the Right Reuerend Father in God, Geruase Babington</i>	Humfrey Lownes	George Latham	1622
John Davies	<i>Nosce teipsum</i>		H.	
Richard Verstegan	<i>Newes from the low-countreyes</i>	G. Eld	Fetherstone	1622
Robert Greene	<i>A quip for an vpstart courtier</i>	Augustine Matthews	Richard Hawkins	1622
Christopher Saint German	<i>The dialogue in English</i>	English College Press	.	1622
E. Nisbet	<i>Foode for families</i>	George Purslowe		1622
Henry Ainsworth	<i>A censure upon the dialogue of the Anabaptists</i>	Company of Stationers	.	1623
Henry Rogers	<i>An answer to Mr. Fisher the Iesuite</i>	George Purslowe	Roger Jackson	1623
James Balmford	<i>A modest reply to certaine answeres</i>	Giles Thorpe	.	1623
Stephen Egerton	<i>The boring of the eare</i>	Unknown	.	1623
		William Iaggard	E. B(oyle)?	1623
		William Stansby	.	1623

Thomas Gataker	<i>A iust defence of certaine passages</i>	John Haviland	William Bladen	1623
Anon	<i>The burning bush not consumed</i>	John Haviland	Roger Jackson	1623
A.C	<i>An Answer to a Pamphlet</i>	Peter Smith	English College Press	1623
Daniel Featley	<i>The fisher caught in his owne net</i>			1623
Thomas Gataker	<i>A Just defence of Certaine Passages</i>	John Haviland	Robert Bird	1623
John Mico	<i>A Pill to Purge out Poperie</i>		Benjamin Fisher	1623
John Mico	<i>Spiritual Food</i>	H. Lownes	Benjamin Fisher	1623
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	Eliot's Court Press		
	<i>The Romish Fisher caught and held in his owne net</i>		John Wright	1624
Daniel Featley		H.L	Robert Milbourne	1624
Francis White	<i>A replie to lesuit Fishers</i>	Adam Islip	.	1624
		Edward Raban		
James Sempill	<i>The pack-mans pater noster</i>		David Melvill	1624
			Samuel Rand	
Nicholas Breton	<i>I pray you be not angry</i>	A. Mathewes		1624
		George Purslowe		
Richard Eburne	<i>A plaine path-vvay to plantations</i>	Eliot's Court Press	John Marriot	1624
	<i>The summe and substance of the conference</i>			
William Barlow			John Bill	1624
Anon	<i>The travels of time</i>	S.N	.	1624
Francis Pilkington	<i>The Second Set of Madrigals</i>	Thomas Snodham	Matthew Lownes	1624
		English College Press		
S.N	<i>A true Report</i>			1624
Alexander Cooke	<i>Pope loane A dialogue betwveene a protestant and a papist</i>	John Haviland	William Garrat	1625
Anon	<i>The Northhampton-shire louer</i>	H. Gosson	.	1625
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	H.L	Geo. Latham	1625
	<i>A short dialogue concerning the plagues infection</i>		Nicholas Bourne	
James Balmford		W. Jones		1625
	<i>The cunning age, or, A re-married woman repenting her marriage</i>			
John Cart		Unknown	John Trundle	1625
			John	
John Mayer	<i>An antidote against popery</i>	M. Flesher	Grismand	1625
Alonso de Madrid	<i>A breefe methode or way teachinge all sortes of Christian people</i>		John Heigham	1625
		Saint Omers		
Anon	<i>Desiderius</i>	Saint Omers	.	1625
Alexander Cooke	<i>The Abatement of Popish Braggs</i>			
		William Jones		1625
			Nicolas Bourne	
George Jenney	<i>A catholike conference</i>	I. Dawson		1626
	<i>A plea to an appeale trauersed dialogue wise</i>			
Henry Burton		W. Jones	.	1626
Matthieu Virel	<i>A learned and excellent treatise</i>	H.L	George	1626

			Latham	
A.C	<i>True Relations of Sundry Conferences</i>	English College Press		1626
Anon	<i>A mothers teares ouer hir seduced sonne</i>	S.N	.	1627
	<i>A briefe dialogue, concerning preparation for the worthy receiuing of the Lords Supper.</i>	Thomas Harper	Henry Overton	1627
John Dod	<i>A briefe dialogue, concerning preparation for the worthy receiuing of the Lords Supper.</i>	Thomas Purfoot	W. Sheffard	1627
Patrick Forbes	<i>Eubulus</i>	Edward Raban	.	1627
Thomas Wilson	<i>A commentary on the most diuine Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes</i>	Isaac Jaggard	.	1627
Anon	<i>The burning bush not consumed</i>	S.N	.	1627
Anon	<i>A Christian conference betweene Christ and a sinner</i>	Thomas Symcocke	.	1628
Anon	<i>A mad kinde of wooing</i>	Thomas Symcock	.	1628
Anon	<i>Merry dialogue betwixt a married man and his wife</i>	M. Trundle	.	1628
John Dod	<i>Ten Sermons</i>	Thomas Creed	William Sheffard	1628
M.P (Martin Parker	<i>Houshold talke or, Good counsell for a married man</i>	Thomas Symcock	.	1628
	<i>The deuout Christian communicant instructed in the two sacraments of the new Testament</i>		Richard Moore	1628
Nicholas Hunt		G.M Eliot's Court Press		
Robert Norton	<i>The gunners dialogue</i>		John Tap	1628
Thomas Å Kempis	<i>Soliloquium animae</i>	H.L	R. Young	1628
Walter Raleigh	<i>The prerogatiue of parliaments in England proued in a dialogue</i>	Unknown	.	1628
Anon	<i>A mad kinde of wooing</i>	Thomas Symcock	.	1629
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	H.L	George Latham	1629
Gallobelgicus	<i>VVine, beere, and ale, together by the eares</i>	Augustine Matthews	John Grove	1629
M.P (Martin Parker	<i>Houshold talke or, Good counsell for a married man</i>	Thomas Symcock	.	1629
	<i>Iosuahs resolution for the well ordering of his household</i>			
Richard Bernard		John Legat	.	1629
Robert Greene	<i>Pandosto The triumph of time</i>	T. Purfoot	F. Faulkner	1629
Zacharie Boyd	<i>The last battell of the soule</i>	Andro Harts		1629
Daniel Souterius	<i>Dakrua Basilika</i>	Harman Cranepoel		1629
Christopher Saint German	<i>An exact abridgement of that excellent treatise called Doctor and student</i>	John Haviland	John More Esquire	1630

Fisher Ambrose	<i>A defence of the liturgie of the Church of England</i>	William Stansby	Robert Milbourne	1630
Gallobelgicus	<i>Wine, beere, and ale, together by the eares</i>	Thomas Cotes	John Grove	1630
John Clare	<i>The Converted Jew</i>	English Secret Press		1630
Edmund Coote	<i>The English Schoole-master</i>	B. Alsop	George Purlslowe	1630
Alexander Craig	<i>The pilgrime and heremite in forme of a dialogue</i>	Edward Raban	Edward Rabam	1631
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	R. Young	George Latham	1631
Richard Smith	<i>A conference of the Catholike and Protestante doctrine</i>	Widow of Mark Wyon	.	1631
Robert Snawsel	<i>A looking glasse for married folkes</i>	John Haviland	Henry Bell	1631
Charles Records	<i>A mostpleasant [sic] dialogue</i>	Unknown	H.G	1632
Edmund Lechmere	<i>The conference mentioned by Doctour Featly</i>	Widow of Mark Wyon	.	1632
M.P (Martin Parker)	<i>Mans felicity and misery</i>	Unknown	F. Grove	1632
Nicholas Breton	<i>Mans felicity and misery</i>		T.F Thomas	
William Livingston	<i>The conflict in conscience of a deare Christian named Bessie Clarkson</i>	Bernard Alsop John Wreittoun	Fawcet?	1632
Robert Greene	<i>Pandosto The triumph of time</i>	T. Purfoot	F. Faulkner	1632
Robert Greene	<i>The pleasant historie of DOrastus and Fawnia</i>	T. Purfoot	F. Faulkner	1632
Matthieu Virel	<i>A learned and excellent treatise</i>	R. Young	George Latham	1633
Thomas Nash	<i>Quaternio</i>	John Dawson	.	1633
Edward Spenser	<i>A view of the state of Ireland</i>	Society of Stationers	.	1633
George Herbert	<i>The Temple</i>	Thomas Buck	Roger Daniel	1633
Micheal Scot	<i>The Philosophers Banquet</i>	John Beale	Nicholas Vavasour	1633
John Dod	<i>Ten Sermons</i>	Thomas Harper	John Harrison	1634
John levett	<i>The ordering of bees</i>	Thomas Harper	John Harrison	1634
Lucian	<i>Certaine select dialogues of Lucian</i>	William Turner	.	1634
M.P (Martin Parker)	<i>Robin and Kate</i>	Thomas Lambert	.	1634
O. N.	<i>An apology of English Arminianisme</i>	English College Press	.	1634
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	R. Young	Geo. Latham	1635
G. T	<i>The legend of Brita-mart</i>	I. Beale	Nicholas Fussell	1635
Henry Burton	<i>A brief answer to a late Treatise of the</i>	J.F	.	1635

	<i>Sabbath day</i>			
John Lechmere	<i>The relection of a conference touching the reall presence</i>	Laurence Kellan	.	1635
M.P (Martin Parker)	<i>Mans felicity and misery which is a good wife and a bad</i>	Unknown	Francis Grove George Latham	1635
Matthieu Virel	<i>A learned and excellent treatise</i>	R. Young		1635
N.N	<i>Maria triumphans</i>	English College Press	.	1635
Nicholas Breton	<i>A mad vworld my masters, mistake me not</i>	R. Raworth	I Spencer	1635
Richard Brathwaite	<i>The last trumpet</i>	Thomas Harper	Robert Bostocke	1635
Robert Greene	<i>A quip for an vpstart courtier</i>	E. Purslowe	.	1635
William Cowper	<i>A most comfortable and Christian dialogue The case is altered How? Aske Dalio, and Millo.</i>	Richard Badger	John Grismand	1635
F.T		I.N	Robert Bird	1635
Henry Burton	<i>The Lords day, the Sabbath day</i>	J.F	.	1636
T. B.	<i>A dialogue betuixt a cittizen, and a poore countrey man and his wife</i>	R. Oulton	Henry Gosson	1636
William Hunnis	<i>Seven Sobs</i>	R. Young	Company of Stationers	1636
William Warford	<i>A briefe instruction by way of a dialogue A dialogue betwixt a citizen, and a poore countrey-man and his wife</i>	English College Press	.	1636
Thomas Brewer		R. Oulton	H. Gosson	1636
Henry Burton	<i>The Lords day, the Sabbath day</i>	J. F. Starn	.	1636
Gerard Malynes	<i>Consuetudo, vel lex mercatoria</i>	Adam Islip	Nicholas Bourne	1636
Marcus Felix Minucius	<i>Minucius Felix his dialogne [sic] called Octavius</i>	Leonard Lichfield	Thomas Huggins	1636
Robert Greene	<i>The pleasant historie of DOrastus and Fawnia</i>	Elizabeth Purslow	F. Faulkner	1636
Thomas Nash	<i>Quaternio</i>	John Dawson	.	1636
Mathurin Cordier	<i>Corderius Dialogues</i>	A. Griffin	Andrew Hebbe	1636
Petrus Ramus	<i>Peter Ramus, his logic in two books An examination and confutation of a lawlesse pamphlet</i>		Nicholas Vavasour	1636
Francis White	<i>A dispute against the English-popish ceremonies,</i>	R. Badger	.	1637
George Gillespie		W. Chrsitaens		1637
Gervase Babington	<i>The workes of the Right Reuerend Father in God, Geruase Babington</i>	Miles Flesher	.	1637
Robert Greene	<i>Theeves falling out</i>	Henry Bell	.	1637
Thomas Heywood	<i>Pleasant Dialogues</i>	R. Oulton	Thomas Slater	1637
Thomas Jordan	<i>POeticall Varieties</i>	Thomas Cotes	Humphrey Blunden	1637

Christopher Saint German	<i>The dialogue in English</i>	John More	.	1638
William Barlow	<i>The summe and substance of the conference</i>	John Norton	.	1638
Richard Brathwaite	<i>A Spirtual Spicerie</i>	I. Haviland	George Hutton	1638
Thomas Nash	<i>Miscelanea or A fourefold vvay to a happie life</i>	John Dawson	Thomas Slater	1639
William Cowper	<i>A most comfortable and christian dialogue</i>	R. Badger	.	1639
J.G	<i>The Academy of Complements</i>	T.P	Humphrey Mosley	1639
Robert Davenport	<i>A Crown for a Conquerour</i>	E.P	Francis Constable	1639
William Laud	<i>The Conference of William Laud and Mr Fisher</i>	Richard Badger	Prince	1639
Anon	<i>God speed the plough</i>	Unknown	.	1640
Anon	<i>The housholders new-yeeres gift</i>	E. Purslowe	F. Coules	1640
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	R. Young	George Latham	1640
E.F	<i>A dialogue betweene Master Guesright and poore neighbour Needy</i>	E. Purslowe	F. Cowles	1640
Henry Burton	<i>A replie to a relation, of the conference between William Laude and Mr. Fisher</i>	Cloppenburg Press	.	1640
Job Throckmorton	<i>A dialogue. Wherin is plainly layd open the tyrannicall dealing of lord bishops</i>	Cloppenburg Press	.	1640
Lewes Hughes	<i>Certaine greevances</i>	S.N	.	1640
M.P (Martin Parker	<i>A paire of turtle doves</i>	Unknown	Thomas Lambert	1640
Richard Carter	<i>A military dialogue betweene Philomusus and Miles</i>	John Okes	.	1640
Richard Crimsal	<i>A pleasant new dialogue</i>	Unknown	F. coules	1640
Saint Bernard of Clairvaux	<i>Saint Bernards vision</i>	I. Wright	.	1640
Thomas Kempis	<i>Soliloquium animae</i>	R. Young	.	1640
Walter Raleigh	<i>The prerogative of parliaments in England</i>	S.I	Thomas Rogers	1640
Anon	<i>A dialogue. Wherin is plainly layd open the tyrannicall dealing of lord bishops</i>	Cloppenburg Press	.	1640
Anon	<i>The lofty bishop, the lazy Brovvnist, and the loyall author</i>	Unknown	.	1640
Philomusus	<i>The Academy of Complements</i>	T. Badger	H. Mostley	1640
Thomas Carew	<i>Poems by Thomas Carew</i>	I.D	Thomas Walkley	1640
William Habington	<i>Castara the third edition</i>	T. Cotes	Will. Cooke	1640
Anon	<i>A Conference between the two great monarchs of France and Spaine</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>A confutation of M. Lewes Hewes</i>	Unknown	I. M	1641

Anon	<i>A Description of the passage of Thomas late Earle of Strafford</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a Sacke and Six</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>A dialogue betwixt three travellers</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>A Dialogue or discourse betweene a Parliament-man and a Roman-Catholick</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>A Dialogve betwixt rattle-head and round-head</i>	Unknown	T.G	1641
Anon	<i>A Learned and witty conference lately betwixt a Protestant and a papist</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>A Mappe of mischiefe</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>A reasonable motion in the behalfe of such of the clergie</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>A rent in the lawne sleeves or Episcopacy eclipsed</i>	Unknown	John Thomas	1641
Anon	<i>A revelation of Mr. Brightmans revelation</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>Canterbury's will</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>God speed the plough</i>	Unknown	W.Gilbertson	1641
Anon	<i>M. Lewes Hewes, his dialogue ansvvered</i>	Unknown	I.M	1641
Anon	<i>Nevves from the north</i>	N.P	S.N	1641
Anon	<i>Sions charity towards her foes in misery</i>	R. Holt	I. D	1641
Anon	<i>The Bishops potion</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>The Brothers of the blade answerable to the sisters of the scaberd</i>	Unknown	Thomas Bankes	1641
Anon	<i>The counters discourse,</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>The country-mans care</i>	Unknown	T.B	1641
Anon	<i>The curates conference</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>The discontented conference betwixt the two great associates</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>The Doctors last vvill and testament</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>The Dovvnefall of temporizing poets</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>The Papists politicke projects discovered</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>The pimpes prerogative exactly and compendiously deciphered</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>The Proctor and parator their mourning</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>The Sisters of the scabards holiday</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>The Spirituall courts epitomized in a dialogue betwixt two proctors</i>	S.I	S.N Thomas	1641
Anon	<i>The Stage-players complaint</i>	Unknown	Bates	1641
Anon	<i>The Star-chamber epitomized</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>The tapsters downfall and the drunkards joy</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>Vox borealis, or the northern discoverie Newes from heaven both good and true concerning England</i>	Margery Mar-Prelat	.	1641
E.F		R. Oulton	.	1641

George Walker	<i>The key of saving knowvledge</i>	Thomas Badger	.	1641
Henry Peacham	<i>A dialogue between the crosse in Cheap, and Charing Crosse</i>	S.N	.	1641
L.P	<i>A new way of conference</i>	Richard Burton	.	1641
Lewes Hughes	<i>Certaine grievances</i>	S.N	.	1641
Obadiah Couchman	<i>The Adamites sermon</i>	Unknown	Francis Coules	1641
Samoth Yarb	<i>The anatomy of et caetera</i>	S.N	.	1641
Samuel Hartlib	<i>A description of the famous. Kingdome of Macaria</i>	Unknown	Francis Coules	1641
Thomas Herbert	<i>Newes out of Islington</i>	Unknown	Thomas Lambert	1641
Thomas Heywood	<i>A Dialogue or accidental discourse</i>	S.N	.	1641
William Abell	<i>The last discourse betwixt Master Abel and Master Richard Kilvert</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>Times alteration</i>	S.N	.	1641
John Wade	<i>A good vvife is a portion every day</i>	Unknown	R. Burton	1641
Anon	<i>Leicestorâ€™s commonvvealth fully epitomizâ€™d</i>	S.N	.	1641
Anon	<i>A maiden-head ill bestowed</i>	Unknown	R. Burton	1641
Anon	<i>The last true newes from the Tower</i>	S.N	.	1641
John Taylor	<i>Old news newly revived</i>	S.N	.	1641
Robert Parson's	<i>Leicester's common-wealth</i>	S.N	.	1641
J.G	<i>The Academy of Complements</i>	T.P	Humphrey Mosley	1641
Anon	<i>A conference betweene the Pope, the Emperour, and the King of Spaine</i>	Unknown	A. Coe	1642
Anon	<i>A dialogue betvvixt a courtier and a scholler</i>	S.N	.	1642
Anon	<i>A Dialogue betweene Sacke and Six</i>	S.N	.	1642
Anon	<i>A dialogue betwixt rattle-head and round-head</i>	Unknown	T.G	1642
Anon	<i>A Discourse or dialogue between the two now potent enemies</i>	Unknown	Thomas Bates	1642
Anon	<i>A disputation betwixt the Devill and the Pope</i>	Unknown	.	1642
Anon	<i>Some speciall arguments for the Scottish subiects</i>	S.N	.	1642
Anon	<i>Strange apparitions</i>	Unknown	J. Aston	1642
Anon	<i>The Crosses case in Cheapside</i>	Unknown	T.V	1642
Anon	<i>The Friers last fare-well</i>	John Hammond	.	1642
Anon	<i>The wishing Common-wealths men</i>	S.N	.	1642
Anthony Gilby	<i>A dialogue between a souldier of Barvvick, and an English chaplain</i>	S.N	.	1642
Henry Denne	<i>A conference between a sick man, and a</i>	Thomas	.	1642

	<i>minister</i>	Badger		
Henry Peacham	<i>Square-caps turned into round-heads</i>	Unknown	I. Gyles and G. Lindsey	1642
J.S	<i>A pleasant conference betweene a popish recusant, and a Protestant maid</i>	T. Fawcet George Anderson	.	1642
James Sempill	<i>A pick-tooth for the Pope</i>		Thomas Banks	1642
John Taylor	<i>A delicate, dainty, damnable dialogue</i>	I.H		1642
Lawrence Anderton	<i>The English nunne</i>	English College Press	.	1642
Owen Dogerell	<i>A brief dialogve between Zelotopit one of the daughters of a zealous Round-head</i>	S.N	.	1642
Lewes Hughes	<i>Certain grievances, or, The popish errors and vngodlinesse of the service-book</i>	Thomas Paine	.	1642
Anon	<i>Wonderfull strange nevves from Woodstreet Counter</i>	Thomas Fawcett	.	1642
Anon	<i>The wicked resolution</i>	Unknown	Jo Smith	1642
Anon	<i>The arraignment of superstition</i>	Unknown	T.B	1642
Anon	<i>The Last News In London</i>	Unknown	R.R	1642
Anon	<i>Tyrannicall-government anatomized</i>	John Field	.	1642
Richard Overton	<i>Articles of High Treason</i>	S.N	R. Overton John Reynolds	1642
John Taylor	<i>Carnu-copia</i>	S.N		1642
Anon	<i>A dialogue betveen a Brovvnist and a schismatick</i>	Unknown	J. Franklin	1643
Anon	<i>A Dialogue betwixt a horse of warre, and a mill-horse</i>	Bernard Alsop	.	1643
Anon	<i>An Alarme for London to awake and mourne for sin</i>	G.B	R.W	1643
Anon	<i>Gods voice from heaven</i>	T.P	.	1643
Anon	<i>Powers to be resisted</i>	Unknown	Henry Overton George Latham	1643
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	Ja. Young		1643
George Wither	<i>A new (and too true) description of England</i>	S.N	.	1643
Henry Ainsworth	<i>A censure vpon a dialogue of the Anabaptists,</i>	W. Jones	.	1643
Henry Denne	<i>A conference between a sick man, and a minister</i>	Unknown	John Sweeting	1643
John Taylor	<i>A dialogve, or, Rather a parley betweene Prince Ruperts dogge whose name is Pvddle, and Tobies dog</i>	Unknown	I. Smith	1643
Lewes Henry	<i>Certain grievances, or The errors of the service-booke</i>	T.P	Edward Blackmore	1643
Lewis Du Moulin	<i>Automachia</i>	S.N	.	1643
Richard Williams	<i>Peace, and no peace</i>	S.N	.	1643
Yeldard Alvey	<i>A vulgar or popvlar discourse</i>	Stephen	.	1643

		Bulkley		
Edward Calver Scholler of Oxford	<i>Divine passions</i> <i>A whisper in the eare</i> <i>A new (and too true) description of England</i>	T.H Leonard Lichfield	Richard Harper .	1643 1643
Anon	<i>Plaine truth, vvithout feare, or flattery being a case of conscience tryed at Oxford</i>	S.N	.	1643
Anon	<i>The cities warning-peece, in the malignants description and conversion</i>	Unknown	H.I	1643
Anon Martin Marprelate	<i>The character of a puritan</i>	S.N	.	1643
Anon	<i>XI. queries propounded and answered</i>	Unknown	.	1643
Anon	<i>Times Changling</i>	Unknown	.	1643
Anon	<i>The reformed Malignants</i>	S.N	Laurence Blakelock	1643
James Howell	<i>A discourse, or parly</i>	S.N	.	1643
Hugh Adamson Ezekias Woodward	<i>Sea-coale, Char-coale, and small-coale</i> <i>The Solemne League and Covenant of Three Kingdomes</i> <i>The third part of the principles of the art military practised in the warres of the United Provinces</i>	S.N	Hugh Adamson Christopher Meredith	1643 1643
Henry Hexham	<i>An Ansvver to a libell intituled A coole conference betweene the cleered Reformation and the apologeticall narration</i>	James Moxon	.	1643
Adam Steuart	<i>A Coole conference between the cleered Reformation and the Apologeticall</i>	S.N	.	1644
Anon	<i>A coole conference between the Scottish commissioners cleared reformation, and the Holland ministers apologeticall narration</i>	S.N	.	1644
Anon	<i>A late dialogue betwixt a civilian and a divine concerning the present condition of the Church of England</i>	Unknown	Robert Bostock	1644
Ezekias Woodward Friend to the Coole Conference	<i>A dialogue, arguing that arch-bishops, bishops, curates, neuters, are to be cut-off by the law of God</i> <i>The Covenanter vindicated from perjurie</i> <i>A late dialogue betwixt a civilian and a divine</i>	T.P	M.S	1644
George Gillespie	<i>A seasonable discourse</i> <i>M. S. to A. S. with a plea for libertie of conscience</i>	T. Paine	.	1644
Henry Ainsworth		Unknown	Robert Bostock Benjamin Allen	1644
John Goodwin		F.N	H. Overton	1644

John Stalham	<i>The Summe of a conference at Terling in Essex</i>	I.L	Christopher Meredith	1644
Marchamont Nedham	<i>Ruperts sumpter, and private cabinet rifled</i>	J. Coe	.	1644
	<i>A modest & brotherly ansvver to Mr. Charles Herle his book, against the independency of churches</i>	Unknown	Henry Overton	1644
Richard Mather	<i>The bloody tenent, of persecution</i>	S.N	.	1644
Roger Williams				
Samuel Rutherford	<i>Lex, rex The law and the prince</i>	Unknown	John Field	1644
T.S	<i>A dialogue betwixt London, and Eccho</i>	John Hammond	.	1644
W.L	<i>A medicine for malignancy</i>	Unknown	Ralph Smith	1644
Samuel Rutherford	<i>Lex, rex: The law and the prince</i>	Unknown	John Field	1644
Anon	<i>The weak beleever resolved</i>	Matthew Simmons	Humfrey Blunden	1644
John Birkenhead	<i>Newes from Smith the Oxford iaylor</i>	S.N	.	1644
Anon	<i>The Souldiers Language</i>	S.N	.	1644
Anon	<i>A new Mercury</i>	B.A	.	1644
	<i>The marrow of modern divinity touching both the covenant of works, and the covenant of grace</i>			
Edward Fisher	<i>The old proverbe, as good be a knave, as amongst knaves (though Committee men) is debated</i>	R. W	G. Calvert	1645
Francis Cooke		Thomas Paine	.	1645
Jakob Bohme	<i>Two theosophicall epistles wherein the life of a true Christian is described</i>	M.S	B. Allen	1645
	<i>The opening of Master Prynnes new book, called A vindication</i>			
John Saltmarsh		Unknown	G. Calvert	1645
John Turner	<i>A heavenly conference for Sions saints</i>	S.N	.	1645
		Matthew Simmons	.	1645
Lewes Hughes	<i>The errors of the common catechisme</i>			
	<i>Paul and Timothies visitation of the Christian churches of Europe</i>	Henry Tuthill	.	1645
Henry Tuthill				
Francis Cheynall	<i>Aulicus His Hue and Cry</i>	S.N	.	1645
		Leonard Lichfield		
Anon	<i>A key to the Kings Cabinet</i>		University	1645
W.L	<i>The independants Militarie Entertainment</i>			1645
John Vicars	<i>The Picture of Independancy</i>			1645
	<i>The Sacred and Sovereigne Church-Remedie</i>			
John Brinsley		Moses Bell	Edward Bewster	1645
		Matthew Simmons	Henry Overton	1645
Samuel Eaton	<i>A Defence of Sundry Positions</i>			
Philomusus	<i>The Academy of Complements</i>	T. Badger	H. Mostley	1645
	<i>A dispute betwixt an atheist and a Christian</i>			
Anon		S.N	.	1646

Cordiall Wel- Willer	<i>A new petition</i>	Matthew Simmons	.	1646
Edward Fisher	<i>Londons gate to the Lords Table.</i>	Unknown	John Wright	1646
Edward Fisher	<i>The marrow of modern divinity</i>	R. Leybourn	Giles Calvert	1646
Francis Cornwell/John Cotton	<i>A conference Mr. John Cotton held at Boston with the elders of New-England</i>	J. Dawson	.	1646
G. T	<i>The legend of Brita-mart</i>	T.B	.	1646
Henry Burton	<i>Conformitie's deformity</i>	Unknown	Giles Calvert	1646
Henry Hill	<i>A dialogue between Timotheus & Judas</i>	Unknown	S. Manship Joshua Kirton	1646
I.A Immanuel Bourne	<i>A manifest and breife discovery A light from Christ leading unto Christ by the star of his word</i>	T.W Unknown	 John Wright Andrew Crooke	1646 1646
John Cotton	<i>The grounds and ends of the baptisme of the children of the faithfull</i>	R.C	Humphrey Robinson	1646
John Graunt	<i>A defence of Christian liberty to the Lords table</i>	Unknown	.	1646
S. Sheppard	<i>The times displayed in six sestiyads The Jesuite the chiefe, if not the onely state-heretique in the world</i>	J.P S.N	.	1646
Thomas Swadlin	<i>A short conference between a scrupling Presbyterian, and a Puritan</i>	S.N	.	1646
Westminster Assembly				
One that Hath taken and desires to keep his covenant	<i>A glasse for vveak eyâ€™d citizens:</i>	Unknown	Thomas Underhill	1646
Richard Overton	<i>The arraignment of Mr persecution</i>	Martin Claw		1646
Samuel Shephard	<i>The times displayed in six sestiyads</i>	J.P	.	1646
Philomusus	<i>The Academy of Complements</i>	T. Badger	H. Mostley	1646
Anon	<i>A wonderfull plot or Mystery of state</i>	S.N	.	1647
Anon	<i>Hells trienniall Parliament</i>	S.N	.	1647
Anon	<i>Loyalty speakes truth</i>	S.N	.	1647
Anon	<i>Two knaves for a penny Wit and wealth contending for preheminance</i>	J.M Unknown	.	1647
Anon			T.B	1647
Edward Fisher	<i>A touch-stone for a communicant A brief description of a conference betwixt a nationall Presbyterian and an independent</i>	Unknown	John Wright	1647
Francis Freeman			G. Calvert	1647
Jakob Bohme	<i>The way to Christ discovered Certaine scruples from the army presented in a dialogue</i>	M.S Unknown	H. Blunden John Pounset	1647 1647
John Pounset				
O.B	<i>A dialogue or, discourse betwixt two old acquaintance of contrary opinions</i>	Unknown	R.K	1647
Robert Bostock	<i>Herod and Pilate reconciled</i>	S.N	.	1647

S.F	<i>A designe to save the kingdome</i>	T.F	John Rothwell	1647
Theodore Jennings	<i>The right vway to peace</i>	Unknown	Giles Calvert	1647
Thomas Collier	<i>The glory of Christ</i>	S.I	S.N	1647
Norton Robert	<i>The gunners glasse</i>	T. Fawcet	Robert Boydel	1647
S.F	<i>A designe to save the kingdome</i>	T.F	John Rothwell	1647
Anon	<i>Londons metamorphosis: or, a dialogue between London & Amsterdam</i>	S.N	.	1647
Anon	<i>Thirty and two extremes of these times discovered</i>	Unknown	John Wright	1647
Anon	<i>The Scottish Politike</i>	S.N	.	1647
Anon	<i>Mercurius Retrogradus</i>	S.N	R.A	1647
Samuel Sheppard	<i>The committee-man curried</i>	S.N	.	1647
Samuel Sheppard	<i>The second part of The committee-man curried</i>	S.N	.	1647
Anon	<i>New out of the West</i>	S.N	.	1647
Thomas Fuller	<i>The Cause and cure of a wounded conscience</i>	.	John Williams	1647
Anon	<i>A new dialogue or, a brief discourse between two travellers</i>	Thomas Vere	.	1648
Edward Fisher	<i>The marrow of modern divinity</i>	Unknown	John Wright	1648
John Cleveland	<i>Romes eccho</i>	S.N	.	1648
Tom Tell Troath	<i>A dialogue between Hampton-Court and the Isle of Wight Vxbridge being moderator</i>	S.N	.	1648
Anon	<i>A new dialogue or, a brief discourse between two travellers</i>	Unknown	Thomas Vere	1648
Mercurius Melancholicus	<i>Craftie Cromwell</i>	S.N	.	1648
Mercurius Melancholicus	<i>Mistris Parliament brought to bed of a monstrous childe of reformation</i>	S.N	.	1648
Mercurius Melancholicus	<i>Mistris Parliament her gossipping</i>	S.N	.	1648
Mercurius Melancholicus	<i>Mistris Parliament presented in her bed</i>	S.N	.	1648
Mercurius Melancholicus	<i>Ding dong, Or Sr. Pitiful Parliament, on his death-bed</i>	S.N	.	1648
Anon	<i>The devill and the Parliament</i>	S.N	.	1648
Mercurius Melancholicus	<i>Mrs Parliament her invitation of Mrs. London</i>	S.N	.	1648
Anon	<i>The Kentish Fayre</i>	S.N	.	1648
Robert Bostock	<i>Mercurius honestus</i>	S.N	R.B	1648
Mercurius Melancholicus	<i>Mistris Parliament brought to bed of a monstrous childe of reformation</i>	S.N	.	1648

Mercurius Melancholicus	<i>Mistris Parliament her gossipping</i>	S.N	.	1648
Mercurius Elenticus	<i>The Parliament mended or ended</i>	S.N	.	1648
Robert Greene	<i>The pleasant historie of Dorastus and Fawnia</i>	s.n	F. Faulkner	1648
Jakob B���h��ma	<i>The way to Christ discovered by Iacob Behmen</i>	M.S	H. Blunden John Williams	1648
Robert Herrick	<i>Hesperides</i>			
Anon	<i>A dialogue or, a dispute betweene the late hangman and death</i>	S.N	.	1649
Anon	<i>Kamee and I'le Kathee</i>	S.N	.	1649
Anon	<i>Ormondes breakfast</i>	S.N	.	1649
Anon	<i>Women will have their will</i>	E.P	W.G	1649
Ellis Bradshaw Fallall	<i>A dialogue between the Devil & Prince Rupert</i>	Unknown	T.B	1649
Fardinando	<i>Carmina colloquia</i>	S.N	.	1649
John Lilburne	<i>Strength out of weaknesse</i>	S.N	.	1649
R.A	<i>Saints duty discoursed</i>	Unknown	William Franckling	1649
Thomas Bayly	<i>Certamen religiosum</i>	Henry Hills	.	1649
Anon	<i>A new Bull-bayting</i>	S.N	Unknown	1649
Abraham Boun	<i>The pride and avarice of the clergie</i>	Unknown	T.M	1650
Anne Bradstreet	<i>The tenth muse lately sprung up in America or severall poems</i>	Unknown	Stephen Bowtell	1650
Anon	<i>A briefe and witty discourse or dialogue</i>	R. W	D. B Edward	1650
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Mistris Macquerella</i>	Unknown	Crowch	1650
Anon	<i>A dialogue upon the distractions of the tymes</i>	Unknown	.	1650
Anon	<i>A new way of hunting</i>	Unknown	Francis Grove	1650
Anon	<i>Death's universal summons</i>	Unknown	.	1650
Anon	<i>John and his mistris</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby Lodowick	1650
Anon	<i>One blow more at Babylon</i>	I.M	Lloyd	1650
Edward Fisher	<i>Faith in five fundamentall principles</i>	Unknown	John Wright Samuel	1650
Nicholas Breton	<i>I pray you be not angry</i>	Bernard Alsop	Rand	1650
Robert Spry	<i>Councel of states-policy or the rule of government, set forth</i>	Unknown	John Hancock	1650
Samuel Eaton	<i>A friendly debate on a weighty subject</i>	Giles Calvert	.	1650
Anon	<i>One blow more at Babylon</i>	I.M	Lodowick Lloyd	1650
Anon	<i>A terrible, Horrible monster of the west</i>	S.N	Unknown	1650
Philomusus	<i>The Academy of Complements</i>	T. Badger	H. Moseley	1650

J.G	<i>The Academy of Complements</i>	T.P	Humphrey Mosley Humph.	1650
Robert Heath	<i>Clarastella</i>	.	Moseley Francis Grove	1650
I.A	<i>The Good Woman's Champion</i>		John Tey	1650
John Tatham	<i>Ostella</i>			
Abraham Boun	<i>A conference between a Presbyterian minister, and a lawyer</i>	T.M	G. Calvert	1651
Abraham Boun	<i>The clergie in their colors</i>	Unknown	T.M	1651
Anon	<i>A Dispute betwixt two clergie-men upon the roade</i>	Unknown	A.H	1651
Balthazar				
Gerbier	<i>A new-years result, in favour of the poore</i>	T.M	.	1651
H.P	<i>The next way to France</i>	Unknown	Giles Calvert	1651
Henry Ainsworth	<i>A seasonable discourse</i>	Matthew Simmons	Livewell Chapman	1651
James Howell	<i>The vision, or, A dialog between the soul and the bodie</i>	Unknown	William Hope	1651
John Osborne	<i>The world to come, or The mysterie of the resurrection opened</i>	James Moxon Abraham Miller	.	1651
Richard Culmer	<i>The ministers hue and cry</i>		Nicholas Bourne	1651
Richard Dafforne	<i>The merchants mirrour</i>	J.L	W.Lee	1651
Thomas Bayly	<i>Certamen religiosum</i>	Unknown		1651
Thomas Porter	<i>A serious exercitation upon, or an impassionate vindication of 1 John 5.20</i>	T.R	Ralph Smith	1651
Samuel				
Shephard	<i>The joviall Crew, or, the devil turned ranter</i>	Unknown	W. Ley	1651
Thomas Carew	<i>Poems, with a maske</i>		H.M	1651
John Cleveland	<i>Poems by J.C</i>			1651
Vavsor Powell	<i>Saving Faith</i>	Robert Ibbitson	Livewell Chapman Samuel	1651
Robert Purnell	<i>No Power but of God</i>		Newton John Stafford	1651
John Quarles	<i>Gods love and Man's unworthiness</i>		Thomas Dring	1651
Edward				
Sherburne	<i>Poems and Translations Amorous</i>	W. Hunt		1651
Thomas Stanley	<i>Poems by Thomas Stanley, Esquire</i>			1651
Willan Leonard	<i>Astraea</i>	R. White	Henry Cripps	1651
Anon	<i>A sea-cabbin dialogue, between two travellers lately come from Holland</i>	T.M	.	1652
Anon	<i>The cavaliers jubilee</i>	Unknown	William Ley	1652
Anon	<i>The key of true policy</i>	J.F	.	1652
Christopher				
Cartwright	<i>Certamen religiosum,</i>	Unknown	W. Lee	1652

George Baron	<i>No-body his complaint a dialogue between Master No Body, and Doctour Some-Body</i>	Bernard Alsop	.	1652
John Lane	<i>Persecution detected in all his new forms</i>	Unknown	For the Author	1652
Thomas Collier	<i>The works of Thomas Collier</i>	Robert White	.	1652
Miguel de Cervantes	<i>The History of the Valorous and witty-knight -errant, Don-Quixote</i>	R. Hodgkinsonne	Andrew Crooke	1652
Horace	<i>Horace</i>		W.R	1652
Christopher Pooly	<i>The Vindication of Christ</i>		Henry Cripps	1652
Robert Vaughan	<i>Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum</i>	J. Grismond	Nath. Brooke	1652
Anon	<i>A Brief dialogue between creditor & prisoner</i>	Thomas Newcomb	.	1653
John Norton	<i>A discussion of that great point in divinity, the sufferings of Christ</i>	A.M	Geo. Calvert	1653
Robert Spry	<i>Rules of civil goverment [sic], drawn from the best examples of forreign nations</i>	Unknown	John Hancock	1653
Thomas White	<i>Pantheologia or the summe of practical divinity practiz'd in the wilderness</i>	A.M	Jos. Cranford	1653
Thomas Wilson	<i>A commentary on the most divine epistle of St. Paul to the Romans</i>	E. Coates	.	1653
Well-willer to the prosperity of this famous Common-Wealth	<i>The two grand ingrossers of Coles</i>	Unknown	John Harrison	1653
Anon	<i>A brief dialogue between creditor & prisoner</i>	Thomas Newcomb	.	1653
Izaak Walton	<i>The compleat angler</i>	T. Maxey	Rich Marriot	1653
James Howell	<i>Ah, hs; tumulus, thalamus</i>		Humphrey Moseley	1653
Musophilus	<i>The Card of Courtship</i>			1653
Margaret Cavendish	<i>Philosophical fancies</i>	Thomas Roycroft	J. Martin	1653
Margaret Cavendish	<i>Poems and fancies</i>	T.R	J. Martin	1653
John Taylor	<i>Taylor's Arithmetick</i>			1653
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	W.H	George Latham	1654
Franciscus a Sancta Clara	<i>An enchiridion of faith presented in a catechetical dialogue</i>	S.N	.	1654
John Tombes	<i>A publick dispute betwixt John Tombs</i>	H. Twyford	N. Brook	1654
L.P	<i>A new dialogue between Dick of Kent, and Wat the Welch-man</i>	Unknown	John Andrews	1654
Simon Ford	<i>A dialogue, concerning the practicall use of infant-baptisme</i>	S. Griffin	John Fountain	1654
John Lane	<i>Persecution the second time detected, in all his new forms</i>	Unknown	For the Author	1654

William Rushworth	<i>Rushworths dialogues</i>	S.N	.	1654
Philomusus	<i>The Marrow of Complements</i>	s.n	Humphrey Moseley	1654
A.E	<i>The watch-mans lanthorn</i>	T.R	Nath. Ekins	1655
Anon	<i>A compendious discourse concerning the present designe in the West-Indies</i>	R. Lownds	.	1655
Anon	<i>Lazarus and his sisters discoursing of paradise:</i>	Unknown	.	1655
J.V.C	<i>The reclaimed papist</i>	S.N	.	1655
L.P	<i>A new merry dialogue betweene John and Bessee</i>	Unknown	William Gilbertson	1655
Simon Ford	<i>A dialogue, concerning the practicall use of infant-baptisme</i>	S. Griffin	John Fountain	1655
Walter Franke	<i>The epitome of divinity, poetically compos'd by way of dialogue</i>	J.G	Francis Eaglesfield	1655
William Pynchon	<i>A farther discussion of that great point in divinity the sufferings of Christ</i>	Unknown	For the Author	1655
Anon	<i>Antheologia or The speech of flowers</i>	Unknown	John Stafford	1655
Izaak Walton	<i>The compleat angler</i>	T. Maxey	Rich Marriot	1655
Anon	<i>The Gossipps Braule</i>			1655
William Hammond	<i>Poems by W.H</i>		Thomas Dring	1655
William Pynchon	<i>The meritorious price of mans redemption</i>	R.I	Thom. Newberry	1655
Anon	<i>A New case put to an old lawyer</i>	Unknown	William Ley	1656
Francis Fullwood	<i>A true relation of a dispute between Francis Fullwood</i>	Abel Roper	.	1656
Hendrik Niclaes	<i>An apology for the service of love</i>	Giles Calvert	.	1656
I.S	<i>The picture of a new courtier drawn in conference</i>	S.N	.	1656
James Naylor	<i>Deceit brought to day-light</i>	T.L	Giles Calvert	1656
L.P	<i>The maidens delight</i>	Unknown	Francis Grove	1656
Nicholas Chewny	<i>Anti-Socinianism</i>	J.M	H. Twiford	1656
Simon Ford	<i>The second part of The dialogue concerning the practical use of infant-baptism</i>	T. Maxey	John Rothwell	1656
Thomas Porter	<i>A true and faithfull narrative (for substance) of a publique dispute</i>	Unknown	Thomas Clark	1656
L.P	<i>The two jeering lovers</i>	Unknown	William Gilbertson	1656
Robert Spry	<i>Councel of states-policy</i>	Unknown	John Hancock	1656
Anon	<i>The Academy of Pleasure</i>		John Stafford	1656
Abraham Cowly	<i>Poems written by A. Cowley</i>		Humphrey Moseley	1656

Robert Cox	<i>Acteon & Diana</i>			1656
Richard Flecknoe	<i>The diarium</i>		Henry Herringham	1656
Martial	<i>Ex Otio Negotium</i>			1656
Claude Mauger	<i>Mr Mauger's French Grammer</i>	R.D	John Martin	1656
Anon Bernadino	<i>The two constant lovers in Scotland</i>	S.N	.	1657
Ochino James	<i>A dialogue of polygamy</i>	John Garfeild	.	1657
Thompson	<i>Helmont disguised</i>	E. Alsop	N. Brook	1657
Joseph Bentham	<i>Chorotheologon or Two breife but usefull treatises</i>	Thomas Roycrist	Philemon Stephens	1657
Richard Wates	<i>A dialogue betw[een] life and death</i>	W.W	.	1657
Simon Ford	<i>A dialogue concerning the practicall use of infant-baptisme</i>	T.M	John Rothwell	1657
Walter Charleton	<i>The immortality of the human soul</i>	William Wilson	Henry Herringman	1657
Anon	<i>Certain elegies upon the death of Peter Whalley Esq; late major of Northampton.</i>			1657
Henry Bold	<i>Wit a sporting in a pleasant grove</i>		W. Burden Humphrey	1657
John Gamble	<i>Ayres and dialogues</i>	W. Godbid	Mosley William	1657
Walter Raleigh	<i>Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh</i>		Sheares	1657
Anon	<i>The crafty whore</i>	Unknown	Henry Marsh Francis	1658
Anon	<i>The loving lad</i>	Unknown	coles Francis	1658
Anon	<i>The two constant lovers</i>	Unknown	coles	1658
Edward Fisher	<i>The marrow of modern divinity in two parts</i>	J.S	John Wright	1658
Gallobelgicus	<i>Wine, beer, ale, and tobacco, contending for superiority a dialogue.</i>	J.B	John Grove	1658
Henry Slatius	<i>The predestinated thief</i>	R. Trott	Daniel Jones	1658
John Pitman	<i>Truth vindicated and the lyars refuge swept away</i>	Jasper Batt	Thomas Simmons	1658
Peter Gunning	<i>A contention for truth</i>	James Moxon	.	1658
Peter Gunning	<i>Scisme unmask't</i>	Unknown	.	1658
Richard Younge	<i>An experimental index of the heart</i>	Unknown	.	1658
Ruchard Perrinchief	<i>A messenger from the dead</i>	Unknown	Tho. Vere	1658
William Caton	<i>The moderate enquirer resolved in a plain description of several objections</i>	Unknown	Thomas Simmons	1658
Thomas Spencer	<i>Spencers spotted sheep</i>	Unknown	Daniel Pakeman	1658
Pietro Paravicino	<i>A short and safe guide to lead all such scholars as are lovers of the Italian tongue</i>	Unknown	.	1658
Thomas Spencer	<i>Spencers spotted sheep</i>	Unknown	Daniel Pakeman	1658

Anon	<i>Recusancy justified</i>	Balthasar Moret	.	1658
Anon	<i>The loving lad</i>	Unknown	.	1658
Philomusus	<i>The Academy of Complements</i>	T. Badger	H. Moseley	1658
Hugh Crompton	<i>Pierides</i>	J.G	Charles Web	1658
Adam Wood	<i>A new conference between the ghosts of King Charles and Oliver Cromvvell</i>	Unknown	Robert Page	1659
Anon	<i>A conference between two souldiers meeting on the roade</i>	S.N	.	1659
Anon	<i>A discourse betwixt (the late Lord Lambert, now) John Lambert, Esq. and his Lady</i>	W.L	.	1659
Anon	<i>A dialogue between riches, poverty, godliness, gravity, labour, and content</i>	Unknown	Nehemiah Bradford	1659
Anon	<i>A dialogue betwixt an excise-man and Death</i>	I.C	.	1659
Anon	<i>A dialogue betwixt the ghosts of Charls the I</i>	S.N	.	1659
Anon	<i>A spiritual journey of a young man towards the land of peace</i>	J.M	Giles Calvert	1659
Anon	<i>Certamen Brittanicum, Gallico Hispanicum</i>	S.N	.	1659
Anon	<i>Peters's resurrection,</i>	S.N	.	1659
Anon	<i>The court career death shaddow'd to life</i>	S.N	.	1659
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	J. Cottrell	Samuel Speed	1659
Benjamin Spencer	<i>Chrysomeson, a golden meane</i>	B.S	For the Author	1659
George Booth	<i>A dialogue betwixt Sir George Booth, and Sir John Presbyter</i>	Unknown	William Wild	1659
Delamer				
William Bradshaw	<i>Bradshaw's ghost</i>	S.N	.	1659
William Caton	<i>The moderate enquirer resolved</i>	Unknown	.	1659
Benjamin Spencer	<i>The vvay to everlasting happinesse</i>	W.H	William Hope	1659
Richard Baxter	<i>A treatise of self-deneyall</i>	Robert White	Nevill Simmons	1659
Friend to the publique	<i>A dialogue between riches, poverty, godliness, gravity, labour, and content</i>	Unknown	Nehemiah Bradford	1659
Benjamin Spencer	<i>The vvay to everlasting happinesse</i>	W.H	William Hope	1659
Anon	<i>Londons allarum</i>	Tom Tell Truth	.	1659
James Harrington	<i>Valerius and Publicola</i>	J.C	Henry Fletcher	1659
Anon	<i>The world in a maize</i>	S.N	.	1659
Anon	<i>The Swedish Cloak of religion</i>	S.N	Isaac Pridmore	1659
Anon	<i>The Western-Wheele</i>	Theodorus Microcosmos	.	1659
Anon	<i>A conference between the ghost of the</i>	Unknown	Mris Nurse	1660

Rump and Tom Tel-Troth

Anon	<i>A conference held between the old Lord Protector and the new Lord General</i>	S.N	.	1660
Anon	<i>A conference held in the Tower of London, between two Aldermen of the city</i>	S.N	.	1660
Anon	<i>A full relation or dialogue between a loyallist and a converted phanattick</i>	Unknown	Francis coles	1660
Anon	<i>A pair of prodigals returned</i>	S.N	.	1660
Anon	<i>A pleasant dialogue between the King, the miller, the shepheard, and the vwoodman, A private conference betvveen Mr. L. Robinson, and Mr. T. Scott</i>	Unknown	William Smith Isack Goulden	1660
Anon	<i>A third conference between O. Cromwell and Hugh Peters</i>	Thomas Mabb	.	1660
Anon	<i>Bradshaw's ghost</i>	S.N	.	1660
Anon	<i>Brethren in iniquity</i>	Unknown	Daneil Webb	1660
Anon	<i>Haslerig & Vain</i>	T.H	.	1660
			a lover of his country, and a martyr for Englands freedoms	
Anon	<i>No Parliament, no penny</i>	Unknown		1660
Anon	<i>The countrey-mans vive le roy</i>	Unknown	John Jones	1660
Anon	<i>The great messenger of mortality</i>	Unknown	.	1660
Anon	<i>The Hang-mans lamenration</i>	Unknown	Thomas Vere John Andrews	1660
Anon	<i>The Hangmans joy, or The traytors sorrow</i>	Unknown		1660
Anon	<i>The Pretended saint and the prophane libertine</i>	Unknown	J. Stafford	1660
Anon	<i>The Two city iuglers Tichborn, and Ireton</i>	Unknown	T. Vere	1660
Christopher Saint German	<i>The dialogue in English</i>	Unknown	Company of Stationers	1660
Clement Barksdale	<i>An Oxford-conference of philomathes and polymathes</i>	S.N	.	1660
G.P	<i>Englands murthering monsters set out in their colours</i>	S.N	.	1660
Henry Hickman	<i>Laudensium apostasia</i>	D. Maxwell	Sa. Gellibrand	1660
Hugh Peters	<i>The Most vile and lamentable confession of Hugh Peters</i>	Unknown	John Andrews	1660
Laurence Claxton	<i>A paradisical dialogue betwixt faith and reason</i>	Unknown	For the Author	1660
Nathaniel Fiennes	<i>Monarchy asserted to be the best, most ancient and legall form of government</i>	John Redmayne	Philip Chetwin	1660
Pietro Aretino	<i>The wandering whore continued</i>	S.N	.	1660
Randle Cotgrave	<i>A French and English dictionary</i>	William Hunt	.	1660
Richard Dafforne	<i>The merchants mirrour</i>	R.H	Nicholas	1660

			Bourne	
Thomas Jordan	<i>A dialogue betwixt Tom and Dick</i>	Unknown	.	1660
T.H	<i>The five faithfull brothers</i>	Unknown	W. Gilbertson	1660
Anon	<i>Merlinus phanaticus</i>	Daniel White	Phanaticus W.	1660
T.H	<i>The five faithfull brothers</i>	Unknown	Gilbertson	1660
Anon	<i>Beams of divine love arising upon Zion</i>	S.N	.	1660
Anon	<i>The tragical actors</i>	Unknown	Sir Arthur	1660
Anon	<i>Merlinus phanaticus</i>	Unknown	Phanaticus	1660
Anon	<i>The most vile and lamentable confession of Hugh Peters</i>	Unknown	John Andrews	1660
Anon	<i>The lamentation of the safe committee</i>	Unknown	William Gilbertson	1660
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a living cobbler and the ghost of a dead shoemaker</i>	Unknown	H.B John	1660
Anon	<i>The Case is altered</i>	S.N	Andrews	1660
Anon	<i>Cromwell's thanks</i>	M.T	.	1660
Anon	<i>A third conference between O. Cromwell and Hugh Peters</i>	Tho. Mabb	.	1660
Anon	<i>Lamberts last game plaid</i>	S.N	Richard Andrew William	1660
James Howell	<i>Therologia</i>	W. Wilson	Palmer	1660
Pietro Paravicino	<i>The true Idioma of the Italian Tongue</i>	E.C	H. Seile	1660
Thomas Jordan	<i>Divinity and morality</i>		J.A	1660
Thomas Jordan	<i>A dialogue betwixt Tom and Dick</i>			1660
Anon	<i>A short catechism for all the kings majesties loyal subjects</i>		William Gilbertson	1660
Thomas Jordan	<i>A pleasant dialogue between the country- man and citizen</i>			1660
Anon	<i>A dialogue between the two giants in Guildhall, Colebrond and Brandamore</i>	Unknown	For the Author	1661
Anon	<i>A full relation or dialogue between a loyallist and a converted phanattick</i>	Unknown	Francis Coules	1661
Anon	<i>A merry dialogue between Band, Cuff, and Ruff</i>	Unknown	F.K William	1661
Anon	<i>God speed the plough</i>	Unknown	Gilbertson	1661
Anon	<i>The two constant lovers</i>	Unknown	Francis coles	1661
George Wither	<i>Joco-serio</i>	S.N	.	1661
John Bunyan	<i>Profitable meditations fitted to mans different condition</i>	Unknown	Francis Smith	1661
John Dod	<i>Ten sermons</i>	S. Griffin	W. Lee	1661
Peter Aretine	<i>Strange nevves from Bartholomew-Fair</i>	Unknown	Theodorus Microcosmus	1661
Pietro Aretino	<i>The fifth and last part of the wandring</i>	S.N	.	1661

	<i>whore</i>			
	<i>The grand debate between the most reverend bishops and the Presbyterian divines</i>	S.N	.	1661
Richard Baxter				
Thomas Hunt	<i>Libellus orthographicus</i>	T. Johnson	.	1661
			William	
Walter Raleigh	<i>The prerogative of parliaments in England</i>	Unknown	Sheares	1661
Zachary Crofton	<i>The covenant newly revived</i>	S.N	.	1661
			William	
Joseph Bentham	<i>The right of kings by Scripture</i>	E.C	Tompson	1661
	<i>The last resolutions of Mounson, Mildmay, and Wallop:</i>		Thomas	
Anon		Unknown	Davis	1661
Laurence			William	
Womock	<i>The result of false principles</i>	Unknown	Leake	1661
Man in the moon	<i>New-Market fayre</i>	E. Crowch	.	1661
Izaak Walton	<i>The compleat angler</i>	T. Maxey	Rich Marriot	1661
Izaak Walton	<i>The compleat angler</i>	T. Maxey	Rich Marriot	1661
Archibald			Reverend	
Campbell Argyll	<i>Manes Presbyteriani</i>		Classes	1661
Thomas			William	
Salisbury	<i>Mathematical Collections</i>		Leybourne	1661
Pathericke			William	
Jenkyn	<i>Amorea</i>		Leake	1661
Anon	<i>A defence of the Litergy of teh Church</i>	T. Garthwait		1661
Christopher				
Harvey	<i>Self-contradiction censured</i>	R. Norton	.	1662
Francis Kirkman	<i>The Wits, or, Sport upon sport</i>	Unknown	Henry Marsh	1662
	<i>Something written after the manner of a discourse or dialogue</i>			
John Collens		Unknown	I.C	1662
			For the	
Ralph Wallis	<i>Rome for good news</i>	Unknown	Author	1662
Thomas Bayly	<i>Certamen religiosum</i>	Henry Hills	.	1662
Thomas				
Grantham	<i>The prisoner against the prelate</i>	S.N	.	1662
	<i>Persecution for religion judgâ€™™d and</i>			
Thomas Helwys	<i>condemnâ€™™d</i>	Unknown	.	1662
Alexander				
Brome	<i>Rump</i>		Henry Brome	1662
			Francis	
George May	<i>The White Powder Plot</i>	Francis Grove	Mawborn	1662
			Francis	
Anon	<i>Young man's joy, and the maids happiness</i>	Unknown	coles	1663
			Francis	
Anon	<i>Saint Bernards vision.</i>	W.O	coles	1663
			John	
Anon	<i>The Chimney-sweepers sad complaintw</i>	Unknown	Johnson	1663
			Francis	
Anon	<i>The two constant lovers</i>	Unknown	coles	1663

Bollicosgo Armuthaz	<i>The coffee-mans granado discharged upon the Maidens complaint against coffee</i>	Unknown	J. Johnson Eliz.	1663
J.S	<i>The young mans resolution to the maidens request</i>	Unknown	Andrews Richard	1663
Lucian	<i>Certain select dialogues of Lucian</i>	Unknown	Davis Majesties Special privledge For the	1663
Richard Mocket	<i>God and the King</i>	Unknown	Author John	1663
Samuel Bradley	<i>The afflicted and retired mans meditations</i>	Unknown	Johnson	1663
Pietro Aretino	<i>The sixth part of the Wandring-whore revived</i>	Unknown	Francis Coles Francis	1663
Laurence Prince	<i>The maidens delight</i>	Unknown	Coles Francis	1663
Martin Parker	<i>Mans filicity, and misery, which is a good wvife, and a bad</i>	Unknown	Coles Francis	1663
Anon	<i>The loving lad, and the coy lass</i>	E. Crowch	Coles Francis	1663
Anon	<i>The poore mans comfort</i>	Unknown	Coles Francis	1663
Anon	<i>A pleasant song made by a souldier</i>	Unknown	Coles Francis	1663
Anon	<i>A merry dialogue between a maid and her master</i>	Unknown	Coles Francis	1663
Anon	<i>Huberts ghost</i>	Unknown	Coles Francis	1663
Anon	<i>The souldiers farewel to his love</i>	Unknown	Coles	1663
John Shirley	<i>The young-mans resolution to the maidens request</i>	S.N	.	1663
Anon	<i>The Wandring-whores complaint</i>	Merc. Dem	J. Jones Humphrey	1663
J.G Roger L'Estrange	<i>The Academy of Complements</i>	T.P	Mosley	1663
Arthur Dent	<i>Toleration discuss'd</i>		Henry Brome	1663
	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	R.I Thomas Mabb	John Wright John Playfere	1664
P.B William Livingston	<i>Juvenilia sacra</i>	Andrew Anderson	.	1664
	<i>The conflict in conscience of a dear Christian named, Bessie Clarkson</i>		William Thackeray	1664
Anon	<i>The mother and daughter</i>	Unknown	H. Moseley	1664
Philomusus	<i>The Academy of Complements</i>	T. Badger	J. Williamson	1665
Anon	<i>A merry dialogue between Thomas and John</i>	Unknown	H. Sawbridge	1665
Richard Standfast	<i>A little handful of cordial comforts: and A caveat against seducers</i>	T. Moore		1665
Jacob Ledisma	<i>The Christian doctrine, in maner of a dialogue.</i>	John Ourself	.	1665
Richard Brathwaite	<i>The Captive-Captain</i>	J. Grismond		1665

Anon	<i>A prognostick on this famous year 1666</i>	Thomas Milbourn	.	1666
Anon	<i>The French dancing-master, and the English soldier</i>	S.N	.	1666
Poor Robin	<i>Poor Robins Character of France</i>	S.N	.	1666
Samuel Hieron	<i>Fair-play on both sides</i>	Richard Head	.	1666
Antoine Bilain	<i>A Dialogue concerning the rights of Her Most Christian Majesty</i>	Thomas Newcomb	.	1667
Matthew Poole	<i>A dialogue between a popish priest and an English Protestant</i>	S.N	.	1667
Solomon Eccles	<i>A musick-lector</i>	S.N	.	1667
William Carr	<i>An occasional dialogue at a coffee-house</i>	S.N	.	1667
Anon	<i>The city and countrey mercury:</i>	Unknown	.	1667
Anon	<i>The city mercury</i>	Thomas Ratcliffe	.	1667
John Raymond	<i>Folly in Print</i>			1667
Anon	<i>Mother Shiptons Christmas carrols</i>	P. Lillicrap	William Harris	1668
John Menzeis	<i>Papimus Lucifugus</i>	Unknown	John Forbes	1668
Nicholas Estwick	<i>A dialogue betwixt a conformist and a non-conformist</i>	S.N	.	1668
Simon Patrick	<i>A friendly debate betwixt two neighbours</i>	S.N	.	1668
Izaak Walton	<i>The compleat angler</i>	T. Maxey	Rich Marriot	1668
Henry More	<i>Divine Dialogues</i>	James Flesher		1668
Henry More	<i>The two last dialogues</i>	J. Flesher		1668
Charles Stanley	<i>Truth-triumphant in a dialogue between a papist and a Quaker</i>	S.N	.	1669
Gilbert Burnet	<i>A modest and free conference betwixt a conformist and a non-conformist</i>	S.N	.	1669
James Sempill	<i>A pick-tooth for the Pope</i>	Andrew Anderson		1669
Simon Patrick	<i>A continuation of the Friendly debate by the same author</i>	R. Royston	.	1669
Walter Raleigh	<i>Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh</i>	John Redmayne	Margaret Sheares	1669
John Wagstaffe	<i>The question of witchcraft debated;</i>	S.N	Edward Millington	1669
Charles Sackville	<i>The New Academy of Complements</i>		Samuel Speed	1669
Anon	<i>A dainty dialogue between Henry and Elizabeth</i>	Unknown	W. Thackeray	1670
Anon	<i>A merry dialogue between Thomas and John</i>	Unknown	J. Williamson	1670
Anon	<i>Deaths summons</i>	S.N	.	1670
Anon	<i>God speed the plow</i>	Unknown	W. Thackeray	1670
Anon	<i>Loves triumph over bashfulness</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1670
Anon	<i>The honest tradesmans honour vindicated</i>	Unknown	W.	1670

			Thackeray	
Anon	<i>The mother and daughter</i>	Unknown	.	1670
Anon	<i>The royoters [sic] ruine</i>	Unknown	T. Passanger	1670
Anon	<i>The shoomakers delight</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1670
Anon	<i>The True lovers joy</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby W.	1670
Anon	<i>The two-penny whore</i>	Unknown	Thackeray	1670
Anon	<i>True love exalted</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1670
John Wade	<i>A good vvife is a portion every day</i>	Unknown	R. Burton	1670
Matthew Poole	<i>A dialogue between a popish priest and an English Protestant</i>	Thomas Milbourn	William Passanger	1670
Robert Barclay	<i>Truth cleared of calumnies wherein a book intituled</i>	S.N	.	1670
	<i>A further continuation and defence, or, A third part of the friendly debate by the same author</i>	E.G	H. Eversden	1670
Simon Patrick	<i>An appendix to the third part of The friendly debate</i>	Unknown William Thackeray	H. Eversden	1670
Thomas Jordan	<i>A looking-glass for a covetous miser</i>		.	1670
	<i>A private conference between a rich alderman and a poor country vicar made publick</i>	E.C	James Collins	1670
Thomas Pittis	<i>The creed of Mr. Hobbes examined in a feigned conference</i>	Unknown	Francis Tyton Philip	1670
Thomas Tenison			Brooksby	1670
Anon	<i>The secret sinners</i>	Unknown		1670
Gregorio Leti	<i>Il putanismo di Roma</i>	S.N	.	1670
	<i>A dainty new dialogue between Henry and Elizabeth</i>	Unknown	William Thackeray	1670
Anon	<i>The two Lymas lovers, Thomas and Betty</i>	Unknown	I. Deacon	1670
Philomusus	<i>The Academy of Complements</i>	T. Badger	H. Moseley	1670
Thomas Culpeper	<i>The necessity of abating usury</i>	T.L	Christopher Wilkinson	1670
Thomas Rudyard	<i>The second part of the peoples antient and just liberties asserted</i>	S.L	s.n	1670
	<i>Some considerations touching the present debate between owners</i>	A. Lichfield	.	1671
Anon	<i>Truth-triumphant in a dialogue between a Papist and a Quaker</i>	S.N	.	1671
Charles Stanley	<i>A dialogue between a popish priest and an English Protestant</i>	T.M	.	1671
Matthew Poole	<i>Youths tragedy</i>	Unknown	John Starkey	1671
T.S				
William Caton	<i>The moderate enquirer resolved</i>	S.N	.	1671
William Mitchell	<i>A sober ansvvere to an angry pamphlet</i>	John Forbes	.	1671
John Eliot	<i>Indian Dialogues</i>			1671
Robert McWard	<i>The True Non-Conformist</i>	S.N	.	1671

Margaret Cavendish	<i>Natures picture drawn by fancies</i>	A. Maxwell		1671
Person of Quality	<i>Westminster-drollery</i>		H. Brome	1671
Anon	<i>The merry Dutch miller and new invented windmill</i>	E. Crowch	Francis coles	1672
Anon	<i>The Mother and daughter</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1672
Anon	<i>The present state and condition of the Low-Countreis</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1672
Francis Kirkman	<i>The wits, or, Sport upon sport</i>	E. Crowch	Francis Kirkman	1672
George Whitehead	<i>The dipper plung'd</i>	S.N	.	1672
	<i>The grounds and occasions of the contempt of the clergy and religion enquired into</i>			
John Eachard	<i>A dialogue between a popish priest and an English Protestant</i>	E. Tyler	Nath. Brooke	1672
Matthew Poole	<i>Youths tragedy</i>	Robert Sanders	.	1672
T.S	<i>Coffo phillo</i>	Unknown	John Starkey	1672
William Carr	<i>The dipper plung'd</i>	S.N	.	1672
George Whitehead	<i>Mr Hobbs's state of nature considered in a dialogue</i>	S.N	.	1672
John Eachard	<i>A free conference touching the present state of England</i>	E.T	Nath. Brooke	1672
Anon	<i>A relation of the conference between William Laud</i>	Unknown	R. Royston	1673
Anon	<i>Room for news</i>	J.C	Thomas Basset	1673
Anon	<i>The friendly conference</i>	Martin Marpope	H.B	1673
Christopher Saint German	<i>Two dialogues in English</i>	Unknown	M.B	1673
Desiderius Erasmus	<i>The pope shut out of heaven gates</i>	Richard Atkins	.	1673
Francisco Baltheo Montalvan	<i>Naked truth</i>	Unknown	R. Vaughan	1673
George Whitehead	<i>An appendix, being some sober and short animadversions upon certain passages</i>	Unknown	Thomas Palmer	1673
John Eachard	<i>Some opinions of Mr. Hobbs considered in a second dialogue</i>	S.N	.	1673
L.B.P	<i>Planes apokalypsis Popery manifested</i>	J. Macock	Walter Kettily	1673
Richard Mayo	<i>The life & death of Edmund Staunton</i>	Unknown	R.C	1673
Robert West	<i>A demonstration in brief, of what I have noted in a book</i>	Unknown	Th.	1673
Thomas Culpeper	<i>Plain English in a familiar conference</i>	S.N	Parkhurst	1673
Thomas Hicks	<i>A continuation of The dialogue between a</i>	T.J	.	1673
		Unknown	Peter Parker	1673

	<i>Christian and a Quaker</i>			
Thomas Hicks	<i>A dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker</i>	Unknown	Henry Hills	1673
Thomas Lawrence	<i>A brief answer to three books</i>	S.N	.	1673
William Lloyd	<i>A conference between two Protestants and a papist</i>	S.N	.	1673
William Penn	<i>Reason against railing</i>	Unknown	.	1673
Robert Boyle	<i>Tracts consisting of observations about the saltness of the sea:</i>	E. Flesher	R. Davis	1673
Francis Fullwood	<i>Humble advice to the conforming and non-conforming Ministers and people</i>	Unknown	James Collins	1673
Benjamin Keach	<i>War with the devil</i>	Unknown	Benjamin Harris	1673
Roger L'Estrange	<i>Toleration discussâ€™d;</i>	A.C	Henry Brome	1673
John Danks	<i>A declaration concerning the people called Quakers</i>	Unknown	Francis Smith	1673
William Lloyd	<i>The difference between the Church and court of Rome</i>	Andrew Clark	Henry Brome	1673
Anon	<i>A way to wooe a witty wench</i>	Unknown	Francis Coles	1673
Anon	<i>If you love me tell me so</i>	Unknown	Francis Coles	1673
Anon	<i>The jolly shepherd, and jovial shepherdess</i>	Unknown	Francis Coles	1673
Anon	<i>A merry dialogue between a maid and her master</i>	Unknown	Francis Coles	1673
Anon	<i>A way to wooe a witty wench</i>	Unknown	coles	1674
Anon	<i>The Quakers Pedigree</i>	Sam Harris	.	1674
Anon	<i>The two constant lovers</i>	Unknown	Francis coles	1674
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	E.C	J.W	1674
Charles Morton	<i>The little peace-maker</i>	Thomas Parkhurst	.	1674
John Moon	<i>A Jesuitical designe discovered:</i>	Unknown	.	1674
Richard Baxter	<i>Full and easie satisfaction which is the true and safe religion</i>	Unknown	Nev. Simmons	1674
Robert Boyle	<i>Tracts consisting of observations about the saltness of the sea</i>	E. Flesher	R. Davis	1674
Thomas Hicks	<i>The Quaker condemned out of his own mouth</i>	R.W	Peter Parker	1674
William Loddington	<i>The Christian a Quaker</i>	S.N	.	1674
William Penn	<i>The counterfeit Christian detected</i>	S.N	.	1674
Alexander Skene	<i>A true and faithful accompt of the most material passages of a dispute</i>	S.N	.	1675
Anon	<i>A dialogue betwixt two friends Valentius of Frieland and Ernest Friedman</i>	S.N	.	1675

Anon	<i>Certain quaeries offer'd to the consideration of all serious, and judicious men</i>	S.N	.	1675
Anon	<i>Mall and her master</i>	S.N	.	1675
Anon	<i>The Ale-wives complaint against the coffee-houses</i>	Unknown	John Tomson	1675
Anon	<i>The new married couple</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1675
Benjamin Keach	<i>The grand impostor discovered</i>	B. Harris	.	1675
Benjamin Keach	<i>War with the devil</i>	B. Harris	.	1675
Charles Creamer	<i>A journey into the country</i>	Unknown	Henry Brome	1675
Edward Bourne	<i>An answer to Doctor Good</i>	S.N	.	1675
John Bunyan	<i>Instruction for the ignorant</i>	Unknown	Francis Smith	1675
Luke Beaulieu	<i>Take heed of both extremes</i>	Unknown	Henry Brome	1675
Plato	<i>Plato his Apology of Socrates, and Phaedo A dialogue (or familiar discourse) and conference betweene the husbandman and fruit-trees</i>	T.R	James Magnes	1675
Ralph Austin	<i>The difference between the Church and Court of Rome</i>	Hen. Hall	Thomas Bowman	1675
William Lloyd		Andrew Clark	Henry Brome	1675
Richard Baxter	<i>Richard Baxter's Catholick theologie:</i>	Robert White	Nevil Simmons	1675
Richard Baxter	<i>A treatise of self-denial</i>	Robert White	Nevil Simmons	1675
J.G. Van Heldoren	<i>A new and easy English grammar</i>	Mercy Bruining		1675
Thomas Powell	<i>The young mans conflict with, and victory over the Devil by faith</i>	Unknown	John Hancock	1675
Charles Cotton	<i>Burlesque upon burlesque</i>	S.n	Henry Brome	1675
Anon	<i>The Devil and broker</i>	Unknown	J.C	1676
Benjamin Keach	<i>War with the devil</i>	Unknown	Benjamin Francis	1676
E.M Hutchinson	<i>A treatise concerning the covenant and baptism dialogue-wise</i>	Unknown	Smith	1676
Edward Fowler	<i>A friendly conference between a minister and a parishioner</i>	T.R	Clavell	1676
J.H	<i>Astronomia crystallina</i>	Unknown	For the Author	1676
Matthew Poole	<i>A dialogue between a popish priest and an English Protestant</i>	Unknown	Tho. Cockerii	1676
Thomas Cock	<i>Kitchin-physick</i>	Unknown	J.B	1676
Thomas Danson	<i>A friendly debate between Satan and Sherlock</i>	S.N	.	1676
Thomas Ellwood	<i>Truth prevailing and detecting error</i>	S.N	.	1676
Izaak Walton	<i>The compleat angler</i>	T. Maxey	Rich Marriot	1676
Anon	<i>In memory of that faithful disciple of the Lord, William Mecho,</i>	S.N	.	1677
Anon	<i>News from Rome</i>	Martin Marpope	.	1677

John Houghton	<i>England's great happiness</i>	J.M	Edward Croft H.	1677
Pierre de Laine	<i>The princely way to the French tongue</i>	J. Macock	Herringman	1677
Roger Haydock	<i>A hypocrite unvailed and a blasphemer made mainfest</i>	S.N	.	1677
Thomas Godden	<i>A iust discharge to Dr. Stillingfleet's vnjust charge of idolatry</i>	Rene Guigard		1677
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Lod. Muggleton and the Quakers</i>	Unknown	J.C	1677
John Cleveland	<i>Clievelandi Vindiciae</i>			1677
Anon	<i>A free conference touching the present state of England</i>	Unknown	R. Royston	1678
Anon	<i>The plot discover'd</i>	Unknown	B.H	1678
Benjamin Keach	<i>War with the devil</i>	Unknown	Benjamin Harris	1678
Edward Fowler	<i>A vindication of the Friendly conference</i>	Sam Roycroft	.	1678
Edward Jewel	<i>A brief discourse of the stomach and parts subservient unto it</i>	S.N	.	1678
François de la Mothe Le Vayer	<i>The great prerogative of a private life by way of dialogue</i>	J.C	L.C	1678
George Fox	<i>A New-England-fire-brand quenched</i>	S.N	.	1678
Jean Barrin	<i>The monk unvail'd:</i>	Unknown	Jonathan Edwin	1678
John Vernon	<i>The compleat comptinghouse</i>	J.D	Benj. Billingsley	1678
R.H	<i>A dialogue between a Protestant and an [Ana] baptist</i>	Unknown	D.M	1678
Richard Mayo	<i>A conference betwixt a Protestant and a Jevv</i>	A.M	Thomas Parkhurst	1678
Anon	<i>A collection of select discourses out of the most eminent wits of France and Italy</i>	S.R	Henry Brome	1678
Thomas Hobbes	<i>Decameron physiologicum</i>	J.C	W. Crook	1678
Andrew Yarranton	<i>A coffee-house dialogue</i>	S.N	.	1679
Anon	<i>A coffee-house dialogue</i>	S.N	.	1679
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between death and Doctor Robert Wyld</i>	S.N	.	1679
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between Duke Lauderdale and the Lord Danby</i>	S.N	.	1679
Anon	<i>A Dialogue betwixt the Devil and the ignoramus doctor</i>	Unknown	.	1679
Anon	<i>A maiden-head ill bestowed</i>	Unknown	R. Burton	1679
Anon	<i>A short and seasonable dialogue between a protestant and a papist</i>	Unknown	Langley Curtis	1679
Anon	<i>Geneva & Rome</i>	S.N	.	1679
Anon	<i>Londons allarum</i>	Unknown	Tom Tell Truth	1679
Anon	<i>News from Heaven</i>	S.N	.	1679
Anon	<i>The Coffee-house dialogue examined and refuted</i>	S.N	.	1679

Anon	<i>The Pope's advice to his sons</i>	Unknown	J.S	1679
Francis Smith	<i>Clod-pate's ghost</i>	S.N	.	1679
Gilbert Coles	<i>A dialogue between a Protestant and a papist</i>	Theater Oxford	Peter Parker	1679
John Maitland Lauderdale	<i>A dialogue between Duke Lauderdale and the Lord Danby</i>	S.N	.	1679
John Oldham	<i>Tom tell-troth</i>	S.N	.	1679
Nathaniel Fiennes	<i>Monarchy asserted to be the best, most ancient and legall form of government</i>	S.N	.	1679
Robert Fleming	<i>The one necessary thing to be sought</i>	S.N	.	1679
Samuel Slater	<i>Poems in two parts</i>	Unknown	Tho. Cockerii	1679
Anon	<i>The Weekly Packet of Advice</i>			1679
Andrew Yarranton	<i>England's improvements justified</i>	S.N	.	1680
Anon	<i>A defence of true Protestants</i>	S.N	.	1680
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between Tom and Dick over a dish of coffee</i>	S.N	.	1680
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between two Jesuits, Father Antony and Father Ignatius</i>	S.N	.	1680
Anon	<i>Crackfart & Tony</i>	S.N	.	1680
Anon	<i>Excommunication excommunicated,</i>	S.N	.	1680
Anon	<i>News from Rome</i>	S.N	.	1680
Anon	<i>The Catholick gamesters</i>	Unknown	.	1680
Anon	<i>The Lady Bark</i>	S.N	.	1680
Anon	<i>The tears of Rome</i>	S.N	.	1680
Anon	<i>Vox Regni</i>	S.N	.	1680
Benjamin Keach	<i>War with the devil</i>	Unknown	Benjamin Harris	1680
E.P George Buchanan	<i>The dialogue betwixt Cit and Bumpkin</i>	Unknown	.	1680
Hearty lover of his prince and country	<i>De jure regni apud Scotos</i>	S.N	.	1680
Jacob Villiers	<i>A dialogue between the Pope and a phanatick concerning affairs in England</i>	Unknown	.	1680
Jeremiah Dyke	<i>Vocubularium analogicum</i>	J.D	Johnathan Robinson Nathaniel	1680
Johann Gerhard	<i>The worthy communicant</i>	Unknown	Ranew Nathaniel	1680
John Bunyan	<i>Divine consolations against the fear of death in a dialogue</i>	S.N	Crouch	1680
John Hawles	<i>The life and death of Mr. Badman presented to the world in a familiar dialogue</i>	J.A	Nath. Ponder Richard	1680
John Hawles	<i>The English-mans right</i>	Unknown	Janeway	1680
John Hawles	<i>The grand-jury-man's oath and office explained</i>	Unknown	Langley Curtis	1680

John Trevor	<i>An Abstract of several examinations taken upon oath</i>	J.C	John Gain	1680
Matthew Poole	<i>A dialogue between a popish priest and an English Protestant</i>	Unknown	Tho. Cockerii	1680
Nathaniel Fiennes	<i>Treason's master-piece</i>	Unknown	Daniel Major	1680
Person of Quality	<i>Honest Hodge & Ralph holding a sober discourse</i>	Unknown	John Kidgell	1680
Richard Baxter	<i>The poor man's family book</i>	Unknown	Thomas Simmons	1680
Richard Onslow	<i>A sober discourse of the honest cavalier with the popish couranter</i>	Unknown	H. Brome	1680
Roger L'Estrange	<i>Citt and Bumpkin in a dialogue over a pot of ale</i>	Unknown	H. Brome	1680
Roger L'Estrange	<i>L'Estrange's case in a civil dialogue betwixt 'Zekiel and Ephraim</i>	Unknown	H. Brome	1680
Roger L'Estrange	<i>The casuist uncas'd</i>	Unknown	H. Brome	1680
Stephen Tory	<i>Mixt marriages vindicated</i>	Unknown	Francis Smith	1680
Thomas Stanhope	<i>Medulla Novi Testamenti</i>	A.G	.	1680
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between two Oxford schollars</i>	Unknown	H.H and T.J	1680
Anon	<i>A threefold discourse Betwixt the Pope, The Devil, and Towzer</i>			1680
Anon	<i>Warning for Servants</i>		Thomas Parkhurst	1680
Anon	<i>A Caution to all true English Protestants concerning the late popish plot</i>	Unknown	Richard Janeway	1681
Anon	<i>A dialogue at Oxford between a tutor and a gentleman</i>	Unknown	Richard Janeway	1681
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between a monkey in the Old Bayly and an ape in High Holbourn</i>	Unknown	John Johnson	1681
Anon	<i>A dialogue between an exchange, and exchange-alley</i>	Unknown	Richard Janeway	1681
Anon	<i>A dialogue between London & Oxford</i>	Unknown	W.R	1681
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between Pasquin and Morforio two statues in Rome</i>	S.N	.	1681
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between the E. of Sh-- and L. Bell-- in the Tower, concerning the plot</i>	Unknown	A.T	1681
Anon	<i>A dialogue between the ghosts of the two last Parliaments, at their late interview</i>	Unknown	Al. Banks	1681
Anon	<i>A dialogue between the Pope and the Devil, about Owen and Baxter</i>	Unknown	S.J	1681
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Toney, and the ghost of the late Lord Viscount-Stafford</i>	Unknown	P.M	1681
Anon	<i>A dialogue between two burgesses, about chusing their next Members of Parliament</i>	S.N	.	1681
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between two Jesuits</i>	S.N	.	1681
Anon	<i>A dialogue between two porters</i>	S.N	.	1681
Anon	<i>A Dialogue betwixt H.B.'s ghost and his</i>	Unknown	J.M	1681

	<i>dear author R.L.S</i>			
	<i>A Dialogue betwixt Sam. the ferriman of Dochet, Will. a waterman of London, and Tom</i>	S.N	.	1681
Anon	<i>A dialogue upon the burning of the rope and presbyter</i>	Unknown	Richard Janeway	1681
Anon	<i>A Friendly dialogue between two London-apprentices</i>	Unknown	Richard Janeway	1681
Anon	<i>A help to discourse</i>	S.N	.	1681
Anon	<i>A New dialogue between Mr. Woodbee</i>	Unknown	T. Benskin	1681
Anon	<i>A new dialogue betwixt Heraclitus & Towzer</i>	Unknown	T.B	1681
Anon	<i>A Pleasant battle between two lap dogs of the Utopian court</i>	Unknown	R.B	1681
Anon	<i>A Protestant catechism</i>	Unknown	J. Grover	1681
Anon	<i>A Sober and seasonable discourse</i>	N. Thompson	.	1681
Anon	<i>A sober dialogue betwixt William Howard</i>	S.N	.	1681
Anon	<i>A supplement to the Popish Courant</i>	S.N	Richard Janeway	1681
Anon	<i>An Account of Mr. York's suite in a dialogue between Mr. York and his post</i>	Hawkers of London	W. Baily	1681
Anon	<i>Cromwels complaint of injustice</i>	Unknown	T. Davis	1681
Anon	<i>Heraclitus ridens</i>	S.N	B.T	1681
Anon	<i>Interrogatories</i>	S.N	W. Brown	1681
Anon	<i>Oates well thresh't</i>	Unknown	R.H	1681
Anon	<i>Oxfords lamentation</i>	Unknown	T. Benskin	1681
Anon	<i>Plain dealing</i>	Unknown	Francis Smith	1681
Anon	<i>Plain-dealing</i>	Unknown	T.B	1681
Anon	<i>Several weighty quaeries</i>	Unknown	Mathew Burdid	1681
Anon	<i>The Dialogue between the Pope and a fanatick</i>	Unknown	John Kidgell	1681
Anon	<i>The Newgate salutation</i>	Unknown	T.B	1681
Anon	<i>The Phanatick in his colours</i>	Unknown	N. Thompson	1681
Anon	<i>The swearing-master</i>	Unknown	N.T	1681
Anon	<i>The time-servers</i>	Unknown	W.H	1681
Anon	<i>Treason made manifest</i>	Unknown	Francis coles	1681
Charles Morton	<i>The way of good men for wise men to walk in</i>	Unknown	Benjamin Alsop	1681
Do-well	<i>A conference between a Bensalian bishop and an English doctor</i>	Unknown	Thomas Parkhurst	1681
Edward Rawlins	<i>Heraclitus ridens</i>	Unknown	B. Tooke	1681
Francis Fullwood	<i>A dialogue betwixt Philautus and Timotheus</i>	Unknown	Richard Royston	1681
George Coniers	<i>A true copy of a dispute lately held at</i>	Unknown	John	1681

	<i>Rome</i>		Bringhrst	
Giles Firmin	<i>The questions between the conformist and nonconformist</i>	Unknown	Thomas Cockerill	1681
Hearty lover of his prince and country	<i>A dialogue between the pope and a phanatick</i>	Unknown	H. Jones	1681
Hearty lover of his prince and country	<i>A second dialogue between the Pope and a phanatick</i>	Unknown	H. Jones	1681
Henry Neville	<i>Plato redivivus</i>	Unknown	S.I	1681
J. Waite	<i>The parents primer and the mothers lookinglasse</i>	J.A	For the Author	1681
J.D	<i>The lawfulness of mixt-marriages weighed</i>	J.D	.	1681
John Griffith	<i>The unlawfulness of mixt-marriages</i>	Unknown	For the Author	1681
John Humfrey	<i>Plain-dealing</i>	Unknown	T.B	1681
John Vaughan	<i>Ignoramus vindicated in a dialogue between prejudice and indifference</i>	Unknown	William Inghall	1681
Pierre Jurieu	<i>The policy of the clergy of France</i>	Unknown	R. Bentley	1681
Poor Robin	<i>Poor Robins dream</i>	M.S	.	1681
R. Hearn	<i>Obsequium et Veritas</i>	Unknown	.	1681
Richard Baxter	<i>A third defence of the cause of peace proving</i>	Unknown	Jacob Sampson	1681
Roger			Joanna	
L'Estrange	<i>Citt and Bumpkin</i>	Unknown	Brome	1681
Roger				
L'Estrange	<i>Dialogue upon dialogue</i>	Unknown	H.B	1681
Roger				
L'Estrange	<i>The casuist uncas'd</i>	Unknown	Henry Brome	1681
Simson Tonge	<i>The narrative and case of Simson Tonge</i>	Unknown	C.W	1681
Thomas Baker	<i>The head of Nile</i>	Walter Davis	.	1681
W.B	<i>Strange and wonderful news</i>	Unknown	T.B	1681
Walter Raleigh	<i>Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh</i>	Unknown	Henry Mortlock	1681
Zachary			Th.	
Cawdrey	<i>A preparation for martyrdom</i>	Unknown	Parkhurst	1681
Thomas Hobbes	<i>Tracts of Thomas Hobbâ€™s</i>	Unknown	William Crooke	1681
Thomas Hobbes	<i>The art of Rhetoric</i>	Unknown	William Crooke	1681
Henry Neville	<i>Plato redivivus</i>	Unknown	S.I	1681
Robert Fleming	<i>The one thing necessary</i>	S.N	.	1681
John Humfrey	<i>Symbolâ€™, sive Conflictus cum antichristo</i>	Unknown	.	1681
Matthew Poole	<i>A dialogue between a popish priest and an English Protestant</i>	Andrew Amison	.	1681
Anon	<i>Protestant observator</i>	Unknown	Jonathan Low	1681
Anon	<i>Protestant loyalty fairly drawn</i>	Unknown	Walter	1681

			Kettilby	
Anon	<i>Huberts ghost</i>	Unknown	I. Wright	1681
Anon	<i>The History of reformation</i>	Unknown	Mayor of Goatham	1681
Anon	<i>Historical collections</i>	Unknown	Simon Neale	1681
Anon	<i>The Observator</i>	Unknown	Joanna Brome	1681
Anon	<i>The Observator</i>	Unknown	Henry Brome	1681
Anon	<i>The tears of the press</i> <i>A dialogue between Monmouth-shire, and</i> <i>York-shire. About cutting religion</i> <i>according to fashion. ,</i>	Richard Janeway	.	1681
Anon	<i>The tears of the Press</i>	Unknown	W.R Richard Janeway	1681
Anon	<i>Democritus Ridens</i>	Fra. Smith		1681
Anon	<i>Jest and Earnest Exposed</i> <i>The Tryal and Condemnation of Several</i> <i>Notorious Malefactors</i>	Benjamin Harris	.	1681
Anon	<i>An Excellent New Ballad Between Tom the</i> <i>Tory and Toney the Whigg</i> <i>The Mock-press, or, The Encounter of</i> <i>Harry Lungs and Jasper Hem, two</i> <i>running-stationers, or pamphleteers</i>	H. Brome		1681
Anon	<i>A Real Vindication of Dr. B.</i>		C.B	1681
Anon	<i>The Observator Observ'd</i>			1681
Anon	<i>Heraclitus Derisus</i>		T.D	1681
Anon	<i>A dialogue between the D. of C. and the D.</i> <i>of P. at their meeting in Paris</i>	Unknown	J. Smith	1682
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between the Dutchess of</i> <i>Portsmouth and Madam Gwin at parting</i> <i>A dialogue upon the burning of the Pope</i> <i>and Presbyter</i>	Unknown	J.S Richard Janeway	1682
Anon	<i>A hue and cry after Tory-honesty</i>	Unknown	N.T	1682
Anon	<i>A letter from Scotland</i>	Unknown	E.C	1682
Anon	<i>A nevv song</i> <i>A word for the city in a dialogue between</i> <i>Civicus and Rusticus</i>	Unknown	T.P	1682
Anon	<i>Notes conferr'd</i> <i>Popish fables, Protestant truths, and plot-</i> <i>smotherers</i>	Unknown	H. Pritchard R. Shuter	1682
Anon	<i>Some passages taken out of two</i> <i>Observers</i>	Unknown	John Spicer	1682
Anon	<i>The Charge of a Tory plot maintain'd in a</i> <i>dialogue</i>	S.N	.	1682
Anon	<i>The hawkers lamentation</i>	Unknown	N.L Langley Curtis	1682

Anon	<i>The last words and sayings of the true-Protestant Elm-Board</i>	Unknown	F. Shepherd	1682
Anon	<i>The pillory</i>	Unknown	J. Charles Charles	1682
Anon	<i>The Popish hunt after the Protestant plot</i>	Unknown	Leigh	1682
Anon	<i>The two Lymas lovers, Thomas and Betty</i>	Unknown	J. Deacon Francis	1682
Anon	<i>The Way to promotion</i>	Unknown	Haley	1682
Anon	<i>The Whigg and Tory's friendly dialogue</i>	Unknown	J. Deacon	1682
Edmund Hickeringill	<i>The fourth part of naked truth Reflections upon the murder of S. Edmund-Bury Godfrey</i>	Unknown	Richard Janeway	1682
Elizabeth Cellier		Unknown	A.B	1682
Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont	<i>A cabbalistical dialogue in answer to the opinion of a learned doctor in philosophy</i>	Unknown	Benjamin Clark	1682
Goodlove Freeman	<i>A dialogue between Hodge and Heraclitus</i>	Unknown	D. Davies	1682
Hercules Collins	<i>Some reasons for separation from the communion of the Church of England</i>	Unknown	John How	1682
Honest Gent	<i>Concavum cappo-cloacorum A pleasant conference upon the Observator and Heraclitus</i>	Unknown	Benj. Tooke	1682
John Philips	<i>A pastoral dialogue between Alexis and Strephon</i>	Unknown	H. Jones Benj. Billingsley	1682
John Rochester		Unknown	Daniel	1682
L.C	<i>Amoret</i>	Unknown	Brown	1682
M.P	<i>A brief sum of certain worm-wood lectures A dialogue between Mr. Prejudice, a dissenting country gentleman, and Mr. Reason</i>	Unknown	J. Wright	1682
Thomas Wood		Unknown	T. Sawbridge	1682
Thomas Wood	<i>The dissenting casuist</i>	Unknown	T. Sawbridge	1682
Roger L'Estrange	<i>A collection of several tracts in quarto</i>	Unknown	Joanna Brome	1682
Roger L'Estrange	<i>New news from Bedlam</i>	Unknown	.	1682
Anon	<i>The quarrelsome lovers</i>	Unknown	Philip Brooksby	1682
Anon	<i>Popish Natâ€™s lamentation</i>	Unknown	J. Smith	1682
Roger L'Estrange	<i>The Observator</i>	Unknown	Joanna Brome	1682
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a baker and his wife A New dialogue between some body and no body</i>	Unknown	J.S	1682
Anon		Unknown	E. Smith	1682
Edmund Hickeringill	<i>The history of Whiggism</i>	Unknown	E. Smith	1682
Edmund Hickeringill	<i>The History of Whiggism</i>	Unknown	E. Smith	1682
John Shirley	<i>The young-mans resolution to the maidens</i>	Unknown	Josiah Blare	1682

	<i>request</i>			
L.W	<i>A merry dialogue between Andrew and his sweet heart Joan</i>	Alexander Milbourn	Jonah Deacon William Crook	1682
Thomas Hobbes	<i>Seven philosophical problems</i>	S.N		1682
Anon	<i>Scots Memoirs</i>			1682
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a Yorkshire-alderman and Salamanca-doctor</i>	John Smith	.	1683
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury, and Captain Thomas Walcott</i>	W.D	.	1683
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between lack Ketch and his journey-man</i>	Unknown	J.D	1683
Anon	<i>A Satyr by way of dialogue between Lucifer and the ghosts of Shaftsbury and Russell</i>	S.N	.	1683
Anon	<i>A Vindication of the Lord Russell's speech and innocence</i>	Unknown	.	1683
Anon	<i>Bank-credit</i>	John Gain	.	1683
Anon	<i>Oates's manifesto</i>	Unknown	R.L	1683
Anon	<i>Remarks on trade in a dialogue between a committee-man and an interloper</i>	Unknown	Jos. Hindmarsh William	1683
Anon	<i>Scotch memoirs</i>	Unknown	Ablington	1683
Anon	<i>The Broken merchants complaint</i>	N. Thompson	.	1683
Anon	<i>The King of Poland's ghost</i>	Unknown	Jos. Hindmarsh For the	1683
Anon	<i>The Whiggs lamentation</i>	Unknown	Author	1683
Anthony Horneck	<i>The fire of the altar</i>	T.N	Samuel Lowndes	1683
Benjamin Keach	<i>War with the Devil</i>	Unknown	Benjamin Harris	1683
Edmund Hickeringill	<i>The Trimmer</i>	Unknown	R. Hall Richard	1683
George Meriton	<i>A York-shire dialogue</i>	John White	Lambert	1683
Johannes Nieuhof	<i>The Night-walker of Bloomsbury</i>	J. Grantham	.	1683
John Vernon	<i>The compleat comptinghouse</i>	J. Richardson	Benj. Billingsley	1683
John Wilmot Rochester	<i>A pastoral dialogue between Alexis and Strephon</i>	Unknown	Benj. Billingsley	1683
Philopatris	<i>Themista & Euphorbus in a familiar dialogue</i>	Unknown	For the Author	1683
Presbyter of the Church of England	<i>The true Protestant religion set forth by way of dialogue</i>	S.N	.	1683
Thomas Tryon	<i>A dialogue between an East-Indian brackmanny</i>	Andrew Sowle	.	1683
Thomas Barlow	<i>A new-years-gift for Protestants</i>	Unknown	Benjamin	1683

			Harris	
John Forbe	<i>The mariner's everlasting almanack</i>	John Forbes	.	1683
Edward Pettit	<i>The visions of the reformation</i>	Unknown	Joanna Brome	1683
Anon	<i>The Protestant joyners ghost to Hone the Protestant carpenter in Newgate</i>	Unknown	J. Smith	1683
Anon	<i>The night-walker of Bloomsbury</i>	J. Grantham	.	1683
Anon	<i>The old woman's resolution</i>	Unknown	Philip Brooksby	1683
Anon	<i>Great news from the Old-Bayly</i>	G. Croom	.	1683
Anon	<i>The Trimmer Catechised</i>	George Croom		1683
Anon	<i>Sh----- Ghost to Doctor Oats in A Vision Concerning the Jesuits and Lords in Tower</i>			1683
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Bowman the Tory, and Prance the runagado</i>	Unknown	J. Dean	1684
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between Doctor Titus and Bedlows ghost</i>	Unknown	J.S	1684
Anon	<i>A Dialogue betwixt the Devil and the Whigs</i>	N.T	.	1684
Anon	<i>The plough-man's praise</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1684
Anon	<i>The Reformed dissenter</i>	Joseph Collier	.	1684
Anon	<i>The Whigg's defeat</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1684
Anon	<i>The young-mans conquest over the powers of darkness</i>	Unknown	J. Coniers	1684
Anthony Horneck	<i>The fire of the altar</i>	Unknown	Samuel Lowndes	1684
Arthur Dent	<i>The plaine mans path-way to heauen</i>	Unknown	M. Wotton	1684
Benjamin Keach	<i>War with the devil</i>	Unknown	Benjamin Harris	1684
Hearty lover of his prince and country	<i>A third dialogue between the Pope and a phanatick</i>	J.P	.	1684
Isaac Chauncy Jaques	<i>A theological dialogue</i>	Unknown	For the Author	1684
Bénigne Bossuet	<i>A relation of the famous conference held about religion at Paris</i>	H.C	Thomas Malthus	1684
John Dunton	<i>Dunton's remains</i>	Unknown	John Dunton	1684
John Goodman	<i>A winter-evening conference</i>	J.M	R. Royston	1684
Richard Baxter	<i>The poor man's family book</i>	Unknown	B. Simons	1684
Richard Baxter	<i>Whether parish congregations be true Christian churches</i>	Unknown	Thomas Parkhurst	1684
Richard Dafforne	<i>The merchant's mirrour</i>	Miles Flesher	Robert Horne	1684
Thomas Tryon	<i>Friendly advice to the gentlemen-planters of the East and West Indies</i>	Andrew Sowle	.	1684
Titus Oates	<i>A dialogue between Doctor Titus, and Bedlows ghost</i>	Unknown	J.S	1684

Anon	<i>The Whigish [sic] convert</i>	E. Mallet	.	1684
Michael Altham	<i>A dialogue between a pastor and parishioner touching the Lord's Supper</i>	J. Macock	Luke Meredith	1684
Nicholas Boileau Despreaux	<i>The infernal observator</i>	Henry Hills	Benjamin Tooke	1684
J.B	<i>The pilgrims progress</i>	H.B	Thomas Passanger	1684
Richard Standfast	<i>A little handful of cordial comforts</i>	T. Moore	H. Sawbridge	1684
Anon	<i>An excellent example to all young-men</i>	M. Haly	J. Deacon	1684
Anon	<i>A merry dialogue between Tom the taylor, and his maid Jone</i>	Unknown	John Clarke	1684
Anon	<i>The tongue combatants</i>	Unknown	Andrew Thorncorne	1684
Anon	<i>St. Bernard's vision</i>	Unknown	John Clarke	1684
Anon	<i>Lucian. A dialogue between mercury and the sun</i>	Unknown	Charles Corbet	1684
Anon	<i>Oates's New-years gift</i>	S.N	.	1684
Anon	<i>The Whigish [sic] convert, or the pretended loyalist</i>	E. Mallet	.	1684
Anon	<i>The poor mans comfort</i>	Unknown	J. Clarke	1684
Anon	<i>Lucians dialogues periodical</i>	s.n	William Bateman	1684
Person of Quality	<i>Lucian's Ghost</i>	S.N	James Norris	1684
Anon	<i>The shoomakers delight</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1685
Anon	<i>A new dialogue between Alice & Betrice</i>	Unknown	J. Blare	1685
Anon	<i>A pleasant dialogue betwixt honest John and loving Kate</i>	Unknown	J. Clarke	1685
Anon	<i>A pleasant dialogue betwixt two vvanton ladies of pleasure</i>	Unknown	J. Deacon	1685
Anon	<i>A Pleasant discourse by way of dialogue</i>	Unknown	D.M	1685
Anon	<i>An amorous dialogue between Iohn and his mistris</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1685
Anon	<i>An Elegy on that reverend and learned minister of the Gospel</i>	George Larkin	.	1685
Anon	<i>Death's uncontrollable summons</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1685
Anon	<i>The Dutchess of Portsmouths farewel</i>	Unknown	I. Clark	1685
Anon	<i>The Innocent shepherd and the crafty wife</i>	Unknown	C. Dennisson	1685
George Meriton	<i>The praise of York-shire ale</i>	J. White	Francis Hildyard	1685
J.-C.B	<i>Rebellions antidote</i>	George Croom	.	1685
John Eachard	<i>The grounds and occasions of the contempt of the clergy</i>	R.H	Obadiah Blaggrave	1685
John Matlock	<i>Fax nova artis scribendi</i>	John Leake	For the Author	1685

John Rawlet	<i>A dialogue betwixt two Protestants in answer to a popish catechism</i>	Unknown	Samuel Tidmarsh	1685
Matthew Poole	<i>A Dialogue between a popish priest and an English protestant</i>	Unknown	Tho. Cockerii	1685
Michael Altham	<i>A dialogue between a pastor and parishioner touching the Lord's Supper</i>	J.L	Luke Meredith	1685
Persius	<i>The third satyr of A. Persius</i>	Unknown	.	1685
Thomas Tryon	<i>The way to make all people rich</i>	Andrew Sowle	.	1685
William Livingston	<i>The conflict in conscience of a dear Christian named, Bessie Clerkson</i>	Robert sanders		1685
Anon	<i>An emblem of mortality</i>	A.M	P. Brooksby	1685
Anon	<i>Love al-a-mode</i>	S.N	.	1685
Anon	<i>The way of teaching the Latin tongue by use</i>	Unknown	Noth Ponder C.	1685
Anon	<i>Portsmouths lamentation</i>	Unknown	Dennisson	1685
Martin Aedler	<i>Minerva</i>	Unknown	Will Cooper	1685
Samuel Akeroyde	<i>Three new songs in Sir Courtley</i>	Unknown	John Crouch	1685
Nathaniel Boteler	<i>Six dialogues about sea-services</i>	Unknown	Moses Pitt	1685
John Eachard	<i>Mr. Hobbs's state of nature considered</i>	R. Holt	Obadiah Blagrove	1685
John Eachard	<i>Some observations upon the Answer to an enquiry</i>	R. Holt	Obadiah Blagrove	1685
Roger L'Estrange	<i>Otes his case, character, person, and plot</i>	Unknown	William Weston	1685
Thomas Robins	<i>The scornful maid</i>	Unknown	Phillip Brooksby	1685
A.C	<i>A relation of the conference between William Laud</i>	Ralph Holt	Thomas Bassett	1686
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between a new Catholic convert and a Protestant</i>	Henry Hills	.	1686
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Philater and Momus</i>	Unknown	Walter Kettily	1686
Anon	<i>A new plot, or The VVhig and Tory united</i>	Unknown	D. Mallet	1686
Henry Grenfield	<i>God in the creature being a poem in three parts</i>	Unknown	George May	1686
John Rawlet	<i>A dialogue betwixt two Protestants in a answer to a popish catechism</i>	Unknown	Samuel Tidmarsh	1686
Rector of Woodston	<i>The mysteries of Mount Calvary opened and improved</i>	Unknown	Thomas Parkhurst	1686
Richard Standfast	<i>A dialogue between a blind-man and death</i>	George Larkin	.	1686
Charles Cotton	<i>Burlesque upon burlesque</i>	S.n	Charles Brome	1686
Serenus Cressy	<i>Why are you a catholic</i>			1686
Pierre Jurieu	<i>Le Dragon Missionaire</i>			1686
Anne Killigrew	<i>Poems by Mrs Anne Killigrew</i>		Samuel Lowndes	1686

R.H	<i>The Protestants Plea</i>	Henry Hills		1686
George Stuart	<i>A Joco-Serious Discourse</i>		Benjamin Tooke	1686
Anon	<i>Lampoons</i>			1686
A. Pulton	<i>A true and full account of a conference held about religion</i>	Nathan Thompson	.	1687
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between Father P----rs and William P---n</i>	S.N	.	1687
Anon	<i>A dialogue between two Church of England-men</i>	S.N	.	1687
Edward Stillingfleet	<i>A relation of a conference held about religion at London</i>	Randal Talor	.	1687
Edward Stillingfleet	<i>The doctrine of the Trinity and transubstantiation compared</i>	J.D	W.Rogers	1687
James Taylor	<i>An answer to the eighth chapter of the Representer's second part</i>	Unknown	William Rogers	1687
Jaques BÃ©nigne Bossuet	<i>A conference with Mr. Claude, minister of Charenton</i>	Unknown	Matthew Turner	1687
Lewis Sabran	<i>Dr. Sherlock sifted from his bran and chaff</i>	Unknown	Henry Hills	1687
Matthew Poole	<i>A dialogue between a popish priest and an English Protestant</i>	Unknown	Tho. Cockerii	1687
Michael Altham	<i>A dialogue between a pastor and parishioner</i>	Unknown	Luke Meredith	1687
Peter Gooden	<i>The sum of a conference had between two divines of the Church of England</i>	Unknown	Matthew Turner	1687
Peter Manby	<i>A reformed catechism</i>	Joseph Ray	Christ. l'ans	1687
Poor Robin	<i>Poor Robins hue and cry after Good House-Keeping</i>	Unknown	Randal Taylor	1687
Richard Kidder	<i>A second dialogue between a new Catholick convert and a Protestant</i>	Unknown	B. Aylmer	1687
Richard Mayo	<i>A conference betwixt a Protestant and a Jevv</i>	Unknown	Thomas Parkhurst	1687
Samuel Dugard	<i>The true nature of the divine law</i>	Unknown	Jos. Watts	1687
Samuel Freeman	<i>A plain and familiar discourse by way of dialogue</i>	Unknown	R. Clavel	1687
Thomas Baker	<i>The head of Nile</i>	Randal Taylor	.	1687
William Popple	<i>A rational catechism</i>	Andrew Sowle	.	1687
William Sherlock	<i>An answer to a late Dialogue between a new Catholick convert and a Protestant</i>	Unknown	Thomas Bassett	1687
Thomas Comber	<i>The plausible arguments of a Romish priest from antiquity</i>	Unknown	Robert Clavell	1687
Christopher Saint German	<i>Two dialogues in English</i>	Richard Atkins	.	1687
S.J Brown	<i>Pax Vobis</i>			1687
William Chillingworth	<i>Additional discourses of Mr. Chillingworth never before printed</i>		Richard Chiswell	1687
L.E	<i>A Plain Defence of the protestant religion</i>	S.L	R. Taylor	1687

Jean La Placetter	<i>Six Conferences</i>		Richard Chiswell	1687
	<i>Some dialogues between Mr. G. and others with reflections upon a book called Pax vobis.</i>		Randall Taylor	1687
Thomas Lynford				
W.B	<i>Cupid's Court</i>	J. Deacon	R. Kell	1687
	<i>A full and clear exposition of the Protestant rule of faith</i>			
A. Pulton		S.N	.	1688
	<i>A conference between the Lady Jane Grey and F. Fecknam a Romish priest</i>			
Anon		S.N	.	1688
	<i>A Dialogue between the Arch-B. of C. and the Bishop of Heref</i>			
Anon		Unknown	L.P	1688
Anon	<i>A Dialogue concerning the times</i>	S.N	.	1688
	<i>A Friendly debate upon the next elections of Parliament</i>			
Anon		S.N	.	1688
	<i>A Second dialogue between Simeon and Levi</i>			
Anon		G.C	.	1688
	<i>A Third dialogue between Simeon and Levi</i>			
Anon		G.C	.	1688
Anon	<i>Dialogue. M. Why am I daily thus perplext?</i>	S.N	.	1688
			Daniel	
Anon	<i>Dialogve entre vn pere</i>	Unknown	Chemin	1688
Anon	<i>News from Sherburn-Castle</i>	Unknown	P.T	1688
	<i>Plain-dealing concerning the penal laws and tests</i>			
Anon		George Larkin	.	1688
Anon	<i>Sham prince expos'd</i>	S.N	.	1688
Anon	<i>The constant country-man</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1688
Anon	<i>The old woman's resolution</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1688
Anon	<i>The vvitty damsel of Devonshire</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1688
Anon	<i>The west-country dialogue</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1688
Anon	<i>Times precious jewel</i>	Unknown	R. Kell	1688
Anthony Horneck			Samuel	
Charles Nicholets	<i>The fire of the altar</i>	Unknown	Lowndes	1688
	<i>A dialogue between Simeon and Levi</i>	S.N	.	1688
	<i>A Dialogue between Father Petre's and the Devil</i>			
Edward Petre		S.N	.	1688
	<i>The doctrine of the Trinity and transubstantiation compared</i>			
Edward Stillingfleet		Unknown	W. Rogers	1688
	<i>The life and death of Mr. Badman presented to the world</i>			
John Bunyan		J.A	Nath. Ponder	1688
John Gother	<i>The Pope's supremacy asserted</i>	Henry Hills	.	1688
Thomas Brown	<i>Heraclitus ridens redivivus</i>	S.N	.	1688
	<i>The reasons of Mr. Bays changing his religion</i>			
Thomas Brown		S.N	.	1688
	<i>A merry new dialogue between a courteous young knight, and a gallant milk-maid</i>			
Anon		Unknown	W. Thackeray	1688

William King	<i>A vindication of the answer to the considerations that obliged Peter Manby</i>	Joseph Ray	William Norman Samual	1688
John Rawlet	<i>A dialogue betwixt two Protestants</i>	Unknown	Tidmarsh W.	1688
T.J	<i>The love-sick young man, and witty maid</i>	Unknown	Thackeray	1688
Anon	<i>A friendly debate upon the next elections of Parliament</i>	S.N	.	1688
Edmund Hickeringill	<i>A dialogue between Timothy and Titus</i>	Richard Janeway	.	1688
Robert Greene	<i>The pleasant historie of Dorastus and Fawnia</i>	A.M	J. Deacon Benjamin Crayle	1688
Jane Barker	<i>Poetical Recreations</i>		Richard Mount	1688
Nathaniel Boteler	<i>Sea-Dialogues</i>	William Fisher		1688
Gilbert Burnet	<i>A collection of papers relating to the present juncture of affairs in England</i>			1688
Clement Ellis	<i>The Reflector's defence</i>		William Rogers	1688
J.S	<i>The Triumph of Wit</i>		Nicholas Bodington	1688
Author of Teagueland Jests				
	<i>The Quakers art of Courtship</i>			1688
Anon	<i>A conference between a Papist and a Protestant</i>	W.D	.	1689
	<i>A conference between an Inniskillingman of D. Schombergs army and an Irish trooper</i>	Unknown	James Beale	1689
Anon	<i>A dialogue between the devil, the Pope and the chancellor</i>	Unknown	.	1689
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Dick and Tom</i>	Randal Taylor	.	1689
Anon	<i>A Free conference concerning the present revolution of affairs</i>	R. Baldwin	.	1689
Anon	<i>A friendly conference concerning the new oath of allegiance</i>	Unknown	Samuel Smith	1689
Anon	<i>A justification of the whole proceedings of Their Majesties</i>	Unknown	Randal Taylor	1689
Anon	<i>A new new-years gift</i>	Unknown	R.T	1689
Anon	<i>A poem in vindication of the late publick proceedings</i>	S.N	.	1689
Anon	<i>A Political conference</i>	Unknown	J.L	1689
Anon	<i>An Answer to a late scandalous libel</i>	S.N	.	1689
Anon	<i>Europes transactions discovered</i>	Unknown	W.B	1689
Anon	<i>The chearful husband</i>	Unknown	J. Blare	1689
Anon	<i>The Jesuite unmasked</i>	Unknown	S. Walsal	1689
Anon	<i>The Present conjuncture</i>	Randal Taylor	Randal Taylor	1689

Celio Secondo Curione	<i>The visions of Pasquin</i>	R. Baldwin	Richard Baldwin	1689
Dr. Kingsman	<i>A friendly debate between Dr. Kingsman</i>	Unknown	Jonathan Robinson	1689
George Buchanan	<i>De jure regni apud Scotos</i>	Unknown	Richard Baldwin	1689
Jeremy Collier	<i>A moral essay concerning the nature and unreasonableness of pride</i>	Unknown	Joseph Hindmarsh	1689
John Goodman	<i>A winter-evening conference</i>	J. Leake	Luke Meredith	1689
Laurence Braddon	<i>Innocency and truth vindicated</i>	S.N	.	1689
One that heartily wisheth union amongst protestants	<i>A dialogue between Timothy and Titus</i>	Richard Janeway	Richard Janeway	1689
Roger L'Estrange	<i>A dialogue between Sir R.L. Knight, and T.O.D</i>	Unknown	Robert Waston	1689
T. B	<i>News from Rome</i>	S.N	.	1689
White Kennett	<i>A dialogue between two friends occasioned by the late revolution of affairs</i>	Unknown	Rich. Chiswell	1689
William Lloyd	<i>The difference between the Church and Court of Rome considered</i>	Andrew Clark	Henry Brome	1689
Anon	<i>A ninth collection of papers relating to the present juncture of affairs in England</i>	Richard Janeway	.	1689
Anon	<i>A dialqgue [sic] betwen [sic] a dissenter and a church-man</i>	S.N	.	1689
Anon	<i>The New Heraclitus ridens</i>	Randal Taylor	Randal Taylor	1689
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a Churchman and a dissenter</i>	S.N	.	1689
Anon	<i>The ecstasie</i>	Unknown	Thomas Parkhurst	1689
Anon	<i>The True Protestant mercury</i>	Unknown	Richard Janeway	1689
Anon	<i>A caveat to Protestants in a dialogue betwixt a hugonot and a papist</i>	Unknown	R. Bentley	1689
Anon	<i>The second part of the collection of poems on affairs of state</i>	S.N	.	1689
Anon	<i>The Irish-mens prayers to St. Patrick</i>	Unknown	A. Milbourn	1689
Anon	<i>Good sport for Protestants</i>	J. Wallis	.	1689
Daniel Newhouse	<i>The vvhole art of navigation</i>	Unknown	Thomas Sawbridge	1689
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Father Gifford,</i>	S.N	.	1689
Anon	<i>A dialogue between two friends concerning the present revolution</i>	Unknown	Richard Baldwin	1689
Erasmus	<i>twenty-two select Colloquies</i>		R. Bentley	1689
Andrew Marvell	<i>Poems of Affairs of State</i>			1689

François de Andre	<i>Chymical Disceptions</i>		Thomas Dawks	1689
Anon	<i>A Dialogue about the French government wars, cruelties, armies, fleet</i>	Unknown	Randal Taylor	1690
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between Adam and John, two citizens of Bristol</i>	S.N	.	1690
Anon	<i>A dialogue between an Englishman and a Spaniard</i>	S.N	.	1690
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between Francisco and Aurelia</i>	Unknown	Randal Taylor	1690
Anon	<i>A dialogue betwixt Lewis and the devil</i>	John Wallis	.	1690
Anon	<i>A Homely dialogue betwixt a young woman and her sweetheart</i>	S.N	.	1690
Anon	<i>A modest attempt for healing the present animosities in England</i>	Unknown	Richard Janeway	1690
Anon	<i>A smith and cutlers plain dialogue about Whig and Tory</i>	S.N	.	1690
Anon	<i>The Anatomy of a Jacobite-Tory</i>	Unknown	Richard Baldwin	1690
Anon	<i>The Ghost of the Emperor Charles the Fifth appearing to Volcart the porter</i>	Unknown	John Newton	1690
Anon	<i>This dialogue between Mrs. Willis and Mr. Wiltshire</i>	John Eccles	Henry Playford	1690
Henry Purcell	<i>The dialogue in the last opera</i>	S.N	.	1690
James Parkinson	<i>A dialogue between a divine of the Church of England, and a captain of horse</i>	Randal Taylor	Randal Taylor	1690
John Lambe	<i>A dialogue between a minister and his parishioner concerning the Lord's Supper</i>	Unknown	Walter Kettilby	1690
Nahum Tate	<i>A pastoral dialogue</i>	Unknown	Richard Baldwin	1690
Robert Boyle	<i>Tracts consisting of observations about the saltness of the sea</i>	Unknown	.	1690
Thomas Brown	<i>The fire of the altar</i>	Unknown	Samuel Lowndes	1690
Thomas Brown	<i>The late converts exposed</i>	Unknown	Thomas Bennet	1690
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Tom and Jack</i>	Unknown	Philip Brooksby	1690
J.G. Van Heldoren	<i>new and easie English grammar</i>	Unknown	John Miller	1690
Anthony Horneck	<i>The fire of the altar</i>	Unknown	Samuel Lowndes	1690
Anon	<i>A dialogue between my L. Hump, [and] his valet d chambre</i>	T. Moore	.	1690
Anon	<i>The Dover lovers</i>	Unknown	Elias Lambert	1690
Anon	<i>Tommy and Peggy</i>	S.N	.	1690
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Tom and Jack</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1690
Anon	<i>The Protestant commander</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1690

Anon	<i>A dialogue between the late King James the Duke of Berwick, and Tyrconnel</i>	Unknown	James Bissel	1690
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a minister and his parishioner concerning the Lord's Supper</i>	Unknown	Walter Kettilby	1690
Anon	<i>A dialogue between the French and Irish officers</i>	Unknown	James Bissel	1690
Richard Ames	<i>A dialogue between Claret [&] Darby-AI</i>	Unknown	E. Richardson	1690
Alicia D'Anvers	<i>A poem upon His Sacred Majesty, his voyage for Holland</i>	Unknown	Tho. Bever	1691
Anon	<i>A dialogue between the bishop of El---y and his conscience</i>	S.N	.	1691
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between the confederate princes concerning the present affairs of Europe</i>	S.N	Henry Hills	1691
Anon	<i>A survey of the vindictory schedule</i>	S.N	.	1691
Anon	<i>La conquete d'Irlande</i>	Unknown	Richard Baldwin	1691
Anon	<i>Plain dealing</i>	Unknown	S. Eddowes	1691
Anon	<i>The Art of getting money by double-fac'd wagers</i>	S.N	.	1691
Benjamin Keach	<i>War with the devil</i>	Unknown	S. Harris	1691
John Rawlet	<i>A dialogue bbetwixt [sic] two Protestants</i>	Unknown	Samuel Manship	1691
Marcus Tullius Cicero	<i>Cicero's Laelius a discourse of friendship</i>	Unknown	William Vrooke	1691
Martin Finch	<i>An answer to Mr. Thomas Grantham's book</i>	T.S	Edward Giles	1691
Nahum Tate	<i>A pastoral dialogue</i>	Unknown	Richard Baldwin	1691
Richard Baxter	<i>The poor man's family book</i>	Unknown	Benjamin Cox	1691
Thomas Brown	<i>Novus reformatior vapulans</i>	Unknown	Wil. Pryn	1691
Thomas Brown	<i>The moralist</i>	S.N	.	1691
Thomas Brown	<i>The reasons of Mr. Bays changing his religion</i>	Unknown	T.B	1691
Thomas Brown	<i>The reasons of Mr. Joseph Hains the player's conversion & re-conversion</i>	Unknown	Thomas Bennet	1691
Thomas Brown	<i>The reasons of the new converts taking the oaths to the present government</i>	S.N	.	1691
Thomas Brown	<i>Wit for money</i>	Unknown	S. Burgis	1691
Thomas Grantham	<i>A dialogue between the Baptist and the Presbyterian</i>	S.N	.	1691
William Sherlock	<i>A Dialogue between Dr. Sherlock, the King of France, the great Turk, and Dr. Oates</i>	S.N	.	1691
William Walsh	<i>A dialogue concerning women</i>	Unknown	R. Bentley	1691
Thomas Tryon	<i>The way to health, long life and happiness</i>	H.C	D. Newman	1691
Alicia D'Anvers	<i>A poem upon His Sacred Majesty, his</i>	Unknown	Thomas	1691

	<i>voyage for Holland</i>		Bever	
Thomas D'Urfey	<i>The moralist</i>	S.N	.	1691
Henry Purcell	<i>A dialogue in The prophetess</i>	S.N	.	1691
Anon	<i>The royal dialogue</i>	Unknown	J. Blare	1691
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Dr. Sherlock, the King of France, the great Turk, and Dr. Oates</i>	S.N	.	1691
Anon	<i>Laugh and lie down</i>	Unknown	J. Shooter	1691
Anon	<i>King James his lamentation for the loss of His Kingdom of Ireland</i>	Unknown	Charles Thorp	1691
Anon	<i>A discovery of audacious insolence against the doctrine of the Church of England</i>	Thomas Snowden	Edward Giles	1691
Anon	<i>Bibliotheca politica</i>	Unknown	Richard Baldwin	1691
Anon	<i>A Brief and plain discourse upon the decrees of God</i>	T.S	Edward Giles	1692
Anon	<i>A country dialogue between William and James</i>	S.N	.	1692
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between Sophronius and Philobelgus</i>	S.N	.	1692
Anon	<i>The Lombard-Street lecturer's late farewell sermon</i>	Unknown	John Bastwick	1692
Charles Gildon	<i>Poeta infamis</i>	Unknown	B.C E.	1692
Edward Ward	<i>A dialogue between claret & darby-ale</i>	Unknown	Richardson	1692
Henry Purcell	<i>The dialogue in the last opera</i>	S.N	.	1692
James Tyrrell	<i>Bibliotheca politica</i>	Unknown	Richard Baldwin	1692
William Hope	<i>The fencing-master's advice to his scholar</i>	john Reid	.	1692
Anon	<i>A Brief and plain discourse upon the decrees of God</i>	T.S	Edward Giles	1692
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Sophronius and Philobelgus</i>	S.N	.	1692
Anon	<i>The Jacobite tossed in a blanket</i>	Unknown	J. Conyers	1692
Anon	<i>A dialogue betwixt Whig and Tory</i>	S.N	.	1693
Anon	<i>The Canonical states-man's grand argument</i>	Unknown	General Ludlow	1693
Anon	<i>The Fleetstreet dialogue being a mock song</i>	Unknown	John Carr	1693
Anon	<i>The ladies behaviour a dialogue</i>	Randal Taylor	Randal Taylor	1693
Anon	<i>The secret history of the confederacy</i>	Unknown	Richard Baldwin	1693
Richard Sault	<i>A conference betwixt a modern atheist, and his friend</i>	Unknown	John Dunton	1693
William Freke	<i>A dialogue by way of question and answer</i>	S.N	.	1693
John Tillotson	<i>A letter written to my Lord Russel in Nevvgate</i>	S.N	.	1693
Anon	<i>The kind lad & scornful lass</i>	Unknown	C. Bates	1693

Anon	<i>An excellent new song: or, No kissing at all</i>	E. Millet	J. Deacon	1693
Alexander Irvine	<i>A dialogue between A. and B</i>	S.N	.	1694
Anon	<i>A sober vindication of the nobility, gentry and clergy of the Church of England</i>	Randal Taylor	Randal Taylor	1694
Anon	<i>Letters of love and gallantry, and several other subjects</i>	Unknown	S. Briscoe	1694
Anon	<i>The heroes of France</i>	Unknown	Abel Roper William	1694
Anon	<i>The Lord's-day to be kept holy</i>	Unknown	Marshal	1694
Anon	<i>The midship-man's garland</i>	Unknown	J. Walter	1694
Anon	<i>The true lovers joy</i>	S.N	.	1694
François Pomey	<i>The Pantheon representing the fabulous histories of the heathen gods</i>	Benjamin Motte	R. Clavel Richard	1694
James Tyrrell	<i>Bibliotheca politica</i>	Unknown	Baldwin	1694
Jeremy Collier	<i>Miscellanies in five essays</i>	Unknown	Sam. Keeble	1694
John Briscoe	<i>An explanatory dialogue of a late treatise</i>	S.N	.	1694
John Goodman	<i>A winter-evening conference</i>	J.H	Luke Meredith	1694
K.W	<i>A dialogue between K.W. and Benting</i>	S.N	.	1694
Thomas Danson	<i>A friendly conference between a Paulist and a Galatian</i>	Unknown	Samuel Crouch	1694
Richard Franck	<i>Northern memoirs, calculated for the meridian of Scotland</i>	Unknown	For the Author	1694
Anon	<i>A Bank dialogue</i>	Unknown	T. Sowle	1695
Anon	<i>A Dialogue betwixt Mr. State Rogue, a Parliament-man, and his old acquaintance</i>	S.N	.	1695
Anon	<i>A friendly dialogue between a livery-man and a freeman of the City of London</i>	John Whitlock	John Whitlock	1695
Anon	<i>A guide to young communicants</i>	Unknown	G.C	1695
Anon	<i>Love crown'd with victory</i>	Unknown	P. Brooksby	1695
Anon	<i>The master-peice [sic] of love songs</i>	S.N	.	1695
Anon	<i>The Spirit of Jacobitism</i>	John Whitlock	John Whitlock	1695
Anon	<i>The two constant lovers</i>	W.O	W.O	1695
Charles Leslie	<i>The charge of Socinianism against Dr. Tillotson</i>	S.N	.	1695
Friend to so good an Undertaking	<i>A bank-dialogue</i>	T. Sowle	.	1695
James II	<i>A dialogue between the King of France and the late King James</i>	Unknown	Richard Baldwin	1695
Thomas Brown	<i>A new and easy method to understand the Roman history</i>	Unknown	Richard Baldwin	1695
William Assheton	<i>A conference with an Anabaptist</i>	R.R	B. Aylmer	1695
William Hodges	<i>Humble proposals</i>	S.N	.	1695
Charles Blount	<i>The miscellaneous works of Charles</i>	S.N	.	1695

Blount

Anthony Horneck	<i>The fire of the altar</i>	Unknown	Samuel Lowndes	1695
Abraham Miles	<i>The master-piece of love-songs</i>	Unknown	John Clarke	1695
Anon	<i>The lover's request</i>	Unknown	J. Blare	1695
Anon	<i>A bank dialogue</i>	S.N	.	1696
Anon	<i>A Continuation of The Dialogue between two young ladies</i>	S.N	.	1696
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between two young ladies</i>	S.N	.	1696
Anon	<i>An Answer to a libel</i>	T. Sowle	T. Sowle	1696
Charles Leslie	<i>A religious conference between a minister and parishioner</i>	Unknown	A. and J. Henry	1696
Daniel Purcell	<i>A dialogue suppos'd to be between a eunuch boy, and a virgin</i>	Unknown	Playford	1696
Daniel Purcell	<i>The single songs</i>	J. Heptinstall	Playford	1696
Jeremiah Dyke	<i>The worthy communicant</i>	Unknown	Jonathan Robinson	1696
John Bunyan	<i>The life and death of Mr. Badman,</i>	Unknown	W.P	1696
John Eachard	<i>Mr. Hobbs's state of nature considered</i>	Unknown	E. Belgrave	1696
Robert Crosfeild	<i>A dialogue between a modern courtier and an honest English gentleman</i>	S.N	.	1696
Robert Ferguson	<i>A dialogue between Sir Roger --- and Mr. Rob. Ferg</i>	Andrew Anderson	.	1696
Simon Clement	<i>A Dialogue between a countrey gentleman and a merchant</i>	John Atwood	Samuel Croach	1696
William Nicholls	<i>A conference with a theist</i>	T.W	Francis Saunders	1696
Henry Hill	<i>A dialogue between Timotheus & Judas</i>	Unknown	S. Manship	1696
Anon	<i>The infernal post of Paris</i>	Unknown	M. Pelcomb	1696
Anon	<i>The troop of non-swearing parsons</i>	Unknown	Richard Baldwin	1696
Anon	<i>The Night-Walker</i>			1696
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a country gentleman and a parliament-man</i>	S.N	.	1697
Anon	<i>A friendly discourse concerning profane cursing and swearing</i>	W. Downing	.	1697
Anon	<i>Stated Christian conference asserted to be a Christian duty</i>	Unknown	Will. Marshal	1697
Anon	<i>The Best choice for religion and government</i>	S.N	.	1697
Anon	<i>The proceedings at Turners-Hall</i>	Unknown	.	1697
Danie Lafite	<i>The principles of a people stiling themselves Philadelphians discovered</i>	Unknown	W. Whitwood	1697
George Meriton	<i>The praise of York-shire ale</i>	J. White	Francis Hildyard	1697
George Ridpath	<i>A dialogue betwixt Jack and Will</i>	S.N	.	1697
James II	<i>A dialogue between the French King, and the late King James</i>	Unknown	Richard Baldwin	1697

James Puckle	<i>A new dialogue between a burgermaster and an English gentleman</i>	J. Southby	.	1697
Laurence Echard	<i>Dr. Echard's works</i>	B.M R.	Walter Kettilby	1697
Richard Baxter	<i>The poor man's family book</i>	Everingham	.	1697
Samuel Baston	<i>A dialogue between a modern courtier and an honest English gentleman</i>	S.N	.	1697
Thomas Brown	<i>A new and easie method to understand the Roman history</i>	Unknown	R. Wellington	1697
Thomas Tryon	<i>The way to health, long life, and happiness</i>	Unknown	T. Carruthers	1697
William Berkeley	<i>Diatribae discourses moral and theological</i>	Unknown Benjamin Motte	Sam Keble	1697
John Eachard	<i>Dr. Echard's works</i>		.	1697
Anon	<i>The principles of a people stiling themselves Philadelphians, discovered</i>	Unknown Benjamin Motte	W. Whitwood	1697
John Eachard	<i>Dr. Echard's works</i>		Walter Kettilby	1697
Abbe de Fourcroy	<i>A new and easie method to understand the Roman history</i>	Unknown	R. Wellington	1697
William Mather	<i>Directions to parents for the happy education of their children in this lapsed age</i>	Unknown	Daniel Brown	1697
Anon	<i>Theosophical transactions by the Philadelphian Society</i>	Unknown	.	1697
Anon	<i>A moving dialogue betwixt a poor weaver</i>	J. Bradford	.	1697
Anon	<i>The principles of a people stiling themselves Philadelphians</i>	Unknown	W. Whitwood	1697
Anon	<i>A dialogue between the French King, and the late King James</i>	Unknown	Richard Baldwin	1697
Anon	<i>A comical dialogue</i>	J.W	.	1697
Anon	<i>Nunc aut nunquam, peace now or never</i>	Thomas Snowden	Elizabeth Whitlock	1697
Aesop	<i>AEsop in select fables</i>	Unknown	.	1698
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between Mr. Canterbury, a Church of England-man, and Mr. Scott</i>	S.N	.	1698
Anon	<i>A Discourse of infant-baptism</i>	Unknown	T. Parkhurst	1698
Anon	<i>A Pleasant and excellent dialogue betwixt a learned divine and a beggar</i>	Robert Sanders	.	1698
Anon	<i>An Answer to the dragon and grasshopper</i>	S.N	.	1698
Anon	<i>Animadversions on Mr. Congreve's late answer to Mr. Collier</i>	Unknown	John Nutt	1698
Anon	<i>Ecclesia & reformatio</i>	S.N	.	1698
Anon	<i>In vino veritas</i>	Unknown	J. Nutt	1698
Charles Leslie	<i>A religious conference between a minister and parishioner</i>	Unknown	Charles Brome	1698
Daniel Newhouse	<i>The whole art of navigation</i>	Unknown	Richard Mount	1698
Daniel Purcell	<i>A dialogue suppos'd to be between a evnuch boy and a virgin</i>	T. Cross	.	1698

Edward Ward	<i>Ecclesia & factio</i>	S.N	.	1698
François Pomey	<i>The Pantheon</i>	Unknown	Charles Harper	1698
Henry Neville	<i>Discourses concerning government</i>	A. Baldwin	.	1698
Hippolyte du Chastelet de Luzancy	<i>A conference between an orthodox Christian and a Socinian</i>	Thomas Warren	Thomas Bennet Luke Meredith	1698
John Goodman	<i>A winter-evening conference Quakerism the mystery of iniquity discovered</i>	J.H	.	1698
John Plimpton		S.N	.	1698
Malleus Trepidantium	<i>Three contending brethren, Mr. Williams, Mr. Lob, Mr. Alsop, reconcil'd</i>	Unknown	J. Harris	1698
Member of the church of England	<i>An answer to the champion of the wooden-sword</i>	Unknown	For the Author	1698
Samuel Young	<i>A dialogue between R---- and F----</i>	Unknown	J. Marshal	1698
T.W	<i>A dialogue between Mr. Merriman, and Dr. Chymist</i>	S.N	.	1698
Thomas Emes	<i>A dialogue between alkali and acid</i>	Unknown	R. Cumberland	1698
W.P	<i>A dialogue between the flag of St. Martin's steeple, and the standard at the Towe</i>	D.E	A. Baldwin Francis saunders	1698
William Nicholls	<i>A conference with a theist</i>	T.W	.	1698
William Livingston	<i>The conflict in conscience of a dear Christian</i>	Robert Sanders	.	1698
Andrew Moore	<i>Of churches and meeting-houses, bishops and presbyters</i>	S.I	For the Author	1698
Edward Ravenscroft	<i>The Italian husband</i>	Unknown	Isaac Cleave	1698
Andrew Yarranton	<i>England's improvement by sea and land</i>	Thomas Parkhurst	.	1698
Samuel Young	<i>Three contending brethren, Mr. Williams, Mr. Lob, Mr. Alsop, reconcil'd</i>	Unknown	J. Harris	1698
Anon	<i>A dialogue between the fleet of the Isle of Pines, and the army of Ditto in Pomerania</i>	S.N	.	1698
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a late lord major, and a recorder</i>	S.N	.	1698
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Lewis XIV. and the Marquess de Louvois</i>	Joseph Ray	.	1698
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between a director of the new East-India Company</i>	Unknown	Andrew Bell	1699
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a Quaker and his neighbour</i>	Unknown	.	1699
Anon	<i>A dialogue between fidelity and honesty</i>	S.N	.	1699
Anon	<i>A new dialogue between Squire Ketch and the Dutchess his wife</i>	Unknown	A.H	1699
Anon	<i>A Sober dialogue between a country Friend, a London Friend</i>	Unknown	.	1699

Anon	<i>A sober dialogue, between a Scotch Presbyterian, a London church-man, and a real Quaker</i>	Unknown	.	1699
Anon	<i>A touch of the times in a dialogue between an East-India tyger and a high-German wolf</i>	Unknown	.	1699
Anon	<i>An account of a great & famous scolding-match</i>	Unknown	T. Allcock	1699
Anon	<i>An answer to a late pamphlet, called A Sober dialogue</i>	Unknown	Sam. Clark	1699
Anon	<i>An answer to the Hertford letter</i>	Unknown	For the Author	1699
Anon	<i>Bellum medicinale</i>	S.N	.	1699
Anon	<i>Reflections on a dialogue between a Calvinistical preacher and a thief</i>	Unknown	J. Wells	1699
Anon	<i>The church-man and the Quaker dialoguing</i>	Booksellers of London	.	1699
Anon	<i>Utrum horum, mavis, accipe</i>	S.N	.	1699
Edward Fisher	<i>The marrow of modern divinity</i>	Unknown	Nath. Hillar	1699
Edward Ward	<i>Modern religion and ancient loyalty</i>	S.N	.	1699
Edward Ward	<i>The world bewitch'd</i>	S.N	.	1699
George Keith	<i>A serious dialogue betwixt a church-man and a Quaker</i>	Unknown	Brab. Alymer	1699
Giovanni Bononcini	<i>The Italian song call'd Pastorella</i>	S.N	.	1699
James Puckle	<i>England's way wealth and honour</i>	Unknown	Samuel Croach	1699
James Wright	<i>Historia histrionica an historical account of the English stage</i>	G. Croom	William Haws	1699
John Taylor	<i>A dialogue between a pedler and a popish priest in a very hot discourse full of mirth</i>	Unknown	Henry Hills	1699
Samuel Chandler	<i>A dialogue between a paedo-baptist and an anti-paedo-baptist</i>	A. Chandler	.	1699
Thomas Emes	<i>A dialogue between alkali and acid</i>	Unknown	Thomas Speed	1699
Tib Saunders	<i>Fortunatus's looking-glass</i>	Unknown	A. Baldwin	1699
William Russell Young	<i>A true narrative of the Portsmouth disputation</i>	W. Russel	J. Sprint	1699
Gentleman	<i>The sincere penitent</i>	Unknown	J. Nutt	1699
Andrew Brown	<i>Bellum medicinale</i>	S.N	.	1699
Samuel Fyler	<i>Longitudinis inventi explicatio non longa</i>	Unknown	For the Author	1699
Thomas Humfrey	<i>A true narrative of God's gracious dealings with the soul of Shalome Ben Shalomoh</i>	Unknown	William Marshall	1699
J.J	<i>A dialogue between Satan and a young man</i>	Unknown	Thomas Parkhurst	1699
Peter Anthony Motteux	<i>A dialogue between a widow and a rake</i>	S.N	.	1699

George Ridpath	<i>A (second) dialogue betwixt Jack and Will</i>	S.N	.	1699
Samuel Young	<i>A New-Years-gift for the Antinomians</i>	John Marshall	.	1699
Anon	<i>Dialogue between two young ladies, lately married</i>	Unknown	J. Nutt	1699
Anon	<i>The cock-pit combate</i>	Unknown	.	1699
Anon	<i>A friendly dialogue between two country-men</i>	Unknown	For the Author	1699
Walter Charleton	<i>The immortality of the human soul</i>	Richard Wellington	Edmund Rumbold	1699
Anon	<i>A dialogue between ald John M'clatchy, and young Willie Ha,</i>	S.N	.	1700
Anon	<i>A dialogue; between George Keith</i>	S.N	.	1700
Anon	<i>Annus Sophiae jubilaeus</i>	Unknown	A. Baldwin	1700
Anon	<i>Some reflections on Mr. Pn, lecturer at the Bagnio</i>	Unknown	A. Baldwin	1700
Anon	<i>The contented lovers</i>	S.N	.	1700
Anon	<i>The midship-man's garland.</i>	Unknown	J. Walter	1700
Anon	<i>True love murdered</i>	S.N	.	1700
Anthony Horneck	<i>The fire of the altar</i>	S.N	Samuel Lowndes	1700
Benjamin Keach	<i>War with the devil</i>	Patrick Neill	.	1700
Benjamin Keach	<i>War with the devil</i>	B. Harris	.	1700
Daniel Purcell	<i>A dialogue between a town sharper and his hostes</i>	Unknown	.	1700
Edward Ward	<i>Helter skelter</i>	S.N	.	1700
Francis Bugg	<i>A just rebuke to the Quakers insolent behaviour</i>	Richard Janeway	For the Author	1700
George Keith	<i>A narrative of the proceedings of George Keith at Coopers-Hall in the city of Bristol</i>	Unknown	J. Gwillim	1700
Henry Purcell	<i>The mad dialogue</i>	S.N	.	1700
J.J	<i>A Dialogue between Satan and a young man</i>	Unknown	Thomas Parkhurst	1700
James Puckle	<i>England's path to wealth and honour</i>	Unknown	Samuel Croach	1700
John Fletcher	<i>The pilgrim a comedy</i>	Unknown	Benjamin Tooke	1700
John Vanbrugh	<i>The pilgrim, a comedy</i>	Unknown	Benjamin Tooke	1700
John Whitney	<i>The genteel recreation</i>	S.N	.	1700
Lucian Richard Standfast	<i>Lucian's Charon</i>	Unknown	Loudon Farrow	1700
Saint Bernard of Clairvaux	<i>A dialogue between a blind man and death</i>	S.N	.	1700
Trepidantium Malleus	<i>Saint Bernard's vision</i>	C. Brown	T. Norris	1700
William Shiers	<i>A dialogue between George Fox a Quaker</i>	Unknown	John Marshal	1700
	<i>A familiar discourse or dialogue</i>	S.N	.	1700

	<i>concerning the Mine-Adventure</i>			
Zachary Stanton Company of Mine Adventurers	<i>The love of God to all mankind</i> <i>An abstract of the present state of the mines of Bwlchyr-Eskir-Hyr</i>	M. Fabian S.N	. .	1700 1700
John Dryden	<i>A dialogue, and secular masque, in The Pilgrim</i>	Unknown	Benjamin Tooke Loudon	1700
Lucien	<i>Lucian's Charon</i> <i>A dialogue in ye 3d act of ye island princess</i>	Unknown S.N	Farrow .	1700 1700
Peter Motteux		S.N	.	1700
James Sempill	<i>A pick-tooth for the Pope</i>	S.N	.	1700
Anon	<i>The cat's-foot</i> <i>A dialogue, between the giant Polypheme and his son Jack Nothing</i>	S.N Anthony Armbruster	. .	1700 1700
Isaac Hunt		Dick's Coffee- House	John Foster	1700
Abbe de Fourcroy	<i>A new and easy method to understand Roman History</i>			1701
Thomas Brown	<i>Dialogues of the living and the dead</i>			1701
Francis Bugg	<i>News from New Rome</i>	R. Janeway	J. Robinson	1701
Lady Mary Lee Chudleigh	<i>The ladies defence</i>	S.N	John Deeve	1701
Anon	<i>The Court Riddle</i>	S.N	.	1701
Charles Davenant	<i>The true picture of a modern Whig</i> <i>A dialogue between Marphorio and Pasquin</i>	S.N S.N	. A. Baldwin	1701 1701
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Mr. Smith, Monsieur Ragouse, Menheir Dorveil, and Mr. Manoel Texiera, in a walk to Newington.</i>	S.N	.	1701
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Pasquin and Morforio</i> <i>A dialogue between the cities of London and Paris</i>	S.N Booksellers of London	. Charles Harper	1701 1701
Anon William Fleetwood	<i>An essay upon Miracles</i>	S.N		1701
Hearty Wisher of the Welfare of this Country	<i>The Interest of England</i>	S.N	John Nut Richard Smith	1701
John Jones	<i>Practical Phonography</i>	S.N		1701
Eustache Le Noble	<i>The Art of Prudent Behaviour</i> <i>Poems upon several occasions and to several persons.</i>	. G. Croom	Tim. Childe R. Tuckyr	1701 1701
Francis Manning			Thomas Newborough	1701
Thomas Morer	<i>Kypoakh' 'Hme'pa</i> <i>A new dialogue between Monsieur Shacoo alias Jack How, that scandal of Parliaments. And the Poussin doctor.</i>	S.N	.	1701
Anon	<i>A New dialogue between Monsieur</i>	S.N	.	1701

	<i>Shaccoo, and the Poussin doctor.</i>			
Plato	<i>The Works of Plato abridg'd</i>			1701
William Shiers	<i>A familiar discourse or dialogue concerning the mine-adventure</i>	F. Collins	J. Nutt	1701
	<i>A Short view of both reports, in relation to the Irish forfeitures, in a familiar dialogue between A. and B. Most humbly offer'd to the consideration of both Houses of Parliament.</i>			1701
Anon	<i>Vanity of Vanities</i>		E. Brooksby	1701
Anon	<i>A Voice from Heaven</i>			1701
Benjamin Martin	<i>The general magazine of Arts and Sciences, philosophical, philological, mathematical, and mechanical</i>	S.N	.	1701
Hearty Wisher of the Welfare of his country	<i>The Interest of England</i>	S.N	John Nut	1701
Anon	<i>Memoirs for the Curious</i>			1701
Anon	<i>A new miscellany of original poems, on several occasions</i>		Peter Buck and George Strahan	1701
Anon	<i>A collection of Poems</i>		Daniel Brown	1701
Daniel Gabriel	<i>The discourses of Cleander and Eudoxus upon the Provincial Letters</i>	s.n	.	1701
Daniel Defoe	<i>The History of the Kentish Petition</i>	s.n	.	1701
William Hicks	<i>Wits Academy</i>	W. Richardson	Tracy Eben	1701
Anon	<i>The Weekly Remembrancer</i>	s.n	.	1702
Henry Blackwell	<i>The English fencing-master</i>	J. Downing		1702
Anon	<i>The case fairly stated</i>	Thomas Warren	Thomas Bennet	1702
Anon	<i>The case of Traders and Dealers</i>			1702
Anon	<i>A comical dialogue between Dr Oates and William Fuller</i>		John Johnson	1702
Anon	<i>A comparison between two stages</i>			1702
Charles Davenant	<i>Tom Double return'd out of the country:</i>			1702
John Dryden	<i>Miscellany Poems</i>			1702
Anon	<i>England's Corruptions and Mismanagements discover'd</i>			1702
Anon	<i>A familiar discourse between a Jacobite and a French Hugonot</i>			1702
Anon	<i>The tryall, sentance and condemnation of fidelity</i>	Booksellers of London		1702
William Fleetwood	<i>An Essay upon Miracles</i>		Charles Harper	1702
Giovanni Battista Gelli	<i>The Circe of Signior Giovanni Battista Gelli</i>		John Nutt	1702

English Lord	<i>The grand affairs of Europe</i>		A. Banks	1702
Joseph Harris	<i>Mourning in Colours</i>		Author	1702
Robert Jenkin	<i>A brief confutation of the pretences against natural & revealed religion.</i>		Sam Smith	1702
Thomas Brown	<i>Letters from the Dead to the Living</i>			1702
Humphrey Mackworth	<i>The Principles of a member of the black list</i>		George Strahan	1702
Anon	<i>The Present Condition of the English Navy</i>		E. Mallet	1702
Anon	<i>A Pacquet from Parnassus</i>	J. How	J. Nutt	1702
Walter Raleigh	<i>Remains of Walter Raleigh</i>		Henry Mortlock	1702
Thomas Savery	<i>The Miners Friend</i>		S. Crouch	1702
Marshall Smith	<i>The Vision</i>			1702
Sober Stander-by	<i>A modest defence of the Government</i>		C.T	1702
Richard Standfast	<i>A Dialogue between a blind-man and Death</i>	James Warson		1702
T.B	<i>Miscellany Poems</i>	R. Janeway	J. Nutt	1702
Anon	<i>A true narrative of the proceedings</i>			1702
Anon	<i>The true picture of a modern Tory</i>			1702
Anon	<i>The true picture of an ancient Tory</i>			1702
James Tyrrell	<i>Bibliotheca Politica</i>		W. Rogers, R. Knaplock, A. Bell and T. Cockerill	1702
Francisco De Montavalan	<i>Cupid Stripp'd</i>	A. Baldwin	A. Baldwin	1703
Anon	<i>A case of conscience</i>		A.B	1703
Miguel Cervantes	<i>The History of the renowned Don Quixote Dela Mancha</i>	Mr. Motteux	Sam Buckley	1703
Anon	<i>A continuation of the letters from the Dead</i>			1703
William Coward	<i>Farther thoughts concerning the Human Soul</i>		Richard Bassett	1703
Daniel Defoe	<i>A dialogue between a dissenter and the Observator</i>			1703
John Denham	<i>Poems and Translations</i>	T.W	H. Herringman	1703
Anon	<i>A Dialogue Between a Member of Parliament</i>			1703
Anon	<i>A dialogue between conformity, non-conformity, and occassional conformity</i>		John Nutt	1703
Anon	<i>English Lucian</i>		John Nutt	1703
Anon	<i>An Exact survey of the Duke of Ormond's Campaign in Spain</i>			1703
Abbe Fourcroy	<i>A new and easie method to understand Roman History</i>		R. Wellington	1703
Benjamin Martin	<i>The general magazine of Arts and Sciences, philosophical, philological,</i>		W. Owen	1703

	<i>mathematical, and mechanical ... By Benjamin Martin</i>			
Joseph Glanville	<i>An Essay Concerning Preaching</i>		C. Brome	1703
Farmer K	<i>The Mysterty of Tithe-Stealing Display'd and Abdicated</i>		William Cross	1703
Louis Armand Lahontan	<i>New voyages to North-America</i>			1703
Plain Right Down Lover of Truth and Honesty	<i>Nine Satyrs</i>		Nobody	1703
Anon	<i>Poems on Affairs of State</i>			1703
Anon	<i>the Scribler's Doom</i>		J. Sharp	1703
Anon	<i>The true picture of an ill practiser of the law</i>			1703
John Tutchin	<i>The second part of mouse grown a rate</i>	B. Bragg	B. Bragg	1703
John Vernon	<i>The compleat Compting-house</i>	Benjamin Billingsley		1703
Anon	<i>A voyage to the antipodes</i>			1703
Anon	<i>Westminster Magazine</i>			1703
Anon	<i>Westminster Magazine</i>			1703
Thomas Brown	<i>A collection of all the dialogues written by Thomas Brown</i>	John Nutt		1704
Anon	<i>The Comical Observator</i>			1704
Anon	<i>The Comical Observator</i>			1704
Anon	<i>The Comical Observator</i>			1704
Anon	<i>The Comical Observator</i>			1704
Anon	<i>The Comical Observator</i>			1704
Arthur Dent	<i>The plain man's path-way to heaven</i>		George Conyers	1704
Anon	<i>A dialogue between two friends</i>		W. Rogers	1704
Anon	<i>A dialogue betwixt a Presbyterian and a Gentleman</i>		George Sawbridge	1704
Anon	<i>Divine Hymns and Poems</i>	R. Janeway	Richard Burrough	1704
Anon	<i>A free Enquiry</i>		R. Billing	1704
John Johns	<i>The New Art of Spelling</i>			1704
Humphrey Mackworth	<i>A treatise concerning Providence</i>	Freeman Collins	George Strahan	1704
Humphry Mackworth	<i>A treatise concerning the Divine Authority of Scriptures</i>	Freeman Collins	George Strahan	1704
Anon	<i>The Observator Reformed</i>			1704
Anon	<i>The Observator Reformed</i>			1704
Anon	<i>The Observator Reformed - 4</i>			1704
Anon	<i>The Observator Reformed - 5</i>			1704

Anon	<i>The Observer Reformed - 6</i>			1704
Anon	<i>The Observer Reformed - 7</i>			1704
Anon	<i>The Observer Reformed - 8</i>			1704
Anon	<i>The Observer Reformed - 9</i>			1704
Humphrey Mackworth	<i>A treatise concerning Providence</i>	Freeman Collins	George Strahan	1704
Anon	<i>The Observer Reformed - 10</i>			1704
Anon	<i>The Observer Reformed - 11</i>			1704
Anon	<i>The Observer Reformed - 12</i>			1704
Philaethes	<i>A continuation of the dialogue between Philaethes and Philotimus</i>			1704
Philaethes	<i>A dialogue between Philaethes and Philotimus</i>			1704
Philaethes	<i>A farther continuation of the dialogue between philaethes and philotimus</i>			1704
Anon	<i>Robert against Ferguson</i>			1704
Isaac Sharpe	<i>Animadversions on Other passages of Mr. Edmund Calamy's abridgement</i>	E.P	R. Wilkin	1704
Isaac Sharpe	<i>Animadversionson some passages of Mr. Edmund Calamy's abridgement</i>	E.P	R. Wilkin	1704
Isaac Sharpe	<i>Plain-Dealing</i>	E.P	R. Wilkin	1704
Anon	<i>The Town Spy</i>		Robert Gifford	1704
Anon	<i>Visits from the Shades</i>			1704
William Darrell	<i>A gentleman Instructed</i>		E. Evets	1704
Dominique Bouhours	<i>The Art of Criticism</i>		D. Brown	1705
Miguel Cervantes	<i>Don Quixote - Vol 2</i>		Mr Motteux	1705
Anon	<i>A collection of Poems relating to State Affairs</i>			1705
Jeremy Collier Charles Davenant	<i>Essays Upon Several Moral Subjects</i>	W.B	H. Rhodes	1705
Anon	<i>The true picture of a modern Whig A dialogue, or new friendly debate, between a high and low church-man, concerning elections.</i>	S.N	.	1705
James Handley	<i>Colloquia Chirurgia</i>		Charles Bates	1705
Humphrey Mackworth	<i>A discourse by way of dialogue</i>	Freeman Collins	George Strahan	1705
Anon	<i>The Oxford Dialogue</i>			1705
Anon	<i>The Oxford treatment of their Cambridge Friends</i>	B. Bragg	B. Bragg	1705
Anon	<i>The republican Bullies</i>			1705
John Wilmot Rochester	<i>Poems on Several Occassions</i>		Jacob Tonson	1705

William Shiers	<i>A familiar discourse or dialogue concerning the mine-adventure</i>	Freeman Collins		1705
Edward Ward	<i>Helter Skelter</i>			1705
Joseph Brown	<i>A dialogue between church and no-church</i>			1706
Francis Bugg	<i>Quakerism Struck Speechless</i>		Author	1706
Anon	<i>The Case of Deism</i>			1706
Miguel de Cervantes	<i>The History of the most ingenious knight Don Quixote</i>			1706
Anon	<i>A comical new dialogue between Mr G</i>			1706
J. Garretson	<i>English Excercises for School-boys</i>		J. Nicholson	1706
Anon	<i>The Honest London Spy</i>		Robert Gifford	1706
Anthony Horneck	<i>The Fire of the Altar</i>		Thomas Bever	1706
Anon	<i>A short way with the papists</i>		Author	1706
Anon	<i>Three Poems</i>			1706
Edward Ward	<i>Poems on Divers Subjects</i>	B. Bragg	B. Bragg	1706
Richard Brown	<i>The English School Reformed</i>		A Churchill	1707
Francis Bugg	<i>Hidden Things Brought to Light</i>		Author	1707
Anon	<i>The Case of Deism</i>	J. Morphew	J. Morphew	1707
Gatien Courtilz				
De Sandras	<i>The Alcoran of Lewis XIV</i>	B. Aylmer		1707
Society of Merry Gentlemen	<i>The Diverting Muse</i>	B. Bragge	B. Bragge	1707
Anon	<i>Female Grievances Debated</i>	J. How	J. How	1707
Anon	<i>The fifteen comforts of a lawyer</i>			1707
Charles Leslie	<i>A postscript to Mr Higgin's Sermon</i>			1707
Deuel Pead	<i>Good news for repenting sinners</i>			1707
Plutarch	<i>Plutarch's Morals</i>		J. Nicholson	1707
George Psalmanazar	<i>A dialogue between a Japanese and Formosan</i>		Bernard Lintott	1707
James Puckle	<i>Englands Path to Wealth and Honour</i>			1707
Joseph Swetnam	<i>The arraignment of Lewd, idle, froward and unconstant women</i>		B. Deacon	1707
Thomas Sherman	<i>Youth's Tragedy</i>	Nath Hollier	Nath Hollier	1707
William Darrell	<i>A Gentleman Instructed</i>		E. Smith	1707
William Darrell	<i>A gentleman instructed in the true principles of Religion</i>			1707
Anon	<i>The wisdom of Solomon</i>		R. Sare	1707
William Allen	<i>The Misery of Iniquity luckily discover'd</i>		J. Noon	1708
Francis Bugg	<i>Goliah's Head cut off with his own sword</i>		Author	1708
Anon	<i>Burgandy Bewitch'd</i>		H. Hills	1708
Anon	<i>Censura Temporum</i>		H. Clements	1708

Anon	<i>A dialogue between person of quality</i>			1708
Anon	<i>A dialogue between adam and john</i>			1708
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Jest and Earnest</i>			1708
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Louis le Petite and Harlequin le Grand</i>			1708
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Windsor Castle and Blenheim House</i>			1708
Anon	<i>A discourse concerning the lawfulness and right manner of keeping the Sabbath</i>		H. Hills	1708
Thomas Emlyn	<i>A vindication of the remarks upon Mr. Cha. Leslie's first dialogue</i>			1708
Anon	<i>Instructions for the education of a daughter</i>			1708
Fontenelle	<i>Dialogues of the Dead</i>		Jacob Tonson	1708
Francis Gastrell	<i>The principles of Deism</i>	John Morpew		1708
Thomas Gills	<i>Advice to Youth</i>			1708
H. P	<i>A looking glass for Children</i>	H.P		1708
Samuel Hill	<i>A through examination of false principles</i>		W. Taylor	1708
James Hog	<i>Otia Christiana</i>	James Watson		1708
Charles Leslie	<i>The socinian controversy discuss'd</i>		G. Strahan R.	1708
Claude Mauger	<i>French Grammer</i>		Wellington	1708
Anon	<i>The Neccesity of Coming to Church</i>		John Wyat	1708
R. Morgan	<i>A brief answer to Mr. M. D'Assigny's book</i>	J. Humfrey's	Author	1708
Anon	<i>Murder within the doors</i>			1708
Daniel Newhouse	<i>The whole Art of Navigation</i>		Richard Mount	1708
Presbyterian Incumbent	<i>An Accidental Dialogue</i>			1708
Anon	<i>The Rival Dutchess</i>			1708
Anon	<i>Speak Truth and Shame the Devil</i>			1708
William Darrell	<i>A supplement to the first part of the Gentleman Instructed</i>			1708
Edward Ward	<i>The war of the Elements</i>			1708
Francis Bugg	<i>Quakerism Anatomized</i>			1709
Mary Lee Chudleigh	<i>The Ladies Defence</i>	D.L	Bernard Lintott	1709
Anon	<i>A collection of divine hymns and poems</i>		J. Baker	1709
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a member of parliament and a commander of a ship</i>			1709
Francis Gastrell	<i>The Principles of Deism</i>	John Morphy	John Morphy	1709
Benjamin Keach	<i>War with the Devil</i>			1709
Bernard Mandeville	<i>The Virgin unmask'd</i>	J. Morpew	J. Morpew	1709

William Oldisworth	<i>A dialogue between Timothy and Philatheus</i>	Bernard Lintott	1709
Anon	<i>The Palatines Catechism</i>	T. Hare	1709
Francois Pomey	<i>The Pantheon</i>	Charles Harper	1709
Anon	<i>The practice of the orthodox Church of England</i>	J. Morpew	1709
Presbyter of the Church of England	<i>The case of house-baptism justly stated</i>	R. Wilkin	1709
Christopher Saint German	<i>Two dialogues in English</i>	Richard Atkins	1709
William Shiers	<i>A familiar discourse concerning the mine-adventure</i>		1709
William Darell	<i>A gentleman instructed</i>	E. Smith	1709
Author of London Spy	<i>The forgiving Husband</i>	H. Hills	1709
Anon	<i>The Wid. Catechism</i>		1709
Anon	<i>William Pen Turn'd conjurer</i>	A. Emmerton	1709
Anon	<i>The Quakers art of Courtship</i>		1710
Anon	<i>Belisarius and Zariana</i>		1710
Cicero	<i>Tully's Discourse</i>		1710
Charles Davenant	<i>New dialogues upon the present posture of affairs</i>	J. Morpew	1710
Charles Davenant	<i>Sir Thomas Double at Court</i>	John Morpew	1710
Anon	<i>The devil a barrel better herring</i>		1710
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Jack High and Will Low</i>		1710
Anon	<i>A dialogue between S and E</i>		1710
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Whigg and Whigg</i>	John Haite	1710
Anon	<i>A dialogue between the cross of St Pauls Cathedral</i>		1710
Anon	<i>A dialogue betwixt Whig and Tory</i>		1710
Anon	<i>Faults on both sides</i>	J. Baker	1710
Abbe de Fourcroy	<i>A new and easie method to understand the Roman History</i>	R. Wellington	1710
Anon	<i>A full reply to the substantial impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell</i>		1710
Benjamin Hoadly	<i>The election dialogue</i>	A. Baldwin	1710
Anon	<i>It is, and it is not</i>		1710
William Hope	<i>The compleat fencing-master</i>	W. Taylor	1710
Anon	<i>The Irish hieroglyphick: or, a dialogue between a reverend rattle-snake, and a Dublin swan.</i>		1710
Benjamin Keach	<i>Instructions for children</i>	J. How	1710
Anon	<i>The Loyal Catechism</i>	J. Morpew	1710

Lucian	<i>The Works of Lucian</i>	J. Morphew		1710
Man in the Moon	<i>The tub and pulpit</i>			1710
Anon	<i>Men's Treachery to Woman</i>			1710
Minister of the Church of England	<i>The teaching Quakers not inspired</i>		H. Clements	1710
Anon	<i>Poems on Affairs of State</i>			1710
Anon	<i>Resistance and non-resistance stated</i>			1710
John , Earl of Rochester	<i>Poems</i>	H. Hills		1710
William Stephens	<i>Dick and Tom</i>		B. Bragg	1710
Edward Stillingfleet	<i>Several Conferences</i>		Henry Mortlock	1710
Anon	<i>A supplement to the faults on both sides True passive obedience restor'd in 1710. In a dialogue between a country-man and a true patriot.</i>		J. Baker	1710
Anon		S. Popping		1710
Edward Ward	<i>Nuptial Dialgues and Debates</i>	H. Moore	T. Norris	1710
Edward Ward	<i>Pulpit-War</i>	J. Baker		1710
Anon	<i>The world bewitch'd A dialogue between a curat and a countrey-man</i>			1710
John Anderson	<i>The second dialogue between a curat and a countrey-man, concerning the English- Service.</i>			1711
John Anderson				1711
Thomas Brown	<i>The fourth volume of Mr Brown's Works A dialogue between a gentleman and a farmer</i>		Sam Briscoe	1711
Richard Cooper				1711
Anon	<i>The curate of Dorset's answer</i>		J. Baker Stephen Fletcher	1711
John Davys	<i>A sort of an answer A dialogue between the eldest brother of St Katherines</i>		John Morphew	1711
Anon	<i>A parley between Prince Rupert's Dog</i>			1711
Erasmus	<i>Twenty two colloquies</i>			1711
Anon	<i>Free-Thinkers. A poem in dialogue.</i>			1711
Friend of the Light	<i>The gates of hell open'd</i>	J. Morphew John Morphew		1711
Francis Gastrell	<i>The Principles of Deism truly represented</i>			1711
Anon	<i>The Grand-Point</i>	S. Popping		1711
Francis Hare	<i>Bouchain</i>		A. Baldwin	1711
Anon	<i>He's Wellcome Home</i>			1711
Benjamin Keach	<i>War with the Devil A vindication of the Reverend Dr. Henry Sachervell</i>	B. Harris		1711
William King			John Morphew	1711

Charles Leslie	<i>The finishing stroke</i>	Booksellers	1711
William King	<i>A vindication of the Reverend Dr. Henry Sachervell 2nd Edition</i>	John Morphew	1711
William King	<i>A vindication of the Reverend Dr. Henry Sachervell 3rd Edition</i>	John Morphew	1711
Lover of Peace and Unity	<i>A dialogue between Henry Sachvell and William B-Set</i>	S. Popping	1711
Lucian	<i>The third volume of the works of Lucian. Translated from the Greek by several eminent hands.</i>	Samuel Briscoe	1711
Lucian	<i>The Works of Lucian</i>	J. Morphew	1711
Bernard Mandeville	<i>A treatise of the hypochondriack</i>	Dryden	1711
Anon	<i>[Old] stories which were the fore-runners of the revolution in eighty-eight, reviv'd, viz. I. A dialogue between F. Peters, and Dr. Busby.</i>	Leach	1711
Roger De Piles	<i>Dialogue Upon Colouring</i>	John Morphew	1711
Anon	<i>The Primitive Doctrine of the Church of England Vindicated</i>	Daniel Brown	1711
Anon	<i>A short account of a dialogue betwixt the d---l and Mr. Spintext, a P-----n T-----r.</i>		1711
Richard Standfast	<i>A caveat against Seducers</i>	Richard Standfast	1711
Anon	<i>A vindication of the last parliament</i>		1711
Church of Scotland	<i>A catechism, appointed in the liturgy of the church of Scotland</i>		1712
Anon	<i>The comparison or Whiggish fulsom flattery exemplified</i>	Booksellers	1712
Richard Cooper	<i>The Country-Man's Proposal</i>	John Collyer	1712
Des PÃ©riers Bonaventure	<i>Cymbalum Mundi</i>	A. Baldwin	1712
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a new courtier and a country gentleman</i>		1712
John Eachard	<i>Dr Eachards Works</i>	J. Phillips	1712
J. Garretson	<i>English Exercises</i>		1712
Thomas Gills	<i>Useful and delightful instructions</i>	J. Downing	1712
William Howell	<i>No agreement between scripture and popery</i>		1712
John Shirley	<i>The Triumph of Wit</i>	H. Clements	1712
Benjamin Keach	<i>Instructions for Children</i>	N. Boddington	1712
Lover of the Loyal, Honest, and Moderate Party	<i>A mornings discourse</i>	John Morphew	1712
Anon	<i>March and October</i>		1712

John Norris	<i>Profitable Advice</i>	J. How		1712
Anon	<i>Oxford run horn mad</i>			1712
Anon	<i>The Poetical Entertainer</i>		J. Morphew	1712
Isaac Sharpe	<i>The regular clergy's sole right to administer Christian Baptism</i>		Richard Wilkin	1712
James Smith	<i>A dialogue betwixt a minister of the Church of Scotland and two of the elders of his congregation, about the abjuration oath.</i>			1712
W.D	<i>The Gentleman Instructed</i>		E. Smith	1712
Anon	<i>An Answer to some Objections</i>		John Morphew	1713
John Arbuthnot	<i>An invitation to Peace</i>	Mr Lawrence		1713
George Berkeley	<i>Three dialogues between Hylas and Philonous</i>		Henry Clements	1713
Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux	<i>Posthumous works of Monsieur Boileau</i>	G. James		1713
Anacreon and M. Fontenelle	<i>The works of Anacreon</i>		E. Curll	1713
Anon	<i>An Answer to some Objections</i>		E. Curll	1713
Bruno Giordano	<i>Spaccio Della Bestia Trionfante</i>		John Morphew	1713
Mary Lee Chudleigh	<i>Poems on Several Occassions</i>		Bernard Lintott	1713
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a bow-head Whig and his wife in the Bow</i>			1713
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a brewer and a gager</i>			1713
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a new courtier and a country gentleman.</i>			1713
Anon	<i>A dialogue between A. and B.</i>		John Morphew	1713
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Jack High and Will Low</i>			1713
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Pasquin and Marphorio</i>			1713
François Fénelon	<i>Instructions for the education of a daughter</i>		Jonah Bowyer	1713
Abbe de Fourcroy	<i>A new and easy method to understand Roman History</i>	Francis Dickson	P. Campbell	1713
Anon	<i>Honour retri'd from faction: in a dialogue between Smith and Johnson.</i>		J. Baker	1713
George Lockhart	<i>A dialogue betwixt a burgess of Edingburgh and a gentleman</i>			1713
Henry More	<i>Divine Dialogues</i>	Joseph Downing	Joseph Downing	1713
Anon	<i>New dialogues of the gods</i>		Bernard Lintott	1713
Plato	<i>Plato's dialogue of the immortality of the soul</i>		Bernard Lintott	1713
François Pomey	<i>The Pantheon</i>		Charles Harper	1713

James Smith	<i>A second dialogue betwixt a minister of the church of scotland and two Elders</i>		John Moncur	1713
Mr Smith	<i>Poems upon several occasions.</i>		H. Clements	1713
Theocritus	<i>The Idylliums of Theocritus</i>		E. Curll	1713
William Darrell	<i>The Gentleman Instructed</i>	J. Heptinstall	E. Smith	1713
Anon	<i>Bopeep</i>			1714
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a Secretary of State and a Connaught squier</i>			1714
Anon	<i>A dialogue between my Lord B----ke and my Lord W--on; concerning the coming over of the Duke of M----gh.</i>			1714
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Abbot G and Sir Patrick L</i>			1714
Anon	<i>A dialogue betwixt a country gentleman, and a Presbyterian divine</i>			1714
Anon	<i>A Dialogue betwixt moderation and constitution.</i>			1714
Thomas Doolittle	<i>A treatise concerning the Lord's Supper</i>	Robert Sanders	Robert Sanders	1714
John Dunton	<i>Neck or Nothing</i>		M. Brudendell	1714
John Dunton	<i>Queen Robin</i>		M. Brudenell	1714
Gentlewoman	<i>An Elegy on the Death of Her Sacred Majesty</i>		J. Morphew	1714
Anon	<i>Hannibal not at our Gates</i>		E. Thornhill	1714
Aaron Hill	<i>Proposals for Raising a Stock</i>			1714
Anon	<i>The Lamentation of Abbot G-Tier</i>		J. Baker	1714
David Lindsay	<i>The works of the famous and worthy Sir David Lindsay</i>	James Blow		1714
Anon	<i>Magdalen-Grove</i>	J. Carrett		1714
Bernard Mandeville	<i>The Fable of the Bees</i>		J. Roberts	1714
Bernard Mandeville	<i>The mischiefs that ought justly to be apprehended from a Whig-Government.</i>		J. Roberts	1714
Bernard Mandeville	<i>The Mysteries of Virginity</i>	J. Morphew	J. Morphew	1714
Samuel Moodey	<i>Judas the traitor</i>	B. Green	B. Green	1714
Various	<i>Original Poems and Translations</i>		J. Pemberton	1714
Lover of His Country	<i>Political Merriment</i>		A. Boultar	1714
Anon	<i>The Protestant Chevalier</i>		E. Smith	1714
John Rochester	<i>The Works of John Earl Rochester</i>		Jacob Tonson	1714
Marshall Smith	<i>An entire set of the monitors</i>		Marshall Smith	1714
Arthur Stringer	<i>The Experienc'd Huntsman</i>	James Blow		1714
Edward Ward	<i>Matronomy unmask'd</i>	H. Meere	J. Woodward	1714

George Buckingham	<i>An Account of a Conference between his Grace George</i>		J. Ware	1714
George Buckingham	<i>A conference on the doctrine of transubstantiation</i>		Ferd. Burleigh	1714
George Buckingham	<i>A key to the Rehearsal</i>		S. Briscoe	1714
Peter Gunning	<i>An essay upon faith</i>	E. Everingbarn		1714
Mr Butler	<i>The Mornings Solutation</i>	Daniel Tompson		1714
Thomas Brown	<i>Works of Thomas Brown</i>		Sam Briscoe	1715
Joseph Brown	<i>State Tracts</i>	George Sawbridge	George Sawbridge	1715
Aristophanes	<i>Plutus</i>		Jonas Brown	1715
Richard Brown	<i>The English School Reformed</i>		J. Churchill	1715
SÃ©bastien Castellion	<i>The History of the Bible</i>		William Wyatt	1715
John Chappelow	<i>The right way to be rich</i>	R. Tookey	Author	1715
Charles Cotton	<i>The genuine works of Charles Cotton</i>		R. Bonwicke Eman.	1715
Daniel Defoe	<i>The Family Instructor</i>		Matthews	1715
Anon	<i>A dialogue between James and George.</i>			1715
Anon	<i>A dialogue between the author of Whigs no Christians and a country gentleman.</i>			1715
Anon	<i>AA dialogue of the dead; between the very eminent Signor Glibertini and Count Thomaso, in the vales of Acheron.</i>	E. Berrington	E. Berrington	1715
Lucian	<i>The Works of Lucian</i>		S. Briscoe	1715
Bernard Mandeville	<i>A treatise of the Hypochondriack and hysterick passions</i>	Dryden Leach		1715
Anon	<i>A New Academy of Complements</i>		C. Bates	1715
One who knows them all	<i>A dialogue between the Staff, the Mitre, and the Purse. With a conclusion by Lord John Bull. By one who knows them all.</i>		J. Roberts	1715
Samuel Parker	<i>An Essay upon the Duty of Physicians and Patients</i>	G. J.	Henry Clements	1715
Anon	<i>A race at Sheriff-Muir</i>			1715
Daniel Robinson	<i>An Essay upon Vocal Musick</i>	J. Collyer		1715
Anon	<i>A Tory Pill</i>			1715
William Darrell	<i>The case review'd</i>			1715
C. N.	<i>The Religion of the wits at Button's refuted</i>		Bernard Linitott	1716
Cicero	<i>Cicero on old age, a dialogue.</i>			1716
Various	<i>A collection of poems</i>	J. Darby	D. Browne	1716
Anon	<i>A dialogue between a Whig and a Jacobite</i>	J. Roberts		1716
Anon	<i>A dialogue between an oak and an orange-tree</i>		J. Roberts	1716

John Dryden	<i>The first part of miscellany poems</i>			1716
Thomas Gills	<i>Useful and delightful instructions</i>	J. Downing		1716
John Dryden	<i>The fifth part of miscellany poems</i>			1716
Saint Gregory	<i>A Panegyrick upon the Maccabees</i>			1716
Robert Harley	<i>A tower Conference</i>		J. Roberts	1716
Charles Leslie	<i>The Finishing Stroke</i>	Booksellers of London		1716
Michel Malard	<i>The True French grammer</i>			1716
Anon	<i>News from the Dead</i>		J. Baker	1716
John Norman	<i>Lay-Nonconformity</i>		John Clark	1716
James Tyrrell	<i>His Majesty's government and ministry vindicated</i>	J. Collyer	Hen. Allestrye	1716
John Norman	<i>Lay-Nonconformity Second Edition</i>		John Clark	1716
John Norman	<i>Lay-Nonconformity Third Edition</i>		John Clark	1716
James Tyrrell	<i>His Majesty's government and ministry vindicated,</i>	J. Collyer		1716
William Darrell	<i>The Gentleman Instructed</i>	J. Heptinstall	E. Smith	1716
Edward Welchman	<i>A dialogue betwixt a protestant minister and a romish priest</i>	J. Downing		1716
Anon	<i>Whig and Tory principles of government fairly Stated</i>			1716
Thomas Brown	<i>The Works of Thomas Brown</i>		Various	1717
Thomas Brown	<i>The Works of Thomas Brown Volume 2</i>		Sam Briscoe	1717
Thomas Brown	<i>The works of Mr Thomas Brown Volume four</i>		Sam Briscoe	1717
Robert Calder	<i>The Second part of the succession of the priesthood</i>		Author	1717
John Chappelow	<i>The right way to be rich</i>	R. Tookey	Author	1717
Daniel Defoe	<i>The Family-Instructor</i>	John Robertson	John Robertson, Mrs Brown, and James Brown	1717
Laurence Howel	<i>Desiderius</i>	William Redmayne		1717
Divine of the Church of England	<i>Four dialogues between Eubulus and Phygellus</i>		W. Taylor	1717
William Fleetwood	<i>Papists not excluded from the throne</i>		James Knapton	1717
J. Greenwood	<i>The mischief of Prejudice</i>		W. Boreham	1717
J. M	<i>The Agreeable Variety</i>		Author	1717
Anon	<i>The lay-man's pleas for seperation</i>	H. Parker	Henry Clements	1717
Moses Lowman	<i>The case of the acts against the Protestant Dissenters</i>		Eman. Matthews	1717
John Norman	<i>Lay-Nonconformity justified</i>		John Clark	1717

François Pomey	<i>The Pantheon</i>		J. Walthee	1717
Anon	<i>Rome, or Geneva</i>		J. Roberts	1717
Anon	<i>A Short dialogue between a Minister of the Church of England, and his neighbour</i>		R. Burleigh	1717
Anon	<i>Simeon and levi</i>	S. Baker		1717
Joseph Smith	<i>Joseph and Benjamin</i>		John Morphew	1717
Anon	<i>The Virgin Muse</i>	T. Varnam		1717
William Darrell	<i>The Case Review'd</i>			1717
William Walker	<i>Some improvements to the Art of Teaching</i>	H. Meere	G. Sawbridge	1717
East India Company	<i>The Adjourned Debate</i>			1718
Thomas Brown	<i>The Works of Mr Thomas Brown</i>		Sam Briscoe	1718
Thomas Brown	<i>The Works of Mr Thomas Brown</i>		Sam Briscoe	1718
Anon	<i>A collection of several papers</i>		James Knapton	1718
Daniel Defoe	<i>The Family Instructor</i>		Eman Matthews	1718
Anon	<i>A dialogue between Doctor Lesly and the pretender</i>	Thomas Hume		1718
Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle	<i>The Theory or System of Several New Inhabited Worlds</i>		Sam Briscoe	1718
Charles Gildon	<i>The Complete Art of Poetry</i>		Charles Rivington	1718
John Gother	<i>Mr Gother's Spiritual Works</i>			1718
Horace	<i>The Odes of Horace</i>			1718
Francis Hutchinson	<i>An Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft</i>			1718
Anon	<i>A conference between Mr Paul Lorrain and Mr James Shepheard</i>		W. Boreham	1718
Michel Malard	<i>The French and Protestant Companion</i>		Author	1718
John Norman	<i>Lay-Nonconformity farther justify'd</i>		John Clark	1718
Charles Norris	<i>A dialogue between Dr Sherlock and Dr Sherlock</i>		J. Roberts	1718
Anon	<i>An Ode</i>		Jonas Browne	1718
James Pucker	<i>England's path to wealth and honour, in a dialogue between an English-Man and a Dutch-Man.</i>		Edward Symon	1718
Anon	<i>A short dialogue between a Minister of the Church of England</i>		R. Burleigh	1718
Joseph Smith	<i>Aristarchus and Philaethes</i>		Charles Rivington	1718
Nathaniel Spinckes	<i>The Case Further State'd</i>		George Strahan	1718
James Tyrrell	<i>Bibliotheca Politica</i>		D. Brown	1718

Monsieur Voiture	<i>Familiar Letters of Love</i>			1718
Anon	<i>What if this marriage should prove true?</i>	Thomas Hume	Thomas Hume	1718
George Abbot	<i>The case of impotency</i>			1719
East India Company	<i>The Adjourned Debate</i>	The Reporter		1719
William Aglionby	<i>Choice Observations upon the art of painting</i>			1719
Felix Alvarado	<i>Spanish and English Dialogues</i>		W. Hinchliffe	1719
Joshua Bowchier	<i>Haereticus Triumphatus</i>	George Bishop	Nath Thorn	1719
George Villiers Buckingham	<i>The original copy of the conference between George Villars and Father Fitzgerald</i>		Sam Briscoe	1719
Anon	<i>The Casuist</i>			1719
William Chillingworth	<i>Additional Discourses of Mr. Chillingworth</i>	Guil Needham	J. Knopton	1719
Anon	<i>A Collection of Divine Hymns and Poems</i>		W. Taylor	1719
Thomas Deacon	<i>The Plaintiff's charge disprov'd</i>		James Bettenham	1719
John Denham	<i>Poems and Translations</i>		Jacob Tonson	1719
Charles Riviere Dufresny	<i>Amusements Serious and Comical</i>		P. Vaillant	1719
Erasmus	<i>Pope Julius the Second</i>		T. Warner	1719
Bernard Fontenelle	<i>Conversations with a Lady on the plurality of worlds</i>	J. Darby	M. Wellington	1719
Charles Gildon	<i>The life and strange surprising Adventures of Mr. D--- de F---</i>	Elizabeth Sadleir	Patrick Dugan	1719
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Charles Gildon	<i>The life and strange surprising Adventures of Mr. D--- de F---</i>	Elizabeth Sadleir	Patrick Dugan	1719
William Lux	<i>Poems on Several Occasions</i>	Leon Lichfield	Stephen Fletcher	1719
Michel Malard	<i>The French and Protestant Companion</i>		Author	1719
Richard Mead	<i>A serious conference between Scaramouch and harlequin</i>		J. Roberts	1719
Richard Mead	<i>The Triumvirate</i>		J. Roberts	1719
Anon	<i>Old Mother-Money's Farewell</i>	W. Boreham	W. Boreham	1719
Anon	<i>Old Stories which were the fore-runners of the revolution</i>	T. Warner	T. Warner	1719
Plato	<i>The Works of Plato</i>			1719
James Puckle	<i>The Advantages of the Fishery to Great Britain Demonstrated</i>		J. Roberts	1719
Allan Ramsay	<i>A pastoral elegy on the death of Mr. Joseph Addison.</i>	John Collyer		1719
Richard Sault	<i>The Second Spira</i>		S. Popping	1719

John Vernon	<i>The compleat compting-house</i>		G. Grierson	1719
Benjamin Wadsworth	<i>Some Considerations about Baptism</i>	B. Green	Benjamin Elliot	1719
Edward Welchman	<i>A dialogue betwixt a Protestant Minister and a Romish-Priest</i>		John Hyde	1719
Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg	<i>Thirty Four Conferences</i>		H. Clements	1719
Henry Peacham	<i>The Gentleman's Excercise</i>		John Browne	1612
Mercurius Melancholicus	<i>The second part of Crafty Cromwell</i>	S.N	.	1648
Richard Standfast	<i>A dialogue between a blind man and death</i>	S.N	.	1700
Anon	<i>The Parents Pious Gift</i>			1704
Anon	<i>A dialogue between the French Standards in Westminster Hall</i>		John Wickins	1705
Peter Berault	<i>A new and complete French and English Grammer</i>	T. Hodgkin		1707
Anon	<i>The great heroe</i>			1708
Anon	<i>A dialogue between an Englishman and a Scotsman</i>			1709
Anon	<i>News from the Country</i>	F. Sadler		1709
Anon	<i>Bellisarius a great commander; and Zariana His lady. A Dialogue</i>	J. Morpew		1710
Anon	<i>Both sides pleas'd</i>	S. Popping		1710
Anon	<i>A dialogue between St Peter and a Low-churchman</i>			1710
Abel Evans	<i>The Apparition</i>			1710
Jeremy Collier	<i>An essay upon gaming</i>		John Morpew	1713
Anon	<i>A Dialogue between Teigue and Dermot. A discourse shewing the reasons why Protestant subjects cannot enjoy their laws, religion, liberty and property under a Popish prince in a dialogue between a Romanist and an Englishman.</i>			1713
Anon		S. Keimer	Fred Burleigh	1714

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