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Content Analysis Of The Arte Or Crafte Of Rhethoryke By Leonard Cox With Suggestions For Further Study

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CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE
ARTE OR CRAFT OF
RHETHORYKE BY LEONARD
COX WITH SUGGESTIONS
FOR FURTHER STUDY

JOHN EARL BLAND

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Content Analysis of The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke

by Leonard Cox With Suggestions for Further Study
(TITLE)

BY

JOHN EARL BLAND

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Arts

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

1973

YEAR

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The author wishes to dedicate this thesis to his parents, Mr. & Mrs. Jay Bland, for without their personal advice and guidance none of this would have been possible.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

From the beginnings of English literary criticism in the sixteenth century, we can trace the first expressions of the literary self-consciousness which was causing the growth of a new literature and the new civilization of the Renaissance. In the area of prose, through the entirety of the century and beyond, the precepts of ancient rhetoric exist, although modified through the interpretation of Medieval and Renaissance thought. In order to formulate a modern English prose, the inadequate native models had to be disregarded and replaced by foreign teachings and aids. It was during this period of time in the history of England that Leonard Cox wrote The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke. The purpose of this paper is to provide a content analysis of this particular early English work.

Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study is to provide a content analysis of Cox's Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke. Rhetorically and historically, this study is significant.

The study has rhetorical significance because Cox provided the first English rhetoric. "Prior to Cox, no English author dealt with rhetoric in a way showing other than medieval influences Cox's Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke: 1530. In sharp contrast to the purely decorative aim of rhetoric set forth by Lydgate and Hawes in the practical purpose of Leonard Cox's textbook on invention (and disposition), the first

reasonably complete treatment of the subject written in English."¹

As a historical study this paper should be of value to those interested in gaining insights into English society of the sixteenth century.

This study is also personally significant to the writer. As Wayne N. Thompson observed:

The preparation of the thesis can be a rich educational experience, which (1) provides training in research methods, (2) requires the integration of the knowledge and the skills of several fields ... (3) makes the student an 'expert' within a defined area, and (4) leads to conclusions regarding the theory and practice of rhetoric in our own time.²

Review of Literature

In an effort to ascertain the originality of this study, the writer attempted to discover whether or not any similar studies had been done or were in progress. A review of several leading sources was made in the field of Speech and related areas but only to discover very little, if any, significant contributions related directly to Cox's The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke. Those sources which proved to be valuable in this study were three in number. The first is William Sandford's English Theories of Public Address. Sandford, in his dissertation, gives a brief analysis of the various currents in the sixteenth century including Thomas Wilson, Richard Sherry, Leonard Cox and many others. His analysis offers a perspective of the trends of that period of time and the major contributors to that trend. Of Cox he writes, "... the first reasonably

¹William Phillips Sandford, B.A., M.A. English Theories of Public Address, 1530-1828. Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University, 1929, pp. 22-24.

²Wayne N. Thompson. "Contemporary Public Address," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXXII (October, 1947), p. 277.

complete treatment of the subject [invention] written in English. Cox desires to make speakers more effective in presenting their ideas"³ Following this he offers a brief coverage of Cox's Rhethoryke with an extremely helpful outline of the book in tabular form.

The second source of significance offered no insight to the analysis of Cox's book per se, but does offer a great deal of valuable background material concerning Leonard Cox and the historical perspectives of that era. I refer to Wallace's History of Speech Education in America.⁴ Wallace offers a brief coverage of Cox's life and major contributions to the area of rhetoric. Of Cox's Rhethoryke he states, "... it is the earliest systematic attempt to acquaint English readers with the original rhetorical content of the Ciceronian concept of Invention."⁵

The final source of immense help was the introduction, notes and index presented by Frederic Carpenter, Ph.D., in The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke.⁶ He offers an in-depth analysis of Cox's biography and his major contributions as a scholar, schoolmaster, and preacher. His work is a synthesis of the leading schools of thought and where Cox fits into the totality. He does not offer a coverage of the Rhethoryke itself, but the introductory material was most valuable in the completion of this study.

Besides these sources mentioned above, other sources were also

³Sandford, English Theories of Public Address, 1530-1828, p. 24.

⁴Karl R. Wallace. History of Speech Education in America (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), pp. 11-14.

⁵Ibid., pp. 11-12.

⁶Leonard Cox. The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke. Edited by Frederic Ives Carpenter (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1899), pp. 5-32.

consulted but with no significant information obtained.⁷

The Man and the Times

The Man

Concerning Cox's early life very little factual information is obtainable. His actual birth date is unknown but has been speculated to be before the opening of the sixteenth century due to the fact that he had secured the honor of delivering a Latin oration at Cracow in Poland in 1518. At this date it would probably be accurate to assume that Cox was teaching in the Academy at Cracow where, in 1524, we find him as full master. As for his own education, very little is known. He was the second son of Lawrence Cox of the city of Monmouth in Monmouthshire by his wife Elizabeth Willey. Before entering college, all that can be said for his education is that he was well-educated in the liberal arts. Cox attended Cambridge University where he graduated sometime before 1518. No facts are available to confirm this date but it is very likely he would have graduated before obtaining the position in Poland previously mentioned.

In 1524 we find Cox travelling abroad once again. There he remained until sometime after 1527, since in 1526 we find him publishing a book in Cracow, and in 1527 Erasmus is corresponding with him concerning

⁷Speech Teacher Vols. 1-22 (1952-1973); Speech Monographs Vols. 1-40 (1935-1972); Quarterly Journal of Speech Vols. 1-58 (1915-1972); Western Speech Journal Vols. 33-37 (1969-1973); Today's Speech Vols. 17-21 (1969-1973); Southern Speech Bulletin Vols. 1-7 (1935-1942); Southern Speech Journal Vols. 32-37 (1967-1972); North Carolina Journal of Speech and Drama Vols. 1-6 (1967-1973); Biographic Index Vols. 1-12 (1937-1972); and Social Science and Humanities Index Vols. 1-25 (1907-1972); M.L.A. International Bibliography (1957-1970); Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature Vols. 1-33 (1920-1958); plus the Dissertation and Thesis Abstracts Vols. (1938-1972).

affairs in Hungary.

It is at this point where we find controversy and differences of opinion concerning the date of Cox's publication of his first Rhethoryke. Several sources claim the date to be at, or near, 1524 while others vary this date to include the following years all the way to 1531. Since the Rhethoryke was not assigned a year of publication by the author it is hard to be certain when exactly it was published but it is unlikely to have been before 1527 since we do know that it was written from Cox's school at Reading. Since he was abroad until 1527, somewhere between 1527 and 1530 he returned to England and was appointed master at the school of Reading by Hugh Faringdon, the presiding abbot. Thus, it is during this period that it is most likely he completed his first Rhethoryke.

Soon after Cox's appointment as master of Reading, he was incorporated at Oxford, receiving his B.A. degree there February 19, 1530. He apparently remained at Reading as school master until 1541 with occasional journies elsewhere connected with other matters. Little is known concerning this lapse in time except for a few scattered letters written to the Goodeman Toy, at the Signe of Saint Nicholas in Powles Churchyarde in May of 1534 and to Lord Cromwell in 1540. These express Cox's desire to gain Cromwell's acceptance and favor. In order to accomplish this, Cox intended to elaborate on his Rhethoryke by publishing another book entitled Erotemata Rhetorica and dedicate it to Cromwell. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of this book is unknown ascertaining that it was ever completed. After Cromwell's ending it is likely, due to the confusion and change in fortune, that his plans were abandoned.

In February of 1541, after the death of the Abbot of Reading in 1539, Cox received a royal patent granting and confirming to him the office of master of the grammar school at Reading. The patent also granted to Cox the home he was then occupying plus the adjoining plot of land. In addition to this, Cox was to receive a stipend of ten pounds per year.

Concerning the later years of Cox's life, little is known. Most historians believe he became the master of the grammar school founded at Coventry by his friend John Hales around 1572. Here he remained until his death which occurred sometime around 1599 when John Tovey succeeded him to the mastership.

The Times

Due to the time of Cox's life, he witnessed and took part in two great movements of the first half of the century in England--that of the Humanistic movement, represented by Erasmus and Calet, and that of the religious Reformation. Cox's work and chief service to his age was that of a translator and commentator. He, like Calet, Grocyn, Linacre, and Lilly, served as an intermediary in the transmission to England of the Humanistic and Renaissance influence and literature.

Prior to Cox we find only two other works that contain Cicero's five terms in English. The first is Caxton's translation of the Myrrour and dyscrypcyon of the worlde. The Myrrour first appeared in 1481 with a second edition around 1490. But in both editions the discussion of rhetoric is a mere fifteen lines consisting of comments relating rhetoric to the moral and political sciences. It was the third edition of the Myrrour which was expanded to include brief accounts of the classical

cannons but this appeared around 1527, and by that time Hawes' Pastime of Pleasure was already in its second edition. Thus Caxton's Myrrour must be placed second so far as the appearance of Ciceronian rhetoric in the English version.

It is in the third place position that we place Leonard Cox's The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke as far as the appearance of Ciceronian rhetoric. But in a sense it is first, for it is the earliest rhetorical schoolbook published in English and the earliest attempt to acquaint English readers with the original rhetorical content of the Ciceronian concept of Invention. Cox's Rhethoryke appeared in two editions in London, the first around 1529 and the second in 1532, both dedicated to his old patron Hugh Faringdon, Abbot of Reading. It is characteristic of its period and highly interesting as "one of the rather slender lists of productions by that little band of humanists and reformers in letters, education, and religion, of whom Calet, Lilly, and More were the chief members in England."⁸

The rhetorics of the Renaissance were mainly founded upon Hermogenes, Cicero, and Quintilian. Of these authors there were two different schools of thought and emphasis; those that concerned themselves with questions of invention and disposition, and those that mainly discussed matters of style and diction. Cox falls into the division of the first class, and refers his readers who may wish to carry their studies further, "either in Hermogenes among the Grekes or els Tully or Tropesouce among the Latines."⁹ The Tropesouce refers to a typical rhetorician of the

⁸Cox, The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke, p. 7.

⁹Ibid., p. 88.

Renaissance period. Born in Crete, in 1396, he taught Greek at Venice and philosophy at Rome. He translated numerous works from Greek into Latin. He died at Rome in 1486. His Rhetoric, the first edition of which appeared in Venice around 1470, is a paraphrase from Hermogenes. His divisions and order of treatment in general are those of Cox and of Cox's original, Melanchthon.

Orations are of three sorts: Judicial, referring to the Past, Deliberative, to the Future, and Demonstrative, to the Present. The chief parts of an Oration are the Exordium, Narratio, and Contentio, whereunder are discussed Confirmatio and Confutation.¹⁰

Cox's aim in presenting a rhetoric to the English was due to the spreading of education and new grammar schools were being founded. In order to teach in many of these schools, the vernacular was necessarily used. The new learning brought with it new senses of style and form in prose but unfortunately, there were no textbooks in existence written on the subject in English. Cox felt that all people needed rhetoric but there was no subject less taught. Since Latin was the accepted central discipline, the book was written intended for "young beginners". Others who could read Latin or Greek may consult Hermogenes or Tully.

Summary

Cox, it seems, is concerned very little with the theory of rhetoric. His aim is to tell very plainly the manner of putting together (Invention) orations and the several kinds then recognized by the rhetoricians. It is then designated as a schoolbook and as an elementary introduction for those who have missed the advantages of scholastic training. His

¹⁰Ibid., p. 23.

plan is restricted to the treatment of invention and the formal ordering of speech for it is in this area that Cox considered the public speaking of the day deficient.

Outline of Remaining Chapters

The remainder of this study was divided into two major chapters. The second chapter consists of an overview and analysis of Cox's The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke and the various divisions found within the text. The following chapter or concluding chapter will consist of a summary of the analysis, a brief coverage of the rhetorical significance of Cox's Rhethoryke according to the writer and other critics, suggestions for further study, and concluding with a bibliography consisting of a list of other works by Cox and other sources for information.

CHAPTER TWO

Purpose

Cox's Rhethoryke is dedicated to his patron Hugh Faringdon, Abbot of Reading. He honors Faringdon by presenting his Rhethoryke to him and here, in these first few pages, we see Cox's purpose in writing the text. Briefly, his purpose lies in creating speakers who are more effective in presenting their ideas.

none offrede it selfe more conuenient to the profyete of yonge studentes, whiche youre good lordeshyppe hathe allwayes tenderly faured/and also meter to my professyon, then to make some proper worke of the tyght pleasaunt and parsuadyble arte of Rhetoryke/whiche as it is very necessary to all fuche as wyll eyther be aduocates and proctoures in the lawe, or els apte to be sente in theyr prynces/ Ambassades/or to be techars of goddes worde in suche maner as maye be moste sensible and accepte to their audience: And finally to all them that haue any thyng to prepose or to speke afore any companye, what fomeuer they be. So contraryly I se noscyence that is les taught and declared to scholars/whiche ought chyefly after the knowledge of gramer ones hade to be instructe in thys facultie without the whiche often tymes the rude vtterance of the aduocate greatly hyndrethe and apeyreth his clyentes cause. Lykewyse the vnapte dysposycyon of the precher in orderynge his mater confundyth the memory of hys herers.¹¹

Invention

Cox then begins his formal discussion concerning rhetoric. Relying heavily upon his principal source, Melanchthon's Institutiones Rhetoricae, he gives his definition of the various canons. It is interesting to note in the following passage how Cox has apparently

¹¹Cox, The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke, pp. 41-42.

omitted the cannon of memory and 'oddly enough taken the cannons of style and delivery, combined them, and termed them "eloquence". In addition, Cox has also added a cannon which he calls "judgement."

Whosomeuer desyreth to be a good oratour or to dyspute and commune of any maner thyng/hym behoueth to haue foure thynges. The fyrste is called Inuencyon, for he muste fyrste of al imagine or inuent in his mynde what he shall saye. The .ii. is names iudgement/for he muste haue wyt to descerne and iudge whether tho thinges that he hathe founde in his mynde be conuenient to the purpose or nat/ for often tymes yf a man lake thys propriete he may aswell tell that that is agaynste hym/as with hym/as experience doth dayly shew. The .iii. is dysposycyon wherby he maye knowe howe to ordre and set euery thyng in his due place. Leste thoughe his inuencyon and iudgement be neuer so goode he maye happen to be counted as the commune prouerbe sayeht To put the carte afore the horse. The .iiii. & is such thynges laste as he hathe Inuentid and by iudgement knowen apte to his purpose when they ar set in theyr ordre so to speke them that it maye be pleasant and delectable to the audience....And this laste propriete is callyd amonge lernyd men eloquence. Of these .iiii. the most difficile or harde is to inuente....¹²

Cox, designating the cannon of "Inuencyon" as being the most difficult, dedicates his Rhethoryke to the purpose of explaining this cannon to his students. From this point on Cox begins his discussion of the parts of Invention and limits his definition to the use of topics as commonplaces. A discrepancy then begins to arise concerning his major purpose as previously cited. After the theme of the speech has been proposed and decided upon, the second step, according to Cox, is to begin going to places that will help the speaker in determining his purpose. In addition to this, in his conclusion he states,

These are my speciall and singuler goode Lorde whiche I haue purposed to wryte as touchyng the cheyf poynt of the

¹²Ibid., p. 43.

.iiii. that I sayd in the begynnyng to long to a Rhetoricien/
and which is more difficulty than the other .iii. so that it
ones had/there is no very great maystry to come by the
resydue.¹³

Taking these two points into consideration with others throughout the book, we can readily see that Cox has spread his Invention to encompass, on several occasions, the cannon of arrangement.

Kinds of Speeches

Cox names four kinds of speeches of which all themes are within. The first is in "Logycall, whiche kynde we call properly disputacion," "Demonstratyue," "Delyberatyue," and "Judiciall."¹⁴ Here again we have a discrepancy within his definitions of terminology. Cox seems to have trouble in deciding the differentiation between logic and rhetoric or at least where one stops and the other begins. After he states his four divisions of speeches, he qualifies his statement by adding "...these thre laste be properly callid speses or kindes of oracions."¹⁵ He seems then to indicate that after the speech has been decided upon and the lines of argument have been prepared, the decision pertaining to the placement of the arguments and matters dealing with the syllogism, enthymeme, and induction fall under the realm of the logician or logic. However, from this point on he moves evenly, dealing with the various ffacets of invention and the arrangement of demonstrative, deliberative, and judicial speeches.

¹³Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁵Ibid.

Logic

In his first division, logic, Cox makes a division stating that all themes that pertain to logic are either simple or compound. The distinction lies in the nature of the topic.

As yf aman desyre to knowe of me what Justice is/this only thyng Justice is my theme/Or yf disputacyon be had in any company vpon Relygion/and I wold declare the very nature of Religion my theme shulde be thys symple or one thyng Relygion. But yf it be douted whether Justice be a vertue or nat/and I wolde proue the part affyrmatyue/my theme were now compounde/that is to say/Justice is a vertue. For it is made of .ii. thynges kynte or vnied together/Justice and vertu.¹⁶

Thus we can make the following distinction according to Cox: the places or instruments of a simple theme are the definition of the thing, the cause, the part, or the effect. He then, keeping the format of a school text, gives a long example to illustrate his point using the terms "justyce" as his simple theme. The conclusion is that the definition of justice is a type of virtue whereby all men get what is due to them. The cause is that man is to consent to the laws and manners of his society. The parts are listed as being either communitative or distributive. And finally the effects are to do for every man, no matter under what circumstances, that which they deserve.

Cox's treatment of compound themes is similar to that of a debate topic. He feels that the topic must be proved either true or false and the method of accomplishing this is only through the use of sound argument presented in a logical fashion. It is here that he makes the final distinction between logic and rhetoric.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 45.

For thys is the dyfference that is betwene these two sciencis/that the Logycyan in disputynge obseruythe certayne rules for the settinge of his words beyng folycytous that ther be spokyn no more nor no les then the thyng requirith/and that it be euen as playnly spoken as it is thought. But the Rhetoricyan seketh abought and boroweth when he can asmuche as he may for to make the symple and playne Logycall argumentes gay and delectable to the aere.¹⁷

The difference between logic and rhetoric falls in the style in which the arguments are presented. Where on the one hand, the logician presents an argument as briefly as possible presenting only the facts, the rhetorician presents the argument but in a lighter fashion making the presentation more enjoyable for the audience. The places in which arguments for compound themes may be formed are those following definition, cause, parts, like, and contrary.

Demonstrative

The demonstrative oration, according to Cox, is to be used in praising or dispraising of common actions. Of this type of oration, there are basically three types. The first is praise and dispraise of a person. "As yf a man wolde prayse the kynghes hyghnes or dysprayse some yl persone/it must be done by an oracyon demonstratyue."¹⁸ The second kind of demonstrative oration is that which praises or dispraises not the person but the deed itself. "As yf a thefe put humselfe in ieopardy for the safegarde of a true man/agaynste other theues and murderers/ the person can nat be prayed for his vicious lyuyng, but yet the dede is worthy to be commended."¹⁹ The final division is that oration

¹⁷Ibid., p. 48.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁹Ibid.

which praises or dispraises, not the person or the deed, but some other thing. Examples of these other things are such as "vertue/vice/iustice/iniurie/charite/enuie/pacience/wrothe and suche lyke."²⁰

Parts of an Oration

At this point in the book Cox forgets his logical progression of topical content and gives his division of the parts of an oration. This includes speeches not only of the demonstrative nature, but of the other three as well. He divides an oration in the following manner: (1) the preamble or exorden, (2) the tale or narration, (3) the proving of the matter or contention, and (4) the conclusion.

Preamble

The preamble of an oration is contained and thus must be "Fetched out of thre places," those being benevolence, attention, and to make things easy to be known. These three divisions are called by the rhetorician "Docilite". Benevolence is characteristic of the place where the speaker is welcomed and the audience is waiting to hear what he has to say. Benevolence is then contained within the subject of which we speak, the audience to whom we address, and ourself. The second part of the preface is the attention factor. This can be achieved through a variety of different means as long as the end product is the attention of the audience.

The herers shalbe made attente or dilygente to gyue audyence yf the oratour made promyse that he wyll ihewe them newe thynges/or els necessary or profytable/or yf

²⁰Ibid.

he saye that it ys an harde mater that he hathe in handelynge or els obscure and nat easy to be vnderstonde excepte they gyue ryght good attendaunce, wherfore it is expedient that yf they wyll haue the percepcyon of it, that they gyue a good eare.²¹

This not only demands of the audience their attention but also it demands their presence which Cox calls benevolence.

Narration

The second part of the oration is called the narration. The narration then is the telling of a person's life and the things which he has accomplished within that life. It should be told in the fashion of a history. The principle sources or areas of consideration are as follows: (1) his childhood; where he was born, how he was brought up, and signs of his wisdom, (2) his adolescence; where his major interest lies and how does he pursue that interest, (3) & (4) his state as a man and at old age; where he stands among his fellow men, his office or class, his regard for his country, what acts he has done, how he treated those less fortunate than himself, how he prospered and what he did with his fortune, (5) & (6) death and the thereafter; of this he does not make a comment except to say that death of a person also has its praises. The example he uses for this point is those that die while defending their country or prince.

Contention

I found Cox rather confusing at this point in his book. His major topic is the types of speech in which he has briefly begun his dis-

²¹Ibid., p. 54.

cussion of the demonstrative speech. He then begins his discussion of the parts of an oration which is obviously out of sequence. Now at this point, he begins to combine the two and speak on the same topic concerning two areas. Cox divides contention into two areas: confirmation and confutation. In doing so he is describing the parts of the oration but is also explaining the next two types of speeches which he has subdivided under the area of demonstrative speeches.

Confirmation is that part of the speech, after the preamble and the narration, that begins the 'task of proving the proposition'. The places it can be found are such as honesty, profit, lightness or hardness of the deed.

Fyrst shewing that it was a very honeste dede. And next/ that it was nat all onely honesty: but also profitable. Thyrdely as concernynge the easiness or difficulti/the praise therof muste be consydered/part in the doer/part in the dede.²²

Whether or not the deed is honest or not is determined by the societal norms, circumstances, and may also be found in the books of the philosophers. Furthermore, whether the deed was profitable or not is determined by the circumstances of it. Cox then provides a list of circumstances including "what was done/who dyd it/whan/where it was done/amonge whom/by whose helpe."²³

The second part of contention was titled confutation. This, as the third part of the types of speeches, refers to orations that praise or dispraise other things. It also can be found in places of honesty, profit, lightness or hardness of the deed. It is described by Cox as

²²Ibid., p. 63.

²³Ibid., p. 63.

being "the soilynge of suche argumentes as maye be induced agaynste our purpose/whiche parte is but lytle vsed in an oracion demonstratiue."²⁴ Since it is very seldom used in this type of speech this is basically the only consideration given to confutation under this heading.

Conclusion

The final part of the oration is the conclusion. It is here that we restate our original plan and briefly enumerate the various points we have previously spoken of at length. Cox briefly speaks of emotional appeals at this point stating that when we resay our various points of the case, we should then try to use things which move the affections. But he warns in his speeches of oversaying it for fear of causing his audience great shame.

In delectable thinges or suche thinges that haue bene well done/we moue our audyence to reioce thereat/and to do lyke. In sad thynges and heuy/to be sory for them. In yll and peruerse actes/to beware that they folowe nat them to theyr great shame and confusyon.²⁵

Deliberative

The deliberative speech is used both in civil matters and matters of a formal or didactic character. Cox uses basically the same general format for the deliberative speech as he does for the demonstrative speech; that being the areas of topic consideration are honesty, profit, easiness or difficulty. In the line of a definition he states

²⁴Ibid., p. 64.

²⁵Ibid.

the following:

An oracion deliberatiue is by the whiche we persuade or dissuade any thing/and by the whiche we aske/or whereby we exorte any man to do a thynge/or els to forsake it/ and this kynde of oracion is muche in vse/nat onely in ciuile maters: but also in epistles.²⁶

The preamble of the deliberative speech is much like that of the demonstrative speech except the purpose is to be expressed in such a way that it reflects to our office or duty in the giving of another man's profit. The office of the person is to be considered along with the necessity and commodity of the matter.

The narration, according to Cox, is very seldom used in the deliberative speech, at least not in the same sense as it was used in the demonstrative speech. In place of the narration a brief proposition is to be used containing the intent of the speaker. The only occasion where a narration is used is when something has already been done and the speaker wishes to shed some light of reference to that occurrence. However, when the narration is used, the statement of the proposition or advice should come immediately after its conclusion.

Following the narration is the confirmation which again is the first part of the contention. Through this the speaker expresses that which he intends to persuade which must be set out of the places of honesty, profit, easiness or difficulty. Thus the speaker must prove to the audience that that which he proposes to persuade is not only honest and commendable, but also profitable and easy enough to perform. If the proposition is hard to accomplish, then the task of the speaker lies

²⁶Ibid., p. 66.

in making the deed honorable and praiseworthy enough to warrant such effort.

In honesty are comprehended all vertues/as wysedome/iustice/ due loue to god/and to our parentes/lyberality/pyty/con- stance/temperance. And therefore he that wyll for the con- firming of his purpose declare and proue that it is honest and commendable that he entendeth to persuade hym: behoueth to haue perfyte knowledge of the natures of vertues.²⁷

The confutation, the second part of the contention, is the destroy- ing of other men's sayings that are contrary to your proposed proposition. This can be done by proving the sayings of the contrary part neither to be honest nor profitable or else impossible.

The conclusion for the deliberative speech, like the demonstrative speech, is used as a place of summary and to reiterate points previously stated concerning the feasibility and practicality of the proposition. It is also used to move the affections of the audience.

Judicial

The final type of speech discussed by Cox is that of Judicial. By judicial he refers to orations that belong to controversies in the law and pleas that result. The first area of consideration under the judicial speech oration is to decide the state of the cause, "whiche is a short preposicion/conteynyng the hole effect of all the controuersies."²⁸ Of an oration judicial there are three states. These are conjectural, assumption, and legitime.

²⁷Ibid., p. 70.

²⁸Ibid., p. 71.

Conjectural

The first case to consider is that of conjectural. In this case, a crime has been committed, but we do not know who has committed the crime. By conjecturing a suspect has been deduced and brought forth for trial. It has not been proved yet but he is the suspect. Therefore, this state is called conjectural because no proof is available.

The preface for this case is much the same as the other orations. The beginning is a statement of the nature of the cause, either by blaming the suspect of the crime or else moving the jury and judge to have pity upon he who has been accused.

The narration is used to show the history of the deed and circumstances that led to the ultimate crime committed. The accuser uses this to intermingle the details and suspicions which will seem to throw the blame to the accused.

After the narration, a brief statement is given to sum up the cause of the crime. This statement, called the proposition, is part of the contention and is used to show where the major controversy lies. This is divided into two parts: "seijunction"; which is a statement of where the speaker stands and what he is striving to prove, and (2) "distribucion"; which is a declaration of what subjects the speaker shall speak of. If a number is given, as to how many things will be spoken of, then it is called enumeration. If no number is given it is called exposition.

The confirmation of the accuser is based upon whether the accused had the will to do the crime and whether he had the power to carry it through. "For these two thynges wyll cause the person that is accused

to be greatly suspecte that he had wyl to do the thyng that he is accused of/and that he myght well ynoughe brynge it to passe."²⁹ In order to prove whether the accused had the will to do the crime, the accuser must consider two things; those being the quality of the accused and the cause that could have moved him to commit the crime. Under the quality of the person Cox gives several aspects to consider including name, country, father and mother, sex, age, strength, agility, quickness, wit, and upbringing. After all of these have been considered thoroughly Cox moves to the second part, that being whether the accused had good cause to commit the crime. He divides this into impulse, including ages, hatred, love, etc., and "raciocinacion", which is the want of a person's possessions for personal gain. Cox then adds a third division called comprobation. This is to prove that no one else had cause to commit the crime.

The conclusion, like before, is to repeat the cases against and for the accused and to move the judge to the conclusion...the accuser to punish the accused person; the defender to move him to pity.

Juridicial

The second type of judicial speech is called by Cox the "state juridiciall". In the state conjectural the question for the courts to decide is whether or not an accused person is guilty or committing the crime. But on many occasions the question is not whether the person did the deed or not but whether he was justified in his actions. This

²⁹Ibid., p. 75.

type of court case is called juridicial and is divided into two types: absolute and assumptive.

State juridicial absolute is when the deed is to be defended as being legally justified. Circumstances that lead to this conclusion are based upon nature, law, custom, reason, judgement, necessity, bargain, or covenant.

State assumptive, on the other hand, is a case where the defense is weak but could be possibly helped if more facts were obtainable. These are in two types. The first is granting of the fault. This is when the accused does not deny doing the deed but asks forgiveness. This is still further sub-divided into "purgacion", which is a plea for ignorance of the law, and "deprecacion", which is used when there is no excuse and the accused calls upon the judge's mercy. The second is "remocion" or casting the blame away from us and laying it upon another person.

Legitime

The third and final area of consideration under the realm of the judicial speech is that of the state legitime. "State legitime is when the controuersy standeth in definicyon or contrary lawes/or doutful wrytynges/or racyocynacyon/or translacyon."³⁰

Problems in definition result when something is written, such as a law, and the contents contain ambiguous terminology. Thus an explanation is required. In order to properly correct this problem, Cox offers a solution consisting of three parts. The first is to declare

³⁰Ibid., p. 82.

the significance of the ambiguous word to the purpose in as few words as possible and as plainly as possible. The second is to prove the exposition as being true through the use of as many arguments as possible. The third is to join the deed with the exposition and show that the law was observed. In other words, there must be an explanation, proof that the explanation is true, and then show the deed to be in accordance to the law. The next step then in winning the case is to compare your position with your opponents. After you have shown your position to be honest, reasonable, and profitable, then since their position is contrary to yours, their position must logically be dishonest, unreasonable, and non-profitable.

Contrary laws refer to laws that are contrary to each other or contradict themselves. According to Cox there are two methods of correcting this error in the laws. The first method is to show that one law is contrary to the other and then to deny one of the laws and show that it has been annulled by the other. The second method is to expound the law and improve it until it meets our purpose.

Doubtful writing is when either the mind of the author was occupied in something other than that which he was writing or else it is when the words are "expounded dyuers wayes." The way to handle doubtful writing, according to Cox, is to concentrate upon the context of the work and words that proceed the difficult part and words that follow it. From these the concept should be distinguishable.

Reliociacion is where a matter of controversy is declared but there is no law decreed. Where this situation occurs, judgment must be based on laws made upon matters that resemble the case on hand.

Translation, the final portion of state legitime, occurs when the accused declares that the plea made against him is unlawful either through the disability of the accuser or the ineligibility of the judge.

Conclusion

With his explanation of the judicial forms of speech, Cox concludes his book and submits it to Lord Faringdon for his approval. With it he gives the following remarks:

These are my speciall and singuler goode Lorde whiche I haue purposed to wryte as touchyng the cheyf poynt of the .iiii. that I sayd in the begynnyng to long to a Rhetoricien/and which is more difficulty than the other .iii. so that it ones had/there is no very great maystry to come by the resydue.³¹

After formally dedicating the book to Faringdon, he concludes The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke.

³¹Ibid., p. 87.

CHAPTER III

Summary of the Analysis

Cox describes three basic faults with a society unschooled in the arts of rhetoric. The first is rude utterance, which, when prevalent in legal speaking, empairs the client's course. The second is inept disposition in sermons; this has the effect of confusing the hearer's memory. The third is tediousness in discourse; this arises from the speaker's lack of invention, order, and proper style. He further states that this tends to drive audiences away or put them to sleep. The remedy to these shortcomings can be provided by proper instruction in the art of rhetoric, this being his primary purpose in writing his text.

Cox defines rhetoric as having four procedures as earlier defined by Melanchethon, his primary source. These are, according to Melanchethon's Institutiones Rhetoricae, Invention, Judgement, Disposition, and Style. Of the four, Cox limits himself to Invention, commenting both at the beginning and conclusion of the Rhethoryke that Invention is the hardest of the four to master. Actually, Cox treats Invention by referring to it as part of the process of finding material for the divisions of the oration. The result is like Cicero in that it covers both Arrangement and Invention, despite his limitations to the latter topic.

The author seems to be uncertain about where to divide rhetoric and logic. He names the four kinds of speech as being logic, demonstrative, deliberative, and judicial but immediately following this explanation

he offers a qualifying statement saying, "and these thre laste be properly callid speses or kindes of oracions."³² He further adds, after explaining the "places" of logic, "But as concernynge the crafte to fourme argumentes whan thou best founde them in theyr places/that must be lerned of the Logician/where he treateth of the fourme of Sello-gismes/Enthimemes and Inductions."³³ Thus in being inconsistent with his primary purpose, he makes the distinction between logic and rhetoric by stating that logic is concerned with judgement of arguments or reasoning. The art of setting these arguments into pleasant speech belongs to the rhetorician. From this point on the book moves on an even keel, dealing with the first cannon, invention, and the arrangement of the demonstrative, deliberative, and judicial speeches. Keeping in the textbook form, each point is followed by an example pertaining to the point and used in a realistic and factual illustration. This serves both as elaboration and clarification.

During the presentation of the demonstrative speech, we find another discrepancy only this one pertains to the systematic and logical progression of ideas. In the middle of the elaboration of the topic, Cox begins his discussion on the parts of an oration--those being the preamble, oration, contention, and conclusion. Of these he gives each its due consideration, with thorough examples. Then he completes his discussion of the demonstrative speech and moves on to the deliberative speech.

³²Cox, The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke, p. 44.

³³Ibid., p. 49.

Briefly, the book is divided into the four parts of the first canon. The first, logic, is divided into two parts, themes simple and themes compound. The second, the demonstrative speech, is divided into three parts. The first is praise or dispraise of a person and deals with topics concerning birth, childhood, adolescence, man's state, old age, death, and the thereafter. The second is praise or dispraise of a deed and deals with topics concerning honesty, profit, lightness and hardness. The third part of the demonstrative speech is praise or dispraise of other things. To this he assigns topics of honesty, profit, and easiness or difficulty of the task. The shortest area of consideration is the deliberative speech in which he allocates only five pages. We can attribute this to the similarity of the deliberative speech to the previously discussed demonstrative speech. This area deals primarily with topics concerning honesty, profit, easiness or difficulty of the deed, the same as the last part of the demonstrative speech. The final area is that of the judicial speech which Cox divides into three major heads. The first is state conjectural. This deals with cases where a deed has been done to determine whether the accused committed the crime. Sub-areas discussed are such as the accused's motives and whether he had the physical and mental power. The second is state judicial. This is further divided into two parts consisting of absolute, when the deed is defended as being lawful, and assumptive, when arguments mitigation are offered. The final division under the general heading of Judicial is state legitime. This area deals primarily with laws that are in some way or another doubtful or conflict with other such laws. Cox divides state legitime into five areas of consideration,

those being: definition of the law, contrary laws, doubtful laws, ratiocination (when no law applies), and translation.

As one can readily see, Cox's coverage of the topics of invention was thorough. Not included in Cox's Rhethoryke is any consideration to the ancient ethical proofs or pathetic proofs. The treatment of the two proofs is only implicative in connection with the exodium.

Rhetorical Significance of Cox's Rhethoryke

The Writer

Many areas of rhetorical significance have been discussed by myself and others who have chosen to consider Cox. It can be noted that The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke was the first significant rhetoric printed in the English language. It can also be identified as one of the earliest English schoolbooks and is significant for the history of English prose in the first half of the 16th century. Other writers have made similar identifications. Thus I contend there is no question as to the significance of Cox's work. There is, however, one area that has not been considered. Although Cox's primary purpose was to familiarize his students with the art of rhetoric, his method also leaves room for commendatory consideration. Up to this point, there was little consideration relating directly to the classical artists translated into the English tongue. If the student was unfamiliar with the traditional Latin or Greek tongue, not only was he denied an education pertaining to rhetoric but he was also denied the knowledge of the classics. Throughout Cox's Rhethoryke, since it was written in textbook form, there are numerous examples pertaining to each point. Each of these examples use

instances pertaining to the subject which occurred in the time of the classics. The following example, which I shall use to illustrate my point, is taken from Cox's Rhethoryke in the area pertaining to the parts of invention.

In olde tyme there was grete enuy betweene .ii. noble men of Rome of whome the one was callyd Mylo/and the other Clodyus. The which malice grew so ferre that Clodius layed wayte for Mylo on a season when he shulde ryde out of the cyte/and in his iournay set vpon him and there as it chansyd Clodius was clayne/where vpon thys Clodius frendes accused Milo to the Senate of murdre.³⁴

Cox continues to give an account of the trial using the parts of invention and the kinds of orations that could be used. Throughout the book, various other references are made to other incidents that occurred in the area of the classics. Thus the book has significance in one other area. In addition to being a textbook in the area of rhetoric, it serves as a guide in familiarizing the early students with the men and occurrences of the classical era.

Other Critics

According to Sandford another area of significance lies within its relative space given to the areas of demonstrative, deliberative, and judicial oratory. Cox's coverage of demonstrative oratory occupies pages 49-66, but within these pages he introduces his discussion of the parts of the speech which applies to all three of the areas. At the time the book was published, the political conditions under the reign of Henry VIII were not conducive to much speaking on public affairs, but

³⁴Ibid., p. 44.

Cox seems to have thought of deliberative oratory in a different sense. He regarded it more an oration to personal persuasion, oral or written, for he says:

An oracion deliberative is by the whiche we persuade or dissuade any thing/and by the which we aske/or wherby we exorte any man to do a thynge/or els to forsake it/ and this kynde of oracion is muche in vse/nat onely in ciuile maters: but also in epistles.³⁵

Thus Cox only allows five pages for the deliberative oration.

At the time Cox published his Rhethoryke, the public interest lay in matters pertaining to legality and courtroom argumentation. Due to this, the area of judicial oratory is the most thoroughly developed of the three. This section occupies pages 71-87 and incorporates within its structure a mixture of material covering disposition.

In addition to the distinction previously mentioned concerning the significance of Cox's work, one other area deserves mentioning. Sandford also makes the observation that much of what Cox wrote was different from the traditional approach prevalent at that time. The content of his Rhethoryke, plus the areas which he chose to place emphasis upon, make him modernistic and approaching the era of the renaissance.

Although there remain in Cox many trances of medievalism--his inclusion of judgment as a canon, his troubled attempt to separate rhetoric from logic, his inconsistent definition of rhetoric as an art of adoration, and his practical restriction of inventio to the topics--he is, by contrast with his predecessors, startlingly modern. His emphasis upon rhetoric as a practical art, his stress upon the supreme importance of inventio, and his inclusion of some material on pathetic proof, all stamp him as the first English rhetorician in vital contact with the renaissance. To dismiss his work merely as a textbook

³⁵Ibid., p. 66.

is to overlook one of the important means by which the new learning was brought to England, and one of the earliest landmarks of critical prose in the vernacular.³⁶

Suggestions for Further Study

Although much of Cox's Rhethoryke was original material, several large portions were taken from such sources as Cicero's De Inventione in the treatment of judicial oratory, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Erasmus, Hermogenes, Hermolous Barbarus, Horace, Livy, Ovid, Plato, Politian, Sallust, Thucydides, Trapezuntius (a paraphraser of Hermogenes), and Virgil. Perhaps the chief source of Cox's work was the Institutiones Rhetoricae published in 1521 by Melanchthon. During the first half of the century there was a close relationship between the English and German scholarship and letters. Cox, like Melanchthon, was an educator and humanist, and inclined to the reformed religious doctrine. When the idea occurred to Cox to write the Arte of Rhethoryke in English, it would be natural for him to rely upon the work recently published by Melanchthon. In 1519 Melanchthon had written a large work of rhetoric entitled De rhetorica, libri tres. Two years later, a much shorter version was compiled to use primarily for school use from the notes of his lectures, and published under the title Institutiones Rhetorica. The first book of the three, treating of Invention, was where Cox drew a large portion of his treatises. I feel it would then be worthy of a thesis for those students versed in the Latin tongue, to examine and analyze the work of Melanchthon. From this analysis could be drawn a

³⁶Sandford, English Theories of Public Address, 1530-1828, p. 29.

comparison with Cox's The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke for purposes of distinguishing both similarities and differences.

Following Cox's Rhethoryke we discover Thomas Wilson's The Arte of Rhetorique, perhaps the greatest work in the Ciceronian tradition by an Englishman. Within this text, Wilson produced a systematic account of each of the five divisions of Cicero's theory of oratory. Wilson's Rhetorique, written in 1553, draws much of its material also from Cicero, much like that of Cox, only for a different purpose.

Cox had been content to translate a rhetorical work of Melanchthon's written early in the sixteenth century and based on medieval adaptations of treatises like Cicero's De Inventione...Wilson endeavored to use the best of Cicero including the De Oratore, of Quintilian and others like them. He did not confine himself to translation - in fact there is little direct translation from the ancients to be found in the book, though many scholars have classified it among the sixteenth-century translations from the classics. Wilson aimed to select the best principles suited to the inculcation of eloquence, or effective public address in English in the England of his day, to adapt, to supplement, and to expand from his own experience and observation according to need; and he obviously wrote the book for mature persons - lawyers, preachers, and the like.³⁷

Furthermore, Wilson drew material from Erasmus, Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria, Cicero's De Inventione, De Oratore, De Partitione Oratoria, and Brutus.³⁸ Wagner also cites Cox's Rhethoryke as another source. To discover the similarities and differences within Cox's Rhethoryke and Wilson's work would also be worthy of a master's thesis and significant both historically and in a rhetorical sense.

³⁷Russell H. Wagner, "Thomas Wilson's 'Arte of Rhetorique,'" Speech Monographs, XXVII, March, 1960, p. 2.

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CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
THE ARTE AND CRAFT OF RHETHORYKE
BY LEONARD COX
WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

BY

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B.S. in Ed., Eastern Illinois University, 1972

ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

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The sixteenth century brought new expressions of literary self-consciousness which was causing the growth of a new literature and the civilization of the Renaissance. Although ancient rhetoric existed, it was modified through the interpretation of Medieval and Renaissance thought. In order to formulate a modern English prose, the inadequate native models had to be disregarded and replaced by foreign teachings and aids. The new learning brought with it new senses of style and form in prose but unfortunately, there were no textbooks in existence written on the subject in English. With this in mind, Cox wrote the first English textbook concerning rhetoric, The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke. It was the purpose of this study to provide a content analysis of this particular English work.

Cox's primary intention was to deal with the area of Invention in his Rhethoryke, excluding the other canons until a later date when he intended to publish another, more complete work. Interwoven within his discussion of Invention is an explanation of disposition, at least of the principal divisions of the speech. Thus in reality, he dealt with two of the four divisions. The book deals with the invention and arrangement of demonstrative, deliberative, and judicial speeches, developing, in practical textbook fashion, every point by precept and through the use of examples referring back to the ancients as sources of these illustrations. Intermingled with his discussion of the three major types of speeches, Cox inserts sub-sections pertaining to the use of logic, the three types of oratory, and the four possible parts of a speech.

The book is a thorough investigation of the topics of Invention. Missing is the ancient ethical and pathetic proof which he only implies in connection with the exordium. Of the three areas, Cox apparently felt the

judicial speech was the most significant due to the relative space allotted to it.

Cox's sources for the Rhethoryke have been traced to include Malancthon, from whom most of the information was drawn, and Cicero's De Inventione, from which his coverage concerning the treatment of judicial oratory was taken. Other sources include the works of Aristotle, Demosthenes, Erasmus, Hermogenes, Hermolous Barbarus, Horace, Livy, Ovid, Plato, Polilian, Sallust, Thucydides, Trapezuntins, and Virgil.

Although there remained in the Rhethoryke many traces of medievalism, Cox is, by contrast with his predecessors, extremely modern. The content of the book stamps him as the first English rhetorician in vital contrast with the renaissance. It is, by any means, one of the earliest landmarks of critical prose in the vernacular.