

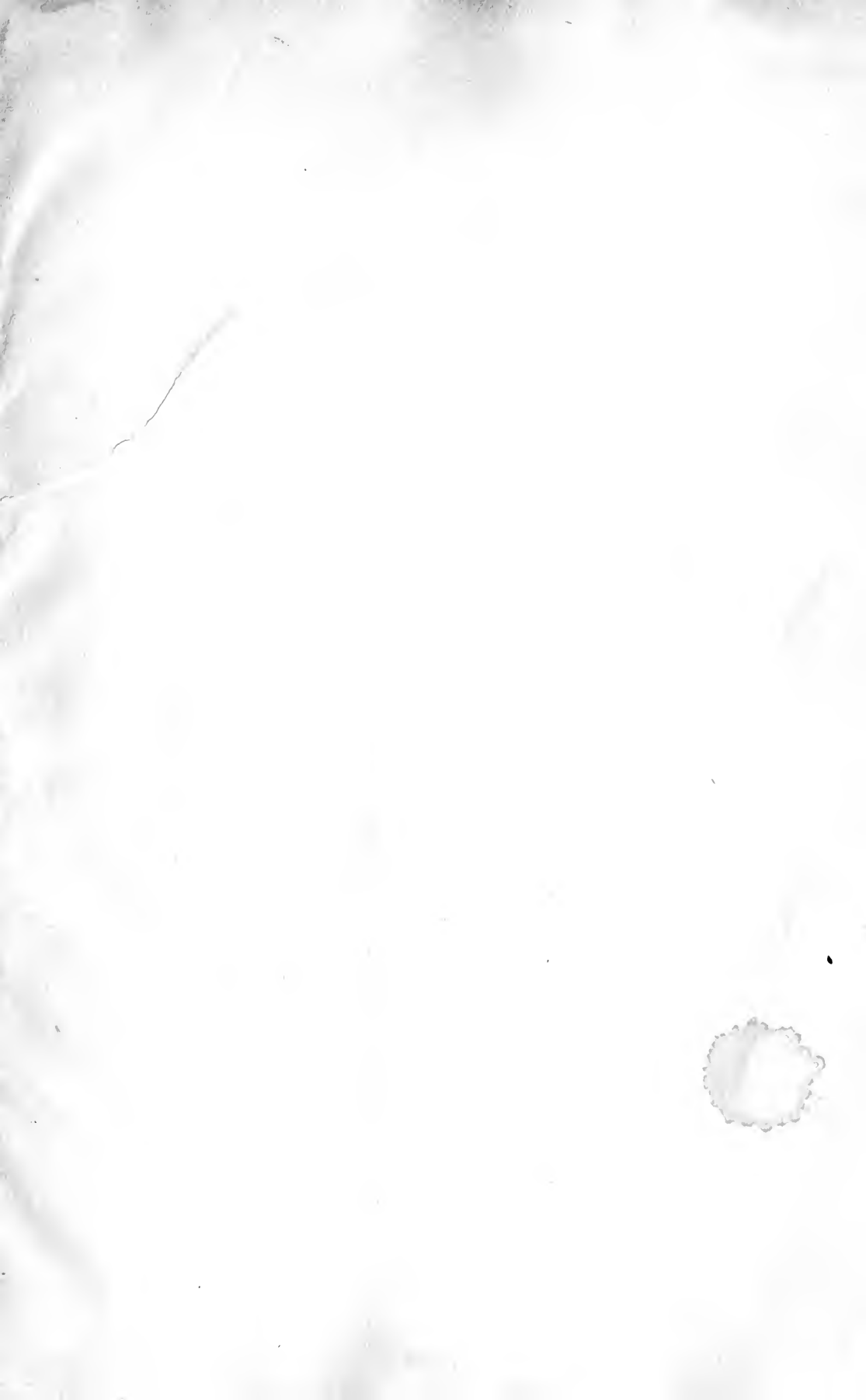
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



3 1761 00358033 9

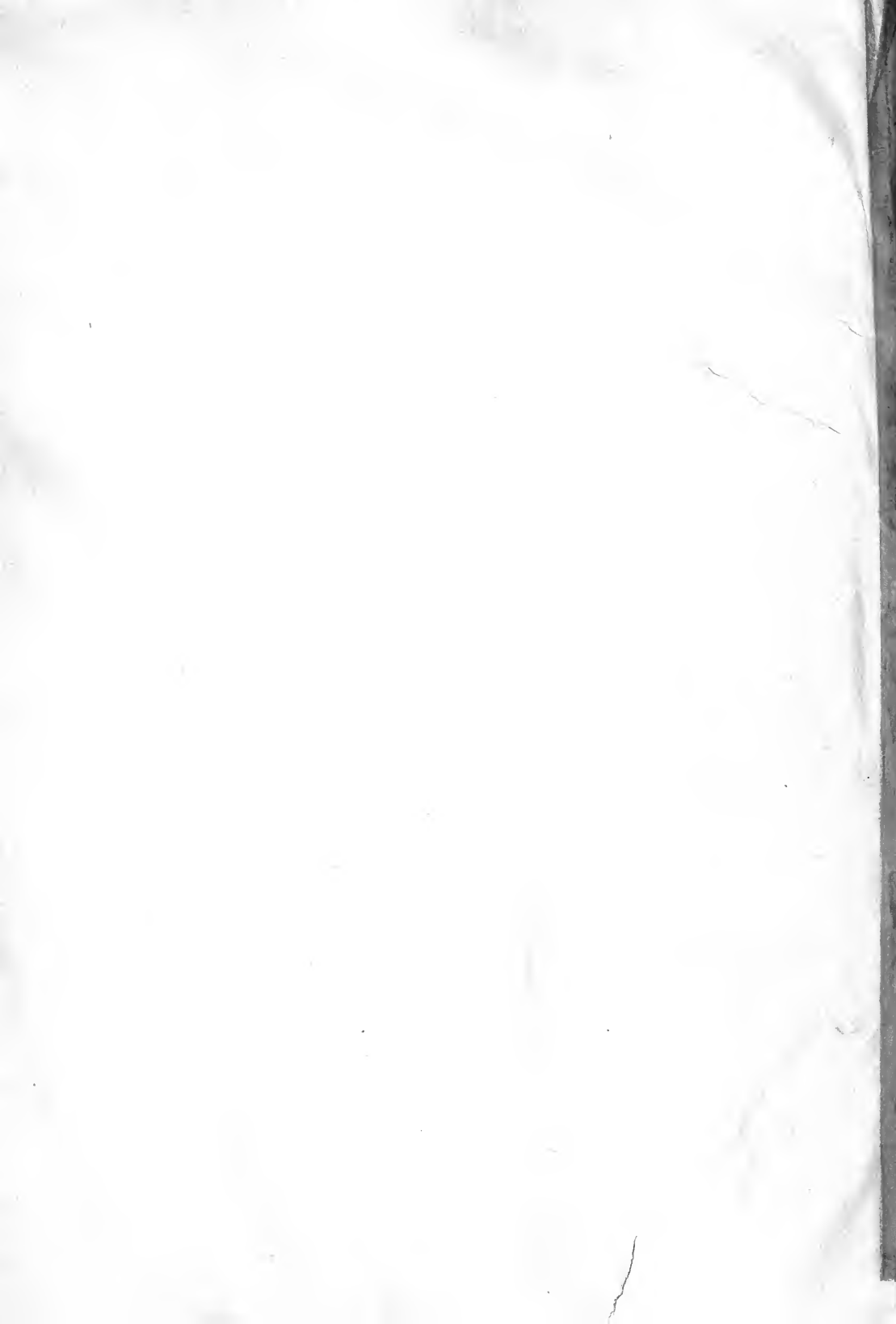
UNIV OF  
TORONTO  
LIBRARY











UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PUBLICATIONS  
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

VOLUME 1

OCTOBER, 1920

THE POEMS OF HENRY HOWARD  
EARL OF SURREY

FREDERICK MORGAN PADELFORD



2385-82  
16.12.29

To

J. E. P.

*Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia sola*

PR

2370

A1

1920



## PREFACE

It is now rather more than a century since George Frederick Nott published his elaborate edition of the works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. Since then no scholarly edition has been attempted. During this time, however, many facts bearing upon the career of Surrey have come to light, a noteworthy biography has been published, studies dealing with various phases of the poetry have appeared, and manuscript versions of many of the lyrics and two fresh texts of the fourth book of the *Æneid* have been discovered. The time therefore seems ripe for a new edition that will take advantage of this fresh knowledge, giving more authoritative readings in the poems and furnishing the equipment needed by the scholar. The present volume aims to meet this need.

I have classified the poems by subject-matter rather than by metrical forms, thinking that this classification may furnish a more human approach. I trust that this arrangement, as well as the titles which I have supplied in place of the long traditional titles in Tottel's *Miscellany*, will meet with the reader's approval. For the convenience of those who wish to make a critical study of the translation of the *Æneid*, I have printed Tottel's version of the fourth book and a version based upon the text in Manuscript Hargrave 205, on opposite pages. The latter version departs from the manuscript readings only where there is strong presumptive evidence that the revisions restore the original. If these revisions have been based upon correct reasoning, this text should approximate Surrey's original version, and should be regarded as the authentic one. If I have erred in restoring the text, it has been on the side of conservatism. The early spellings have been consistently followed throughout, but the punctuation is modern.

Students of Surrey will appreciate how much the Introduction owes to Bapst's scholarly biography of the poet and how much the Critical Notes owe to the researches of former scholars, notably to Koeppel's examination of the Italian sources.

I acknowledge with much gratitude my indebtedness to Miss Gladys D. Willcock of the Royal Holloway College, a new scholar in the English field, who very kindly furnished me with the proof sheets of her collation of the variants in the 1554 edition of the fourth book of the *Æneid*, this expediting the completion of the notes. I would also express my obligations, both longstanding and recent, to John A. Herbert, Esquire, of the British Museum, who placed in my hands the principal manuscript of Surrey's lyrics just after its purchase by the Museum in 1905, and who has more recently secured for me rotographs of rare manuscripts and books. To the Harvard Library I am indebted for the loan of the works of Gawin Douglas. Finally, I wish to recognize the many helpful suggestions of my colleague, Professor Vernon L. Parrington, and to thank my secretary, Mrs. Lois J. Wentworth, for assistance in revising the proofs.

With this volume the University inaugurates a new series of publications, which we hope will contribute to the advancement of scholarship in the field of letters.

FREDERICK MORGAN PADEL FORD.

Seattle, October 20, 1920.



## ERRATA

Page 16, line 10, alter to read: a lad of no birth but of marked talent.

Page 20 eight lines from the foot. Read: *murdrers* for *murdres*.

Page 20, seven lines from the foot, alter to read: With egre thirst to drynke thy guyltles blood.

Page 38, second line from the foot, alter to read: & seithe eke. Oft in her lappe she holds.

Page 41, eight lines from the foot. After *verbs* add: adjectives as nouns, and verbs as nouns.

Page 41, six lines from the foot. Read: *warme* for *warm*.

Page 44, line 12. For *Claire* read *Clere*.

Page 65, Poem 27, line 1. Read *giltlesse* for *glitlesse*.

Page 67. Running head: Love Poems.

Page 175, Textual Notes to 58: Add: H 155 Or *for A*.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	Page
The Dramatic Career of Surrey -----	7
Surrey's Contribution to English Verse-----	37
POEMS	
Love Poems -----	45
Autobiographical Poems -----	68
Moral and Didactic Poems -----	77
Elegiac Poems -----	80
Translations from the Bible -----	83
Translations from the <i>Æneid</i> -----	97
Notes to the Introduction -----	166
Table of Abbreviations -----	168
Textual Notes -----	169
Critical Notes -----	179
Bibliography -----	219
Glossary -----	223
Appendix -----	233
Index of First Lines -----	237



## INTRODUCTION

### THE DRAMATIC CAREER OF SURREY

The poems of Surrey are the lyrical accompaniment of an impressive tragedy. It is the wont of the historian, to be sure, to regard these poems mainly as furnishing an interesting chapter in the development of English verse technique, or as marking the entrance of the Italian tradition into our literature. Yet to approach them with this restricted interest is to forego the more lively pleasure for one that is academic and slighter. Rather, they should be read while the imagination is filled with the tragedy of the young poet's life, a tragedy of superb depth and range, from which these poems were thrown off like chance sparks. Never was there Greek hero who better satisfied than did Surrey the classical requirements of the tragic muse: a young nobleman, favored by birth and by fortune, the most brilliant and engaging figure in a distinguished court, ambitious, resourceful, and impatient to give full expression to his powers, yet compelled to reckon with a tyrannical superior who would brook not the faintest semblance of a rival. Even so—and here the ironical laughter of the gods is heard the loudest—, had the culminating events in the tragedy been delayed but a few days, the life of the hero would have been spared through the death of his foe. The histories of the great families that supplied the Greek dramatists with the materials for their plays provide no example of a career more ideally designed for the uses of tragedy.

Now from the first naive enthusiasms of youth to the moment when, at the age of twenty-nine, he felt death's hand closing around him, Surrey turned to his poetry for companionship, for delight and consolation, and although only a few of the poems are autobiographical in the stricter sense, the poet yet revealed through the idealizing medium of his verse the substantial outlines of his character and of his career. True artist that he was, he enfolded himself for the most part in the half-concealing envelope of his art, but the poems are only the more fascinating because the man Surrey, who stands out boldly in an occasional poem, is in others only a half-revealed, though a very certain presence. The reader should therefore approach the poetry with no mere scientific or antiquarian interest, but as seeking therein the key to a life, brilliant and brief, which was of the very essence of the dramatic.

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, was probably born in 1517.<sup>1</sup> He was the eldest son of Thomas Howard, afterward third Duke of Norfolk, by his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, the ill-fated Duke of Buckingham. Surrey was thus born in the purple, for the Howards and the Staffords represented the highest nobility of the realm. The rise of the Howard family dates back to a shrewd marriage in the early years of the fifteenth century when a certain Robert Howard married Margaret Mowbray. This Margaret Mowbray could boast the royal blood of three realms, for she was descended paternally from Thomas de Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, last son of Edward

I, by his second wife, Margaret of France; and maternally from Edward I by his first wife, Eleanor of Castile. The father of Margaret Mowbray had inherited the Brotherton estate, augmented by gifts from Richard II, and the hereditary titles of Grand Marshal and Earl of Norfolk. This title of Earl of Norfolk had later been raised to that of Duke of Norfolk.

Upon the extinction of the Mowbray family in 1483, Richard III made John Howard, the son of Robert, Duke of Norfolk, gave him the Mowbray estates and the title of Earl Marshal, and conferred upon his son, Thomas, the title of Earl of Surrey. John Howard repaid Richard by taking part in the plot to murder the princes in the Tower, and by giving up his life on Bosworth Field.

When Henry VII became king, Thomas Howard, the son, was imprisoned and shorn of his titles and property. He succeeded in winning the confidence of the sovereign, however, and shortly became a favorite and confidant. His policy was to uphold the one on the throne, and consequently, before the death of Henry, the hereditary titles and all of the estate had been restored to the Howard family, and Howard had even succeeded in obtaining the hand of the Queen's sister, Lady Anne Plantagenet, the third daughter of Edward IV, for his son Thomas. This Duke of Norfolk, like all of the Howards, was a rigorous soldier but a poor diplomat. When seventy years of age he sent a taunting message to James IV of Scotland, and then won the brilliant victory of Flodden Field. But he was no match for the adroit Wolsey in the game of diplomacy and was forced to buckle under to this low-born politician. It is eloquent testimony to the way in which the Tudors reduced the leaders of the old families to dignified officials entirely dependent upon the crown that, though the Duke of Norfolk was given nominal charge of the kingdom while Henry VIII was absent at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, in the following year, 1521, he was forced to preside at the trial of Buckingham, a life-long friend, the head of a family from which he had sought a wife for his eldest son, and a nobleman with whose irritation at the aggrandizement of the King he was in full accord.

Thomas Howard, the third Duke of Norfolk, followed in the footsteps of his father. He excelled in arms but was weak in diplomacy. He was employed in military campaigns against Scotland, Ireland and France, favored the divorce of Queen Katharine, presided at the trial of his niece, Anne Boleyn, and arranged for her execution, waxed fat on the dissolution of the monasteries, hated Wolsey and Cromwell, allowed himself to be outwitted by Thomas Seymour, the Earl of Hertford, and his other enemies, escaped execution only through the timely death of Henry himself, spent the reign of Edward VI in the Tower, and was finally restored to a few years of freedom and service under Mary.

If the public life of the Third Duke of Norfolk was thus full of heat and vicissitude, his private life was even more stormy. His second wife, Elizabeth Stafford, one of the most accomplished women of the time, possessed a jealous and vindictive temper, and the conduct of the Duke gave her abundant opportunity to exercise it. Consequently, after many years of domestic discord, a separation took place in 1533, and the Duke henceforth lived unblushingly with his mistress, Elizabeth Holland, "a churl's daughter," as the proud Duchess testified,



"who was but a washer in my nursery eight years." So deep seated was the resentment of the Duchess that, fourteen years after the separation, she welcomed the opportunity to testify against her husband when he was on trial for his life.

We can better understand this temper of the Duchess of Norfolk when we reflect that she was the daughter of Lady Elinor Percy and thus had the hot blood of the free spirited Northumberlands in her veins. Moreover, if her husband could boast the royal blood of Edward the Confessor and of the ancient houses of France and Castile, was not her father descended from Edward III, a later sovereign, and was not her paternal grandmother sister to the queen of Edward IV! Small wonder that in his early twenties, the child of this marriage was properly described as "the most foolish proud boy that is in England."

Such was the ancestry and such the heritage of Henry Howard. The blood of kings ran in his veins and the pride of kings was in his heart.

It is not known where Surrey was born, but as he was known in his youth as "Henry Howard of Kenninghall," Kenninghall, which was one of the manors of his grandfather, may well have been his birthplace. His early boyhood was probably spent at one and another of the ancestral estates, for the account book of the Duchess for 1523 shows that part of that year was spent at his father's house at Stoke Hall, Suffolk, and part, at his grandfather's home at Hunsdon, Hertfordshire. The child saw virtually nothing of his father during his tender years; from 1520-1525 the Duke was almost continually engaged in military operations either in Ireland or against the Scotch or French, and for several years thereafter was absorbed in state affairs, furthering the divorce of the King, and leading the fight against Wolsey, into whose position he hoped to step. The training of the child therefore devolved upon the mother. The responsibilities of life must have weighed rather heavily upon the Duchess, for, married at the age of fifteen, she was scarcely turned nineteen when this first child was born, and but two years older when she gave birth to a second child, the daughter Mary. Any tenderness between husband and wife had already disappeared, if we may trust the testimony of the Duchess that Norfolk treated her with cruelty at the time of the daughter's birth. Small chance for affection, indeed, between this slip of a girl and a husband twenty-five years her senior, a brutal soldier and a self-absorbed politician, lusting for power! Scant room for kindness in the bright, cold eyes, the sharp nose, and the thin, cruel lips, if Holbein has told his customary truth! And if any sparks of affection had survived, they must have become quite cold, when in 1524 the Duchess saw the father of her husband pass sentence upon her own father for treason and while with one hand he wiped away the tears that he professed to shed, with the other accepted the deeds to a large part of the confiscated estates.

But despite her domestic misery, the Duchess remained a woman with intellectual ideals, and her children should receive the best training that was to be had. She apparently attracted gifted men, for aside from the tutors, who were men of literary attainments, Skelton—with all his grotesqueness the leading poet of the day—wrote his "A goodely Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell" while her

guest. It would seem to have been her ambition to play the part of those accomplished Italian women, such as the Duchesses of Urbino, Ferrara and Milan who made their courts the centers for letters and refined intercourse. The seriousness with which the education of Surrey was undertaken may be judged from the discussion which took place relative to his sister Mary, when it was finally decided that because of her "tender years"—she was then two—she should not be put to her languages for the present.

The tutor was John Clerk, an Oxford man, an author of standing, who possessed a catholic taste which embraced the modern as well as the classical literatures. We do not know exactly what authors were read, but the poet's subsequent familiarity with Virgil, Horace and Martial, on the one hand, and Petrarca, Serafino and Sannazzaro, on the other, shows the general trend of his education. In all probability Clerk grounded his pupil before his twelfth year in Latin, French, Italian and Spanish, for, in dedicating his "Treatise of Nobility" to Norfolk, Clerk commends translations from Latin, Italian and Spanish made by Surrey in his youth, and the treatise "*Opusculum plane divinum de mortuorum resurrectione et extremo iudicio*," dedicated to Surrey himself, is in four languages—Latin, English, French and Italian. Clerk was not only an enthusiast for letters, but a zealous Catholic, as his later imprisonment under Edward shows, and he doubtless sought to awaken the lad's religious sense, and to establish his Catholic preferences. Such encouragement was perhaps hardly necessary, for Surrey as a matter of course shared in that opposition to the protestant wing of the Church which was consistently maintained by the older families. Protestantism was necessarily associated in their minds with the pushing middle class whom the Tudors were constantly encouraging at the expense of a long-established nobility. However little any early religious training may have shown in the conduct of the lad, it was grandly vindicated in the closing days of his life when, for solace in the dark hours, he made translations from the Psalms that breathe the whole spirit of Christian and Catholic faith.

Perhaps the education of the boy, for all his enthusiasm, was not without its occasional shadows, since he lived in an age when the rod was still the potent adjunct of the master, and there may be a boyhood reminiscence in the lines:

I saw the lytle boy, in thought how oft that he  
Did wish of God, to scape the rod, a tall young man to be.

Toward the close of the year 1529 when the youthful Surrey was about to enter his teens, events transpired that suddenly withdrew him from the shelter of a retired home, and presented him to the public as a young man of consequence. That these events greatly stimulated a boy, ambitious and proud, conscious of his father's position in the realm and of the blood and exploits of his ancestors, goes without saying. One of these events was the royal proposal, virtually a command, that Surrey become the companion of the King's illegitimate son, Henry, the Duke of Richmond, a lad sixteen months younger than Surrey, for whom the sovereign felt the greatest affection; the other event was the proposal, urged by Anne Boleyn, that Henry should affiance his daughter, Princess Mary, to the

young Howard. The ambitious Duke was elated enough at the request that his son be companion to Richmond. This elation is reflected in a letter which Eustache Chapuis, the Imperial Ambassador, wrote to the Emperor under the date of December 9, wherein he tells of a dinner that he had with the Duke: "After this he took me by the hand to conduct me to the supper table, and during the repast shewed me a letter from his son in very good Latin, which he desired me to read and give my opinion upon, adding that he was much pleased with the youth's proficiency and advancement in letters, as it was a very good commencement for a project which he had, and would declare to me later in the evening. And so he did, for about midnight, on my leaving the house where the French ambassador and Papal Nuncio still remained, he also left, and though there was a much shorter road to his hotel, insisted on passing by my lodgings and accompanying me thither. In the course of conversation he said to me: 'I told you that I was on many accounts delighted to see my son making so much progress in his studies, and following the path of virtue, and since it is but proper that friends should communicate to each other their most secret affairs and thoughts, I do not hesitate to tell you my ideas on this subject. The King has entrusted to me the education of his bastard son, the duke of Richmond, of whom my own son may become in time preceptor and tutor (*incitateur*), that he may attain both knowledge and virtue, so that a friendship thus cemented promises fair to be very strong and firm, and will be further consolidated by alliance; for the King wishes the Duke to marry one of my daughters.'"<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly, Surrey was made the companion of the royal bastard and the lads were together almost constantly for several years.

In all ages there is no human relationship more noble than the friendships of generous-hearted young men, and the sixteenth century was a period when friendships between men were developed with a peculiar lack of restraint and with an ardency that surprises us today. We get some idea of these emotional friendships in the sonnets of Shakespeare, in the correspondence of Sidney and Languet, in the devotion of Edward II to Gaveston in Marlowe's drama, and in the various episodes of the Legend of Friendship in the *Faerie Queene*. The beautiful friendship that sprang up between the two lads was of such a character, and these were doubtless the happiest years of Surrey's life. In this morning expanse of blue there was nothing to suggest the ugly storms soon to gather.

Two years and nine months were spent at Windsor, a period which the poet, then a prisoner in this very Windsor, later recalled in the pathetic poem beginning:

So crewell prison! How could betyde, alas!  
As prowde Wyndsour, where I, in lust and ioye,  
With a kinges son my childishe yeres did passe,

a poem which is at once a passionate threnody for the dear friend of his youth, whom death had snatched away, and a lament for his own lost boyhood. It was a period of affectionate confidences, of generous emulation in those sports and knightly exercises which became young noblemen and in which these lads were

soon to win golden opinions, and of the first stirrings of romantic passion. To be sure, the verses which describe these tender sentiments seem adapted rather to the experiences of young men than of boys of fourteen and fifteen and doubtless are conformed to the traditions of romantic verse, yet I think we need not take even these lines to be purely fanciful, for, quite aside from the stimulating presence of the young women of the court, Surrey at least had prepared himself for like emotions through dwelling upon the tender laments of Petrarca and his school.

There is nothing that more enlarges the horizon of youth than foreign travel. A different landscape, new styles of architecture, fresh manners and customs, the novelty of foreign attire, the look of foreign faces, and a strange tongue ever in one's ear stimulate the imagination and quicken the mental pulse. Especially is this true if one visit a country where the arts of life have reached a higher plane of refinement than at home. Consequently Henry was anxious that his son should stir abroad, and when in the autumn of 1532 he found it desirable to visit French soil for a seven days' interview with Francis I, he took Richmond and the young Howard with him. In the course of the interview Henry proposed what had doubtless been his intention in bringing the lads with him, that they should remain in France as the guest of the King, in order that their manners might be conformed to the polite models of the French court and their general education advanced. Consequently, as soon as the interview was over, the lads bade goodbye to the English retinue and attended Francis on his journey to Chantilly; not, however, before Surrey had enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing his father decorated by Francis with the collar of the order of Saint Michael. The news that these young English noblemen attended the royal party quickly spread and they were accorded true French courtesy throughout the journey: "My Lorde of Richmonde and my lorde of Surrey in all their journey toward the French courte have been very well welcomed and in all places have had presents of wines with other genteel offres" wrote Richard Tate, an attendant, to Cromwell.<sup>3</sup> Arrived at Chantilly, Francis embraced the Duke of Richmond and remarking that he now had four sons, presented the English lads to the three princes, with directions that they should be lodged together.<sup>4</sup> In age the five boys were well suited to companionship. Francis, the dauphin, in his fifteenth year, was twelve months younger than Surrey; Henry, Duke of Orleans, was in his fourteenth year, three months older than Richmond; and Charles, Duke of Angoulême, was ten. During the greater part of the visit, which lasted nearly a year, the boys were thrown almost constantly together, and the sincerity of the friendships and the impression which Surrey made upon these carefully nurtured French boys is reflected in a letter which the English Ambassador, Sir John Wallop, wrote to Henry VIII in 1540, several years after the visit and four years after the death of Richmond: "He (Henry, now Dauphin by virtue of the death of Francis) began to speke of my lorde of Richemond lamenting his death greatly, and so did M. d' Orleans, (Charles) likewise; they both then asking for my Lorde of Surrey giving great praise unto hym as well for his wisdom and soberness as also good learning."<sup>5</sup> Surrey seemed to have inspired Francis himself with equal respect and

confidence, for when in 1546 Francis learned that Surrey had been accused of treason, he was much surprised and questioned the justice of the accusation.

In the course of their sojourn Richmond and Surrey had an opportunity to visit practically all parts of France. After a prolonged stay at beautiful Fontainebleau they attended Francis in the spring to Lyons, where he expected to hold an interview with Clement VII. The journey was a leisurely one as the King desired to inspect on the way as many localities as possible. As the Pope asked a delay in the interview, Francis decided to visit the southern provinces of France, and this gave Surrey an opportunity to see the old and picturesque civilization that lay along the Mediterranean—Toulouse, Beziers, Montpellier. What must have been the sentiments of this imaginative youth as he journeyed through this land of "sun-burnt mirth," eloquent with the mythical memories of a great school of lyric poets, or as he first gazed upon the blue waters of the Mediterranean, waters which had borne Odysseus and Jason and Aeneas, and whose waves had washed immemorially the magic shores of Italy and Greece and Carthage!

Yet it is not a little strange that only one reference to this trip occurs in all of Surrey's poetry and that recalls—probably on the occasion of his return to France for military duty in 1544—the intense heat that he had experienced on this midsummer trip to the south.<sup>6</sup> In the meantime the Duke of Norfolk had come again to France, this time to act as the representative of Henry at the proposed conference with the Pope. His persistent efforts to alienate Francis from the Holy See were plainly wearisome to the monarch and Francis was no doubt relieved when Norfolk announced, in the middle of August, that Henry had recalled him. But of far greater moment to the two friends was the royal command that Richmond should return forthwith to England, in order that he might wed Mary Howard, a sister of Surrey, now a maiden of fourteen, whose brilliancy and charms were already winning admiration. This news undoubtedly gave the liveliest satisfaction to both Richmond and Surrey, and they thus found their friendship cemented by still another bond. In the early days of October they set foot again on English soil.

We have stated above that in the year 1529 Surrey was being suggested as a suitable husband for the Princess Mary. This proposal originated with Anne Boleyn, who in the latter part of that year urged the union upon the King. To the Duke of Norfolk, who always regarded marriage in a commercial light, this proposal was undoubtedly most pleasing, and Surrey himself was old enough to appreciate its significance. Anne's purpose in urging this marriage was of course to strengthen her own claim upon the King through this union of the two houses. The King would seem to have given partial consent to the project. In October of the following year, however, Anne completely changed her attitude and so effectually opposed the marriage that she compelled the disappointed and reluctant Norfolk to affiance his son to Lady Francis Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford. It is uncertain just what motive actuated Anne in this change; perhaps she was afraid that she would herself be affianced to Surrey, for

in June 1530 her father was reported to be urging such a match, but more probably she had come to see what the Imperial Ambassador was quick to see,<sup>7</sup> that if Mary and Surrey were married, Norfolk would lose all interest in furthering Anne's cause with the King and would trust to the marriage of the children for his influence. The contract for Surrey's marriage to Lady Francis was accordingly signed in February 1532 and the marriage followed shortly, though, because of their youth, Surrey and his wife did not live together until 1535. Youthful as he was, Surrey was not too young to appreciate the golden opportunity which fortune had thus snatched away from him. With the buoyancy of youth, however, he probably put aside his disappointment, especially as fortune seemed to be smiling upon him in so many other ways.

We hear little of Surrey in the two years that followed his return from France. Presumably he was at court with Richmond. This arrangement would have been to Richmond's liking, and no other life would have satisfied a young man with intellectual tastes so cultivated and manners so refined. Even then the court, at the best somewhat provincial, must have seemed cramped to a youth of cosmopolitan interests. This may well have been the period when Surrey produced much of his lighter verse, for his formal education was now complete, he was overflowing with exuberant spirits, and he had not yet assumed the burden of military and diplomatic services. His year at the French court had shown him the honor which attends the poet or man of letters in a cultivated society, and he set about winning for himself the immortal crown of laurel; he would be the first poet of modern England, the Petrarca of Albion. Accordingly he experimented with the sonnet and with the epigram; with the terza rima, the rhyme royal, the ottava rima and the alternate sixes and sevens; now translating, now adapting, and now composing independently. This early polite verse, though superficial in emotion and sometimes awkward and heavy, more often is spirited and graceful, with occasional bits of nature description that have a breath and reality worthy of the best English tradition, and justifies Sidney's observation that many of the lyrics "taste of a noble birth and are worthy of a noble mind."

Such is the first act in the drama of Surrey's life. It shows a youth whose lines had indeed fallen in pleasant places and who had every reason to feel that fortune had chosen him for her minion. With the exception of the domestic troubles of his parents and such disappointment as he may have felt in the frustration of the proposed marriage with Mary, his life had been quite free from cloud. A romantic comedy has its reverses, but they merely serve as shading, and Surrey's career gave promise of being such a comedy, certainly not a tragedy.

But the year 1536, which ushers in Act II, brought the realities of life home with telling force. On March 10 Surrey's first child was born<sup>8</sup> and this young husband of nineteen found himself face to face with the responsibilities of parenthood. On May 15 occurred the trial of Anne Boleyn, and Surrey was forced to act the part of Earl Marshal in place of his father who, as Lord Treasurer, presided. Surrey knew the passionate nature of his cousin, but he knew as well

the vile motives that prompted the King, and he felt the utmost contempt for the sovereign's conduct. Close upon the heels of the execution followed Henry's disquieting marriage to Jane Seymour, a representative of the rival house which was pitted against the Howards in a bitter struggle to hold first place in influence with the King. The following month another relative fell a victim to the King's tyranny, when an uncle, Thomas Howard, was committed to the tower for having secretly affianced Margaret Douglas, one of the intimate friends of the Duchess of Richmond and probably of the poet himself. The Duchess had actually interested herself in the affair to the extent of shielding the clandestine meetings, and Surrey may well have been a party to them. But the most crushing blow fell in July, when, on the twenty-second, the Duke of Richmond died, and a companionship peculiarly of the heart was broken. The poet was utterly disconsolate, and such was the depth of his feeling that for two years he was reported ill from the effects of his grief.

In the autumn he was required to assist his father in repressing the rebellion in the north, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. This was at the best a sorry business, for since three of the demands of the rebels were for reforms that the Howards above all things desired—the re-establishment of the nobility in their time-honored position of influence and authority, the suppression of upstart statesmen, and the return to the old religion—, at heart the family must have been in sympathy with the rebellion. It was thoroughly characteristic of the policy of Henry thus to compromise his subjects, and such a high-spirited young man as Surrey found his position peculiarly galling. If Surrey was not incautious enough actually to express his sympathies, they were surmised, and in this connection happened an affair which threatened to be serious. It seems that Thomas, Lord Darcy, who had been prominently identified with the Pilgrimage of Grace, after the pardon granted by the King had taken up arms afresh, and had been condemned to die therefor. In his final testimony he alleged that, though Surrey served among the royal troops, his heart was with the rebels. This accusation was reported to Surrey, probably by some member of the Seymour faction, in the park at Hampton Court; whereupon Surrey who, with all of his open and generous qualities, possessed an uncontrollable temper, struck his accuser. It was a good English way of vindicating ones self, but, unfortunately, the penalty for such an offense on the royal premises was the loss of the right hand. In this extreme situation, the Duke of Norfolk, who was necessarily detained in Yorkshire, swallowed his pride and implored the good offices of Cromwell. Cromwell, who saw the political advantage in compliance, used his influence with the Privy Council, and the offender was merely confined at Windsor. The confinement did not begin before July twelfth, as on that date Surrey was reported ill at Kenninghall, and it lasted not more than four months. Surrey probably employed his time in writing poetry, for three of his poems, "29," "30" and "31", were clearly written then. The first is a graceful compliment to Elizabeth Fitzgerald, a little maiden whom he had recently met and who had quite caught his fancy; the second is a regret for the

"rakehell life" that he is missing; and the third is the noble lament for the golden days of youth and friendship to which we have alluded above.<sup>9</sup>

In November the Queen, Jane Seymour, died, and the Howards saw the prestige of the rival family diminished accordingly. Freshly relieved from his confinement and aware of the royal disapproval, Surrey attended the funeral procession from Hampton to Windsor as a principal mourner. Thereafter he retired to Kenninghall and spent the remainder of that year and the following in privacy. Henry had no mind to call him back to court. The poet turned again to domestic interests and to his verse, giving generously of his time to his page, Thomas Churchyard, a lad of no birth of marked talent, in whom he saw a poet of promise. But the Duke of Norfolk was not a man to wait patiently for the return of favor. With his son virtually ostracized, and his daughter, in the happy phrase of Bapst, a "déclassée" by virtue of her premature widowhood—she was called "the maiden, wife and widow all in one," since her marriage to Richmond was never actually consummated—, he bestirred himself to think of some means of bettering the family situation. When at a loss for other means of reinstating his fortune, the Duke always turned to a marriage, and in this case he bethought himself of a match between the Duchess of Richmond and Sir Thomas Seymour, the brother of Hertford. It went a bit against the grain to make an alliance with a newly-rich family, but Norfolk characteristically explained this away by saying that "no good came by the conjunction of high bloods together." The advantages were manifest: his daughter, as aunt to the Heir Apparent, would at once assume a leading position at court; his son would be brought from retirement; and a long-standing family hostility would be at an end. Sir Thomas was pleased with overtures from so ancient a house, the King was acquiescent, and the Duchess was seemingly holding the proposal in the balance, when she abruptly left the court and returned to Kenninghall. History has never properly cleared up the affair, but the marriage did not take place. Bapst is probably right in his conjecture that Surrey, who had conceived an intense antipathy for these upstart nobility, violently opposed the marriage and dissuaded his sister from it. Certain it is that he upbraided her in the bitterest terms when the proposal was again made a few years later. So the last scene of Act Two in the drama of Surrey's life must be placed at Kenninghall, a scene of intense emotion between brother and sister. The curtain falls upon the act with Surrey removed from the royal favor and the Seymours more embittered than ever by this last affront.

The third act is one of great dramatic power, in which, through successive scenes, one beholds the fortunes of the Howards raised to the highest pitch, only to see them undergo a violent reversal in scenes of spectacular brilliancy.

In December 1538, Henry suddenly found himself confronted with a hostile league which embraced the Empire, France and Scotland. This exigency called for prompt action and the preparations for defense were hurriedly apportioned among the nobility. Surrey was accordingly brought from his retirement to organize the defence in Norfolk. He eagerly seized the opportunity to retrieve himself and evidently he was successful to some extent in mollifying



the ill will of the King, for in June he was called to London to take part in the funeral ceremonies in honor of Isabella, the wife of the Emperor. When the war cloud blew over, interest was transferred to the marriage of Henry to Anne of Cleves, and though this marriage project which Cromwell had so skillfully nursed must have been repugnant to a family of strong anti-protestant sympathies, Surrey accepted it with grace, seemingly bent on winning back the complete good will of the sovereign. He was so far successful that he was chosen as one of the party to await with the King the arrival of Anne at Greenwich,<sup>10</sup> but it is not known whether or no he was one of the favored few who accompanied the impatient King on that memorable New Year's day to Rochester, where he stole his first look at the charms of the German beauty. Later, when a tournament at Westminster was declared for May day in honor of the nuptials and challenges were even sent abroad to France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Scotland, Surrey was quick to respond, impelled perhaps by a two fold motive, his eagerness to win glory and his desire to please the King. Either because of rank or of established prowess, Surrey was the first to enter the lists, and in the engagement with swords rode against Sir John Dudley with such fury that at the first course they both lost their gauntlets.<sup>11</sup> In the meantime the Duke of Norfolk, as the leader of the reactionary party, had been pushing his policies. He had succeeded in getting the bill of the famous six articles, which meant a return to more Catholic ecclesiastical policy, through the Parliament of 1539, and on the strength of this legislation had sought, in February 1540, to wean Francis I from the Emperor. To this proposal, however, the marriage of Henry to a German protestant was an insuperable obstacle, and the effort failed. But when in the late spring the King's real attitude towards his marriage became known, the Duke saw that the opportunity for which he had been waiting so long had at last come. Who was it that had caused suspicion and unrest within the realm? Cromwell. Who was it that had kept England constantly on the verge of war with the great powers abroad? Cromwell. Who was it that had treasonably duped his dear sovereign into this clownish marriage? Cromwell. The King and the nobility were one: Cromwell's hour had struck. What student of English history does not recall that dramatic scene in the Council Chamber at Westminster on the tenth of June when, as the Lieutenant of the Tower entered with the order of arrest, the Duke, laying his eager fingers upon Cromwell, cried, "My Lord of Essex, I arrest you on the charge of high treason", and then tore from his neck the decoration of St. George, while the Earl of Southampton snatched from him the garter! The young Earl of Surrey was jubilant: "Now is that fond churl dead," said he, "so ambitious of other's blood! now is he stricken with his own staff."<sup>12</sup> On the twelfth of July Parliament annulled the hateful marriage; on July 28, Cromwell was beheaded. The star of the Howards was in its ascendancy; it must be fixed full and fair in its heavens. The Duke knew exactly how that end was to be achieved, and on the eighth of August the King married Catherine Howard. At last here was a Queen to the King's liking, a Queen young, strong and beautiful, who gave every promise of satisfying the monarch and the aspirations

of the realm. Surely the Howards had come to their own! Surrey, confident and happy, returned with fresh enthusiasm to the pursuit of his ambitions as a humanist. Prompted by the advent of an Italian translation in blank verse of several books of the *Æneid* by men of note, he turned the second and fourth books of the epic into English, himself employing the new medium of blank verse. His intention evidently was to outdo the Italians themselves, and he clearly did surpass them in vigor and conciseness. At the same time he was busied with the erecting of a pretentious mansion, Mount Surrey, on St. Leonard's Hill, near Norwich, which was to illustrate to his countrymen the nobility and chasteness of the Greek architecture. His home was to be a centre from which would radiate the classical spirit. The King leaned heavily upon the Duke these days, and the Earl of Surrey was showered with favors. In May 1541, on nomination of the King, Surrey was made a Knight of the Garter,<sup>13</sup> a unique distinction for a young man of three and twenty, not of the royal family. About the same time, he was made seneschal of the royal domains in the county of Norfolk, and in September was appointed steward of Cambridge University, a position previously held by Cromwell.<sup>14</sup> These were but an earnest of the favors to come, when suddenly on November 13 the disclosure of the Queen's guilt broke upon the court! Cranmer and the protestant leaders could hardly conceal under the cloak of sympathy and concern for the person of the King, the real elation that they felt; the Howards bowed before the storm, benumbed with terror. The enemies of the family, who had ill brooked its late triumphs, rose on every side, and the accusing finger was pointed at one member after another. The arrests included the aged wife of Surrey's grandfather, the second Duke of Norfolk; Lord William Howard, her son; the Countess of Bridgewater, her daughter; Lady Howard, the wife of Sir William; and other members of the household: all of whom were held to be cognizant of Catherine's past. On December 22, Lord and Lady Howard were condemned to perpetual seclusion and were deprived of their properties; on February 11, a like sentence awaited the aged Duchess and the Countess of Bridgewater, and two days later the Queen was executed. At this wretched execution, the young Earl was present, heard the inspired confession of his cousin and saw her head severed from her body. Was it as a reward for his attitude when the Queen was arraigned, Bapst asks, that on December 8, 1541, the King bestowed certain manors in Norfolk and Suffolk upon the Earl?<sup>15</sup> Perhaps, but the Earl bitterly resented the harsh, and probably unjust treatment of the aged Duchess and her children, and he voiced this resentfulness in a poem written in the fall.<sup>16</sup> To the intense feeling that these events aroused may well be attributed one of the most daring poems that a reckless young man ever composed, the sonnet in which by implication he compares the King to Sardanapalus<sup>17</sup> who "murdered hymself to shew some manfull dede," a poem that burns with suppressed rage from the first word to the last.

But that destiny which laughs at the fruitless ambitions of man and woos that it may taunt, was not yet satisfied. It would still pursue its victim with its mocking laughter. Therefore, on July 13, 1542, the young Earl found him-

self committed to the "pestilent ayres" of the Fleet. The bitter disappointment and chagrin that had attended the reverses of the family fortunes had left Surrey little the master of himself; consequently, forgetting to profit by the past, he allowed himself once more to give way to his temper and for the second time struck a courtier, this time a certain John a Leigh. We do not know what was the cause of the disagreement, but Bapst has made a conjecture that is at least plausible. When Surrey was on trial in 1547, his cousin, Sir Edmund Knyvet, recalled that the Earl had once taken back into his employ a former servant, who in the meantime had been in the service of Reginald Cardinal Pole, the exiled English prelate and arch-enemy of the King. Now in the year 1541, one John Leigh had been summoned before the Council for having twice interviewed the Cardinal while on the continent, and in excusing his own conduct, Bapst asks, may not this Leigh have compromised Surrey by alluding to the episode of the servant.<sup>18</sup> In a letter to the Council, Surrey frankly attributes his conduct to "the fury of reckless youth", and yet the substance of the quarrel must have involved the whole question of his conduct and loyalty, for he requests that "duryng my affliction, in which tyme malyce is most redye to sclauder the innocent, ther may be made a whole examynation of my life." To Surrey's added request that he be transferred to a more healthy place of confinement, the Council conceded, and on July 29, he was transferred to Windsor. There he met the King, and after subscribing to a heavy fine in case of further affront to John Leigh, was released.<sup>19</sup>

In the early fall occurred another episode that caused the poet intense mortification and called forth a fresh burst of temper. We know of this episode from the poem, "Eache beeste can chuse his feere," in which under the guise of an allegory, Surrey represents himself, the lion, scornfully rebuffed at some function by a lady, the wolf, to whom he humbly offered a courtesy. The function was given by Surrey himself, for he assigns that circumstance as a reason why he could not show his resentment at the time, and it was seemingly given in honor of the lady, for after she had scornfully refused his approaches she is made to say:

"Lyon . . . . . yf thow hadest knowen my mynde before,  
"Thow hadst not spent thie travaile thus, and all thie payne forlorne."

The Earl, proud with the pride of youth and noble blood, was deeply wounded by this slight, and the poem throbs with angry scorn. He calls to mind the fierce prowess and stern heroism of his family: of his grandfather, the hero of Flodden Field,

a lyon of the race,  
That with his pawes a crowned kinge devoured in the place;

of his uncle, the lover of Margaret Douglas, who willingly sought his death, "for loss of his true love;" of the dowager Duchess of Norfolk and her children, who were even then forced to linger in pain worse than death. With this hardihood, he contrasts the wolf-like cowardice of the lady's family, treacherous to their friends. Finally he dedicates himself to an ecstasy of revenge:

"In the revendge wherof, I vowe and sweare therto,  
 A thowsand spoyles I shall commytt I never thought to do;  
 And yf to light on you my happ so good shall be,  
 I shall be glad to feede on that that wold have fed on me."

Who was this "fayre beast" of "fresh hew" in whose honor Surrey had thus vainly sought "to shew a friendlie cheare?" The traditional association of the names of Henry Howard and Anne Stanhope, the wife of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford,<sup>20</sup> and the fact that the escutcheon of the Stanhopes was supported by two wolves, leaves little doubt that she it is to whom the poem is addressed. In Tottel's *Miscellany*, the poem is entitled, "A Song Written by the Earle of Surrey to a Ladie that refused to Daunce with him," and this sixteenth century title probably gives the correct circumstance.

Surrey may have been temporarily fascinated by this court beauty, whom he plainly charges with having lured him on, or he may have given the ball for the sake of policy and perhaps at the instigation of the Duke, in an effort to help mend the broken fortunes of the family. In any case, the outcome was disastrous, and widened still further the breach between the Howards and the Seymours. No power on earth could now reconcile these two houses, and therein was involved the ultimate catastrophe in the tragedy of Surrey's life.

In the late fall, Surrey accompanied his father, who had been placed in command of military operations against Scotland, to the north. The real fighting took place at Solway Moss. Surrey, who remained with the Duke, merely assisted in a brief excursion of plunder and burning conducted in the barbaric manner that had made terrible the name of Howard. This was Surrey's first real military service, but there was nothing to gratify the young man's lust for glory. Indeed, since in one of his poems, in which he apparently alludes to this northern expedition, he says that it was "spite that drave me into Boreas raigne",<sup>21</sup> we may be warranted in concluding that he was reluctantly pressed into this campaign by the King, who felt that it was high time for the energy of this troublesome young man to be diverted into some safer channel.

This act, so dramatic in its rise and fall, so portentous for the future, closes with elegiac strains. Wyatt had died while Surrey was in the north, and on his return he wrote poems in honor of the dead poet. The events of the past year had given the younger poet sympathy for a man who, though having political and religious sympathies opposite to his own, had lived a heroic life, superior to the enmity and jealousies of little men. In such lines as the following, it is evident that Surrey is interpreting Wyatt's experience in the light of his own, and that with prophetic imagination he foresees his own death and fame:

Some, that watched with the murdres knyfe,  
 With egre thirst to drynke thy guyltles lyfe,  
 Whose practyse brake by happye end of lyfe,  
 Weape envyous teares to here thy fame so good.

Indeed, the three poems in memory of Wyatt are to all intents autobiographical. For the first time the poetry of Surrey reflects the compassion, because of the kinship, of suffering. He was learning the great lessons of life, yet so as by fire.

The fourth act opens, by way of relief, with a serio-comic scene, quite in the spirit of the merry escapades of Prince Hal and his comrades. This scene shows us the more companionable side of Surrey's character, and we behold him the prince of good fellows leading his merry pals on midnight adventures. It is fortunate that the drama admits the scene, for we need this picture of free-hearted and generous companionship to correct the impression that Surrey held himself aloof from his fellows with supercilious pride. Among his companions in this merry revelry were Sir Thomas Wyatt, the son of the poet, Thomas Clere, Surrey's companion and squire, John Clere, his brother, and a certain William Pickering, of whom nothing more is known than his intimacy with the poet. The rendezvous of these merry spirits was in Lawrence Lane, at the house of Mistress Arundel, the Dame Quickly of the scene. There was doubtless many a lark here on the long winter nights, but one night, in search of fresh amusement, the young men sallied forth, went about the streets singing, shot "pellets" from their stone bows at the men whom they chanced to meet, broke the windows of residences and churches, and generally painted the town red. Another night they took boat on the Thames to Southwark, and shot at the "queans" who congregated there. Naturally there was a great clamor in the city, and the offenders were traced to Mistress Arundel's house. She tried loyally to shield her guests, who were probably a good source of income, but murder will out. The names of the offenders were taken, and the matter brought to the Privy Council. Not only were the young revellers accused of the above misdemeanors, but also of eating meat in Lent, which was a violation of royal decree. Brought before the Council, Surrey alleged a license for the eating of meat, but with that frank honesty which was one of his most engaging traits of character, confessed the impropriety of his midnight escapades. As the old record runs: "And touching the stonebowes, he coulde nott denye butt he hadde very evyll done therein; submitting himself therefore to such ponissement as sholde to them be though good. Whereupon he was committed to the Fleet."<sup>22</sup> His conduct was in pleasing contrast to that of Wyatt and Pickering, who tried to deny their guilt and were committed to the Tower. Surrey might have escaped merely with a reprimand, but the Earl of Hertford, with a show of legal gravity that was designed to hide his real motives, remarked that "A secret and unobserved contempt of the law is a close undermining of authority, which must be either itself in indulging nothing, or be nothing in indulging all."<sup>23</sup>

In connection with the trial there came out testimony which, though not seriously regarded at the time, was fraught with consequence. It may have reflected the kind of talk that passed between Surrey and his friends when flushed with wine; it may have been but bourgeois gossip elated at the distinction of having so eminent a person as the Earl frequenting Lawrence Lane. This testimony, as given in the contemporary records, is full of fine local color. Under date of Jan. 24, 1543 occurs the following entry: "Examination of Ric. Bourne, merchant tailor . . . On 19 Jan. was at the house of Andrew Castell,

butcher, in St. Nicholas Shalmelles in London when a maid servant of . . . . Arundell in St. Lawrence Lane came to complain that Castell had deceived her with a knuckle of veal and desired in future to have the best, for 'peers of the realm should thereof eat and besides that a prince.' Asked what prince? She answered 'The Earl of Surrey.' Said 'he was no prince, but a man of honor, and of more honor like to be.' To which she said 'Yes, and oughts other than good should become of the King he is like to be King.' Answered 'It is not so,' and she said 'It is said so.'"<sup>24</sup> And under date of April 2: "Mylicent Arundel confesses that once when my lord of Surrey was displeased about buying of cloth she told her maids in the kitchen how he fumed, and added 'I marvel they will thus mock a prince.' Why,' quoth Alys, her maid, 'is he a prince?' 'Yea Mary! is he,' quote this deponent, 'and if aught should come at the King but good his father should stand for King'. Upon further examination she cannot recollect speaking the last words 'and if aught, etc.'

"Joan Whetnall confesses that talking with her fellows touching my lord of Surrey's bed she said the arms were very like the King's, and she thought that 'if aught came at the King and my lord Prince, he would be King after his father.'"<sup>25</sup>

Again confined to the Fleet, Surrey turned once more to poetry for his diversion and on this occasion composed a waggish satire on London in which he pretends that inasmuch as the besotted inhabitants of this "false Babylon" were so lost in trespasses and sins that nothing short of violence could arouse them, he took this means to bring them to a sense of their spiritual condition. In the language of Ezekiel and of Revelation, he prophesies the wrath that will fall on the city, and concludes with the praise which will ascend to heaven from the lips of the righteous for this vindication of justice.<sup>26</sup>

But the time had come when this restless young man was to have a more legitimate outlet for his energy. However irritated Henry might be from time to time by the conduct of the Howards, he was too alive to his own interests and the interests of the nation to ignore the fact that the Howards had a genius for military affairs beyond that of any other family in the realm, and he confidently expected the young Earl of Surrey, brave, intrepid, versatile, to be as doughty a fighter and as skillful a general as his father and grandfather had been. It was therefore to be desired that he be given every opportunity for practical military training, especially as he had now reached the age of twenty-six and had seen no warfare of any account. Accordingly, as a body of English troops were engaged in the summer and fall of 1543 in assisting the Emperor in besieging Landrecy, then in the hands of the French, Surrey was sent thither, in October, with letters from Henry to Charles V, and to the English commander, Sir John Wallop, requesting them to give the young nobleman every opportunity for observing military operations. This request was scrupulously observed, and Surrey himself showed the greatest enthusiasm to learn and to excel. Immediately upon his arrival he made an exhaustive survey of the plan of the siege and then, desirous of getting into action as soon as possible, hastened

to join a detachment of the Imperial troops which had been sent to make a surprise attack upon Guise. He arrived just in time to take part in the retreat, which was necessitated by the arrival of French auxiliaries. We do not know just what part he played in the campaign thereafter, but when at the conclusion of the hostilities he returned to England, he left with the hearty good wishes and admiration of Charles and his generals. Shortly before his departure, he was received in special audience by the Emperor, and in the course of the interview had placed in his hands the following letter to Henry: "Most noble, most excellent and most puissant Prince, our very dear and much beloved brother and cousin, we commend ourselves to you with all affection. As my cousin, the count of Sorey (Earl of Surrey), is returning home, We shall be relieved from the necessity of writing a longer letter, since he himself will be able to tell you the occurrences of these parts. We will only add that he (the Earl) has afforded Us and Our men in the field good testimony of whose son he is, and will not be in fault in imitating the Duke (his father) and his ancestors, with such natural dexterity and gentle heart that there has been no necessity of teaching him anything, and that you will not give him orders that he does not know how to execute."<sup>27</sup>

The young Earl also presented himself to the Emperor's sister, the queen of Hungary, to take formal leave and was treated by her with like consideration. Surrey's intellectual grace and refined address never failed to impress the French and Spanish. In this respect they were better able to appreciate him than were his own countrymen, who lacked in urbanity and the amenities of a cultivated society. He possessed what Englishmen of the day did not possess and could not understand, the qualities which the southern Europeans embrace in the term "the gentle heart." It was perhaps because of these golden opinions won abroad, that Henry made Surrey, upon his return, the royal cupbearer.

In the few months that now intervened before Surrey was again called to the field, he busied himself with the completion of Mount Surrey. His tastes outran his pocketbook, however, and this venture caused him much financial embarrassment. Surrey was evidently much interested in his home and in his family, but he was able to give little time to the education of his children and he engaged as their tutor the wandering scholar, Hadrianus Junius, who remained for several years in his household and from time to time embarrassed the Earl with his fulsome verses.

In the summer of 1844, Henry resumed military operations against France in conjunction with the Emperor, and Surrey now had an opportunity to demonstrate how thoroughly he had learned the lessons of the preceding year. The plan of campaign was for the main body of Imperial troops to press towards Paris from the east, and the English, from the north. Accordingly, Henry put two armies in the field, one under the Duke of Norfolk to attack Montreuil, with the aid of a detachment of the Imperial forces, the other to besiege Boulogne under his personal direction. Norfolk's army was the first to be placed in the field and crossed the Channel early in June. In the expedition, Surrey held the post of

marshal of the field, with the duties of choosing the camp and disposing the troops variously therein. Upon arriving before Montreuil, the young marshal was not at all satisfied with the ground picked out by the Imperial generals for the English camp and, much to the elation of his father, showed his independent judgment by choosing another site. In the meantime, when the French commander at Boulogne saw this English force pass by, he anticipated that Montreuil was the objective, and ignorant that a second army would soon be launched against Boulogne, transferred to Montreuil a large part of his force. Consequently, as time passed, Montreuil proved a difficult nut to crack and September found the defence still effective. We hear of Surrey's name only once in this interim. It seems that the English were to have provisions from the Netherlands, but as the commissariat was inadequate, a raid on the surrounding country was effected in which Surrey took part, and which returned to camp on September 2 with abundant provisions and news of towns pillaged and burned.<sup>28</sup>

On the eleventh of September Surrey visited the King before Boulogne, probably sent by his father to report the progress of the siege of Montreuil. He arrived just in time to witness the demolition of the fortress by the English mines.

When Norfolk learned of the fall of Boulogne, he redoubled his efforts to take Montreuil. A stubborn attack was made in an effort to carry the fortifications, but it was unsuccessful. The engagement, however, showed the intrepidity and valor of Surrey, for in his eagerness to inspire his troops and to win distinction for himself, he completely outran his support and was surrounded by the enemy. In this critical situation he was saved only by the efforts of his squire, Thomas Clere, who received a wound which ultimately cost him his life. Surrey commemorated this sacrifice in a sonnet written in memory of his faithful attendant.<sup>29</sup> His affection for this young companion, which found generous expression in gifts that he could ill afford to make, and Clere's devotion to him are further evidence of the noble quality of Surrey's friendships.

As the Emperor treacherously concluded an independent peace with France, thus compelling England to face the entire French force, the operations against Montreuil were abandoned, and Henry had to content himself with the acquisition of Boulogne. October found Norfolk and his son again in England.

Aside from his attendance at a meeting of the Order of the Garter, held at St. James on St. George's Day, we hear nothing of Surrey during the following winter. With the renewal of hostilities between France and England in the summer of 1545, however, his more ambitious military aspirations were suddenly to be gratified, and then, alas!—as suddenly crushed. Francis had decided to take the initiative and to take it aggressively. Accordingly, he prepared a fleet of unprecedented size, which crossed the channel in July. The objective was the Isle of Wight, but after several days of blundering ineffectiveness, the fleet took harbor at Selsic Bill.

The English admiral, Lord Lisle—the Sir John Dudley with whom Surrey had once broken swords—having the wind in his favor, thought that he could penetrate the French fleet, and sent to the King post-haste for his approval. Thereupon



the King paid the young Surrey, who seems to have been acting as an aide, the fine compliment of sending him to determine whether or not the proposed plan was advisable. Surrey reported favorably and the King gave his consent, but it was then too late, and the French fleet escaped.

Francis now gave up the idea of an English invasion, and concentrated his efforts on Boulogne. The English commander at Boulogne, Sir Edward Poynings, had for some time been requesting substantial aid, especially as the French had been pushing the construction of a fort—Chatillon—on the opposite side of the stream, which threatened the English communication by sea.

Accordingly, Henry decided to put a large army upon the continent under the leadership of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk. The advance guard of 5000 men was placed in charge of the Earl of Surrey. We can imagine the satisfaction of this ambitious young man as he reviewed these troops—his troops—with which he was to establish his military reputation. On the ninth of August he was at Portsmouth and about to embark, when he received a counter order from the Council. For the moment he must have suffered much chagrin, thinking that his command was to be taken away from him. The delay, however, proved to be due to the movements of the French fleet which threatened the passage. On the fifteenth came a second message urging him to cross the channel with all haste. This he did. Pleased as Surrey must have been with the appointment, he was soon to receive fresh proof of Henry's confidence in his efficiency, for an unexpected combination of circumstances was working in his favor. On August 18 Poynings suddenly died, and the Duke of Suffolk quite as suddenly four days later. Confronted with this untoward situation, Henry was quick to act. On August 26 he appointed Lord William Grey, then in charge of Guisnes, an English stronghold in France, to Boulogne, and appointed Surrey to the vacancy at Guisnes; at the same time he stopped the further levying of troops and decided to follow, for the present, a defensive campaign. But five days thereafter the King as suddenly reversed his decision, directed Grey to remain at Guisnes, and appointed Surrey not only Governor of Boulogne, but Lieutenant General on sea and land of all possessions on the continent. We do not know what occasioned this change of plan, but it was certainly a remarkable expression of confidence in so young a man. The King must have felt that Surrey possessed to a degree the military genius of his family. For Lord Grey it was a mortifying affair, and he was later to give evidence of his resentment.

Surrey entered upon his work with great energy. He was surrounded by young men of like spirit with himself, some of whom, notably Thomas Wyatt and Thomas Cotton, had been his boon companions, and such was the *esprit* of his troops that, until the very close of the year, they kept the French continually at disadvantage. They frustrated the plans of the enemy to force an open engagement by manning the heights above Boulogne;<sup>30</sup> by constant sallies they prevented the arrival of provisions at Chatillon;<sup>31</sup> they burned the surrounding country and killed the cattle; they captured some of the French transports sent to relieve the fort and drove others away;<sup>32</sup> they even watched their opportunity to storm the

fort itself and gained the very ramparts before they were repulsed. It was on such an occasion that Surrey, carried away by his enthusiasm and forgetful of his obligations as commander in chief, endangered his life by standing upon the very bridge of the fortress, a boyish action which quite naturally met with the disapproval of the King.<sup>33</sup>

Not only did Surrey outgeneral the enemy on the field, but the equally stubborn opposition of the Council at home. The sentiment in England was almost unanimous against the war, and the Council were a unit against it. In vain, however, did the Duke of Norfolk and the other Councillors complain. Surrey had the ear of the King, and the King was a willing listener. "For what his Grace (The Duke of Norfolk) and the rest of the Cownsell," writes Thomas Hussey to Surrey, "workith for the render of Bowleyne and the conclawding of a pease in VI dais, ye with your letters sett bake in six owrs, sitche importanse be your letters in the Kyng's oppinion . . . . To have my judgement for Bowlleyne, as I can lerne eny Counsellour saith: 'Away with it' and the Kinge and your Lordchippe saith: 'We will kepe it?'"<sup>34</sup>

The opening of the New Year found Surrey full of confidence. On the fifth he wrote to the King that the lack of food in the fortress of Chatillon was so acute that if the forthcoming plans for revictualing the fortress could be frustrated, the King "should never need to besiege the same." On the following day he learned that an expedition had set forth from Montreuil to relieve the fortress. He accordingly felt that he must give battle to prevent the arrival of the supplies. Leaving two thousand men at Boulogne to protect it, Surrey stationed twenty six hundred troops, supported by several hundred cavalry, at St. Entienne to intercept the expedition. The French wagons of provisions approached, accompanied by the cavalry ahead, five hundred strong, with the infantry, which numbered, according to both Surrey's account and the French account, about four thousand, following. Suddenly the English cavalry charged the French cavalry, taking them by surprise, completely routed them, and began to demolish the wagons. In the meantime, the English footmen, under the leadership of Surrey himself, charged the French infantry with the pike, supported by the harquebussiers. The first English line, composed of gentlemen and captains, bore themselves well, but just when victory seemed inevitable, the second line were suddenly seized with panic, and, despite every effort to rally them, broke and fled, and did not stop until they were safe within the walls of Boulogne.<sup>35</sup> The English horse finding themselves unsupported, retired in good order. According to Surrey's relation, only twenty out of one hundred and ten wagon loads of provisions reached Chatillon, but even so, it was a severe blow to the pride and confidence of the the young commander. The fortress had been revictualled, the morale of his men had been impaired, at least for the present, and though he may not have lost more men than the French, a very large percent of those killed were among the seasoned fighters and men of family.

On the following day he wrote a frank account of the affair to the King. Henry apparently took a sympathetic attitude, for on January 18, Paget wrote to

Surrey thus: "His Majesty, like a prince of wisdom, knows that who plays at a game of chance, must sometimes loose."<sup>36</sup>

However, after a little more than a month, Surrey received the crushing news that the Earl of Hertford had been made the Lieutenant General on land, and Lord Lisle on sea. It was the most cruel disappointment that the young Earl had yet experienced.

How shall we account for this unexpected action? Bapst is of the opinion that Surrey's spirit had been broken, that he had become distrustful of himself, and that he performed his duties as if they were actually distasteful to him. He remarks that after the seventh of January Surrey did not venture another engagement and even neglected to keep King Henry informed of the situation at Boulogne, so that the Council felt called upon to reproach him. He observes that the Earl gave himself up to writing poetry and cites verses<sup>37</sup> written from Boulogne as evidence of Surrey's growing distaste for his position. Is the evidence valid, however? I think not. In the poem Surrey says that he met his guide (Love), who

Brought me amidde the hylles in base Bullayn;  
Where I am now as restless to remayn  
Against my will, full pleased with my payn.

Now this poem is a sonnet written in the spirit of the traditional lover's lament, and the verses quoted may be merely a graceful compliment. Moreover, if they are to be taken as a sincere expression of feeling, we have no warrant for assigning them to the days following the defeat of January 7. They may just as well have been written after Surrey learned of his demotion, when he would experience a very natural distaste for Boulogne. Of the other poems cited,<sup>38</sup> one is clearly a lament written to voice the distress of Lady Surrey at being separated from her husband. The other may be a companion poem with like purpose, or it may have been written the previous year to solace Mary Shelton for the absence of her lover, Surrey's squire, Sir Thomas Clere, though the fact that it leans heavily upon Serafino and Petrarca inclines one to question if it has any biographical significance. But as Surrey had asked as early as October<sup>39</sup> to have his wife join him, there is no reason for assigning these poems to any particular date. They are merely the graceful and affectionate products of an hour of relaxation, and show how constant was the poet's devotion to his verse.

Surrey's alleged neglect of his reports and consequent reproof by the Council is based upon a letter dated wrongly December 11, in which the Council complains that the King had heard indirectly of the death of Sir John Pollard and of a conflict with the enemy. Now the probable date of this letter is not February 20-25, as conjectured by Bapst, but January 11, a mere slip in naming the month, for the death of Pollard is announced and the conflict fully described in Surrey's letter of January 8. This letter was in some way delayed, perhaps by storm, but it was in the hands of the Council within a few days after the eleventh for on January 18 Paget replies to it.

It is true that Surrey did not venture an engagement after the seventh of January, but it must be remembered that the self-confidence of his men had been

shaken by defeat. In his letter of July eighth, he remarks in a postscript that probably the enemy will shortly venture to bring future supplies, and asked his Majesty, "to resolve what further is to be done by us."

I see no reason for thinking that Surrey showed lack of heart or of interest prior to his demotion. It is true that on February 20 and 21, he did write letters in which he painted the situation in gloomy terms, but as the postscript of these letters makes clear, that was after he had learned of his displacement.<sup>40</sup>

I believe that the correct explanation is rather to be found in an undated letter from Paget to Surrey, written in response to Surrey's letter of March sixteenth. In the course of this letter, Paget discusses Surrey's personal situation as follows: "Now, my Lord, because you have been pleased I should write mine advice to your Lordship in things concerning your honor and benefit, I could no less do than put you in remembrance how much in mine opinion this shall touch your honour, if you should pass the thing over in silence until the very time of my Lord of Hertford's coming over thither; for so should both your authority be taken away, as I fear is Boulonnois, and also it should fortune ye to come abroad without any place of estimation in the field; which the world would much muse at, and though there be no such matter, think you were rejected upon occasion of some either negligence, inexperience, or other such like fault; for so many heads so many judgements. Wherefore, my Lord, in my opinion, you should do well to make sure by times to his Majesty to appoint you to some place of service in th' army; as to the captainship of the Foreward, or Rearward; or to such other place of honour as should be meet for you; for so should you be where knowledge and experience may be gotten. Wherebv you should the better be able hereafter to serve, and also to have peradventure occasion to do some notable service in revenge of your men, at the last encounter with th' enimies, which should be to your reputation in the world. Whereas, being hitherto noted as you are a man of a noble courage, and of a desire to shew the same to the face of your enemies, if you should now tarry at home within a wall, having I doubt a shew of your authority touched, it would be thought abroad I fear, that either you were desirous to tarry in a sure place of rest, or else that the credit of your courage and forwardness to serve had diminished; and that you were taken here for a man of (little) activity or service."<sup>41</sup>

Now I am of the opinion that though Paget was careful to say "though there be no such matter," he has actually given voice to the King's own criticism. Henry recognized that Surrey was a man of great personal bravery, but he also appreciated that Surrey's willingness to show his face to the enemy had unwarrantably endangered his life. Again, though the King was generous about it, he evidently felt that Surrey had handled the affair badly, for Paget plainly says that Surrey has his reputation to win back. Moreover, in the trial the following year, Elizabeth Holland, his father's mistress, testified that Surrey had complained that the King had expressed displeasure over the defeat at Boulogne; whether this testimony be true or not, it showed what the King's attitude was thought to be. Furthermore, the King rather clearly lacked confidence in

Surrey's ability to plan the fortifications and to map out a policy for actually taking the French fort. Late in December he sent Bellingham, a man of high repute, to assist Surrey in these undertakings. In the meantime Surrey had prepared plans in conjunction with Sir Thomas Palmer and others; plans which he dispatched by one Rogers, a man of engineering experience, on January fifth, though Bellingham had already arrived. Now on March eighth, Surrey still retaining the command of Boulogne, Paget wrote him a letter stating that Rogers, as a man in whom confidence was felt, had been authorized to construct the fortifications, and giving as one reason therefor the uncertainty shown by Surrey and Palmer, "liking now one thing, and another time misliking the same." Surrey felt very resentful of this action and took occasion severely to criticize Roger's plans.<sup>42</sup>

Henry had come to feel, I believe, that he had over-estimated Surrey's ability; that the Earl was rather too young and inexperienced for the great responsibilities that had been placed upon him, and that men of more experience were needed on the Continent. Consequently he replaced him. Yet the King doubtless felt that Surrey would become, with experience, an able military leader, and his attitude is hinted at in the advice contained in Paget's letter. That he took his share of the responsibility and wished to make it as easy for Surrey as he could, is shown by his grant to Surrey, immediately after his return, of the full proprietary right of the Abbey of Wyndham, which the Earl had possessed before only in usufruct.

Surrey retained the command at Boulogne until he was summoned to England by the Council on March 21, ostensibly to confer on the mooted points in the plans of fortification. Before he left he had the satisfaction of defeating the enemy in a lively engagement, and he wrote home with stern satisfaction that "the Frenchmen can run as fast away up the hill, as the Englishmen not long ago ran down."<sup>43</sup>

On the ninth of April, Lord Grey was appointed Governor of Boulogne. Grey had been stung by the treatment that he had received the year before, and he was eager to injure Surrey as much as possible. Accordingly he discharged appointees of Surrey's and accused the Earl himself of dishonesty. Writing Paget on July 14, the Earl appealed for the rights of these officers, accused Grey in return of assuming one of the offices for his own profit, and proudly defended himself with the words: "And for answer, that the said Lord chargeth me to have returned the same to my private profect, in his so saying he can have none honour. For there be in Boulogne too many witnesses that Henry of Surrey was never for singular profect corrupted; nor never yet bribe closed his hand: which lesson I learned of my Father and wish to succeed him therein as in the rest."<sup>44</sup> It is certainly to the credit of Surrey that while in command on the Continent he spoke of Grey in terms of praise. Indeed in reading the correspondence of Surrey with the King and the Council, one is struck by his punctilious and generous recognition of subordinates and the modesty with which he alludes to himself.

Surrey returned to England embittered in spirit, and especially bitter in his feeling toward Hertford. This upstart nobleman was considered worthy to be entrusted with a position in which he was deemed to have failed! Imagine his feelings, then, when he learned that his father had proposed afresh the marriage of Thomas Seymour and the Duchess of Richmond and had sought royal sanction therefor; indeed, not only had renewed that project but had actually proposed a series of marriages between his own children and the children of the Seymours. Loftily declaring that while he lived no son of his should ever marry a Seymour, he turned upon his sister and with vehement irony told her to go ahead with her marriage, and, since her future husband was so great a favorite, to use her position to insinuate herself into the good graces of the King, become his mistress and play the role that the Duchesse d'Etampes—the mistress of Francis I—enjoyed in France. Surrey accomplished his end, the marriage projects were abandoned, but the Duchess of Richmond, young, beautiful, gifted and ambitious, never forgave her brother for his harsh words.

So concludes the fourth act of the drama, an act which has been full of the ambitions of the warrior and the clash of arms. In it we have seen the rapid and brilliant rise of the young hero to a position of great eminence, and then we have seen his failure and disappointment. In the meantime, not only has his influence been weakened, but the enmity between him and his rivals has steadily increased, and they are waiting for the opportunity to accomplish his overthrow. This, the hero, in his pride and folly, will give them, and therewith begins the fifth act.

According to the Aristotelian tradition, the ideal tragic hero is a man of power and of nobility, who towers far above ordinary mortals both in worldly fortune and in distinction of character, but who has some fatal defect which brings its tragic retribution. Surrey was such a hero, the fatal defect was his pride.

As the year 1546 progressed, it became increasingly evident that the health of the King was failing and gossip was rife as to who should fill the office of Protector of the young Prince. As there were only two Dukes in England at the time, and as the Duke of Suffolk was not of age, the presumption was in favor of Norfolk. Moreover his name had been mentioned in connection with the throne as long ago as the divorce of Queen Katharine. Surrey did not hesitate to champion his father's claims, even in hostile quarters. Thus on one occasion he haughtily advocated them in a conversation with a companion of his military days, one Sir George Blage, a Low Churchman, who had narrowly escaped a martyr's death at Smithfield, and who felt bitterly hostile to Norfolk as a champion of the High Church party. The conversation ended in angry words and threats, and Blage was not slow to spread the alarm among the sympathizers of the Low Church. In the trial of Surrey this conversation was repeated by a witness, Sir Edward Rogers, as follows: "Recollects that Mr. Blage, about a year or three quarters of a year ago, speaking of the matter here ensuing, related how he had said to the Earl of Surrey that he thought that such as the

King should specially appoint thereto should be meetest to rule the Prince in the event of the King's death. The Earl on the contrary held that his father was meetest, both for good services done and for estate. Blage replied that then the Prince should be but evil taught; and, in multiplying words, said 'Rather than it should come to pass that the Prince should be under the government of your father or you, I would bide the adventure to thrust this dagger in you.' The Earl said that he was very hasty, and that God sent a shrewd cow short horns. 'Yea, my lord (quod Blage), and I trust your horns also shall be kept so short as ye shall not be able to do any hurt with them.' Afterwards the Earl, who at the time had no weapon, took sword and dagger and went to Blage's house 'and said unto him, that of late he had been very hasty with him'; but what passed further Deponent does not remember."<sup>45</sup>

The feeling between the two factions became increasingly acute, and Surrey, rashly confident, even prophesied the punishment that his enemies should receive when once the King was dead: "The new men," he said "should smart for it." The new men, for their part, had no desire to smart, and they cast about for some accusation which would appeal to the passions of the King. A needless act of vanity and folly gave them just the material that they desired. It all arose over Surrey's coat-of-arms. We have already quoted the testimony given by Mistress Arundel before the city authorities in 1543 to the effect that Surrey's arms looked very like those of the King. It was of course very proper that they should, for the Howards had hereditary claim to the lions of England. Yet this similarity was not pleasant for those who regarded with apprehension the ambitions of the young Earl to contemplate. Now in 1545, prior to his departure for France, Surrey had had a long discussion with Christopher Barker, the Richmond Herald, as to his right to include the supposed arms of Edward the Confessor in his escutcheon.<sup>46</sup> As Barker reported the conversation, he had maintained that Surrey had no claim to these arms; on the other hand, in the course of his trial Surrey stated that the Heralds' College had given a favorable opinion.<sup>47</sup> Be that as it may, did Surrey actually have the right to quarter his arms with those of the Confessor? It is a nice point to determine. He based his claim upon a grant made to his ancestor, Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, by Richard II.<sup>48</sup> Surrey of course had clear hereditary title to the arms of Mowbray, but whether he had the right to that particular quarter that contained the arms of the Confessor, depends upon whether Richard made the grant to Thomas Mowbray only, or to him and his heirs. This we do not know. Parliament finally decided the matter when, upon the release of the Duke of Norfolk at the accession of Mary, it passed an act stating that the Howard family had clear title to the debated quarter.

But Surrey's enemies were not concerned with such nice points, and when in October 1546, Surrey actually included the royal arms and the arms of the Confessor in an escutcheon which he had painted on his own apartments at Kenninghall, they saw their opportunity. They felt their fingers closing around the throat of this obnoxious young aristocrat, and Sir Richard Southwell, a

friend of boyhood days and an associate in the French campaign,<sup>49</sup> hurried to the Council to announce that Surrey had conspired against the King and was guilty of treason. According to Southwell, Surrey had placed the royal arms in the first quarter of his escutcheon and had also introduced into it the arms of the Confessor, modifying the last by a silver label, a significant modification for, since the label was used by the Prince to distinguish his arms from those of the King, Surrey's use of it was a plain intimation of his purpose to supplant the royal heir. To be sure Norfolk confessed at his trial that "I have without authority borne in the first and principal quarter of my arms, ever since the death of my father, the arms of England with a difference of three labels of silver, which are the proper arms of my Lord the Prince. I confess my crime no less than high treason."<sup>50</sup> Yet this abject testimony, given in an effort to save his life, is not to be taken too seriously and it is a question if he or Surrey ever did place the royal arms in any other position than the second quarter, where in sixteenth century heraldry they appear. But even had Southwell's statement been true, there would have been nothing unique in the procedure, for the Earl of Wiltshire bore them in the first quarter, and so did the Earl of Hertford, who was the most eager of all the conspirators.

But childish as the charges were, the Council gravely proceeded to summon Surrey before them to face his accuser. This was on the second of December. Surrey was dumbfounded when he heard himself accused of so grave a crime by an old friend, and, medieval knight that he was, never thought of defending himself in any other way, but passionately offered to throw off his garments and fight with Southwell, leaving it to Divine Justice to decide between them. It was a proposal that belonged to another age, but it was one that eloquently bespeaks the innocence of Surrey. The Council did not take kindly to such a conception of justice and assigned the two men to a place of detention until further evidence could be secured.

When it became noised abroad that Surrey was under suspicion, and that evidence against him was in order, all those who had been offended by his pride, or who envied him his position, or who feared his influence, came into the open, eager to testify against him. One was his cousin, Sir Edmund Knyvet.<sup>51</sup> His contemptible spirit is shown by the character of his testimony; he alleged that Surrey had a predilection for foreigners, that he affected foreign dress, that he kept an Italian buffoon, that he had once taken into his employ a former servant of Cardinal Pole, and that he had concluded a quarrel with the significant words: "No, no, cousin Knyvet, I malice not so low; my malice is higher; my malice climbs higher." Such testimony was too childish to be taken seriously, but not so the testimony of Sir Gawain Carew who, wilfully misconstruing the ironical advice given the Duchess of Richmond by her brother on the occasion of her proposed marriage with Thomas Seymour, accused Surrey of having urged his sister to encourage the King to approach her with reference to such a marriage, that she might worm herself into the good graces of the King and gain the power of a mistress over him. This testimony was at least a commentary upon the popular conception of the King.



On the twelfth of December, the Council felt justified in liberating Southwell and in committing Surrey to the Tower. On the same day his father was committed as an accomplice.

In order to humiliate Surrey the more and to stir up the popular hue and cry against him, the Council compelled him to walk to the Tower. But they little knew the feeling of the populace toward the young nobleman, and their meanness proved to be a boomerang, for as he passed along the streets the people made "great lamentacion."<sup>52</sup> To them he was the sturdy young nobleman who dared to use his fists as any self-respecting Englishman should, the dashing young knight who could thrill one in the tourney, the sturdy soldier who was first to set foot on the enemy's ramparts, the prince of good fellows who enjoyed London ale and a lark at night, the beau-ideal of a young aristocrat, handsome, distinguished in bearing, exacting in dress, brilliant in mind, one who showed what England could do by way of a man. All other public interests became as nothing compared to the commitment of these highest nobles of the realm. One gets some idea of the stir that it made and of the wild rumors abroad from the correspondence of the day. The letters of Low Churchmen show how jubilant they were at this blow struck at the staunchest upholders of the old regime. "The news from England is as agreeable as the above is distressing," writes John Burcher to Henry Bullinger, the Swiss Reformer, on December 31. "The Duke of Norfolk whose authority extended to the North of England—a most bitter enemy of the word of God—has been imprisoned, with his son, with whom he made a secret attempt to restore the Pope and the monks; but their design was discovered."<sup>53</sup>

As for the official correspondence, a few days of confused rumor were followed by a deliberate attempt to determine sentiment abroad. The Council were especially solicitous that the Emperor, who would naturally question the arrest of such eminent Catholic sympathizers, should not be aroused, and they left no room for remonstrance. Under date of December 25, Van der Delft wrote to Charles V as follows: "There was a large assembly of Councillors, as they were occupied about the Duke of Norfolk and his son who are prisoners. Next day the Lord Chancellor sent word, by the writer's man, that Norfolk and his son had planned to obtain the government of the King, who was too old to allow himself to be governed, by murdering all the Council and assuming control of the Prince. Surrey, however, had not been under arrest in the Lord Chancellor's house for this, but for writing a threatening letter to a gentleman; two other gentlemen had come forward and charged them with conspiracy. Surrey, though he has always been so generous to his countrymen, is not beloved by them. The feeling against the father is less severe."<sup>54</sup> To make assurance doubly sure, the English ambassador at the Imperial court had been carefully instructed to educate the Emperor in the matter, and on December 26 he wrote that though he had not secured audience as yet, he had conferred with one of the chief secretaries and had detailed to him "the busy head of the father and the pride of the son."<sup>55</sup>

On the same day that Norfolk and Surrey were placed in the Tower a commission of three, including Southwell, a brother or cousin of Carew, and one of the royal secretaries, left for Kenninghall to make any incriminating discoveries that they could. The frightened servants put everything at their disposal, but nothing of moment was found. However, they brought back with them Elizabeth Holland and the Duchess of Richmond. The testimony of the former had little bearing upon the conduct of the Earl, but the Duchess, who had clearly never forgiven Surrey for frustrating the plans for her marriage, gave much damaging testimony, which has all the earmarks of being inspired. She substantiated the accusation of Carew, averred that her brother was accustomed to speak of Hertford with the utmost bitterness, complained that he spoke threateningly of the protestants and discouraged her from reading much in the Scriptures, asserted that he had surmounted his arms with what "seemed to her like a close crown, and a cipher which she took to be the King's cipher, H. R." The arms of Surrey did actually include a crown, but it was the crown of the Stuarts, which, because of his great victory at Flodden Field, the first Duke of Norfolk had been permitted to include in his escutcheon. This the Duchess must have known, and it invalidated all of her charges.

After carefully weighing the testimony that had been submitted, the Council decided that the only charge that could be made to appear valid was that of treason, implied in the adoption of the arms of Edward the Confessor. The bill of indictment was as follows: "That whereas Parliament of 8 June to 18 July 28 Hen. VIII enacted that whosoever, by words, writings, printing, or other external act, maliciously shall procure anything to the peril of the King's person or give occasion whereby the King or his successors might be disturbed in their possession of the Crown, etc. (Stat. 28 Hen. VIII cap. 7, 12) shall be guilty of high treason; And whereas Henry VIII is true King of England, and Edward formerly King of England, commonly called Saynt Edward the Confessor, in right of the said realm of England, used certain arms and ensigns, viz., 'asur a crosse flewry betwene fyve merlettes golde,' belonging to the said King Edward and his progenitors in right of the Crown of England, which arms and ensigns are therefore appropriate to the King and to no other person; And whereas Edward now prince of England, the King's son, and heir apparent, bears, as heir apparent, the said arms and ensigns with three labels called 'thre labelles sylver'; Nevertheless, one Henry Howard, late of Kenninggale, K. G., otherwise called Henry earl of Surry, on 7 Oct. 38 Hen. VIII, at Kenninggale, in the house of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, his father, openly used, and traitorously caused to be depicted, mixed and conjoined with his own arms and ensigns, the said arms and ensigns of the King, with 'thre labelles sylver.'"<sup>56</sup> The absurdity of the charge is evident from the fact that after the time of Richard II, who had assumed the supposed arms of the Confessor because he had chosen St. Edward as his patron saint, no King of England had used these arms, and there is no evidence that Prince Edward did so. But the charge was one that appealed to the prejudices and jealousies of the dying King, and that could be made to carry with an obsequious jury.

From the Earl of Hertford to the last juryman, judges and jury were chosen with scrupulous care, and when Surrey came to his trial at the Guildhall on the thirteenth of January, he found himself face to face with a group of old-time enemies whose very presence betrayed what the verdict was to be.<sup>57</sup> It was characteristic of the Earl, such was his sense of personal dignity and of the fitness of things, to appear at the trial clad in a suit of sombre color, the cost of which was generously borne by the Lieutenant of the Tower. The trial began at nine o'clock in the morning and lasted until five in the afternoon. For a man to conduct his own defense for eight hours in the presence of a hostile judiciary and jury, confronted with evidence which he had been given no opportunity to consider in advance, for a man to do this and, in the eyes of an impartial witness, carry off the honors is evidence of sincerity, rare self-control, and thorough knowledge of the points involved. "Some things he flatly denied," says Stone in his *Chronicle*, "weakening the credits of his accusers by certain circumstances; others he excused with interpretations of his meanings to prove the same to be far otherwise than was alledged against him." His hauteur did not desert him even in this hour. When a certain witness told of an insolent reply that he had made in the course of a purported conversation with Surrey, the prisoner merely turned to the jury with superb dignity and said, "I leave it to you to judge whether it were probable that this man should speak thus to the Earl of Surrey, and he not strike him." On occasion, too, his contempt for some low-born politician would come to the surface, as when irritated by the questions of Paget, he abruptly punctured his vanity by alluding to him as a "happe-chair" and "the worthy son of a bailiff." Finally the farcical trial was brought to a close, and the prisoner was condemned to death for high treason.

In the shadow of death, Surrey turned once more to poetry for his comfort and his solace. That art which he had cultivated with such devotion in other days, days of sunshine or of cloud, was yet to be his stay. Through it his spirit was to soar above the trammels of fortune and to dwell in the realm of the ideal. Ostensibly he translated the first five chapters of Ecclesiastes and certain of the Psalms, but he allowed his mind to play about the thought of the original with the utmost freedom, and the poems breathe the social atmosphere of Tudor England. The chapters from Ecclesiastes lend themselves to that elegiac strain which has ever been so near the surface in the English temperament, and Surrey's adaptation of these chapters to the sentiments uppermost in his mind is a sixteenth century expression of that poignant sense of the illusion of boastful heraldry and of pomp and glory to which an eighteenth century elegist was to give supreme utterance. The vanity and cruelty of the struggle for wealth and position, the worth of lowly contentment, such are the recurring themes. They anticipate the words of another sixteenth century child of suffering, Thomas Dekker, in his beautiful lyric:

Art thou poor, yet hast thou golden slumbers?

O sweet content!

The poet was gaining that compassionate sense of kinship which expands the heart. More passionate and even more personal are the translations from the

Psalms. Of the three translated at this time—98, 73 and 55—, the 55th, though coming last in the manuscript, was doubtless written first. In lines tremulous with indignation and scorn, the poet, adapting to his own experience the experience of the Psalmist, laments that he should have been betrayed by a friend whom he had long trusted, and calls upon God, as the champion of the righteous, to

Rayne those unbrydled tungs, breake that coniured league.

This Psalm was probably written before the trial. Of very different temper are the other two Psalms, which are the lofty utterances of a spirit that was seeking to find its rest in God. In the 98th it is driven hither and yon by the whirling of the storm; in the 73rd it has found God and rests peacefully in him, far above the impotent cruelty of wicked men.

Most significant are the prologues of these two Psalms, one of which was addressed to George Blage, with whom Surrey had had the quarrel which precipitated his trial, and the other to Sir Antony Denny, one of the secretaries of the King, who must have had a hand in Surrey's downfall. Never more courageous than in the presence of death, Surrey would have his enemies understand that he no longer feared what man could do unto him.

The execution of Surrey took place just a week after the trial, on Tower hill.

How did he die? No record tells of his deportment on the scaffold, but he died as such a man only could die,—upheld by a noble indifference to his persecutors.

The tragedy of Surrey's death is accentuated by the fact that the life of his father, whose trial and conviction, because of his high rank, took the slower course of parliamentary procedure, was saved by the timely death of the King. Though Norfolk was condemned to die, the Protector and his party feared that if their first official act was the execution of the foremost nobleman in the realm, the storm of popular disapproval would be more than they could weather. Consequently Norfolk was merely imprisoned, to be released five years later by Mary. Had the belated death of Henry occurred a few days earlier, Surrey would probably have been accorded like treatment. With such caprice does Fortune seem to play with human life!

The apparel of Surrey was not given to the hangman, but divided among the hungry vultures that had taken his life, so much more greedy were English gentlemen of the sixteenth century than Roman gentlemen of the first. The Earl of Hertford and Sir Henry Seymour secured the greater part of the booty. In the garments that fell to the lot of Hertford figures a Parliament robe of purple velvet and a hat of crimson satin and velvet, with a white feather, perhaps the very hat that appears in the portrait of Surrey now at Hampton Court, done by Guillim Stretes shortly before the Earl's death.

Now draws the drama to its end. Let the closing scene be as follows: In the background friends removing the body of the dead Earl for its burial at All-Hallows-Barking; in the foreground greedy men dividing his garments. Then falls the curtain upon this tragedy of a life.

*Surrey's Contribution to English Verse*

Although Surrey died before he had reached his thirtieth birthday, he advanced the art of English poetry more than any other writer between Chaucer and Spenser. Wyatt, to be sure, did much interesting experimentation and left a body of verse of distinct excellence, verse that is still greatly undervalued. Wyatt tried his hand at the sonnet, the rondeau, the epigram, the terza rima, the rhyme royal, and a wide variety of graceful and fleet-footed metrical forms. His best verse is direct, forceful, sinuous, pithy, delightfully varied in tempo, and has the Gallic abandon and archful insouciance. He exerted, however, less influence upon the English tradition than did Surrey, and this for three reasons: first, because little of his best verse found its way into print in the sixteenth century; secondly, because the spirit of his verse is more French than English; and thirdly, because he did not have much part in certain fundamental reforms in prosody undertaken by Surrey, reforms that at once commended themselves and made Wyatt's verse by comparison appear archaic. English poetry is the poorer for not having taken more advantage of the intellectual litheness and saucy grace that Wyatt attempted to embody into it, but the set of the English genius is not that way.

Surrey's outstanding contribution to prosody was his insistence that metrical accent should be coincident with sentence stress and word accent, that is, that the metrical accent should fall upon the words which are naturally stressed because of their importance, and upon the accented, rather than upon the unaccented, syllables of such words. The prevailing disregard of this principle may be illustrated by the following sonnet, one of Wyatt's earlier compositions:

The lónge love thát in mý thought dóeth harbár,  
And ín my hért doeth képe his résidénce,  
Ínto my fáce preséth with hólde preténce,  
And thérein cámpeth spréding hís banér.  
Shé that me lérneth tó love ánd suffré,  
And willes that mý trust ánd lustes négligénce  
Be ráyned by réason, sháme, and révérence,  
With hís hardínes táketh dísplesúre.  
Where with áll untó the hértes forrést he fléith,  
Léving his énterprise with páyn and crý,  
And thér him hídeth ánd not ápperéth.  
Whát may I dó where mý maistéer feréth,  
Bút in the féld with hím to lýve and dýe?  
For goóde is thé liff énding fáithfullý.<sup>58</sup>

It will be observed that the poet does not hesitate to throw the accent upon prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns and demonstratives; upon the final *eth*

of the old conjugation of verbs, as *preséth*, *apperéth*; upon the final syllable of dissyllabic nouns, as *harbár*, *forrést*; and a second accent upon the final syllable of trisyllabic nouns, as *négligénce*, *displeasúre*. In these practices, Wyatt was in line with his predecessors. By common consent it was recognized as legitimate to throw the accent upon the last syllable of verbs in *eth*, upon the *ing* of the participle, and upon the final syllable of nouns derived from the French. The last was probably regarded as giving a certain archaic grace and enjoyed the authority of Chaucer, who, however, was of course justified by the pronunciation of his day.

Surrey recognized that such liberties were opposed to the practice of the continental poets and he set about reforming English verse accordingly. In the main he was successful in observing the principle that the natural accent of words must be observed and that the important words should receive the accent. Violations are, to be sure, not altogether infrequent. Thus the accent occasionally falls on the weak syllable of a noun, as,

Whose moist poisón dissolved hath my hate.  
The wylde forést, the clothed holtes with grene.  
In my windów, where I may see.  
Lurked, whose brestes envyé with hate had sowne.

All told, however, there are hardly more than a dozen such lines.<sup>59</sup> In a few rare instances, unless indeed the foot is to be regarded as a trochee thrust into the middle of a verse, the accent falls on the *ing* of a present participle, as in the lines,

Ffraughted with faith, a pacient pace, taking her wrong in worth.  
In presence of the godes, passing before.

Rarely the accent falls on the *en* of a past participle:

The shippes shakén, vnfrindlie the season.

Occasionally the accent is thrown on the *eth* of the old present:

At length her self bordéth Aeneas thus.  
And nouryshéth hys sacred flame.

Not infrequently and especially in translation, the accent rests on a conjunction, preposition, or article:

With sower, swete, dreade ánd delight.  
seithe eke. Oft in her lappe she holds  
Askanius, trapte bý his fathers fourme.

The next namede á pomegranate tree, whereby the truth was knowne.

In the great majority of cases, however, in which the accent appears to be thrown on such insignificant words, it will be found that the foot occurs just after the caesura, and is really a trochee, for the poet had evidently adopted the principle that a trochee could be used after the caesura with the same appropriateness as at the beginning of a verse. Thus:

The shádowe dánke gán from the póle remové.

As time has placed the stamp of its approval upon Surrey's reforms in accentuation, so also upon his continuance of certain traditional practices. Thus he permitted iambic verses to begin with initial trochees, in one sonnet beginning as many as six lines with this foot, he recognized the poetic quality in the older conjugation of verbs, and he frequently treated as a syllable the *ed* of the preterit and past participle, as *parch-ed, surprys-ed, dispoyl-ed*. He also recognized the monosyllabic foot, where the thought permits compensatory lengthening, as

Nów he comes; will he come? Alas, no, no!

Of certain prosodic traditions that Surrey accepted, time, to be sure, has not approved. Thus Surrey uses excessively the auxiliary verb *do*, as *doe holde, doe cease, doth bring*—a practice, to be sure, in which the Elizabethan lyrists followed him, and he occasionally resorts to such line fillers as *for to, I wis, right well*. In the main, however, Surrey so reformed English prosody that later poets have but refined upon his practices.

In the use of the caesura, or pause, Surrey shows a cultivated rhythmical sense. In iambic pentameter verse, he usually rests after the second foot, but this practice is not allowed to become mechanical, and is relieved by shifting the caesura back to the first foot and forward to the fourth. A favorite practice is to pause after the second foot, and then to make a secondary pause after the fourth. In the poulter's measure—a rhymed couplet consisting of a verse of six feet and a verse of seven—the caesura, as the genius of this verse demands, almost invariably occurs after the third foot of the first verse and the fourth foot of the second, but the jog-trot effect is modified by a frequent additional pause after the second foot of the second verse, as

For all thynges hauing life/sometime haue quiet rest,  
The bering asse,/the drawing oxe,/and euery other beast.

In the shorter lines the caesura is not a problem, for in such verse the problem of pause becomes the problem of the run-over lines.

Surrey of course falls far short of the modern practice in the use of run-over lines. Although in one late sonnet (No. 91) there are five run-overs, Surrey employs the run-over but sparingly in verses of four or more feet in length,

but it must be remembered that the Elizabethans themselves usually observed the end-stop in the sonnets and that Shakespeare only discovered after much experimentation the possibilities of the run-over in blank verse. In the light-foot metres, on the other hand, Surrey uses the run-over constantly, after the manner of Wyatt and the French poets.

As to verse forms, Surrey's claims to distinction rest upon his establishment of the Shakespeare sonnet and his introduction of blank verse. After a variety of experiments, he settled upon the rhyme scheme a b a b, c d c d, e f e f, g g, for the sonnet, and thus cast the mold for the most popular Elizabethan form. In the thought divisions of the sonnet, he followed no fixed practice, employing various divisions, 8-6 (No. 8), 4-5-5 (Nos. 9 and 1), 4-8-2 (Nos. 40 and 45), with a preference, however, as in Shakespeare, for the division 4-4-4-2 (Nos. 4, 6, 44, 47, etc.)

Stimulated by an Italian version of the fourth book of the *Æneid* that appeared in 1534 and an Italian version of the first six books that appeared in 1540, Surrey translated into English the second and fourth books, chosen because of their greater dramatic value and superior literary quality, employing, like the Italians, blank verse as his medium. The translation is succinct, forceful and spirited, and the movement fairly rapid. Even to the modern ear, accustomed to the flexibility and music of Marlowe, Shakespeare and Milton, Surrey's blank verse is not unpleasant reading, and it is characterized by a certain severe dignity that gives it distinction. Approximately one fourth of the lines are run-overs, in which respect Surrey's work compares creditably with the earlier blank verse of the Elizabethans, and while the caesura occurs after the second foot in fifty per cent of the lines, and after the fourth foot in thirty, it is nevertheless shifted with some degree of freedom. For this one innovation of blank verse, English poetry owes Surrey a debt quite incalculable, though it is an open question to what extent he was responsible for the Elizabethan use of this measure.

Aside from the sonnet stanza and blank verse, Surrey experimented with a variety of metres. He showed a particular fondness for the poulter's measure, using it in several of his love poems and in his translations from the Psalms and Ecclesiastes. This choice was rather unfortunate, for it encouraged a whole group of succeeding rhymesters to fancy themselves poets, but Surrey secured as good effects as were possible with so sing-song a metre. In the translation of Psalm 55, he broke away from the measure and attempted a blank verse of iambic hexameters, a metre that gives one the peculiar effect of alternately sliding down between waves and sweeping along on the crest of them.

In common with Wyatt, Surrey appreciated the metrical adaptability of the *terza rima* to English verse and experimented with it variously, in one poem employing it in pentameter lines (No. 11), in another, in quatrainers (No. 32). As Surrey does not observe stanzaic divisions in these poems but allows the thought to flow as at will, Saintsbury has preferred to think of such verse as rather a



series of interlacing triple rhymes than as the *terza rima* proper. Be that as it may, the felicity of the *terza rima* in pentametric verse is convincingly demonstrated. In the four foot verse this rhyme scheme has an almost impudent assertiveness, but that is the very effect that Surrey was aiming for in his fine satire on London. Genius alone could have chosen such a metrical vehicle for this inimitable mock heroic poem.

Again following the example of Wyatt, Surrey experimented with various stanzas of three and four foot lines: a four verse stanza of three foot lines, with the rhyme scheme a b a b (No. 12); a similar stanza of four foot lines (No. 14); a six verse stanza of four foot lines, with the rhyme scheme a b a b c c (Nos. 13, 18); an eight verse stanza of three foot lines, with the rhyme scheme a b a b c d c d (No. 16); a six verse stanza of four foot lines, with the rhyme scheme a b a b c c (No. 19); a six verse stanza of alternate four foot and three foot lines, with the rhyme scheme a b a c b c, a skillful and most pleasing metre (No. 20); and a seven verse stanza with lines of the following feet, 4 3 4 3 4 4 5, and the rhyme scheme a b a b a c c (No. 21). This stanza, with its longer final verse, is somewhat prophetic of the Spenserian stanza.

Throughout his poetry, from the early polite verse to the translation of the *Æneid*, Surrey persistently employs alliteration, showing how deeply rooted was this ancient English predilection. Ordinarily the effect is distinctly pleasing, but it is perhaps a question if he does not over employ alliteration at times, as in the poem, "The soote season, that bud and blome furth brings," which seems almost self-consciously alliterative.

Surrey's diction is direct, firm, and muscular, but flexible and euphonious. It employs just enough words of Latin and French origin to give richness and dignity to the homely, fibrous, native element. In the amatory and polite verse, approximately five and one half per cent of the words are of Latin or French derivation; in the translations from Ecclesiastes, seven per cent; in the translations from the Psalms, five per cent; and in the *Æneid*, a little over eight per cent.

Surrey was an admiring pupil of Chaucer, and he employs certain characteristically Chaucerian words, phrases, and constructions that give a mildly archaic flavor to his diction. Another distinctive quality making for quaintness is the tendency to use nouns and adjectives as verbs, as in the following:

But *mercy* him thy frende that doth thee serue.

The wynters hurt recovers with the *warm*.

The range of the poetry is fairly wide. It includes love poems, which for the most part are graceful experiments in polite verse, with only a slight adumbration, it would seem, of personal experience; autobiographical poems, definitely related to personal experience and delightfully intimate and frank; moral and didactic poems, in line with the current Renaissance revival of this Latin strain,

a strain most congenial to the English temperament; elegiac poems, personal, generous, and affectionate; translations from Ecclesiastes and the Psalms, freely rendered, and construed to English life and the poet's own peculiar experience, showing that sturdy capacity for adaptation which is always to be found in a vital literary epoch; and translations from the *Æneid* that are forceful, nervous, and plastic, that have the feel of Virgil and the feel of Tudor England as well.

Although Surrey lived a scant three decades, he left a substantial body of verse, and made a permanent impression upon English poetry. He discovered the prosodic genius of modern English, he defined modern poetical diction, and he introduced the metre in which much of the noblest poetry of our language has been cast.

## POEMS

### LOVE POEMS

	Page
1. A Nocturnal Lament -----	45
2. A Spring Lament -----	45
3. The Cruelty of Hidden Charms -----	46
4. A Lovers Loyalty to Love -----	46
5. Loves Extremes -----	46
6. A Lovers Vow -----	47
7. The Frailty of Beauty -----	47
8. A Plea for Constancy -----	48
9. In Absentia -----	48
10 The Twofold Power of Love -----	48
11. A Plea for Mercy -----	49
12. A Game of Chess -----	50
13. A Goodly Ensamble -----	51
14. The Trammels of Love -----	52
15. A Lesson in Love -----	53
16. Rueful Associations -----	54
17. An Unchanging Lover -----	55
18. A Mistress Nonpareil -----	56
19. From a Loyal Lover Overseas -----	57
20. A Modern Ulysses -----	57
21. A Ladys Lament for Her Lover Overseas -----	58
22. A Sophisticated Lover -----	59
23. Strive Not With Love -----	61
24. A Stricken Shepherd -----	62
25. A Friendly Warning -----	64
26. The Fickleness of Woman -----	64
27. Modern Saws and Ancient Instance -----	65
28. Calm After Storm -----	66

### AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL POEMS

29. The Lady Geraldine -----	68
30. Windsor Memories -----	68
31. The Poets Lament for His Lost Boyhood -----	69
32. A Satire on London, The Modern Babylon -----	70
33. Lady Surreys Lament for Her Absent Lord -----	72
34. An Irate Host -----	73
35. Prolog to Psalm 88 -----	75
36. Prolog to Psalm 73 -----	75
37. Reflections From the Tower -----	76

## MORAL AND DIDACTIC POEMS

Page

38. A Tribute to Wyatts Psalms -----	77
39. Epigram to Radcliffe -----	77
40. Sardanapalus -----	77
41. The Happy Life -----	78
42. The Golden Mean -----	78
43. The Ages of Man -----	79

## ELEGIAC POEMS

44. A Tribute to Wyatt -----	80
45. A Second Tribute to Wyatt -----	80
46. A Third Tribute to Wyatt -----	81
47. A Tribute to Thomas Claire -----	82

## TRANSLATIONS FROM THE BIBLE

48. Ecclesiastes 1. -----	83
49. Ecclesiastes 2. -----	84
50. Ecclesiastes 3. -----	86
51. Ecclesiastes 4. -----	88
52. Ecclesiastes 5. -----	89
53. Psalm 8. -----	91
54. Psalm 55. -----	92
55. Psalm 88. -----	93
56. Psalm 73. -----	94

## TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ÆNEID

57. Book 2. -----	97
58. Book 4. -----	122

## LOVE POEMS

### 1

#### A NOCTURNAL LAMENT

Alas! so all thinges nowe doe holde their peace:  
Heauen and earth disturbed in nothing;  
The beastes, the ayer, the birdes their song doe cease;  
The nightes chare the starres aboute dothe bring. 5  
Calme is the sea, the waues worke lesse and lesse;  
So am not I, whom loue, alas! doth wring,  
Bringing before my face the great encrease  
Of my desires, whereat I wepe and syng,  
In ioye and wo, as in a doubtful ease:  
For my swete thoughtes sometyme doe pleasure bring, 10  
But, by and by, the cause of my disease  
Geues me a pang that inwardly dothe sting,  
When that I thinke what grieffe it is againe  
To liue and lacke the thing should ridde my paine.

### 2

#### A SPRING LAMENT

The soote season, that bud and blome furth brings,  
With grene hath clad the hill and eke the vale;  
The nightingale with fethers new she singes;  
The turtle to her make hath tolde her tale.  
Somer is come, for euery spray nowe springes; 5  
The hart hath hong his olde hed on the pale;  
The buck in brake his winter cote he flings;  
The fishes flote with newe repaired scale;  
The adder all her sloughe awaye she slinges;  
The swift swallow pursueth the flies smale; 10  
The busy bee her honye now she minges.  
Winter is worne, that was the flowers bale.  
And thus I see among these pleasant thinges  
Eche care decayes, and yet my sorow springes.

## 3

## THE CRUELTY OF HIDDEN CHARMS

I neuer saw youe, madam, laye aparte  
 Your cornet black, in colde nor yet in heate,  
 Sythe first ye knew of my desire so greate,  
 Which other fances chaced cleane from my harte.  
 Whiles to my self I did the thought reserve 5  
 That so vnware did wounde my wofull brest,  
 Pytie I saw within your hart dyd rest ;  
 But since ye knew I did youe love and serve,  
 Your golden treese was clad alway in blacke,  
 Your smilyng lokes were hid thus euermore, 10  
 All that withdrawne that I did crave so sore.  
 So doth this cornet governe me, a lacke!  
 In sommere, sonne; in winter, breath of frost ;  
 Of your faire eies whereby the light is lost.

## 4

## A LOVERS LOYALTY TO LOVE

Love that doth raine and liue within my thought,  
 And buylt his seat within my captiue brest,  
 Clad in the armes wherein with me he fowght,  
 Oft in my face he doth his banner rest.  
 But she that tawght me love and suffre paine, 5  
 My doubtful hope & eke my hote desire  
 With shamfast looke to shadoo and refrayne,  
 Her smyling grace convertyth streight to yre.  
 And cowarde Love, then, to the hart apace  
 Taketh his flight, where he doth lurke and playne 10  
 His purpose lost, and dare not shew his face.  
 For my lordes gilt thus fawtles byde I payine ;  
 Yet from my lorde shall not my foote remove :  
 Sweet is the death that taketh end by love.

## 5

## LOVES EXTREMES

In Cipres springes—wheras dame Venus dwelt—  
 A welle so hote, that who so tastes the same,  
 Were he of stone, as thawed yse shuld melt,  
 And kindled fynde his brest with secret flame ;  
 Whose moist poison dissolved hath my hate. 5  
 This creping fier my cold lymmes so oprest

That, in the hart that harbred fredom late,  
 Endles dispaire long thraldom hath imprest.  
 One, eke so cold, in froson snow is found,  
 Whose chilling venume of repugnaunt kind 10  
 The fervent heat doth quenche of Cupides wound,  
 And with the spote of change infectes the mynd;  
 Where of my deer hath tasted to my payne.  
 My service thus is growne into disdayne.

## 6

## A LOVERS VOW

Set we wheras the sonne dothe perche the grene,  
 Or whear his beames may not dissolue the ise,  
 In temprat heat, wheare he is felt and sene;  
 With prowde people, in presence sad and wyse;  
 Set me in base, or yet in highe degree; 5  
 In the long night, or in the shortyst day;  
 In clere weather, or whear mysts thickest be;  
 In lofte yowthe, or when my heares be grey;  
 Set me in earthe, in heauen, or yet in hell;  
 In hill, in dale, or in the fowming floode; 10  
 Thrawle, or at large, aliuie whersoo I dwell;  
 Sike, or in healthe; in yll fame, or in good;  
 Yours will I be, and with that onely thought  
 Comfort my self when that my hape is nowght.

## 7

## THE FRAILTY OF BEAUTY

Brittle beautie, that nature made so fraile,  
 Wherof the gift is small, and short the season,  
 Flowring to-day, to morowe apt to faile,  
 Tickell treasure abhorred of reason,  
 Daungerous to dele with, vaine, of none auaile, 5  
 Costly in keping, past not worthe two peason,  
 Slipper in sliding as is an eles taile,  
 Harde to attaine, once gotten not geason,  
 Jewel of ieopardie that perill doth assaile,  
 False and vntrue, enticed oft to treason, 10  
 Enmy to youth: that most may I bewaile.  
 Ah, bitter swete! infecting as the poyson,  
 Thou farest as frute that with the frost is taken:  
 To-day redy ripe, to morowe all to shaken.

## 8

## A PLEA FOR CONSTANCY

The golden gift that nature did thee geue,  
 To fasten frendes and fede them at thy wyll  
 With fourme and fauour, taught me to beleue  
 How thou art made to shew her greatest skill,  
 Whose hidden vertues are not so vnknown 5  
 But liuely domes might gather at the first:  
 Where beautye so her perfect seede hath sowen,  
 Of other graces folow nedes there must.  
 Now certesse, ladie, sins all this is true,  
 That from aboue thy gyfts are thus elect, 10  
 Do not deface them than with fansies newe,  
 Nor change of mindes let not thy minde infect,  
 But mercy him thy frende that doth thee serue,  
 Who seekes alway thine honour to preserue.

## 9

## IN ABSENTIA

The fansy which that I haue serued long,  
 That hath alway bene enmy to myne ease,  
 Seemed of late to rue vpon my wrong  
 And bad me flye the cause of my misease.  
 And I forthwith dyd prease out of the throng, 5  
 That thought by flight my painfull hart to please  
 Som other way, tyll I saw faith more strong.  
 And to my self I sayd: "Alas! those dayes  
 In vayn were spent, to runne the race so long."  
 And with that thought I met my guyde, that playn 10  
 Out of the way wherin I wandred wrong  
 Brought me amiddes the hylles in base Bullayn;  
 Where I am now, as restlesse to remayn,  
 Against my will, full pleased with my payn.

## 10

## THE TWOFOLD POWER OF LOVE

Yf he that erst the fourme so lively drewe  
 Of Venus faas, tryvmpt in paynteres arte,  
 Thy father then what glorye did ensew,  
 By whose pencell a goddesse made thow arte!  
 Touchid with flame, that figure made some rewe, 5  
 And with her love surprysed manye a hart;  
 There lackt yet that should cure their hoot desyer:  
 Thow canst enflame and quenche the kyndled fyre.



## 11

## A PLEA FOR MERCY

The sonne hath twyse brought forthe the tender grene,  
 And cladd the yerthe in livelye lustynes ;  
 Ones have the wyndes the trees dispoyled clene,  
 And now agayne begynnes their cruelnes ;  
 Sins I have hidd vnder my brest the harme 5  
 That never shall recover helthfulnes.  
 The wynters hurt recovers with the warme ;  
 The perched grene restored is with shade ;  
 What warmth, alas ! may sarve for to disarme  
 The froosyn hart, that my inflame hath made ? 10  
 What colde agayne is hable to restore  
 My freshe grene yeres, that wither thus & faade ?  
 Alas ! I see nothinge to hurt so sore  
 But tyme somtyme reduceth a retourne ;  
 Yet tyme my harme increseth more & more, 15  
 And semes to have my cure allwayes in skorne.  
 Straunge kynd of death, in lief that I doo trye :  
 At hand to melt, farr of in flame to bourne,  
 And like as time list to my cure aply ;  
 So doth eche place my comfort cleane refuse. 20  
 Eche thing alive that sees the heaven with eye,  
 With cloke of night maye cover and excuse  
 Him self from travaile of the dayes vnrest,  
 Save I, alas ! against all others vse,  
 That then sturre vpp the torment of my brest, 25  
 To curse eche starr as cawser of my faat.  
 And when the sonne hath eke the darke repress  
 And brought the daie, yet doth nothing abaat  
 The travaile of my endles smart & payne ;  
 Ffor then, as one that hath the light in haat, 30  
 I wishe for night, more covertlye to playne,  
 And me withdrawe from everie haunted place,  
 Lest in my chere my chaunce should pere to playne ;  
 And with my mynd I measure, paas by paas,  
 To seke that place where I my self hadd lost, 35  
 That daye that I was tangled in that laase,  
 In seming slacke that knytteth ever most.  
 But never yet the trayvaile of my thought  
 Of better state could catche a cawse to bost,  
 For yf I fynde, somtyme that I have sought, 40  
 Those starres by whome I trusted of the port,  
 My sayles do fall, and I advaunce right nought ;

As anchor'd fast, my sprites do all resort  
 To stand atgaas, and sinke in more & more:  
 The deadlye harme which she dooth take in sport. 45  
 Loo! yf I seke, how I do fynd my sore!  
 And yf I flye, J carrey with me still  
 The venymd shaft which dothe his force restore  
 By hast of flight. And I maye playne my fill  
 Vnto my self, oneles this carefull song 50  
 Prynt in your hert some percell of my will;  
 For I, alas! in sylence all to long,  
 Of myne old hurt yet fele the wound but grene.  
 Rue on me lief, or elles your crewell wrong  
 Shall well appeare, and by my deth be sene. 55

## 12

## A GAME OF CHESS

Although I had a check,  
 To geue the mate is hard,  
 For I haue found a neck  
 To kepe my men in gard. 5  
 And you that hardy ar  
 To geue so great assay  
 Vnto a man of warre—  
 To driue his men away—,

I rede you take good hede  
 And marke this foolish verse, 10  
 For I will so prouide  
 That I will haue your ferse.  
 And when your ferse is had  
 And all your warre is done,  
 Then shall your selfe be glad 15  
 To ende that you begon.

For yf by chance I winne  
 Your person in the feeld,  
 To late then come you in  
 Your selfe to me to yeld. 20  
 For I will vse my power,  
 As captain full of might,  
 And such I will deuour  
 As vse to shew me spight.

And for because you gaue 25  
 Me checke in such degre,  
 This vantage loe I haue;  
 Now checke, and garde to the.  
 Defend it, if thou may;  
 Stand stiffe in thine estate; 30  
 For sure I will assay,  
 If I can giue the mate.

## 13

## A GOODLY ENSAMPLE

When ragyng loue, with extreme payne,  
 Most cruelly distrains my hart;  
 When that my teares, as floudes of rayne,  
 Beare witnes of my wofull smart;  
 When sighes haue wasted so my breath 5  
 That I lye at the poynte of death;

I call to minde the nauye greate  
 That the Greekes brought to Troye towne,  
 And how the boysteous windes did beate  
 Their shyps, and rente their sayles adowne, 10  
 Till Agamemnons daughters blood  
 Appeasde the goddes that them withstode.  
 And how that, in those ten years warre,

Full many a bloudye dede was done;  
 And many a lord, that came full farre, 15  
 There caught his bane, alas! to sone;  
 And many a good knight ouerronne;  
 Before the Grekes had Helene wonne.

Then thinke I thus: sithe suche repayre,  
 So longe time warre of valiant men, 20  
 Was all to winne a ladye fayre,  
 Shall I not learne to suffer then,  
 And thinke my life well spent, to be  
 Seruyng a worthier wight than she?

Therefore I neuer will repent, 25  
 But paynes, contented, stil endure:  
 For like as when, rough winter spent,  
 The pleasant spring straight draweth in vre,  
 So after ragyng stormes of care,  
 Joyful at length may be my fare. 30

## 14

## THE TRAMMELS OF LOVE

As oft as I behold and see  
 The soveraigne bewtie that me bound,  
 The ner my comfort is to me,  
 Alas! the fressher is my wound.

As flame dothe quenche by rage of fier, 5  
 And roonyng streames consumes by raine,  
 So doth the sight that I desire  
 Apeace my grief and deadly payne.

Like as the flee that seethe the flame 10  
 And thinkes to plaie her in the fier,  
 That fownd her woe, and sowght her game,  
 Whose grief did growe by her desire.

When first I saw these christall streames 15  
 Whose bewtie made this mortall wound,  
 I litle thought with in these beames  
 So sweete a venvme to have found.

Wherein is hid the crewell bytt 20  
 Whose sharpe repulse none can resist,  
 And eake the spoore that straynith eche wytt  
 To roon the race against his list.

But wilful will did prick me forth;  
 Blynd Cupide dyd me whipp & guyde;  
 Force made me take my grief in worthe;  
 My fruytles hope my harme did hide.

As cruell waues full oft be found 25  
 Against the rockes to rore and cry,  
 So doth my hart full oft rebound  
 Ageinst my brest full bitterly.

I fall and see my none decaye, 30  
 As he that beares flame in his brest  
 Fforgetes, for payne, to cast awaye  
 The thing that breadythe his vnrest.

And as the spyder drawes her lyne, 35  
 With labour lost I frame my sewt;  
 The fault is hers, the losse ys myne.  
 Of yll sown seed such ys the frewte.

## 15

## A LESSON IN LOVE

When youthe had ledd me half the race  
 That Cupides scourge did make me rune,  
 I loked backe to mete the place  
 Ffrom whence my werye course begune.

And then I sawe how my desyre, 5  
 By ill gydyng, had let my waye;  
 Whose eyes, to greedye of their hire,  
 Had lost me manye a noble praye.

Ffor when in sighes I spent the daye, 10  
 And could not clooke my grief by game,  
 Their boyling smoke did still bewraye  
 The fervent rage of hidden flame.

And when salt teares did bayne my brest,  
 Where love his pleasaunt traynes had sowne,  
 The brewt therof my frewt opprest, 15  
 Or that the bloomes were sprunge & blowne.

And where myne eyes did still pursewe  
 The flying chace that was their quest,  
 Their greдые lookes did oft renewe  
 The hydden wounde within my brest. 20

When everye looke these cheekes might stayne,  
 From dedlye pale to flaming redd,  
 By owtward signes apperyd playne  
 The woo wherwith my hart was fedd.

But all to late love learneth me 25  
 To paynt all kynd of coloures newe,  
 To blynde their eyes that elles should see  
 My sparkled chekes with Cupydes hewe.

And now the covert brest I clayme 30  
 That worships Cupyd secretlye,  
 And nourysheth hys sacred flame  
 Ffrom whence no blasing sparckes do flye.

## 16

## RUEFUL ASSOCIATIONS

- O lothsome place! where I  
 Haue sene and herd my dere,  
 When in my hert her eye  
 Hath made her thought appere,  
 By glimsing with such grace 5  
 As fortune it ne would  
 That lasten any space  
 Betwene vs lenger should.
- As fortune did auance  
 To further my desire, 10  
 Euen so hath fortunes chance  
 Thrownen all ammiddes the myre;  
 And that I haue deserued  
 With true and faithful hart,  
 Is to his handes reserued 15  
 That neuer felt the smart.
- But happy is that man  
 That scaped hath the grieffe  
 That loue well teche him can,  
 By wanting his relieffe. 20  
 A scourge to quiet mindes  
 It is, who taketh hede,  
 A comon plage that bindes,  
 A trauell without mede.
- This gift it hath also, 25  
 Who so enioies it most  
 A thousand troubles grow  
 To vexe his weried ghost.  
 And last it may not long—  
 The truest thing of all—, 30  
 And sure the greatest wrong  
 That is within this thrall.
- But sins thou, desert place,  
 Canst giue me no accompt  
 Of my desired grace 35  
 That I to haue was wont,  
 Farewel! thou hast me tought  
 To thinke me not the furst  
 That loue hath set aloft  
 And casten in the dust. 40

## 17

## AN UNCHANGING LOVER

Though I regarded not  
 The promise made to me,  
 Or passed not to spot  
 My faith and honeste,  
 Yet were my fancie strange 5  
 And wilfull will to wite,  
 If I sought now to change  
 A falkon for a kite.

All men might well dispraise  
 My wit and enterprise, 10  
 If I esteemed a pese  
 Aboue a perle in price,  
 Or iudged the oule in sight  
 The sparehauke to excell,  
 Which flieth but in the night, 15  
 As all men know right well.

Or, if I sought to saile  
 Into the brittle port  
 Where anker hold doth faile,  
 To such as doe resort, 20  
 And leaue the hauen sure  
 Where blowes no blustering winde,  
 Nor fickelnesse in vre,  
 So far forth as I finde.

No, thinke me not so light 25  
 Nor of so chorlish kinde,  
 Though it lay in my might  
 My bondage to vnbinde,  
 That I would leue the hinde  
 To hunt the ganders fo. 30  
 No, no! I haue no minde  
 To make exchanges so,

Nor yet to change at all.  
 For thinke it may not be  
 That I should seke to fall 35  
 From my felicitie,  
 Desyrous for to win,  
 And loth for to forgo,  
 Or new change to begin.  
 How may all this be so? 40

The fire it can not freze,  
 For it is not his kinde,  
 Nor true loue cannot lese  
 The constance of the minde;  
 Yet, as some shall the fire 45  
 Want heat to blaze and burn,  
 As I in such desire  
 Haue once a thought to turne.

## 18

## A MISTRESS NONPAREIL,

Geue place, ye louers, here before  
 That spent your bostes and bragges in vaine;  
 My ladies beawtie passeth more  
 The best of yours, I dare well sayen,  
 Than doth the sonne, the candle light, 5  
 Or brightest day, the darkest night.

And thereto hath a trothe as iust  
 As had Penelope the fayre,  
 For what she saith, ye may it trust  
 As it by writing sealed were, 10  
 And vertues hath she many moe  
 Than I with pen haue skill to showe.

I could rehearse, if that I wolde,  
 The whole effect of Natures plaint  
 When she had lost the perfit mold, 15  
 The like to whom she could not paint;  
 With wringyng handes howe she dyd cry,  
 And what she said, I know it, I.

I knowe she swore with ragyng mynd,  
 Her kingdom onely set apart, 20  
 There was no losse, by loue of kind,  
 That could haue gone so nere her hart.  
 And this was chiefly all her payne,  
 She coulde not make the lyke agayne.

Sith Nature thus gaue her the prayse 25  
 To be the chiefest worke she wrought,  
 In faith, me thinke some better waies  
 On your behalfe might well be sought,  
 Then to compare, as ye haue done,  
 To matche the candle with the sonne. 30



## 19

## FROM A LOYAL, LOVER OVERSEAS

Syns fortunes wrath enuieth the welth  
 Wherein I raygned, by the sight  
 Of that, that fed mine eyes by stelth  
 With sower, swete, dreade, and delight,  
 Let not my griefe moue you to mone, 5  
 For I will wepe and wayle alone.

Spite draue me into Borias raigne,  
 Where hory frostes the frutes do bite,  
 When hilles were spred and eury playne  
 With stormy winters mantle white; 10  
 And yet, my deare, such was my heate,  
 When others frese then did I swete.

And now, though on the sunne I driue,  
 Whose feruent flame all thinges decaies,  
 His beames in brightnesse may not striue 15  
 With light of your swete golden rayes,  
 Nor from my brest this heate remoue  
 The frozen thoughtes grauen by loue.

Ne may the waues of the salt floode  
 Quenche that your beauty set on fire, 20  
 For though mine eyes forbere the fode  
 That did releue the hot desire,  
 Such as I was, such will I be,—  
 Your owne. What would ye more of me!

## 20

## A MODERN ULYSSES

I that Vlysses yeres haue spent  
 To seeke Penelope,  
 Finde well what folly I haue ment  
 To seke that was not so,  
 Sinse Troylous case hath caused me 5  
 From Cressed for to go.

And to bewaile Vlysses truth  
 In seas and stormy skies  
 Of wanton will and raging youth,  
 Wherewith I have tossed sore 10  
 From Cillas seas to Carribes clives  
 Vpon the drowning shore.

Where I sought hauen, there found I hap,  
 From daunger vnto death,  
 Much like the mouse that treads the trap 15  
 In hope to finde her foode,  
 And bites the bread that stops her breath;  
 So in like case I stoode.

Till now repentance hasteth him  
 To further me so fast 20  
 That where I sanke, there now I swim,  
 And haue both streame and winde,  
 And lucke as good, if it may last,  
 As any man may finde.

That where I perished, safe I passe, 25  
 And find no perill there,  
 But stedy stone, no ground of glasse.  
 Now am I sure to saue,  
 And not to flete from feare to feare,  
 Such anker hold I haue. 30

## 21

## A LADYS LAMENT FOR HER LOVER OVERSEAS

O happy dames, that may embrace  
 The frute of your delight,  
 Help to bewaile the wofull case  
 And eke the heauy plight 5  
 Of me, that wanted to reioyce  
 The fortune of my pleasant choyce.  
 Good ladies, help to fill my moorning voyce,

In ship, freight with remembrance  
 Of thoughts and pleasures past,  
 He sailes that hath in gouernance 10  
 My life, while it wil last;

With scalding sighes, for lack of gale,  
 Furdering his hope, that is his sail,  
 Toward me, the swete port of his auail.

Alas! how oft in dreames I se 15  
 Those eyes, that were my food,  
 Which sometime so delited me  
 That yet they do me good;  
 Wherwith I wake with his returne,  
 Whose absent flame did make me burne. 20  
 But when I finde the lacke, Lord how I mourne!

When other louers, in armes acrossse.  
 Reioyce their chiefe delight,  
 Drowned in tears, to mourne my losse,  
 I stand the bitter night 25  
 In my window, where I may see  
 Before the windes how the cloudes flee.  
 Lo, what a mariner loue hath made me!

And in grene waues, when the salt flood  
 Doth rise by rage of winde, 30  
 A thousand fansies in that mood  
 Assayle my restlesse mind.  
 Alas! now drencheth my swete fo,  
 That with the spoyle of my hart did go,  
 And left me; but, alas, why did he so! 35

And when the seas waxe calme againe,  
 To chase fro me annoye,  
 My doubtfull hope doth cause me plaine;  
 So dreade cuts of my ioye. 40  
 Thus is my wealth mingled with wo,  
 And of ech thought a dout doth growe:  
 Now he comes; will he come? alas, no,no!

## 22

## A SOPHISTICATED LOVER

Suche waywarde wais hath love, that moste parte in discorde  
 Our willes do stand, wherby our hartes but seldom dooth accorde.

Disceyte is his delight, and to begyle and mocke  
 The symple hertes which he doth stryke with froward, dyvers stroke.

He cawseth hertes to rage with golden burninge darte, 5  
 And doth alaye with ledden cold agayne the tothers harte.

Hot gleams of burning fyre, & easye sparkes of flame,  
 In balaunce of vnegall weight he pondereth by ame.  
 Ffrom easye fourde, where I might wade & passe full well,  
 He me withdrawes; and doth me drive into the darke, diep well; 10  
 And me withholdes where I am cald and offerd place;  
 And wooll that still my mortall foo I do beseche of grace.  
 He lettes me to pursue a conquest well nere woon,  
 To follow where my paynes wer spilt or that my sute begune.  
 Lo! by these rules I know how sone a hart can turne 15  
 From warr to peace, from trewce to stryf, and so again returne.  
 I knowe how to convert my will in others lust;  
 Of litle stuff vnto my self to weyve a webb of trust;  
 And how to hide my harme with soft dissembled chere,  
 When in my face the paynted thoughtes wolde owtwardlye appere. 20  
 I know how that the blood forsakes the faas for dredd,  
 And how by shame it staynes agayne the cheke with flaming redd.  
 I knowe vnder the grene, the serpent how he lurckes;  
 The hamer of the restles forge, I know eke how yt workes.  
 I know, and can be roote, the tale that I wold tell, 25  
 But ofte the wordes come forth a wrye of hym that loveth well.  
 I know in heat and cold the lover how he shakes,  
 In singinge how he can complayne, in sleaping how he wakes,  
 To languishe without ache, sickles for to consume,  
 A thousand thinges for to devyse resolving all hys fume. 30  
 And thoughe he lyke to see his ladies face full sore,  
 Suche pleasure as delightes his eye doth not his health restore.  
 I know to seke the tracke of my desyred foo,  
 And feare to fynd that I do seke; but chefelye this I know,  
 That lovers must transforme into the thing beloved, 35  
 And live—alas, who colde beleve!—with spryte from lief removed.  
 I know in hartye sighes and lawghters of the splene  
 At ones to chaunge my state, my will, & eke my colour clene.  
 I know how to disceyve myself withouten helpp;  
 And how the lyon chastysed is by beating of the whelpp. 40  
 In standing nere my fyer, I know how that I frese;  
 Ffarr of, to burn; in both to wast, & so my lief to lese.  
 I know how love doth rage vppon the yeldon mynd,  
 How small a nett may take & mashe a harte of gentle kynd;  
 Which seldome tasted swete, to seasoned heaps of gall, 45  
 Revyved with a glyns of grace olde sorowes to let fall.  
 The hidden traynes I know, & secret snares of love;  
 How sone a loke may prynt a thought that never will remoue.  
 That slipper state I know, those sodayne tournes from welthe,  
 That doutfull hope, that certayne woo, & sure dispaire of helthe. 50

## 23

## STRIVE NOT WITH LOVE

When sommer toke in hand the winter to assail  
 With force of might and vertue gret, his stormy blasts to quail,  
 And when he clothed faire the earth about with grene,  
 And euery tree new garmented, that pleasure was to sene,  
 Mine hart gan new reuiue, and changed blood dyd stur 5  
 Me to withdraw my winter woe, that kept within the dore.  
 Abrode, quod my desire, assay to set thy fote,  
 Where thou shalt finde the sauour sweete, for sprong is euery rote ;  
 And to thy health, if thou were sick in any case, 10  
 Nothing more good than in the spring the aire to fele a space.  
 There shalt thou here and se all kindes of birdes ywrought,  
 Well tune their voice with warble smal, as nature hath them tought.  
 Thus pricked me my lust the sluggish house to leaue,  
 And for my health I thought it best suche counsail to receaue. 15  
 So on a morow furth, vnwist of any wight,  
 I went to proue how well it would my heauy burden light.  
 And when I felt the aire so pleasant round about,  
 Lorde, to my self how glad I was that I had gotten out.  
 There might I se how Ver had euery blossom hent, 20  
 And eke the new betrothed birdes ycoupled how they went.  
 And in their songes me thought they thanked nature much  
 That by her lycence all that yere to loue—their happe was such—  
 Right as they could deuise to chose them feres throughout ;  
 With much reioysing to their Lord thus flew they all about.  
 Which when I gan resolue, and in my head conceaue, 25  
 What pleasant life, what heapes of ioy, these little birdes receue,  
 And sawe in what estate I, wery man, was brought  
 By want of that they had at will, and I reiect at nought,  
 Lorde, how I gan in wrath vnwisely me demeane.  
 I curssed loue, and him defied ; I thought to turne the streame. 30  
 But whan I well behelde he had me vnder awe,  
 I asked mercie for my fault that so transgrest his law.  
 “Thou blinded god,” quoth I, “forgeue me this offense ;  
 Vnwillingly I went about to malice thy pretense.”  
 Wherewith he gaue a beck, and thus me thought he swore : 35  
 “Thy sorow ought suffice to purge thy faulte, if it were more.”  
 The vertue of which sounde mine hart did so reuiue  
 That I, me thought, was made as hole as any man aliuie.  
 But here ye may perceiue mine errour, all and some,  
 For that I thought that so it was, yet was it still vndone ; 40  
 And all that was no more but mine empressed mynde,  
 That fayne woulde haue some good relese of Cupide wel assinde.

I turned home forthwith, and might perceiue it well,  
That he agreued was right sore with me for my rebell.

My harmes haue euer since increased more and more,  
And I remaine, without his help, vndone for euer more.

A miror let me be vnto ye louers all:  
Striue not with loue, for if ye do, it will ye thus befall.

45

## 24

## A STRICKEN SHEPHERD

In winters iust returne, when Boreas gan his raigne,  
And euery tree vnclouted fast, as nature taught them plaine,  
In misty morning darke, as sheepe are then in holde,  
I hyed me fast, it sat me on, my sheepe for to vnfolde.

And as it is a thing that louers haue by fittes,  
Vnder a palm I heard one crye as he had lost hys wittes.

Whose voice did ring so shrill, in vttering of his plaint,  
That I amazed was to hear how loue could hym attaint.

"Ah wretched man," quod he, "come death, and ridde thys wo;  
A just reward, a happy end, if it may chaunce thee so.

Thy pleasures past haue wrought thy wo, withoute redresse;  
If thou hadst neuer felt no ioy, thy smart had bene the lesse."

And retchlesse of his life, he gan both sighe and grone;  
A ruffull thing me thought it was to hear him make such mone.

"Thou cursed pen," sayd he, "wo worth the bird thee bare;  
The man, the knife, and all that made thee, wo be to their share.

Wo worth the time, and place, where I so could endite,  
And wo be it yet once agayne, the pen that so can write.

Vnhappy hand, it had ben happy time for me  
If, when to write thou learned first, vnioynted hadst thou be."

Thus cursed he himself, and euery other wight,  
Saue her alone whom loue him bound to serue both day and night.

Which when I heard, and saw, how he himselfe fordid,  
Against the ground, with bloody strokes, himselfe euen there to rid,

Had ben my heart of flint, it must haue melted tho,  
For in my life I neuer saw a man so full of wo.

With teares, for his redresse, I rashly to him ran  
And in my arms I caught him fast, and thus I spake hym than:

"What wofull wight art thou, that in such heauy case  
Tormentes thy selfe with such despite, here in this desert place?"

Wherewith, as all agast, fulfilled wyth ire and dred,  
He cast on me a staring loke, with colour pale and ded.

5

10

15

20

25

30

"Nay, what art thou," quod he, "that in this heavy plight  
 Doest finde me here, most wofull wretch, that life hath in despight?"  
 "I am," quoth I, "but pore, and simple in degre; 35  
 A shepardes charge I haue in hand, vnworthy though I be."  
 With that he gaue a sighe, as though the skye should fall,  
 And lowd, alas! he shryked oft, and "Shepard," gan he call,  
 "Come, hie the fast at ones, and print it in thy hart;  
 So thou shalt know, and I shall tell the, giltlesse how I smart." 40  
 His backe against the tree, sore febled all with faint,  
 With weary sprite hee stretched him vp, and thus hee told his plaint.  
 "Ones in my hart," quoth he, "it chanced me to loue  
 Such one, in whom hath nature wrought her cunning for to proue.  
 And sure I can not say, but many yeres were spent 45  
 With such good will so recompenst, as both we were content.  
 Whereto then I me bound, and she likewise also,  
 The sonne should runne his course awry, ere we this faith forgo.  
 Who ioied then, but I? who had this worldes blisse?  
 Who might compare a life to mine, that neuer thought on this? 50  
 But dwelling in thys truth, amid my greatest ioy,  
 Is me befallen a greater loss than Priam had of Troy:  
 She is reuersed clene, and beareth me in hand,  
 That my desertes haue giuen her cause to break thys faithful band.  
 And for my iust excuse auailleth no defense. 55  
 Now knowest thou all; I can no more. But, shepard, hye the hense,  
 And giue him leaue to die that may no lenger liue.  
 Whose record, lo, I claime to haue, my death, I doe forgieue.  
 And eke, when I am gone, be bolde to speake it plain:  
 Thou hast seen dye the truest man that euer loue did pain." 60  
 Wherewith he turned him round, and gasping oft for breath,  
 Into his armes a tree he raught, and sayd, "Welcome my death:  
 Welcome a thousand fold, now dearer vnto me  
 Than should, without her loue to liue, an emperour to be."  
 Thus, in this wofull state, he yelded vp the ghost, 65  
 And little knoweth his lady, what a louer she hath lost.  
 Whose death when I beheld, no maruail was it, right  
 For pitie though my heart did blede, to see so piteous sight.  
 My blood from heat to colde oft changed wonders sore;  
 A thousand troubles there I found I neuer knew before. 70  
 Twene dread and dolour, so my sprites were brought in feare,  
 That long it was ere I could call to minde what I did there.  
 But, as eche thing hath end, so had these paynes of mine:  
 The furies past, and I my wits restored by length of time.  
 Then, as I could deuise, to seke I thought it best 75  
 Where I might finde some worthy place for such a corse to rest.

And in my mind it came, from thence not farre away,  
Where Chreseids loue, king Priams sonne, ye worthy Troilus lay.

By him I made his tomb, in token he was trew,  
And, as to him belonged well, I couered it with bleew.

Whose soule, by angles power, departed not so sone  
But to the heauens, lo, it fled, for to receiue his dome.

80

## 25

## A FRIENDLY WARNING

To dearly had I bought my grene and youthfull yeres,  
If in mine age I could not finde when craft for loue apperes;  
And seldom though I come in court among the rest,  
Yet can I iudge in colours dim as depe as can the best.

Where grefe tormentes the man that suffreth secret smart,  
To breke it forth vnto som frend it easeth well the hart.

So standes it now with me for my beloued frend.  
This case is thine for whom I fele such torment of my minde,

And for thy sake I burne so in my secret brest  
That till thou know my hole disseyse my hart can haue no rest.

I se how thine abuse hath wrested so thy wittes  
That all it yeldes to thy desire, and folowes the by fittes.

Where thou hast loued so long with hart and all thy power,  
I se thee fed with fayned wordes, thy freedom to deuour.

I know—though she say nay, and would it well withstand—  
When in her grace thou held the most, she bare the but in hand.

I see her pleasant chere in chiefest of thy suite;  
Whan thou art gone, I se him come that gathers vp the fruite.

And eke in thy respect I se the base degre  
Of him to whom she gaued the hart that promised was to the.

I se—what would you more—stode neuer man so sure  
On womans word, but wisdome would mistrust it to endure.

5

10

15

20

## 26

## THE FICKLENESS OF WOMAN

Wrapt in my carelesse cloke, as I walke to and fro,  
I se how loue can shew what force there reigneth in his bow;

And how he shoteth eke, a hardy hart to wound;  
And where he glanceth by agayne, that litle hurt is found.



For seldom is it sene he woundeth hartes alike: 5  
 The tone may rage, when tothers loue is often farre to seke.  
 All this I se, with more, and wonder thinketh me  
 Howe he can strike the one so sore, and leaue the other fre.  
 I se that wounded wight, that suffreth all this wrong,  
 How he is fed with yeas and naves, and liueth all to long. 10  
 In silence though I kepe such secretes to my self,  
 Yet do I se how she sometime doth yeld a loke by stelth,  
 As though it seemed, ywys, I will not lose the so,—  
 When in her hart so swete a thought did neuer truly grow.  
 Then say I thus: alas, that man is farre from blisse 15  
 That doth receiue for his relief none other gayn but this.  
 And she, that fedes him so,—I fele, and finde it plain—  
 Is but to glory in her power, that ouer such can reign.  
 Nor are such graces spent but when she thinkes that he,  
 A weried man, is fully bent such fansies to let flie; 20  
 Then to retain him stil she wrasteth new her grace,  
 And smileth, lo, as though she would forthwith the man embrace.  
 But when the prooffe is made to try such lokes withall,  
 He findeth then the place all voyde, and fraighted full of gall.  
 Lord, what abuse is this! who can such women praise, 25  
 That for their glory do deuise to vse such crafty wayes!  
 I, that among the rest do sit, and mark the row,  
 Fynde that in her is greater craft then is in twenty mo.  
 Whose tender yeres, alas! with wyles so well are spedde,  
 What will she do when hory heares are powdred in her hedde! 30

## 27

## MODERN SAWS AND ANCIENT INSTANCE

Gyrtt in my ~~glitlesse~~<sup>giltlesse</sup> gowne, as I sytt heare and sowe,  
 I see that thinges are not in dead as to the owtward showe.  
 And who so lyst to looke and note thinges somewhat neare,  
 Shal fynde, wheare playnnesse seemes to haunte, nothing but craft appeare. 5  
 For with indifferent eyes my self can well discearne  
 How som, to guyd a shyppe in stormes, stycke not to take the stearne;  
 Whose skill and conninge tryed in calme to steare a bardge,  
 They wolde sone shaw, yow shold sone see, it weare to great a chardge.  
 And some I see agayne sytt still and say but small  
 That can do ten tymes more than they that say they can do all. 10  
 Whose goodlye gyftes are suche, the more they vnderstand,  
 The more they seeke to learne and know and take lesse chardge in hand.

And, to declare more playne, the tyme flyttes not so fast  
 But I can beare right well in mynd the song now sung and past.  
 The auctour whearof cam, wrapt in a craftye cloke, 15  
 In will to force a flamyng fyre wheare he could rayse no smoke.  
 If powre and will had mett, as it appeareth playne,  
 The truth nor right had tane no place, their vertues had bene vayne.  
 So that you may perceave and I may saflye see,  
 The innocent that giltlesse is, condempned sholde have be. 20  
 Muche lyke untruth to this the story doth declare,  
 Wheare the elders layd to Susans chardge meete matter to compare.  
 They did her both accuse and eke condempne her to,  
 And yet no reason, right, nor truthe, did lead them so to do.  
 And she thus judged to dye, toward her death went forthe 25  
 Ffraughted with faith, a pacient pace, taking her wrong in worthe.  
 But he, that dothe defend all those that in hym trust,  
 Did raise a childe for her defence, to shyeld her from the unjust.  
 And Danyell chosen was then of this wrong to weete  
 How, in what place, and eke with whome, she did this cryme commytt. 30  
 He cawsed the elders part the one from the others sight,  
 And did examyne one by one and chardged them bothe say right.  
 Vndra molberye trye it was, fyrst sayd the one;  
 The next namede a pomegranate trye; whereby the truth was knowne.  
 Than Susan was discharged and they condempned to dye, 35  
 As right requeares and they deserve that framede so fowll a lye.  
 And he, that her preserved and lett them of their lust,  
 Hath me defendyd hetherto, and will do still I trust.

## 28

## CALM AFTER STORM

If care do cause men cry, why do not I complaine?  
 If eche man do bewaile his wo, why shew I not my paine?  
 Since that amongst them all, I dare well say, is none  
 So farre from weale, so full of wo, or hath more cause to mone. 5  
 For all thynges hauing life sometime haue quiet rest,  
 The bering asse, the drawing oxe, and euery other beast.  
 The peasant and the post, that serue at al assayes,  
 The shyp boy and the galley slaue, haue time to take their ease,  
 Saue I, alas! whom care of force doth so constraîne 10  
 To waile the day and wake the night continually in paine,  
 From pensiuenes to plaint, from plaint to bitter teares,  
 From teares to painfull plaint againe; and thus my life it wears.  
 No thing vnder the sunne that I can here or se,  
 But moueth me for to bewaile my cruell destenie.

For wher men do reioyce, since that I can not so, 15  
 I take no pleasure in that place, it doubleth but my woe.  
 And when I heare the sound of song or instrument,  
 Me thinke eche tune there dolefull is and helpes me to lament.  
 And if I se some haue their most desired sight,  
 Alas! think I, eche man hath weal saue I, most wofull wight. 20  
 Then, as the striken dere withdrawes him selfe alone,  
 So do I seke some secrete place where I may make my mone.  
 There do my flowing eyes shew forth my melting hart,  
 So yat the stremes of those two welles right wel declare my smart.  
 And in those cares so colde I force my selfe a heate, 25  
 As sick men in their shaking fittes procure them self to sweate;  
 With thoughtes that for the time do much appease my paine.  
 But yet they cause a ferther fere and brede my woe agayne:  
 Me thinke within my thought I se right plaine appere,  
 My hartes delight, my sorowes leche, mine earthly goddesse here, 30  
 With euery sondry grace that I haue sene her haue;  
 Thus I within my wofull brest her picture paint and graue.  
 And in my thought I roll her bewties to and fro,  
 Her laughing chere, her louely looke, my hart that perced so;  
 Her strangenes when I sued her seruant for to be; 35  
 And what she sayd, and how she smiled, when that she pitied me.  
 Then comes a sodaine feare that riueth all my rest  
 Lest absence cause forgetfulness to sink within her brest.  
 For when I thinke how far this earth doth vs deuide,  
 Alas! me semes loue throwes me downe; I fele how that I slide. 40  
 But then, I thinke againe, why should I thus mistrust  
 So swete a wight, so sad and wise, that is so true and iust;  
 For loth she was to loue, and wauering is she not.  
 The farther of, the more desirde; thus louers tie their knot.  
 So in dispaire and hope plunged am I both vp an doune, 45  
 As is the ship with wind and waue when Neptune list to froune.  
 But as the watry showers delaye the raging winde,  
 So doth good hope clene put away dispayre out of my minde,  
 And biddes me for to serue and suffer pacientlie,  
 For what, wot I, the after weale that fortune willes to me. 50  
 For those that care do knowe and tasted haue of trouble,  
 When passed is their woful paine, eche ioy shall seme them double;  
 And bitter sendes she now, to make me tast the better  
 The plesant swete, when that it comes, to make it seme the sweter.  
 And so determine I to serue vntill my brethe; 55  
 Ye, rather dye a thousand times then once to false my feithe.  
 And if my feble corps through weight of wofull smart  
 Do fayle or faint, my will it is that still she kepe my hart.  
 And when thys carcas here to earth shalbe referade,  
 I do bequeth my weried ghost to serue her afterwarde.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL, POEMS

29

THE LADY GERALDINE

Ffrom Tuscan cam my ladies worthi race;  
Faire Fflorence was sometime her auncient seate;  
The westerne ile, whose pleasaunt showre doth face  
Wylde Chambares cliffes, did geve her lyvely heate;  
Ffostred she was with mylke of Irishe brest; 5  
Her syer an erle, hir dame of princes bloud;  
From tender yeres in Britaine she doth rest,  
With a kinges child, where she tastes gostly foode;  
Honsdon did furst present her to myn eyen;  
Bryght ys her hew, and Geraldine shee highte; 10  
Hampton me tawght to wishe her furst for myne;  
And Windesor, alas! doth chace me from her sight.  
Bewty of kind, her vertues from a bove,  
Happy ys he that may obtaine her love.

30

WINDSOR MEMORIES

When Windesor walles sustained my wearied arme,  
My hand, my chyn, to ease my restles hedde,  
Ech pleasaunt plot revested green with warm,  
The blossomed bowes, with lustie veare yspred,  
The flowred meades, the weddyd birdes so late, 5  
Myne eyes discovered. Than did to mynd resort  
The ioily woes, the hateles shorte debate,  
The rakhell life, that longes to loves disporte.  
Wherwith, alas! myne hevy charge of care,  
Heapt in my brest, brake forth against my will; 10  
And smoky sighes, that over cast the ayer;  
My vapored eyes such drery teares distill,  
The tender spring to quicken wher thei fall;  
And I have bent to throwe me downe with all.

31

THE POETS LAMENT FOR HIS LOST BOYHOOD

So crewell prison! howe could betyde, alas!  
 As prowde Wyndsour, where I, in lust & ioye,  
 With a Kinges soon my childishe yeres did passe,  
 In greater feast then Priams sonnes of Troye;

Where eche swete place retournes a tast full sowre. 5  
 The large grene courtes, where we wer wont to hove,  
 With eyes cast upp unto the maydens towre,  
 And easye sighes, such as folke drawe in love.

The statelie sales: the ladies bright of hewe;  
 The daunces short; long tales of great delight; 10  
 With wordes and lookes, that tygers could but rewe,  
 Where eche of vs did plead the others right.

The palme playe, where, dispoyled for the game,  
 With dased eyes oft we by gleames of love  
 Have mist the ball, and got sight of our dame, 15  
 To bayte her eyes which kept the leddes above.

The graveld ground: with sleeves tyed on the helme,  
 On fomyng horse, with swordes and frendlye hertes,  
 With chere, as though the one should overwhelme,  
 Where we have fought & chased oft with dartes. 20

With sylver dropps the meades yet spredd for rewthe,  
 In active games of nymblenes and strengthe  
 Where we dyd strayne, trayled by swarmes of youthe,  
 Our tender lymes, that yet shott vpp in lengthe.

The secret groves, which oft we made resound 25  
 Of pleasaunt playnt & of our ladies prayes,  
 Recording soft, what grace eche one had found,  
 What hope of spede, what dred of long delayes.

The wyld forest, the clothed holte with grene,  
 With raynes avald and swift ybrethed horse, 30  
 With crye of houndes and merey blastes bitwen,  
 Where we did chace the fearfull hart a force.

The voyd walles eke, that harbourde vs eche night;  
 Wherwith, alas! revive within my brest  
 The swete accord, such slepes as yet delight, 35  
 The pleasaunt dreames, the quybet bedd of rest,

The secret thoughtes imparted with such trust,  
 The wanton talke, the dyvers chaung of playe,  
 The frendshipp sworne, eche promyse kept so iust,  
 Wherwith we past the winter nightes awaye. 40

And with this thought the blood forsakes my face,  
 The teares berayne my chekes of dedlye hewe;  
 The which, as sone as sobbing sighes, alas!  
 Vpsupped have, thus I my playnt renewe:

“O place of blys! renewer of my woos!  
 Geve me accompt wher is my noble fere,  
 Whome in thy walles thow didest eche night enclose,  
 To other lief, but vnto me most dere.” 45

Eccho, alas! that dothe my sorowe rewe,  
 Retournes therto a hollowe sound of playnt. 50  
 Thus I, alone, where all my fredome grew,  
 In pryson pyne with bondage and restraynt;

And with remembraunce of the greater greif,  
 To bannishe the lesse, I fynde my chief releif.

## 32

## A SATIRE ON LONDON, THE MODERN BABYLON

London, hast thow accused me  
 Of breche of lawes, the roote of stryfe?  
 Within whose brest did boyle to see,  
 So fervent hotte, thy dissolute lief,  
 That even the hate of synnes, that groo 5  
 Within thy wicked walles so rife,  
 Ffor to breake forthe did convert soo  
 That terrour colde it not repress.  
 The which, by wordes, syns prechers knoo  
 What hope is left for to redresse, 10  
 By vnknowne meanes, it liked me  
 My hydden burden to expresse,  
 Wherby yt might appere to the  
 That secret synn hath secret spight;  
 Ffrom iustice rodd no fault is free; 15  
 But that all such as wourke vnright  
 In most quyet, are next ill rest.

In secret sylence of the night  
 This made me, with a reckles brest,  
 To wake thy sluggardes with my bowe; 20  
 A fygure of the Lordes behest,  
 Whose scourge for synn the Sceptures shew.  
 That, as the fearfull thonder clapp  
 By soddayne flame at hand we knowe,  
 Of peoble stones the sowndles rapp, 25  
 The dredfull plage might mak the see  
 Of Goddes wrath, that doth the enwrapp;  
 That pryde might know, from conscyence free,  
 How loftye workes may her defend;  
 And envye fynd, as he hath sought, 30  
 How other seke hym to offend;  
 And wrath tast of eche crewell thought  
 The iust shapp hyer in the end;  
 And ydell slouth, that never wrought,  
 To heven hys spirite lift may begyn; 35  
 & gre dye lucre lyve in drede  
 To see what haate ill gott goodes wynn;  
 The lechers, ye that lustes do feed,  
 Perceve what secrecy is in synne;  
 And gluttons hartes for sorrow blede, 40  
 Awaked, when their faulte they fynd.  
 In lothsome vyce, eche dronken wight  
 To styrr to Godd, this was my mynd.  
 Thy wyndowes had don me no spight;  
 But prowde people that drede no fall, 45  
 Clothed with falshed and vnright  
 Bred in the closures of thy wall,  
 But wrested to wrathe in fervent zeale,  
 Thow hast to strief, my secret call.  
 Endured hartes no warning feale. 50  
 Oh shameles hore! is dred then gone  
 By suche thy foes, as ment thy weale?  
 Oh membre of false Babylon!  
 The shopp of craft! the denne of ire!  
 Thy dredfull dome drawes fast uppon; 55  
 Thy martyres blood, by sword & fyre,  
 In Heaven & earth for iustice call.  
 The Lord shall here their iust desyre;  
 The flame of wrath shall on the fall;  
 With famyne and pest lamentable 60  
 Stricken shalbe thy lecheres all;

Thy proud towers and turretes hye,  
 Ennyes to God, beat stone from stone;  
 Thyne idolles burnt, that wrought iniquitie.  
 When none thy ruine shall bemone,  
 But render vnto the right wise Lord,  
 That so hath iudged Babylon,  
 Imortall praise with one accord.

65

## 33

## LADY SURREYS LAMENT FOR HER ABSENT LORD

Good ladies, you that have your pleasure in exyle,  
 Stepp in your foote, come, take a place, and mourne with me awhyle;  
 And suche as by their lords do sett but lytle pryce,  
 Lett them sitt still, it skills them not what chaunce come on the dyce.  
 But you whome love hath bound, by order of desyre  
 To love your lordes, whose good desertes none other wold requyre,  
 Come you yet once agayne, and sett your foote by myne,  
 Whose wofull plight, and sorowes great, no tongue may well defyne.  
 My lord and love, alas! in whome consystes my wealth,  
 Hath fortune sent to passe the seas, in haserd of his health.  
 That I was wontt for to embrace, contentid myndes,  
 Ys now amydd the foming floodds, at pleasure of the wyndes.  
 Theare God hym well preserve, and safelye me hym send;  
 Without whiche hope, my lyf, alas! weare shortlye at an ende.  
 Whose absence yet, although my hope doth tell me plaine  
 With short returne he comes anon, yet ceasith not my payne.  
 The fearefull dreames I have, oft tymes they greeve me so  
 That then I wake, and stand in dowbtt yf they be trew or no.  
 Somtyme the roring seas, me seemes, they grow so hye,  
 That my sweete lorde in daunger greate, alas! doth often lye.  
 Another tyme, the same doth tell me he is comme,  
 And playng, wheare I shall hym fynd, with T., his lytle sonne.  
 So forthe I goe apace, to see that lyfsome sight,  
 And with a kysse, me thinckes I say, "Now well come home, my knight;  
 Welcome, my sweete, alas! the staye of my welfare;  
 Thye presence bringeth forthe a truce betwixt me and my care."  
 Then lyvelye doth he looke, and saluith me agayne,  
 And saith, "My deare, how is it now that you have all this payne?"  
 Wheare with the heauey cares, that heapt are in my brest,  
 Breake forth, and me dischargdgeth cleane of all my great unrest.  
 Butt when I me awayke and fynde it but a dreame,  
 The angwyshe of my former woe beginneth more extreme,

5

10

15

20

25

30



And me tourmentith so that vnneth may I fynde  
 Some hydden wheare, to steale the gryfe of my unquyet mynd.  
 Thus, euerye waye, you see with absence how I burne, 35  
 And for my wound no cure there is but hope of some retourne,  
 Save when I feele, the sower, how sweete is felt the more,  
 It doth abate some of my paynes that I abode before;  
 And then unto my self I saye, "When that we two shall meete,  
 But lyttle tyme shall seeme this payne, that joye shall be so sweete." 40  
 Ye wyndes, I you conuart, in chieffest of your rage,  
 That you my lord me safelye send, my sorowes to asswage;  
 And that I may not long abyde in suche excesse,  
 Do your good will to cure a wight that lyveth in distresse.

34

AN IRATE HOST

Eache beeste can chuse his feere according to his minde,  
 And eke to shew a frindlie cheare, lyke to their beastly kynd.  
 A lyon saw I theare, as whyte as any snow,  
 Whiche seemyd well to leade the race, his porte the same did shew.  
 Uppon this gentyll beast to gaze it lyked me, 5  
 For still me thought, it seemyd me, of noble blood to be.  
 And as he praunced before, still seeking for a make,  
 As whoe wolde say, "There is none heare, I trow, will me forsake,"  
 I might perceave a woolf, as whyte as whale his bone,  
 A fayrer beast, a fressher hew, beheld I never none, 10  
 Save that her lookes wear fearce and froward eke her grace.  
 Toward the whiche, this gentle beast gan hym advaunce apace,  
 And, with a beck full low, he bowed at her feete  
 In humble wyse, as who wold say, "I am to farr unmeete";  
 But suche a scornfull cheere, wheare with she hym rewarded, 15  
 Was never seene, I trow, the lyke, to suche as well deservid.  
 Wheare with she startt asyde well neare a foote or twayne,  
 And unto hym thus gan she saye, with spight and great disdayne:  
 "Lyon," she said, "yf thow hadest knowen my mynde beforene,  
 Thow hadst not spentt thie travaile thus, and all thie payne forlorne. 20  
 Do waye! I lett the wecte, thow shalt not play with me;  
 But raunge aboute: thow maiste seeke oute some meeter feere for the."  
 Forthwith he beatt his taile, his eyes begounne to flame;  
 I might perceave his noble hartt moche moved by the same.  
 Yet saw I him refrayne, and eke his rage asswage, 25  
 And unto her thus gan he say, whan he was past his rage:

"Crewell, you do me wronge to sett me thus so light;  
 Without desert, for my good will to shew me such dispight.  
 How can you thus entreat a lyon of the race,  
 That with his pawes a crowned kinge devoured in the place? . . . 30  
 Whose nature is, to prea uppon no symple foode  
 As longe as he may suck the flesshe, and drincke of noble bloode.  
 Yf you be faire and fresshe, am I not of your hew?  
 And, for my vaunte, I dare well say my blood is not untrew;  
 Ffor you your self dothe know, it is not long agoe, 35  
 Sins that, for love, one of the race did end his life in woe  
 In towre both strong and highe, for his assured truthe.  
 Wheare as in teares he spent his breath, alas! the more the ruthe;  
 This gentle beast lykewise, who nothinge could remove,  
 But willinglye to seeke his death for losse of his true love. 40  
 Other ther be whose lyfe, to lynger still in payne,  
 Against their will preservid is, that wold have dyed right fayne.  
 But well I may perceave that nought it movid you,  
 My good entent, my gentle hart, nor yet my kynd so true;  
 But that your will is suche to lure me to the trade, 45  
 As others some full many yeares to trace by crafte you made.  
 And thus beholde my kynd, how that we differ farr:  
 I seke my foes, and you your friends do threaten still with warr;  
 I fawne wheare I am fedd, you flee that seekes to you;  
 I can devoure no yelding pray, you kill wheare you subdue; 50  
 My kynd, is to desyre the honour of the field,  
 And you, with blood to slake your thirst of suche as to you yelde.  
 Wherefore I wolde you wist, that for your coy lookes  
 I am no man that will be traynd, nor tanglyd bye suche hookes;  
 And thoughe some list to bow, wheare blame full well they might, 55  
 And to suche beastes a currant fawne, that shuld have travaile bright,  
 I will observe the law that nature gave to me,  
 To conqueare such as will resist, and let the rest go free.  
 And as a ffaulcon free, that soreth in the ayre,  
 Whiche never fedd on hand or lure, that for no stale doth care, 60  
 While that I live and breathe, suche shall my custome be  
 In wildnesse of the woods to seeke my prea, wheare pleasith me;  
 Where many one shall rew that never mad offence:  
 Thus your refuse agaynst my powre shall bode them no defence.  
 In the revendge wherof, I vowe and swaere therto, 65  
 A thowsand spoyles I shall commytt I never thought to do;  
 And yf to light on you my happ so good shall be,  
 I shall be glad to feede on that that wold have fed on me.

And thus, farewell! unkynd, to whome I bent to low,  
 I would you wist the shipp is safe that bare his saile so low! 70  
 Syns that a Lyons hart is for a wolfe no pray,  
 With blooddye mowth of symple sheepe go slake your wrath, I say,  
 With more dispight and ire than I can now expresse,  
 Whiche to my payne though I refrayne the cause you may well gesse:  
 As for because my self was awthour of this game, 75  
 It bootes me not that, by my wrath, I should disturbb the same.

35

PROLOG TO PSALM 88

Wher recheles youthe in a vnquiet brest,  
 Set on by wrath, revenge, and cruelye,  
 After long warr pacyens had opprest,  
 And iustice wrought by pryncelye equitie;  
 My Deny, then myne errour, depe imprest, 5  
 Began to worke dispaire of libertye,  
 Had not David, the perfytt warriour, tought  
 That of my fault thus pardon shold be sought.

36

PROLOG TO PSALM 73

The soudden stormes that heaue me to and froo  
 Had welneare pierced faith, my guyding saile,  
 For I, that on the noble voyage goo  
 To succhor treuthe and falshed to assaile,  
 Constrayned am to beare my sayles ful loo 5  
 And neuer could attayne some pleasaunt gaile,  
 For vnto such the prosperous winds doo bloo  
 As ronne from porte to porte to seke availe.  
 This bred dispayre, wherof such doubts did groo  
 That I gan faint and all my courage faile. 10  
 But now, my Blage, myne errour well I see;  
 Such goodlye light King David giueth me.

## REFLECTIONS FROM THE TOWER

The stormes are past, these cloudes are ouerblowne,  
 And humble chere great rygour hath represt.  
 For the defaute is set a paine foreknowne,  
 And pacience graft in a determed brest.  
 And in the hart where heapes of griefes were grown, 5  
 The swete reuenge hath planted mirth and rest;  
 No company so pleasant as myne owne.  
 Thraldom at large hath made this prison fre;  
 Danger well past, remembred, workes delight.  
 Of lingring doutes such hope is sprong, perdie! 10  
 That nought I finde displeasaunt in my sight  
 But when my glasse presented vnto me  
 The curelesse wound that bledeth day and night.  
 To think, alas! such hap should graunted be  
 Vnto a wretch that hath no hart to fight, 15  
 To spill that blood that hath so oft bene shed  
 For Britannes sake, alas! and now is ded.

MORAL, AND DIDACTIC POEMS

38

A TRIBUTE TO WYATTS PSALMS

The greate Macedon, that out of Persy chased  
Darius, of whose huge powre all Asia range,  
In the riche arke yf Hommers rhymes he placed,  
Who fayned gestes of heathen princes sange; 5  
What holie grave, what worthy sepulture,  
To Wyates Psalmes should Christians than purchase?  
Where he doth painte the lively fayth and pure,  
The stedfast hope, the sweet returne to grace,  
Of iust David, by perfect penitence;  
Where rulers may see, in a myrroure clere, 10  
The bytter frute of false concupicence:  
How Iurye bowght Vryas death full deere.  
In princes hartes Godes scourge yprinted deepe  
Mowght them awake out of their synfull sleepe.

39

AN EPIGRAM TO RADCLIFFE

My Ratclif, when thy rechlesse youth offendes,  
Receue thy scourge by others chastisement.  
For such callyng, when it workes none amendes,  
Then plagues are sent without aduertisement.  
Yet Salomon sayd, the wronged shall recure; 5  
But Wiat said true, the skarre doth aye endure.

40

SARDANAPALUS

Th' Assyryans king—in peas, with fowle desyre  
And filthy lustes that staynd his regall harte—  
In warr, that should sett pryncelye hertes a fyre,  
Vaynquyshd, dyd yelde for want of martyall arte.

(77)

The dent of swordes from kysses semed straunge, 5  
 And harder then hys ladyes syde his targe;  
 From glotton feastes to sowldyers fare a chaunge;  
 His helmet, far aboue a garlandes charge.  
 Who scace the name of manhode dyd retayne,  
 Ffeble of sprete, vnpacyent of payne,  
 When he hadd lost his honour and hys right,—  
 Prowde, tyme of welthe, in stormes appawld with drede—,  
 Murdred hym self to shew some manfull dede.  
 Drenched in slouthe & womanishe delight. 10

## 41

## THE HAPPY LIFE

Marshall, the thinges for to attayne  
 The happy life be thes, I fynde:  
 The riches left, not got with payne;  
 The frutfull grownd; the quyete mynde;  
 The equall freend; no grudge, nor stryf; 5  
 No charge of rule nor governance;  
 Without disease, the helthfull life;  
 The howshold of contynvance;  
 The meane dyet, no delicate fare;  
 Wisdom ioyned with simplicity; 10  
 The night discharged of all care,  
 Where wyne may beare no soveranty;  
 The chaste wife, wyse, without debate;  
 Suche sleapes as may begyle the night;  
 Contented with thyne owne estate, 15  
 Neyther wisse death, nor fear his might.

## 42

## THE GOLDEN MEAN

Of thy lyfe, Thomas, this compasse well mark;  
 Not aye with full sayles the hie seas to beat;  
 Ne by coward dred, in shonning stormes dark,  
 On shalow shores thy keel in perill freat.  
 Who so gladly halseth the golden meane, 5  
 Voyde of dangers aduisdly hath his home  
 Not with lothsom muck, as a den vncleane,  
 Nor palacelyke, wherat disdayn may glome.

The lofty pyne the great winde often riuies ;  
 With violenter swey falne turrets stepe ; 10  
 Lightninges assault the hye mountains and cliues.  
 A hart well stayd, in ouerthwartes depe,  
 Hopeth amendes ; in swete, doth feare the sowre.  
 God, that sendeth, withdrawth winter sharp.  
 Now ill, not aye thus : once Phebus to lowre 15  
 With bow vn bent shall cesse, and frame to harp  
 His voyce. In straite estate appere thou stout ;  
 And so wisely, when lucky gale of winde  
 All thy puft sailes shall fil, loke well about,  
 Take in a ryft ; hast is wast, profe doth finde. 20

## 43

## THE AGES OF MAN

Laid in my quyett bedd, in study as I weare,  
 I saw within my troubled hed a heape of thoughtes appeare ;  
 And every thought did shew so lyvelye in myne eyes,  
 That now I sight, and then I smylde, as cawse of thought did ryse.  
 I saw the lytle boye, in thought how ofte that he 5  
 Did wishe of Godd to scape the rodd, a tall yong man to be ;  
 The yong man, eke, that feeles his bones with paynes opprest,  
 How he wold be a riche olde man, to lyve and lye att rest ;  
 The ryche olde man, that sees his end draw on so sore,  
 How he wolde be a boy agayne, to lyve so moche the more. 10  
 Wheare at, full ofte I smylde, to see how all these three,  
 From boy to man, from man to boy, wold chopp and chaunge degree ;  
 And musinge thus, I thincke the case is very straunge,  
 That man from wealth, to lyve in woe, doth ever seeke to chaunge.  
 Thus thoughtfull as I laye, I saw my witheryd skynne 15  
 How it doth shew my dynted jawes, the flesshe was worne so thynne,  
 And eke my tothelesse chapps, the gates of my right way,  
 That opes and shuttes as I do speake, do thus unto me say :  
 "Thie whyte and horishe heares, the messengers of age,  
 That shew lyke lynes of true belief that this lif doth asswage, 20  
 Bides the lay hand, and feele them hanging on thie chyn,  
 The whiche do wryte twoe ages past, the thurd now cumming in.  
 Hang upp, therefore, the bitt of thie yonge wanton tyme,  
 And thow that theare in beaten art, the happyest lif defyne."  
 Wheare at I sight, and said, "Farewell ! my wonted joye ; 25  
 Trusse upp thie pack, and trudge from me to every lytle boye,  
 And tell them thus from me, their tyme moste happie is,  
 Yf, to their tyme, they reason had to know the truthe of this."

ELEGIAC POEMS

44

A TRIBUTE TO WYATT

In the rude age when scyence was not so rife,  
If Jove in Crete, and other where they taught  
Artes to reverte to profyte of our lyfe,  
Wan after deathe to have their temples sought; 5  
If vertue yet, in no vnthankfull tyme,  
Fayled of some to blast her endles fame—  
A goodlie meane bothe to deter from cryme  
And to her steppes our sequell to enflame;  
In deyes of treuthe, if Wyattes frendes then waile—  
The onelye debte that ded of quycke may clayme— 10  
That rare wit spent, employde to our awayle,  
Where Christe is tought, deserve they momais blame?  
His livelie face thy brest how did it freate,  
Whose cynders yet with envye doo the eate.

45

A SECOND TRIBUTE TO WYATT

Dyvers thy death doo dyverslye bemone.  
Some, that in presence of that livelye hedd  
Lurked, whose brestes envye with hate had sowne,  
Yeld Cesars teres vpon Pompeius hedd. 5  
Some, that watched with the murdrers knyfe,  
With egre thirst to drynke thy guylties blood,  
Whose practyse brake by happye end of lyfe,  
Weape envyous teares to here thy fame so good.  
But I that knewe what harbourd in that hedd,  
What vertues rare were temperd in that brest, 10  
Honour the place that such a iewell bredd,  
And kysse the ground, where as thy coorse doth rest,  
With vaporde eyes; from whence suche streames awayle  
As Pyramus did on Thisbes brest bewayle.



46

## A THIRD TRIBUTE TO WYATT

W. resteth here, that quick could neuer rest ;  
 Whose heauenly giftes increased by disdain,  
 And vertue sank the deper in his brest :  
 Such profit he by enuy could obtain.

A hed, where wisdom misteries did frame ; 5  
 Whose hammers bet styll in that liuely brayn  
 As on a stithe, where that some work of fame  
 Was dayly wrought, to turne to Britaines gayn.

A visage, stern and myld ; where bothe did grow,  
 Vice to contemne, in vertue to reioyce ; 10  
 Amid great stormes, whom grace assured so,  
 To lyue vpright, and smile at fortunes choyce.

A hand, that taught what might be sayd in ryme ;  
 That reft Chaucer the glory of his wit ;  
 A mark, the which—vnparfited, for time— 15  
 Some may approche, but neuer none shall hit.

A tounge, that serued in forein realmes his king ;  
 Whose courteous talke to vertue did enflame  
 Eche noble hart ; a worthy guide to bring  
 Our English youth, by trauail, vnto fame. 20

An eye, whose iudgement none affect could blinde.  
 Frenedes to allure, and foes to reconcile ;  
 Whose persing loke did represent a mynde  
 With vertue fraught, reposed, voyd of gyle.

A hart, where drede was neuer so imprest 25  
 To hyde the thought that might the trouth auance ;  
 In neyther fortune lost, nor yet represt,  
 To swell in wealth, or yeld vnto mischance.

A valiant corps, where force and beauty met,  
 Happy, alas ! to happy, but for foes, 30  
 Lieud, and ran the race that nature set ;  
 Of manhodes shape, where she the molde did lose.

But to the heauens that simple soule is fled ;  
 Which left with such, as couet Christ to know,  
 Witnessse of faith that neuer shall be ded ; 35  
 Sent for our helth, but not receiued so.

Thus, for our gilte, this iewel haue we lost ;  
 The earth his bones, the heauens possesse his gost.

## 47

## A TRIBUTE TO THOMAS CLERE

Norfolk sprang thee, Lambeth holds thee dead,  
 Clere, of the County of Cleremont, though hight.  
 Within the womb of Ormonds race thou bred,  
 And sawest thy cousin crowned in thy sight.  
 Shelton for love, Surrey for lord, thou chase ;— 5  
 Aye, me ! while life did last that league was tender.  
 Tracing whose steps thou sawest Kelsall blaze,  
 Laundersey burnt, and battered Bullen render.  
 At Muttrel gates, hopeless of all recure,  
 Thine Earl, half dead, gave in thy hand his will ; 10  
 Which cause did thee this pining death procure,  
 Ere summers four times seven thou couldst fulfill.  
 Ah, Clere ! if love had booted, care, or cost,  
 Heaven had not wonne, nor earth so timely lost.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE BIBLE

48

ECCLESIASTES 1

I, Salamon, Dauids sonne, King of Ierusalem,  
 Chossen by God to teach the Iewes and in his lawes to leade them,  
 Confesse vnder the sonne that euery thing is uayne,  
 The world is false, man he is fraile, and all his pleasures payne. 5  
 Alas! what stable frute may Adams children fynde  
 In that, they seke by sweate of browes and trauill of their mynde.  
 We that liue on the earthe, drawe toward our decay;  
 Ower childeren fill our place a while, and then they fade awaye.  
 Such chaunges maks the earthe, and dothe remoue for none,  
 But sarues us for a place too play our tragedes vppon. 10  
 When that the restles sonne, westwarde his course hathe ronne,  
 Towards the east he hasts as fast, to ryse where he begonne.  
 When hoorrey Boreas hathe blowen his frosen blaste,  
 Then Zephirus, with his gentill breathe, dissolues the ise as fast.  
 Ffludds that drinke vpp smale broks and swell by rage of rayne, 15  
 Discharge in sees which them repulse, and swallowe strayte againe.  
 These worldly pleasures, Lord, so swifte they ronne their race  
 That skace our eyes may them discern, they bide so littell space.  
 What hathe bin, but is now, the like hereafter shall.  
 What new deuce grounded so suer, that dreadeth not the fall? 20  
 What may be called new, but suche things in tymes past  
 As time buryed and dothe reuiue, and tyme agayne shall waste?  
 Things past right worthy fame, haue now no brute at all;  
 Euen so shall dey suche things as now the simple, wounders call.  
 I that, in Dauides seate, sit crowned and reioyce, 25  
 That with my septer rewle the Iewes and teache them with my uoyce,  
 Haue serchied long to know all things vnder the sonne,  
 To see how, in this mortall lyef, a suerty might be wonne.  
 This kyndled will to knowe, straunge things for to desyer,  
 God hathe grafte in our gredye breasts, a torment for our hier. 30  
 The end of eache trauell, furthwith I sought to knoo;  
 I found them uaine, mixed with gall, and burdend with muche woo.  
 Defaults of natures wourke no mans hand may restore,  
 Whiche be in nomber like the sandes vppon the salte floods shore.

Then, vaunting in my witte, I gan call to my mynd 35  
 What rewles of wysdom I hadde taught, that elders could not find;  
 And as, by contraries, to treye most things, we use,  
 Mens follies and ther errors, eke, I gan them all peruse,  
 Thyerby with more delight, to knowledge for to clime.  
 But this I found an endles wourke of payne and losse of tyme, 40  
 Ffor he, to wisdomes skoole, that doth applie his mynd,  
 The further that he wades ther in, the greater doubts shall find.  
 And such as enterprice, to put newe things in ure,  
 Of some, that shall skorne their deuise, may well them selves assure.

## 49

## ECCLESIASTES 2

From pensif fanzies, then, I gan my hart reuoke,  
 And gaued me to suche sporting plaies as laughter myght prouoke;  
 But euen suche uain delights, when they moste blinded me,  
 Allwayes, me thought, with smiling grace, a king did yll agre. 5  
 Then sought I how to please my belly with muche wine,  
 To feede me fatte with costely feasts of rare delights and fine,  
 And other plesures, eke, too purchase me with rest,  
 In so great choise to finde the thing that might content me best.  
 But, Lord, what care of mynde, what soddaine stormies of ire,  
 With broken slepes enduryd I, to compasse my desier! 10  
 To buylde my howses faier then sett I all my cure;  
 By princely acts thus straue I still to make my fame indure.  
 Delicious gardens, eke, I made to please my sight,  
 And grafte therein all kindes of fruts that might my mouthe delight.  
 Conditis, by liuely springs, from their owld course I drewe, 15  
 For to refreshe the fruitfull trees that in my gardynes grewe.  
 Of catell great encrease I bred in littell space.  
 Bondmen I bought, I gaued them wives, and sarued me with ther race.  
 Great heapes of shining gold, by sparing gan I saue,  
 With things of price so furnyshed as fitts a prince to haue. 20  
 To heare faier women sing, sometyme I did reioyce;  
 Rauyshed with ther plesannt tunes, and swetnes of their voyce.  
 Lemans I had, so faier and of so liuely hewe  
 That who so gased in their face myght well their bewtey rewe.  
 Neuer erste sat theyr king so riche, in Dauyds seate; 25  
 Yet still me thought for so smale gaine the trauaile was to great.  
 From my desirous eyes I hyd no plesannt sight,  
 Nor from my hart no kind of myrth that might geue them delyght;

Which was the only freute I rept of all my payne,—  
 To feade my eyes and to reioyce my hart with all my gaine. 30  
 But when I made my compte, with howe great care of mynd  
 And hertes vnrest that I had sought so wastfull frutt to fynde,  
 Then was I streken strayte with that abused fier,  
 To glorey in that goodly witte that compast my desyer.  
 But freshe before myne eyes grace did my fawltys renewe: 35  
 What gentill callings I hadd fledd, my ruyne to purswe,  
 What raging pleasurs past, perill and hard eskape,  
 What fancis in my hed had wrought the licor of the grape.  
 The erroure then I sawe that their fraile harts dothe moue,  
 Which striue in vaine for to compare with him that sitts aboue. 40  
 In whose most perfect worcks suche craft apperyth playne  
 That to the least of them, their may no mortall hand attayne;  
 And, like as light some day dothe shine aboue the night,  
 So darke to me did folly seme, and wysdomes beames as bright.  
 Whose eyes did seme so clere, mots to discern and fynde, 45  
 But will had closed follies eyes, which groped like the blynde.  
 Yet death and time consume all witt and worldly fame,  
 And looke what ende that folly hath, and wisdom hath the same.  
 Then sayd I thus, "Oh Lord, may not thy wisdom cure  
 The wayfull wrongs and hard conflicts that folly doth endure?" 50  
 To sharpe my witt so fine then why toke I this payne?  
 Now finde I well this noble serche may eke be called vayne.  
 As slanders lothsome brute soundes follies iust rewarde,  
 Is put to silence all be time, and brought in smale regarde,  
 Eun so dothe tyme deuoure the noble blast of fame, 55  
 Which showld resounde their glories great that doo desarue the same.  
 Thus present changes chase away the wonders past,  
 Ne is the wise mans fattal thred yet lenger spunne to last.  
 Then, in this wredtched vale, our lief I lothed playne,  
 When I beheld our frutles paynes to compasse pleassurs vayne. 60  
 My trauayll this a vaile hath me produced, loo!  
 An heire unknowen shall reape the frute that I in sede did sowe.  
 But whervnto the Lord his nature shall inclyne,  
 Who can fore knowe, into whose handes I must my goods resine!  
 But, Lord, how pleasannt swete then seamd the idell lief, 65  
 That neuer charged was with care, nor burdened with stryefe:  
 And vile the grede trade of them that toile so sore,  
 To leaue to suche ther trauellis frute that neuer swet therefore.  
 What is that pleasant gaine, which is that swet relief,  
 That showld delay the bitter tast that we fele of our gref? 70

The gladsome dayes we passe to serche a simple gaine,  
The quiete nights, with broken slepes, to fead a resteles brayne.

What hope is left us then, what comfort dothe remayne?  
Our quiet herts for to reioyce with the frute of our payne.

Yf that be trew, who may him selfe so happy call 75  
As I, whose free and sumptius spence dothe shyne beyonde them all?

Sewerly it is a gift and fauor of the Lorde,  
Liberally to spende our goods, the ground of all discorde;

And wretched herts haue they that let their tressurs mold,  
And carrey the roodde that skorgeth them that glorey in their gold. 80

But I doo knowe by proofe, whose ryches beres suche brute,  
What stable welthe may stand in wast, or heping of suche frute.

## 50

## ECCLESIASTES 3

Like to the stereles boote that swerues with euery wynde,  
The slipper topp of worldly welthe by crewell prof I fynde.

Skace hath the seade, wherof that nature foremethe man,  
Receuid lief, when deathe him yeldes to earth wher he began.

The grafted plants with payn, wherof wee hoped frute, 5  
To roote them vpp, with blossomes sprede, then is our cheif porsute.

That erst we rered vpp, we undermyne againe; [paine.  
And shred the spraiies whose grouthe some tyme we laboured with

Eache frowarde thretning chere of fortune maiks vs playne,  
And euery plesant showe reuiues our wofull herts againe. 10

Auncient walles to race is our unstable guyse,  
And of their wether beten stones to buylde some new deuyse.

New fanzes dayly spring, which vaade returning moo;  
And now we practyse to optaine that strayt we must forgoo.

Some tyme we seke to spare that afterward we wast, 15  
And that we trauelid sore to knitt for to uncloze as fast.

In sober sylence now our quiet lipps we crosse,  
And with vnbrydled tounes furth with our secret herts disclosse.

Suche as in folded armes we did embrace, we haate;  
Whom strayte we reconsill againe and banishe all debate. 20

My sede with labour sowne, suche frute produceth me,  
To wast my lief in contraries that neuer shall agree.

From God these heuy cares ar sent for our vnrests,  
And with suche burdens for our welth he frauteth full our brests.

All that the Lord hath wrought, hath bewtey and good grace, 25  
 And to eache thing assined is the proper tyme and place.  
 And graunted eke to man, of all the worldes estate  
 And of eache thing wrought in the same, to argue and debate.  
 Which arte though it approche the heuenly knowlege moste,  
 To serche the naturall grounde of things yet all is labor loste. 30  
 But then the wandering eyes, that longe for suertey sought,  
 Founde that by paine no certayne welth might in this world be bought.  
 Who lieuth in delight and seks no gredy thryfte,  
 But frely spends his goods, may thinke it as a secret gifte. 35  
 Fulfilled shall it be, what so the Lorde intende,  
 Which no deuce of mans witt may aduance, nor yet defende ;  
 Who made all thing of nought, that Adams chyldren might [sight.  
 Lerne how to dread the Lord, that wrought suche wonders in their  
 The gresly wonders past, which tyme wearse owt of mynde,  
 To be renewed in our dayes the Lord hath so assynde. 40  
 Lo! thuse his carfull skourge dothe stele on us vnware,  
 Which, when the fleshe hath clene forgott, he dothe againe repaire.  
 When I in this uaine serche had wanderyd sore my witt,  
 I saw a rioall throne wheras that iustice should haue sitt. 45  
 In stede of whom I saw, with fyerce and crwell mode,  
 Wher wrong was set, that bloody beast, that drounke the gittles blode.  
 Then thought I thus: "One day the Lord shall sitt in dome,  
 To vewe his flock, and chose the pure; the spotted haue no rome."  
 Yet be suche skourges sent that eache agreuid mynde,  
 Lyke the brute beasts that swell in rage and fury by ther kynde, 50  
 His erreure may confesse, when he hath wreasteled longe;  
 And then with pacience may him arme, the sure defence of wronge.  
 For death, that of the beaste the carion doth deuoure,  
 Unto the noble kynde of man presents the fatall hower.  
 The perfitt forme that God hath ether geuen to man 55  
 Or other beast, dissolue it shall to earth wher it began.  
 And who can tell yf that the sowle of man ascende,  
 Or with the body if it dye, and to the ground decende.  
 Wherefore eache gredy hart that riches seks to gayne,  
 Gather may he that sauery frutte that springeth of his payne. 60  
 A meane conuenient welth I meane to take in worth,  
 And with a hand of larges eke in measure poore it fourth.  
 For treasure spent in lyef, the bodye dothe sustayne;  
 The heire shall waste the whourlded gold amassed with muche payne.  
 Ne may foresight of man suche order geue in lyef, 65  
 For to foreknow who shall reioyce their gotten good with stryef.

## ECCLESIASTES 4

When I be thought me well, vnder the restles soon  
 By foolke of power what crewell wourks unchastyced were doon,  
 I saw wher stode a heard by power of suche opprest,  
 Oute of whose eyes ran floods of teares that bayned all ther brest;  
 Deuoyde of comfort clene, in terroure and distresse, 5  
 In whose defence none wolde aryse, suche rigor to repressse.  
 Then thought I thus, "Oh, Lord! the dead, whose fatal hower  
 Is clene rounne owt, more happy ar, whom that the wormes deuoure;  
 And happiest is the sede that neuer did conceue,  
 That neuer felt the wayfull wrongs that mortall folke receue." 10  
 And then I saw that welth, and euery honest gayne  
 By traueill woune and swete of browes, gan grow into disdayne  
 Throughe slouth of carles folke, whom ease so fatt dothe feade,  
 Whose idell hands doo noght but waast the frute of other seeade;  
 Which to them selves perswade that little gott with ease 15  
 More thankefull is then kyndomes woon by trauayle and disceace.  
 A nother sort I saw, with out bothe frend or kynne,  
 Whose gredy wayes yet neuer sought a faithfull frend to winne;  
 Whose wretched corps no toile yet euer very could,  
 Nor gluted euer wer their eyne with heaps of shyning gould. 20  
 But yf it might appeare to ther abused eyne  
 To whose a vaile they traueill so, and for whose sake they pyne,  
 Then should they see what cause they haue for to repent  
 The fruteles paynes and eke the tyme that they in vayne haue spent.  
 Then gan I thus resolue, "More pleasant is the lyef 25  
 Of faythefull frends that spend their goods in commone, with out  
 stryef."  
 For as the tender frend appeasith euery gryef,  
 So, yf he fall that lives alone, who shalbe his relyef?  
 The frendly feares ly warme, in armes embraced faste;  
 Who sleepes aloone at euery tourne dothe feale the winetr blast. 30  
 What can he doo but yeld, that must resist aloone?  
 Yf ther be twaine, one may defend the tother ouer throwne.  
 The single twyned cordes may no suche stresse indure  
 As cables brayded thre fould may, together wrethed swer.  
 In better far estate stande children, poore and wyse, 35  
 Then aged kyngs wedded to will, that worke with out aduice.  
 In prison haue I sene, or this, a wofull wyght  
 That neuer knewe what fredom ment, nor tasted of delyght;  
 With such, unhoped happ in most dispaier hath mete,  
 With in the hands that erst ware giues to haue a septure sett. 40



And by coniures the seade of kyngs is thrust from staate,  
 Wheron agreuyd people worke ofteymes their hidden haat.  
 Other, with out respect, I saw, a frend or foo,  
 With feat worne bare in tracing such, whearas the honours groo. 45  
 And at change of a prynce great rowtes reuiued strange,  
 Which, faine theare owlde yoke to discharg, reioyced in the change.  
 But when I thought, to theise as heuy euen or more  
 Shalbe the burden of his raigne, as his that went before,  
 And that a trayne like great upon the deade depend,  
 I gan conclude eache gredy gayne his vncertayne end. 50  
 In humble spritte is sett the temple of the Lorde;  
 Wher, yf thow enter, loke thy mouth and consyence may accorde.  
 Whose churtche is buylte of loue, and decte with hote desyre,  
 And simple fayth; the yolden hoost his marcy doth requyre.  
 Wher perfectly for aye he in his woord dothe rest; 55  
 With gentill care to heare thy sute and graunt to thy request.  
 In boost of owtwarde works he taketh no delight,  
 Nor wast of wourds; suche sacryfice unsauereth in his sight.

## 52

## ECCLESIASTES 5

When that repentant teares hathe clensyd clere from ill  
 The charged brest, and grace hathe wrought therin amending will,  
 With bold demands then may his mercy well assaile  
 The speche man sayth, with owt the which request may not preuaile.  
 More shall thy pennytent sighes his endles mercy please, 5  
 Then their importune siuts which dreame that words Gods wrath  
 appease.

For hart contrit of fault is gladsome recompence,  
 And praier fruict of faythe, wherby God dothe with synne dispence.  
 As ferfull broken slepes spring from a restles hedde,  
 By chattering of vnholly lippis is frutles prayer bredde. 10  
 In wast of wynde, I rede, vowe nought vnto the Lord,  
 Wherto thy hart, to bynd thy will, freely doth not accord;  
 For humble uowes fulfilld, by grace right swetly smoks,  
 But bold behests, broken by lusts, the wrath of God prouoks.  
 Yet bett with humble hert thy frayltye to confesse, 15  
 Then to bost of suche perfitnes, whose works suche fraude expresse.  
 With fayned words and othes contract with God no gyle;  
 Suche craft returns to thy nown harme, and doth thy self defile.  
 And thoughe the myst of sinne perswad such error light,  
 Therby yet ar thy owtward works all dampned in his sight. 20

As sondry broken dreames vs dyuerslye abuse,  
 So ar his errors manifold that many words dothe use.  
 With humble secret playnt, fewe words of hotte effect,  
 Honor thy Lord; alowance vaine of uoyd desart, neglect.  
 Thoughe wronge at tymes the right, and welthe eke nede oppresse, 25  
 Thinke not the hand of iustice slowe to followe the redresse.  
 For such unrightius folke, as rule with out dredd,  
 By some abuse or secret lust he suffereth to be led.  
 The cheif blisse that in earth the liuing man is lent,  
 Is moderat welth to nourishe lief, yf he can be content. 30  
 He that hath but one felde, and gredely sekethe nought  
 To fence the tillers hand from nede, is king within his thought.  
 But suche as of ther golde ther only idoll make,  
 Noe treasure may the rauen of there hungry hands asslake.  
 For he that gapes for good, and hurdeth all his gayne, 35  
 Trauells in uayne to hyde the sweet that should releue his payne.  
 Wher is gret welth, their should be many a nedy wight  
 To spend the same, and that should be the riche mans cheif delight.  
 The sweet and quiet slepes that weryd limmes oppresse,  
 Begile the night in diet thyne, and feasts of great excesse. 40  
 But waker ly the riche, whose lyuely heat with rest  
 Their charged booke with change of meats cannot so sone dygest.  
 An other righteous dome I sawe of gredy gayne:  
 With busye cares suche treasures oft preseruyd to their bayne;  
 The plenteus howsses sackt, the owners end with shame; 45  
 Their sparkelid goods; their nedy heyres, that should reioyce the same.  
 From welthe dyspoyled bare, from whence they came they went;  
 Clad in the clothes of pouerte as nature furst them sent.  
 Naked as from the wombe we came, yf we depart,  
 With toyle to seeke that wee must leue, what bote to uexe the hart? 50  
 What lyef leede testeye men then that consume their dayes  
 In inwarde freets, untempred hates, at stryef with sum alwaies.  
 Then gan I prayce all those, in suche a world of stryffe,  
 As take the profitt of their goods, that may be had in lyffe.  
 For sure the liberall hand that hath no hart to spare 55  
 This fading welthe, but powres it forthe, it is a uertu rare.  
 That maks welth slaue to nede, and gold becom his thrall,  
 Clings not his gutts with niggishe fare, to heape his chest with all;  
 But feeds the lusts of kynde with costely meats and wynne,  
 And slacks the hunger and the thirst of nedy folke that pynne. 60  
 Ne gluttons feast I meane in wast of spence to stryue,  
 But temperat mealles the dulled spryts with ioye thus to reuiue.  
 No care may perce wher myrth hath tempred such a brest;  
 The bitter gaull, seasoned with swet, suche wysdome may digest.

## 53

## PSALM 8

Thie name, O Lord, howe greate is fownd before our sight!  
 Yt filles the earthe and spreades the ayre, the great workes of thie might.  
 For even unto thie powre the heavens have geven a place,  
 And closyd it above their heades a mightie lardge compace.  
 Thye prayse what clowde can hyde, but it will sheene agayne, 5  
 Synce yonge and tender sucking babes have powre to shew it playne;  
 Whiche, in despyght of those that wold this glorye hide,  
 Hast put into such infantes mowthes for to confounde their pryde.  
 Wherefore I shall beholde thy fygurde heaven so hye,  
 Whiche shews suche printes of dyvers formes within the clowdye skye 10  
 As hills and shapes of men, eke beastes of sondrie kynde,  
 Monstruous to our outward sight and fancyes of our mynde;  
 And eke the wanishe moone whiche sheenes by night also,  
 And eache one of the wondring sterres whiche after her doth goe;  
 And how to kepe their course, and whiche are those that stands, 15  
 Because they be thie wonderous workes and labours of thie hands.  
 But yet among all these I aske, "What thing is man,  
 Whose tourne to serve in his poore neede this worke thow first began?  
 Or whate is Adames sonne that beares his fathers marke,  
 For whose delyte and comforte eke thow hase wrought all this warke? 20  
 I see thow myndest hym moch that doste rewarde hym so,  
 Beinge but earthe, to rule the earthe wheare on hymself doth go.  
 Ffrom aungells substaunce eke, thow madeste hym differ small,  
 Save one dothe change his lif awhyle, the other not at all.  
 The sonne and moone also, thow madeste to geve hym light, 25  
 And eache one of the wandring sterrs to twynckle sparkles bright.  
 The ayre to geve hym breathe, the water for his health,  
 The earth to bring forth grayne and frute for to encrease his wealth.  
 And many mettalls to, for pleasure of the eye,  
 Whiche, in the hollow sowndyd grownd, in previe vaynes do lye. 30  
 The sheepe to geve his wool, to wrapp his boddie in,  
 And for suche other needefull thynges the oxe to spare his skynne.  
 The horse, even at his will, to bear hym to and fro,  
 And as hym list eache other beaste to serve his turne also.  
 The fysshes of the sea lykewyse, to feede hym ofte, 35  
 And eke the birdes, whose feathers serve to make his sydes lye softe.  
 On whose head thow hast sett a crowne of glorye to,  
 To whome also thow didest appoint that honour shuld be do.  
 And thus thow madeste hym lord of all this worke of thyne:  
 Of man that goes; of beast that creapes, whose lookes dothe downe  
 declyne; 40

Of ffyssh that swymme below ; of ffowles that flyes on hye ;  
 Of sea that fyndes the ayre his rayne ; and of the land so drye.  
 And underneath his feete thow hast sett all this same,  
 To make hym know and playne confesse that marveilous is thie name.  
 And Lord, whiche art our Lord, how merveilous is it fownd 45  
 The heavens doth shew, the earth doth tell, and eke the world so round.  
 Glorie therefore be geven to thee first, whiche art three,  
 And yet but one almightie God, in substance and degree.  
 As first it was when thow the darcke confused heape  
 Clottid in one, didst part in fowre, which elementes wee cleape,  
 And as the same is now, even heare within our tyme,  
 And ever shall here after be, when we be filth and slyme."

## 54

## PSALM 55

Giue eare to my suit, Lord! fromward hide not thy face.  
 Beholde, herking in grief, lamenting how I praye.  
 My foes they bray so lowde, and eke threpe on so fast,  
 Buckeled to do me scathe, so is their malice bent.  
 Care perceth my entrayles, and traueyleth my spryte; 5  
 The greslye feare of death enuyroneth my brest;  
 A tremblynge cold of dred clene ouerwhelmeth my hert.  
 "O!" thinke I, "hadd I wings like to the symple doue,  
 This peryll myght I flye, and seke some place of rest  
 In wylder woods, where I might dwell farr from these cares." 10  
 What speedy way of wing my playnts shold thei lay on,  
 To skape the stormye blast that threatned is to me?  
 Rayne those vnbyrdled tungs! breake that coniured league!  
 For I decyphred haue amydd our towne the stryfe:  
 Gyle and wrong kept the walles, they ward both day and night; 15  
 And whiles myscheif with care doth kepe the market stede;  
 Whilst wickidnes with craft in heaps swarme through the strete.  
 Ne my declared foo wrought me all this reproche;  
 By harme so loked for, yt wayeth halfe the lesse,  
 For, though myne ennemyes happ had byn for to preuaile, 20  
 I cold haue hidd my face from uenym of his eye.  
 It was a frendly foo, by shadow of good will,  
 Myne old fere and dere frende, my guyde, that trapped me;  
 Where I was wont to fetche the cure of all my care,  
 And in his bosome hyde my secreat zeale to God. 25  
 Such soden surprys quicke may them hell deuoure,  
 Whilst I inuoke the Lord, whose power shall me defend.

My prayer shall not cease from that the sonne disscends  
 Till he his haulture wynn and hyde them in the see.  
 With words of hott effect, that moueth from hert contryte, 30  
 Such humble sute, O Lord, doth pierce thy pacyent eare.  
 It was the Lord that brake the bloody compactes of those  
 That preloked on with yre to slaughter me and myne.  
 The euerlasting God whose kingdom hath no end,  
 Whome, by no tale to dred he cold divert from synne, 35  
 The consyence vnquyet he stryks with heuy hand,  
 And proues their force in fayth whome he sware to defend.  
 Butter fales not so soft as doth hys pacyence longe,  
 And ouer passeth fine oyle, running not halfe so smothe;  
 But when his suffraunce fynds that brydled wrath prouoks, 40  
 He thretneth wrath, he whets more sharppe then any toole can fyle.  
 Friowr, whose harme and tounge presents the wicked sort  
 Of those false wolves, with cootes which doo their ravin hyde,  
 That swears to me by heauen, the fotestole of the Lord,  
 Who though force had hurt my fame, they did not touch my lyfe;— 45  
 Such patching care I lothe as feeds the welth with lyes.  
 But in the thother Psalme of David fynd I ease:  
 Iacta curam tuam super dominum et ipse te enutriet.

## 55

## PSALM 88

Oh Lorde, vppon whose will dependeth my welfare,  
 To call vppon thy hollye name syns daye nor night I spare,  
 Graunt that the iust request of this repentaunt mynd  
 So perce thyne eares that in thy sight som fauour it may fynd.  
 My sowle is fraughted full with greif of follies past: 5  
 My restles bodye doth consume and death approacheth fast;  
 Lyke them whose fatall threde thy hand hath cut in twayne,  
 Of whome ther is no further brewte, which in their graues remayne.  
 Oh Lorde, thow hast cast me hedling, to please my fooe,  
 Into a pitt all botomeles, whear as I playne my woe. 10  
 The burden of thy wrath it doth me sore oppresse,  
 And sundrye stormes thow hast me sent of terrour and distresse.  
 The faithfull frends ar fled and bannysghed from my sight,  
 And such as I haue held full dere haue sett my friendship light.  
 My duraunce doth perswade of fredom such dispaire 15  
 That, by the teares that bayne my brest, myne eye sight doth appaie.  
 Yet did I neuer cease thyne ayde for to desyre,  
 With humble hart and stretched hands for to appease thy yre.

Wherefore dost thou forbear, in the defence of thyne,  
 To shewe such tokens of thy power, in sight of Adams lyne, 20  
 Wherby eche feble hart with fayth might so be fedd  
 That in the mouthe of thy elect thy mercyes might be spredd.  
 The fleshe that fedeth wormes can not thy loue declare,  
 Nor suche sett forth thy faith as dwell in the land of dispaire.  
 In blind endured herts light of thy lively name 25  
 Can not appeare, as can not iudge the brightnes of the same.  
 Nor blazed may thy name be by the mouth of those  
 Whome death hath shitt in sylence, so as they may not disclose.  
 The liuelye uoyce of them that in thy word delight  
 Must be the trumpe that must resound the glorye of thy might. 30  
 Wherefore I shall not cease, in chief of my distresse,  
 To call on the till that the sleape my weryd lymes oppresse.  
 And in the morning eke, when that the slepe is fledd,  
 With floods of salt repentaunt teres to washe my restles bedd.  
 Within this carefull mynd, bourdynd with care and greif, 35  
 Why dost thou not appere, Oh Lord, that sholdest be his relief?  
 My wretched state beholde, whome death shall strait assaile;  
 Of one from youth afflicted still, that never did but waile.  
 The dread, loo! of thyne yre hath trod me vnder feet;  
 The scourgis of thyne angrye hand hath made deth seme full sweet. 40  
 Like to the roring waues the sunken shipp surrounde,  
 Great heaps of care did swallow me and I no succour found.  
 For they whome no myschaunce could from my loue devyde  
 Ar forced, for my greater greif, from me their face to hyde.

## 56

## PSALM 73

Though, Lorde, to Israell thy graces plentuous be—  
 I meane to such with pure intent as fixe their trust in the—,  
 Yet whiles the faith did faynt that shold haue ben my guyde,  
 Lyke them that walk in slipper pathes my feet began to slyde.  
 Whiles I did grudge at those that glorey in ther golde, 5  
 Whose lothsom pryde reioyseth welth, in quiet as they wolde.  
 To se by course of yeres what nature doth appere,  
 The pallyces of princely fourme succede from heire to heire;  
 From all such trauailes free as longe to Adams sede;  
 Neither withdrawne from wicked works by daunger nor by dread, 10  
 Wherof their skornfull pryde; and gloried with their eyes,  
 As garments clothe the naked man, thus ar they clad in vyce.

Thus as they wishe succeeds the mischief that they meane,  
 Whose glutton cheks slouth feads so fatt as scant their eyes be sene.  
 Vnto whose crewell power most men for dred ar fayne 15  
 To bend and bow with loftye looks, whiles they vawnt in their rayne  
 And in their bloody hands, whose creweltye doth frame  
 The wailfull works that skourge the poore with out regard of blame.  
 To tempt the living God they thinke it no offence,  
 And pierce the symple with their tungs that can make no defence. 20  
 Suche proofes before the iust, to cawse the harts to wauer,  
 Be sett, lyke cupps myngled with gall of bitter tast and sauer.  
 Then saye thy foes in skorne, that tast no other foode,  
 But sucke the fleshe of thy elect and bath them in their bloode :  
 "Shold we beleue the Lorde doth know and suffer this? 25  
 Ffoled be he with fables vayne that so abused is."  
 In terrour of the iust thus raignes iniquitye,  
 Armed with power, laden with gold, and dred for crueltye.  
 Then vayne the warr might seme that I by faythe mayntayne  
 Against the fleshe, whose false effects my pure hert wold distayne. 30  
 For I am scourged still, that no offence have doon,  
 By wrathes children; and from my byrth my chastesing begoon.  
 When I beheld their pryde and slacknes of thy hand,  
 I gan bewaile the wofull state wherin thy chosen stand.  
 And as I sought wherof thy sufferaunce, Lord, shold groo, 35  
 I found no witt cold pierce so farr, thy hollye domes to knoo,  
 And that no mysteryes nor dought could be distrust  
 Till I com to the holly place, the mansion of the iust,  
 Where I shall se what end thy iustice shall prepare  
 For such as buyld on worldly welth, and dye ther colours faire. 40  
 Oh! how their ground is false and all their buylding vayne! [tayne.  
 And they shall fall, their power shall faile that did their pryde mayn-  
 As charged harts with care, that dreme some pleasaunt tourne,  
 After their sleape fynd their abuse, and to their plaint retourne,  
 So shall their glorye faade; thy sword of vengeance shall, 45  
 Vnto their dronken eyes, in blood disclose their errorrs all.  
 And when their golden fleshe is from their backe yshorne,  
 The spotts that vnder neth wer hidd, thy chosen shepe shall skorne.  
 And till that happye daye my hert shall swell in care,  
 My eyes yeld teares, my yeres consume bitwne hope and dispayre. 50  
 Loo! how my sprits ar dull, and all thy iudgments darke;  
 No mortall hedd may skale so highe, but wunder at thy warke.  
 Alas! how oft my foes haue framed my decaye;  
 But when I stode in drede to drenche, thy hands still did me stay.  
 And in eache voyage that I toke to conquer synne, 55  
 Thow wert my guyd, and gaue me grace to comfort me therin.

And when my withered skyn vnto my bones did cleue,  
 And fleshe did wast, thy grace did then my simple sprits releue.

In other succour then, Oh Lord, why should I trust,  
 But onely thyn, whom I haue found in thy behight so iust.

60

And suche for drede or gayne, as shall thy name refuse,  
 Shall perishe with their golden godds that did their harts seduce.

Where I, that in thy worde haue set my trust and ioye,  
 The highe reward that longs therto shall quietlye enioye.

And my vnworthye lypps, inspired with thy grace,  
 Shall thus forespeke thy secret works, in sight of Adams race.

65



TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ÆNEID

57

Book 2

They whisted all, with fixed face attent,  
 When prince Aeneas from the royal seat  
 Thus gan to speak: "O Quene! it is thy wil  
 I should renew a woe cannot be told,  
 How that the Grekes did spoile and ouerthrow 5  
 The Phrygian wealth and wailful realm of Troy:  
 Those ruthfull things that I my self beheld,  
 And whereof no small part fel to my share.  
 Which to expresse, who could refraine from teres:  
 What Myrmidon? or yet what Dolopes? 10  
 What stern Ulysses waged soldiars?  
 And loe! moist night now from the welkin falles;  
 And sterres declining counsel vs to rest.  
 But sins so great is thy delight to here  
 Of our mishaps and Troyes last decay, 15  
 Though to record the same my minde abhorres  
 And plaint eschues, yet thus wil I begyn.  
 The Grekes chieftains all irked with the war,  
 Wherin they wasted had so many yeres  
 And oft repulst by fatal destinie, 20  
 A huge hors made, hye raised like a hill,  
 By the diuine science of Minerua;  
 Of clouen fir compacted were his ribbs;  
 For their return a fained sacrifice,  
 The fame wherof so wandred it at point. 25  
 In the dark bulk they closde bodies of men  
 Chosen by lot, and did enstuff by stealth  
 The hollow womb with armed soldiars.  
 There stands in sight an isle, hight Tenedon,  
 Rich, and of fame, while Priams kingdom stood; 30  
 Now but a bay, and rode vnsure for ship.  
 Hether them secretly the Grekes withdrew,  
 Shrouding themselues vnder the desert shore.  
 And wening we they had ben fled and gone,  
 And with that winde had fet the land of Grece, 35  
 Troye discharged her long continued dole.

The gates cast vp, we issued out to play,  
 The Grekish camp desirous to behold,  
 The places void and the forsaken costes.  
 Here Pyrrhus band, there ferce Achilles pight; 40  
 Here rode their shippes; there did their batteils ioyne.  
 Astonnied, some the scathefull gift beheld,  
 Behight by vow vnto the chast Minerue,  
 All wondring at the hugenesse of the horse.  
 And fyrst of all Timoetes gan aduise 45  
 Wythin the walles to leade and drawe the same,  
 And place it eke amidde the palace court;  
 Whether of guile, or Troyes fate it would.  
 Capys, wyth some of iudgement more discrete,  
 Wild it to drown, or vnder set with flame 50  
 The suspect present of the Grekes deceit,  
 Or bore and gage the hollowe caues uncouth.  
 So diuerse ranne the giddy peoples minde.  
 Loe! formest of a rout that followd him,  
 Kindled Laocoon hasted from the towre, 55  
 Crieng far of: 'O wreched citezens,  
 What so great kind of frensie freteth you?  
 Deme ye the Grekes our enemies to be gone?  
 Or any Grekish giftes can you suppose  
 Deuoid of guile? Is so Ulysses known? 60  
 Either the Grekes ar in this timber hid,  
 Or this an engin is to anoy our walles,  
 To view our toures, and ouerwhelme our towne.  
 Here lurkes some craft. Good Troyans, geue no trust  
 Unto this horse, for, what so euer it be, 65  
 I dred the Grekes; yea! when they offer gyftes!  
 And with that word, with all his force a dart  
 He launced then into that croked wombe;  
 Which tremling stack, and shoke within the side,  
 Wherwith the caues gan hollowly resound. 70  
 And, but for Faites and for our blind forcast,  
 The Grekes deuise and guile had he discried;  
 Troy yet had stand, and Priams toures so hie.  
 Therwyth behold, wheras the Phrigian herdes  
 Brought to the king with clamor, all vnknown 75  
 A yongman, bound his handes behinde his back;  
 Whoe willingly had yelden prisoner,  
 To frame his guile, and open Troyes gates  
 Unto the Grekes; with courage fully bent,  
 And minde determed either of the twaine,— 80  
 To worke his feat, or willing yeld to death.

- Nere him, to gaze, the Troyan youth gan flock,  
 And straue whoe most might at the captiue scorne.  
 The Grekes deceit beholde, and by one profe  
 Imagine all the rest. 85
- For in the preasse as he vnarmed stood,  
 Wyth troubled chere, and Phrigian routes beset,  
 'Alas!' quod he, 'what earth nowe, or what seas  
 May me receyue? catif, what restes me nowe?  
 For whom in Grece doth no abode remayne; 90  
 The Troians eke offended seke to wreke  
 Their hainous wrath, wyth shedyng of my bloud.'  
 With this regrete our hartes from rancor moued.  
 The brute appeasde, we askte him of his birth,  
 What newes he brought, what hope made hym to yeld. 95
- Then he, al dred remoued, thus began:  
 'O King! I shall, what euer me betide,  
 Say but the truth; ne first will me denie  
 A Grecian borne, for though fortune hath made  
 Sinon a wretche, she can not make him false. 100  
 If euer came vnto your eares the name,  
 Nobled by fame, of the sage Palamede,  
 Whom traitrously the Grekes condemd to dye,  
 Giltlesse, by wrongfull dome, for that he dyd  
 Dyssuade the warres,—whose death they nowe lament; 105  
 Underneth him my father, bare of wealth,  
 Into his band yong, and nere of his blood,  
 In my prime yeres vnto the war me sent.  
 While that by fate his state in stay did stand,  
 And when his realm did florish by aduise, 110  
 Of glorie, then, we bare som fame and brute.  
 But sins his death by false Ulysses sleight  
 —I speak of things to all men wel beknown—,  
 A drery life in doleful plaint I led,  
 Repining at my gyltlesse frends mischaunce. 115  
 Ne could I, fool! refrein my tong from thretes,  
 That if my chaunce were euer to return  
 Victor to Arge, to folowe my reuenge.  
 With such sharp words procured I great hate;  
 Here sprang my harm. Ulysses euer sithe 120  
 With new found crimes began me to affray;  
 In common eares false rumors gan he sowe;  
 Weapons of wreke his gylty minde gan seke.  
 Ne rested ay till he by Calchas meane—  
 But whereunto these thanklesse tales in vaine 125

Do I rehearse, and lingre fourth the time,  
 In like estate if all the Grekes ye price?  
 It is enough ye here rid me at ones.  
 Ulysses, Lord! how he wold this reioise!  
 Yea, and either Atride wold bye it dere.' 130

This kindled vs more egre to enquire,  
 And to demaund the cause; without suspect  
 Of so great mischef thereby to ensue,  
 Or of Grekes craft. He then with forged words  
 And quiuering limes, thus toke hys tale again. 135

'The Grekes oft times entended their return  
 Ffom Troye town, with long warrs all ytired,  
 For to dislodge; which, wold God! they had done.  
 But oft the winter storms of raging seas,  
 And oft the boisteous winds did them to stay; 140  
 And chiefly, when of clinched ribbes of firre  
 This hors was made, the storms rored in the aire.  
 Then we in dout to Phebus temple sent  
 Euripilus, to wete the prophesye.

From whens he brought these woful news again: 145  
 'With blood, O Grekes! and slaughter of a maid,  
 Ye pleasd the winds, when first ye came to Troy.  
 With blood likewise ye must seke your return:  
 A Grekish soule must offred be therefore.'

'But when this sound had pearst the peoples eares, 150  
 With sodein fere astonied were their mindes;  
 The chilling cold did ouerrunne their bones,  
 To whom that fate was shapte whom Phebus wold.  
 Ulysses then amid the preasse brings in  
 Calchas with noyse, and wild him to discusse 155  
 The gods intent. Then some gan deme to me  
 The cruell wrek of him that framde the craft,  
 Foreseing secretly what wold ensue.  
 In silence then, yshrowding him from sight,  
 But dayes twise fiue he whisted, and refused 160  
 To death, by speche, to further any wight.  
 At last, as forced by false Ulysses crye,  
 Of purpose he brake fourth, assigning me  
 To the altar; whereto they graunted all,  
 And that, that erst eche one dred to himself, 165  
 Returned all vnto my wretched death.  
 And now at hand drew nere the woful day;  
 All things preparede wherwyth to offer me:  
 Salt, corne, fillets my temples for to bind.

I scapte the deth, I graunt, & brake ye bands,  
 And lurked in a marrise all the nyght  
 Among the ooze, while they did set their sailes;  
 If it so be that they in dede so dyd.  
 Now restes no hope my natiue land to see,  
 My children dere, nor long desired sire,  
 On whom, parchaunce, they shall wreke my escape:  
 Those harmless wights shal for my fault be slayn.  
 'Then, by the gods, to whom al truth is known,  
 By fayth vnfiled, if any any where  
 Wyth mortal folke remaines, I thee beseche,  
 O king, thereby rue on my trauail great;  
 Pitie a wretch that giltlesse suffreth wrong.'  
 Life to these teres, wyth pardon eke, we graunt.  
 And Priam first himself commaundes to lose  
 His gyues, his bands, and frendly to him sayd:  
 'Whoso thou art, learn to forget the Grekes;  
 Hencefourth be oures; and answere me with truth:  
 Whereto was wrought the masse of this huge hors?  
 Whoes the deuise? and wherto should it tend?  
 What holly vow? or engin for the warres?'  
 Then he, instruct with wiles and Grekish craft,  
 His loosed hands lift vpward to the sterris:  
 'Ye euerlasting lampes! I testifye,  
 Whoes powr diuine may not be violate;  
 Thaltar and swerd,' quod he, 'that I haue scapt;  
 Ye sacred bandes! I wore as yelden hoste;  
 Leful be it for me to breke mine othe  
 To Grekes; lefull to hate their nacion;  
 Lefull be it to sparcle in the ayre  
 Their secretes all, whatsoe they kepe in close;  
 For free am I from Grece and from their lawes.  
 So be it, Troy, and, saued by me from scathe,  
 Kepe faith with me, and stand to thy behest;  
 If I speak truth, and opening thinges of weight,  
 For graunt of life requite thee large amendes.  
 'The Grekes whole hope of vndertaken war  
 In Pallas help consisted euermore.  
 But sith the time that wicked Diomede,  
 Ulysses eke, that forger of all guile,  
 Auenturde from the holly sacred fane  
 For to bereue dame Pallas fatall forme,  
 And slew the watches of the chefest toure,  
 And then away the holly statue stale,—

That were so bold with handes embrued in blood  
 The virgin goddesses veiles for to defile—, 215  
 Sith that, their hope gan faile, their hope to fall,  
 Their powr appeir, their goddesses grace withdraw,  
 Whych with no doutfull signes she did declare.  
 Scarce was the statute to our tentes ybroughte,  
 But she gan stare with sparckled eyes of flame; 220  
 Along her limes the salt sweat trickled downe;  
 Yea, thrise her selfe—a hideous thinge to tell—  
 In glaunces bright she glittered from the ground,  
 Holding in hand her targe and quiuering spere.  
 Calchas by sea then bade vs hast our flight, 225  
 Whoes engins might not break the walles of Troy,  
 Unlesse at Grece they wold renew their lottes,  
 Restore the god that they by sea had brought  
 In warped keles. To Arge sith they be come,  
 They pease their godds, and war afresh prepare, 230  
 And crosse the seas vnloked for eftsones  
 They will return. This order Calchas set.  
 ‘This figure made they for thagreued god  
 In Pallas stede, to clense their hainous fault.  
 Which masse he willed to be reared hye 235  
 Toward the skies, and ribbed all with oke,  
 So that your gates ne wall might it receiue;  
 Ne yet your people might defended be  
 By the good zele of old deuotion.  
 For if your hands did Pallas gift defile, 240  
 To Priams realm great mischef shold befall;  
 Which fate the gods first on him self return!  
 But had your owne handes brought it in your town,  
 Asie should passe, and carrie offred war  
 In Grece, euen to the walles of Pelops town, 245  
 And we and oures that destenie endure.’  
 By such like wiles of Sinon, the forsworne,  
 His tale with vs did purchase credit; some,  
 Trapt by deceite; some, forced by his teres;  
 Whom neither Diomedes, nor great Achille, 250  
 Nor ten yeres war, ne a thousand saile could daunt.  
 Us caitifes then a far more dredful chaunce  
 Befell, that trobled our vnarmed brestes.  
 Whiles Laocon, that chosen was by lot  
 Neptunus priest, did sacrifice a bull 255  
 Before the holy altar, sodenly  
 From Tenedon, behold! in circles great

By the calme seas come fletyng adders twaine,  
 Which plied towardes the shore—I lothe to tell—  
 With rered brest lift vp aboue the seas; 260  
 Whose bloody crestes aloft the waues were seen.  
 The hinder part swame hidden in the flood;  
 Their grisly backes were linked manifold.  
 With sound of broken waues they gate the strand,  
 With gloing eyen, tainted with blood and fire; 265  
 Whoes waltring tongs did lick their hissing mouthes.  
 We fled away, our face the blood forsoke;  
 But they with gate direct to Lacon ran.  
 And first of all eche serpent doth enwrap  
 The bodies small of his two tender sonnes, 270  
 Whoes wretched limes they byt, and fed theron.  
 Then raught they hym, who had his wepon caught  
 To rescue them; twise winding him about,  
 With folded knottes and circled taites, his wast;  
 Their scaled backes did compasse twise his neck, 275  
 Wyth rered heddes aloft and stretched throtes.  
 He with his handes straue to vnloose the knottes,  
 Whose sacred fillettes all be sprinkled were  
 With filth of gory blod, and venim rank,  
 And to the sterres such dredfull shoutes he sent, 280  
 Like to the sound the roring bull fourth loowes,  
 Which from the halter wounded doth astart,  
 The swaruing axe when he shakes from his neck.  
 The serpentes twain with hasted traile they glide  
 To Pallas temple, and her towres of heichte; 285  
 Under the feete of which the goddesse stern,  
 Hidden behinde her targettes bosse they crept.  
 New gripes of dred then pearse our trembling brestes.  
 They sayd Lacons desertes had derely bought  
 His hainous dede, that pearced had with stele 290  
 The sacred bulk, and throwen the wicked launce.  
 The people cried with sondry greeing shouts  
 To bring the horse to Pallas temple bliue,  
 In hope thereby the goddesse wrath tappease.  
 We cleft the walles and closures of the towne, 295  
 Where to all helpe, and vnder set the feet  
 With sliding rolles, and bound his neck with ropes.  
 This fatall gin thus ouerclambe our walles,  
 Stuft with armed men; about the which there ran  
 Children and maides, that holly carolles sang; 300  
 And well were they whoes hands might touch the cordes.

With thretning chere thus slided through our town  
 The subtil tree, to Pallas temple ward.  
 O natiue land! Ilion! and of the goddes  
 The mansion place! O warrlik walles of Troy! 305  
 Fowr times it stopt in thentrie of our gate;  
 Fowr times the harnesse clattred in the womb.  
 But we goe on, vnsound of memorie,  
 And blinded eke by rage perseuer still:  
 This fatal monster in the fane we place. 310  
 Cassandra then, inspired with Phebus sprite,  
 Her prophetes lippes, yet neuer of vs leeued,  
 Disclosed eft; forespeking things to come.  
 We wretches, loe! that last day of our life  
 With bowes of fest the town and temples deck. 315  
 With this the skie gan whirle about the sphere;  
 The cloudy night gan thicken from the sea,  
 With mantells spred that cloked earth and skies,  
 And eke the treason of the Grekish guile.  
 The watchemen lay disperst, to take their rest, 320  
 Whoes werried limes sound slepe had then oppreste.  
 When, well in order comes the Grecian fleet  
 From Tenedon, toward the costes well knowne,  
 By frendly silence of the quiet moone.  
 When the kinges ship put fourth his mark of fire, 325  
 Sinon, preserued by froward destinie,  
 Let forth the Grekes enclosed in the womb;  
 The closures eke of pine by stealth vnpind,  
 Whereby the Grekes restored were to aire.  
 With ioy down hasting from the hollow tree, 330  
 With cordes let down did slide vnto the ground  
 The great captaines: Sthenel, and Thesander,  
 The fierce Ulisses, Athamas, and Thoas;  
 Machaon first, then king Menolae;  
 Opeas eke that did the engin forge; 335  
 And streight inuade the town yburied then  
 With wine and slepe. And first the watch is slain;  
 Then gates vnfold to let their fellowes in;  
 They ioyne themselues with the coniured bandes.  
 It was the time when, graunted from the godds, 340  
 The first slepe crepes most swete in wery folk.  
 Loe! in my dreame before mine eies, me thought  
 With rufull chere I sawe where Hector stood,  
 Out of whoes eies there gushed streames of teares,  
 Drawn at a cart as he of late had be, 345



Distained with bloody dust, whoes feet were bowlnē  
 With the streight cordes wherwith they haled him.  
 Ay me, what one! that Hector how vnlike,  
 Which erst returnd clad with Achilles spoiles;  
 Or when he threw into the Grekish shippes 350  
 The Troian flame! so was his beard defiled,  
 His crisped lockes al clustred with his blood,  
 With all such wounds, as many he receiued  
 About the walls of that his natiue town!  
 Whome franckly thus me thought I spake vnto, 355  
 With bitter teres and dolefull deadly voice:  
 'O Troyan light! O only hope of thine!  
 What lettes so long thee staid? or from what costes,  
 Our most desired Hector, doest thou come?  
 Whom, after slaughter of thy many frends, 360  
 And trauaiil of the people, and thy town,  
 Alweried, lord, how gladly we behold!  
 What sory chauce hath staind thy liuely face?  
 Or why see I these woundes, alas! so wide?'  
 He answeard nought, nor in my vain demaundes 365  
 Abode, but from the bottom of his brest  
 Sighing, he sayd: 'Flee, flee, O goddesse son,  
 And saue thee from the furie of this flame!  
 Our enmies now ar maisters of their walles,  
 And Troye town now falleth from the top. 370  
 Sufficeth that is done for Priams reigne.  
 If force might serue to succor Troye town,  
 This right hand well mought haue ben her defense.  
 But Troye now commendeth to thy charge  
 Her holy reliques, and her priuy gods. 375  
 Them ioynē to thee, as felowes of thy fate.  
 Large walles rere thow for them; for so thou shalt,  
 After time spent in thouerwandred flood.'  
 This sayd, he brought fourth Vesta in his hands,  
 Her fillettes eke, and euerlasting flame. 380  
 In this meane while, with diuerse plaint the town  
 Throughout was spred; and lowder more and more  
 The din resounded, with rattling of armes;  
 Although mine old father Anchises house  
 Remoued stood, with shadow hid of trees. 385  
 I waked; therwith to the house top I clambe,  
 And harkning stood I; like as when the flame  
 Lightes in the corne, by drift of boisteous winde;

Or the swift stream, that driueth from the hill,  
 Rootes vp the felde, and presseth the ripe corne 390  
 And plowed ground, and ouerwhelmes the groue,  
 The silly herdman all astonnied standes,  
 From the hye rock while he doth here the sound.  
 Then the Grekes faith, then their deceit appered.  
 Of Deiphobus the palace large and great 395  
 Fell to the ground, all ouerspred with flash;  
 His next neighbour Ucalegon afire;  
 The Sygean seas did glister all with flame.  
 Upsprang the crye of men, and trompettes blast.  
 Then, as distraught, I did my armure on, 400  
 Ne could I tell yet whereto armes auailde.  
 But with our feres to throng out from the preasse  
 Toward the toure, our hartes brent with desire.  
 Wrath prickt vs fourth, and vnto vs it semed  
 A semely thing to dye, armd in the feld. 405  
 Wherewith Panthus, scapte from the Grekish dartes,  
 Otreus sonne, Phebus prest, brought in hand  
 The sacred reliques and the vanquisht gods,  
 And in his hand his litle nephew led;  
 And thus, as phrentik, to our gates he ran. 410  
 'Panthus,' quod I, 'in what estate stand we?  
 Or for refuge what fortresse shall we take?'  
 Scarse spake I this, when wailing thus he sayd:  
 'The later day and fate of Troye is come;  
 The which no plaint or prayer may auaille. 415  
 Troyans we were, and Troye was sometime,  
 And of great fame the Teucrian glorie erst;  
 Fierce Joue to Grece hath now transposed all.  
 The Grekes ar lordes ouer this fired town.  
 Yonder huge horse that stands amid our walles 420  
 Sheds armed men; and Sinon, victor now,  
 With scorne of vs doth set all things on flame.  
 And, rushed in at our vnfolded gates  
 Are thousands moe than euer came from Greece.  
 And some with weapons watch the narrow stretes, 425  
 With bright swerdes drawn, to slaughter redy bent.  
 And scarce the watches of the gate began  
 Them to defend, and with blinde fight resist.'  
 Through Panthus words & lightning of the gods,  
 Amid the flame and armes ran I in preasse, 430  
 As furie guided me, and wher as I had heard  
 The crye greatest that made the ayre resound.

Into our band then fell old Iphytus,  
 And Rypheus, that met vs by moonelight ;  
 Dymas and Hypanis ioyning to our side, 435  
 With yong Chorebus, Mygdonius son ;  
 Which in those dayes at Troye did ariue,  
 Burning with rage of dame Cassandraes loue,  
 In Priams ayd and rescue of his town.  
 Unhappy he! that wold no credit geue 440  
 Unto his spouses woords of prophecie.  
 Whom when I saw assembled in such wise,  
 So desperatly the battail to desire,  
 Then futhermore thus sayd I vnto them :  
 'O ye yong men, of courage stout in vaine, 445  
 For nought ye striue to saue the burning town.  
 What cruel fortune hath betid, ye see ;  
 The gods out of the temples all ar fled,  
 Through whoes might long this empire was mainteind ;  
 Their altares eke are left both wast and voyd. 450  
 But if your will be bend with me to proue  
 That vttermost that now may vs befall,  
 Then let vs dye, and runne amid our foes :  
 To vanquisht folk, despeir is only hope.'  
 With this the yongmens courage did encrease, 455  
 And through the dark, like to the rauening wolues  
 Whom raging furie of their empty mawes  
 Driues from their den, leauing with hungry throthes  
 Their whelpes behinde, among our foes we ran,  
 Upon their swerdes, vnto apparant death ; 460  
 Holding alway the chiefe strete of the town,  
 Couerd with the close shadowes of the night.  
 Who can expresse the slaughter of that night,  
 Or tell the number of the corpses slaine,  
 Or can in teres bewaile them worthely? 465  
 The auncient famous citie falleth down,  
 That many yeres did hold such seignorie.  
 With senselesse bodies euery strete is spred,  
 Eche palace, and sacred porch of the gods.  
 Nor yet alone the Troyan blood was shed. 470  
 Manhood oft times into the vanquisht brest  
 Returns, wherby some victors Grekes ar slain,  
 Cruel complaintes, and terror euery where,  
 And plentie of grisly pictures of death.  
 And first with vs Androgeus there met, 475  
 Fellowed with a swarming rout of Grekes,

Deeming vs, unaware, of that feloship,  
 With frendly words whom thus he cald vnto:  
 'Hast ye, my frendes, what slouth hath taried yow?  
 Your feers now sack and spoile the burning Troy; 480  
 From the tall ships where ye but newly come!  
 When he had sayd and heard no answer made  
 To him againe, wherto he might geue trust,  
 Finding himself chaunced amid his foes,  
 Mazde, he withdrew his foote back with his word. 485  
 Like him that wandring in the bushes thicke  
 Tredes on the adder with his rechlesse foote,  
 Rered for wrath, swelling her speckled neck,  
 Dismayd, geues back al sodenly for fere;  
 Androgeus so, feard of that sight, stept back, 490  
 And we gan rush amid the thickest rout;  
 When, here and there we did them ouerthrow,  
 Striken with dred, vnskilfull of the place.  
 Our first labor thus lucked well with vs.  
 Chorebus then, encouraged by this chaunce, 495  
 Reiouysing sayd: 'Hol fourth the way of health,  
 My feers, that hap and manhod hath vs taught.  
 Change we our shields; the Grekes armes do we on.  
 Craft or manhod with foes what reckes it which?  
 The slaine to vs their armure they shall yeld.' 500  
 And with that word Androgeus crested helme  
 And the rich armes of his shield did he on;  
 A Grekish swerd he girded by his side.  
 Like gladly Dimas and Ripheus did;  
 The whole youth gan them clad in the new spoiles. 505  
 Mingle with Grekes, for no good luck to vs,  
 We went, and gaue many onsets that night,  
 And many a Greke we sent to Plutoes court.  
 Other there fled and hasted to their ships,  
 And to their costes of sauegard ran againe. 510  
 And some there were, for shamefull cowardrie,  
 Clambe vp againe vnto the hugie horse,  
 And did them hide in his wellknownen womb.  
 Ay me! bootelesse it is for any whight  
 To hope on ought against will of the gods. 515  
 Loe! where Cassandra, Priams daughter dere,  
 From Pallas chirch was drawn with sparkled tresse,  
 Lifting in vain her flaming eyen to heuen;  
 Her eyen, for fast her tender wrestes were bound.  
 Which sight Chorebus raging could not bere, 520

Recklesse of death, but thrust amid the throng;  
 And after we through thickest of the swerdes.  
 Here were we first ybatred with the dartes  
 Of our owne feers, from the hye temples top;  
 Wherby of vs grete slaughter did ensue, 525  
 Mistaken by our Grekish armes and crestes.  
 Then flockt the Grekes moued with wrath and ire  
 Of the virgin from them so rescued;  
 The fell Ajax, and either Atrides,  
 And the great band cleped the Dolopes. 530  
 As wrastling windes, out of dispersed whirl,  
 Befight themselues, the west with southern blast,  
 And gladsom east proud of Auroraes horse;  
 The woods do whiz; and fomy Nereus,  
 Raging in furie, with three forked mace 535  
 From bottoms depth doth weltre vp ye seas;  
 So came the Grekes. And such, as by deceit  
 We sparkled erst in shadow of the night,  
 And draue about our town, appered first.  
 Our fained shields and weapons then they found, 540  
 And, by sound, our discording voice they knew.  
 We went to wreck with nomber ouerlayd.  
 And by the hand of Peneleus first  
 Chorebus fel before the altar dead  
 Of armed Pallas; and Rhipheus eke, 545  
 The iustest man among the Troians all  
 And he that best obserued equitie.  
 But otherwyse it pleased now the gods.  
 There Hipanis, and Dimas, both were slaine,  
 Thoughpearced with the weapons of their feers; 550  
 Nor thee, Panthus, when thou wast ouerthrown,  
 Pitie, nor zele of good deuocion,  
 Nor habit yet of Phebus hid from scathe.  
 Ye Troyan ashes, and last flames of mine,  
 I cal in witesse, that at your last fall 555  
 I fled no stroke of any Grekish swerd,  
 And if the fates wold I had fallen in fight,  
 That with my hand I did deserue it wel.  
 With this from thense I was recuiled back  
 With Iphytus and Pelias alone; 560  
 Iphytus weke, and feble all for age,  
 Pelias lamed by Ulisseez hand.  
 To Priams palace crye did cal vs then.  
 Here was the fight right hideous to behold,  
 As though there had no battail ben but there, 565

Or slaughter made els where throughout the town.  
 A fight of rage and furie there we saw.  
 The Grekes toward the palace rushed fast  
 And couerd with engines, the gates beset,  
 And rered vp ladders against the walles ; 570  
 Under the windowes scaling by their steppes,  
 Fenced with sheldes in their left hands, whereon  
 They did receiue the dartes; while their right hands  
 Griped for hold thembatel of the wall.  
 The Troyans on the tother part rend down 575  
 The turrets hye and eke the palace roofe ;  
 With such weapons they shope them to defend,  
 Seing al lost, now at the point of death.  
 The gilt sparres and the beames then threw they down,  
 Of old fathers the proud and royal workes. 580  
 And with drawn swerds some did beset the gates,  
 Which they did watch, and kepe in routes full thick.  
 Our sprites restorde to rescue the kings house,  
 To help them, and to geue the vanquisht strength. 585  
 A postern with a blinde wicket there was,  
 A common trade to passe through Priams house,  
 On the back side wherof wast houses stood ;  
 Which way eftsithes, while that our kingdome dured,  
 Thinfortunate Andromache alone  
 Resorted to the parentes of her make, 590  
 With young Astyanax, his grandsire to see.  
 Here passed I vp to the hyst toure,  
 From whence the wretched Troyans did throw down  
 Darts, spent in waste. Unto a turret then  
 We stept, the which stood in a place aloft, 595  
 The top wherof did reache wellnere the sterres,  
 Where we were wont all Troye to behold,  
 The Grekish nauie, and their tentes also.  
 With instrumentes of iron gan we pick,  
 To seke where we might finde the ioyning shronk 600  
 From that high seat ; which we razed, and threw down ;  
 Which falling, gaue fourthwith a rushing sound,  
 And large in breadth on Grekish routes it light.  
 But sone an other sort stept in theyr stede ;  
 No stone vnthrown, nor yet no dart uncast. 605  
 Before the gate stood Pyrrhus in the porche  
 Reioysing in his dartes, with glittering armes ;  
 Like to the adder with venimous herbes fed,  
 Whom cold winter all bolne hid vnder ground,  
 And shining bright, when she her slough had slong, 610

Her slipper back doth rowle, with forked tong  
 And raised brest lift vp against the sun.  
 With that together came great Periphas;  
 Automedon eke, that guided had sometime  
 Achilles horse, now Pyrrhus armure bare;  
 And eke with him the warlike Scyrian youth  
 Assayld the house, and threw flame to the top. 615  
 And he an axe before the formest raught,  
 Wherwith he gan the strong gates hew and break.  
 From whense he bet the staples out of brasse,  
 He brake the barres, and through the timber pearst 620  
 So large a hole, wherby they might discern  
 The house, the court, the secret chambers eke  
 Of Priamus and auncient kings of Troy,  
 And armed foes in thentrie of the gate. 625  
 But the palace within confounded was  
 With wayling, and with rufull shrikes and cries;  
 The hollow halles did howle of womens plaint;  
 The clamor strake vp to the golden sterres.  
 The frayd mothers, wandring through the wide house,  
 Embracing pillers, did them hold and kisse. 630  
 Pyrrhus assaileth with his fathers might,  
 Whom the closures ne keepers might hold out.  
 With often pushed ram the gate did shake;  
 The postes beat down, remoued from their hookes;  
 By force they made the way, and thentrie brake. 635  
 And now the Grekes let in, the formest slew,  
 And the large palace with soldiars gan to fill.  
 Not so fercely doth ouerflow the felde  
 The foming flood, that brekes out of his banks,  
 Whoes rage of waters beares away what heapes 640  
 Stand in his way, the coates, and eke the herdes,  
 As in thentrie of slaughter furious  
 I saw Pyrrhus and either Atrides.  
 There Hecuba I saw, with a hundred moe 645  
 Of her sons wyues, and Priam at the altar,  
 Sprinkling with blood his flame of sacrifice.  
 Fiftie bedchambers of his childrens wyues,  
 With losse of so great hope of his ofspring,  
 The pillers eke proudly beset with gold 650  
 And with the spoiles of other nations,  
 Fell to the ground; and whatso that with flame  
 Untouched was, the Grekes did all possesse.  
 Parcase yow wold ask what was Priams fate?

When of his taken town he saw the chaunce, 655  
 And the gates of his palace beaten down,  
 His foes amid his secret chambers eke,  
 Thold man in vaine did on his sholders then,  
 Trembling for age, his curace long disused,  
 His bootelesse swerd he girded him about, 660  
 And ran amid his foes, redy to dye.  
 Amid the court, vnder the heuen, all bare,  
 A great altar there stood, by which there grew  
 An old laurel tree, bowing therunto,  
 Which with his shadow did embrace the gods. 665  
 Here Hecuba, with her yong daughters all,  
 About the altar swarmed were in vaine,  
 Like doues that flock together in the storme;  
 The statues of the gods embracing fast.  
 But when she saw Priam had taken there 670  
 His armure, like as though he had ben yong,  
 'What furious thought, my wretched spouse,' quod she,  
 'Did moue thee now such wepons for to weld?  
 Why hastest thou? This time doth not require  
 Such succor, ne yet such defenders now; 675  
 No, though Hector my son were here againe.  
 Come hether; this altar shall saue vs all,  
 Or we shall dye together.' Thus she sayd.  
 Wherwith she drew him back to her, and set  
 The aged man down in the holy seat. 680  
 But loe! Polites, one of Priams sons,  
 Escaped from the slaughter of Pyrrhus,  
 Comes fleing through the wepons of his foes,  
 Searching, all wounded, the long galleries  
 And the voyd courtes; whom Pyrrhus, all in rage, 685  
 Followed fast to reache a mortal wound;  
 And now in hand, well nere strikes with his spere.  
 Who fleing fourth till he came now in sight  
 Of his parentes, before their face fell down  
 Yelding the ghost, with flowing streames of blood. 690  
 Priamus then, although he were half ded,  
 Might not kepe in his wrath, nor yet his words,  
 But cryeth out: 'For this thy wicked work,  
 And boldnesse eke such thing to enterprise,  
 If in the heauens any iustice be 695  
 That of such things takes any care or kepe,  
 According thankes the gods may yeld to thee  
 And send thee eke thy iust deserued hyre,



That made me see the slaughter of my childe,  
 And with his blood defile the fathers face. 700  
 But he, by whom thou faintest thy self begot,  
 Achilles, was to Priam not so stern.  
 For loe! he tendering my most humble sute  
 The right and faith, my Hectors bloodlesse corps  
 Rendred, for to be layd in sepulture, 705  
 And sent me to thy kingdome home again.'  
 Thus sayd the aged man, and therewithall  
 Forcelesse he cast his weak vnweldy dart,  
 Which, repulst from the brasse where it gaue dint,  
 Without sound hong vainly in the shieldes bosse. 710  
 Quod Pyrrhus: 'Then thou shalt this thing report:  
 On message to Pelide my father go,  
 Shew vnto him my cruel dedes, and how  
 Neoptolem is swarued out of kinde.  
 Now shalt thou dye,' quod he. And with that word, 715  
 At the altar him trembling gan he draw,  
 Wallowing through the blodshed of his son;  
 And his left hand all clasped in his heare,  
 With his right arme drewe fourth his shining sword,  
 Which in his side he thrust vp to the hilts. 720  
 Of Priamus this was the fatal fine,  
 The wofull end that was allotted him,  
 When he had seen his palace all on flame,  
 With ruine of his Troyan turrets eke.  
 That royal prince of Asie, which of late 725  
 Reignd ouer so many peoples and realmes,  
 Like a great stock now lieth on the shore;  
 His hed and shoulders parted ben in twaine,  
 A body now without renome and fame.  
 Then first in me entred the grisly feare; 730  
 Dismayd I was. Wherwith came to my minde  
 The image eke of my dere father, when  
 I thus beheld the king of equal age  
 Yeld vp the sprite with wounds so cruelly.  
 Then thought I of Creusa left alone, 735  
 And of my house in danger of the spoile,  
 And the estate of young Iulus eke.  
 I looked back to seke what number then  
 I might discern about me of my feeres,  
 But weried they had left me all alone. 740

Some to the ground were lopen from aboue,  
Some in the flame their irked bodies cast.

There was no moe but I left of them all,  
When that I saw in Uestaes temple sit  
Dame Helen, lurking in a secret place,— 745

Such light the flame did giue as I went by,  
While here and there I cast mine eyen about.  
For she in dred least that the Troians shold  
Reuenge on her the ruine of their walles;  
And of the Grekes the cruel wrekes also, 750  
The furie eke of her forsaken make;  
The common bane of Troy and eke of Grece,  
Hateful she sate beside the altars hid.

Then boyld my brest with flame and burning wrath  
To reuenge my town, vnto such ruine brought; 755  
With worthy peines on her to work my will.

Thought I: 'Shall she passe to the land of Spart  
All safe and see Mycene her natiue land,  
And like a quene returne with victorie 760  
Home to her spouse, her parentes, and children,

Folowed with a traine of Troyan maides,  
And serued with a band of Phrigian slaues;  
And Priam eke with iron murdred thus,  
And Troy town consumed all with flame,  
Whoes shore hath ben so oft forbathed in blood? 765

No! no! for though on women the reuenge  
Unsemely is, such conquest hath no fame,  
To geue an end vnto such mischief yet  
My iust reuenge shal merit worthy praise;  
And quiet eke my minde for to be wroke 770  
On her which was the causer of this flame,  
And satisfie the cinder of my feers.'

With furious minde while I did argue thus,  
My blessed mother then appeard to me,  
Whom erst so bright mine eyes had neuer seen, 775  
And with pure light she glistred in the night,  
Disclosing her in forme a goddesse like,

As she doth seme to such as dwell in heuen.  
My right hand then she took and held it fast,  
And with her rosie lips thus did she say: 780

'Son, what furie hath thus prouoked thee  
To such vntamed wrath? what ragest thou?  
Or where is now become the care of vs?  
Wilt thou not first go see where thou hast left  
Anchises, thy father fordone with age? 785

Doth Creusa liue, and Ascanius thy son?  
 Whom now the Grekish bands haue round beset,  
 And were they not defended by my cure,  
 Flame had them raught and enmies swerd ere this.

Not Helens beautie hatefull vnto thee,
 790  
 Nor blamed Paris yet, but the gods wrath  
 Reft yow this wealth, and ouerthrew your town.  
 Behold,—and I shall now the cloude remoue,  
 Which ouercast thy mortal sight doth dim,  
 Whoes moisture doth obscure all thinges about;
 795  
 And fere not thow to do thy mothers will,  
 Nor her aduise refuse thow to performe—  
 Here, where thow seest the turrets ouerthrown,  
 Stone bet from stone, smoke rising mixt with dust,  
 Neptunus there shakes with his mace the walles
 800  
 And eke the loose foundations of the same,  
 And ouerwhelms the whole town from his seat.  
 And cruell Iuno with the formest here  
 Doth kepe the gate that Scea cleped is,
 805  
 Nere wood for wrath, whereas she standes, and calls  
 In harnesse bright the Grekes out of their ships.  
 And in the turrets hye behold where standes  
 Bright shining Pallas, all in warlike wede,  
 And with her shield, where Gorgons hed apperes.
 810  
 And Iupiter, my father, distributes  
 Auayling strength and courage to the Grekes;  
 Yet ouermore, against the Troyan powr  
 He doth prouoke the rest of all the gods.  
 Flee then, my son, and geue this trauail end;  
 Ne shall I thee forsake, in sauegard till
 815  
 I haue thee brought vnto thy fathers gate.  
 This did she say and therwith gan she hide  
 Her self in shadow of the close night.

Then dredfull figures gan appere tō me,  
 And great gods eke agreed with our town.
 820  
 I saw Troye fall down in burning gledes;  
 Neptunus town, clene razed from the soil.  
 Like as the elm forgrown in mountaines hye,  
 Rond hewen with axe, that husbandmen  
 With thick assaultes striue to teare vp, doth threat;
 825  
 And hackt beneath trembling doth bend his top,  
 Till yold with strokes, geuing the latter crack,  
 Rent from the heighth, with ruine it doth fall.

With this I went, and guided by a god  
 I passed through my foes, and eke the flame; 830  
 Their wepons and the fire eke gaue me place.  
 And when that I was come before the gates  
 And auncient building of my fathers house,  
 My father, whom I hoped to conuey  
 To the next hils and did him thearto treat, 835  
 Refused either to prolong his life,  
 Or bide exile after the fall of Troy.  
 'All ye', quod he, 'in whom yong blood is fresh,  
 Whose strength remaines entier and in ful powr  
 Take ye your flight. 840  
 For if the gods my life wold have proroged,  
 They had reserued for me this winning place.  
 It was enough, alas! and eke to much,  
 To see the town of Troy thus razed ones;  
 To have liued after the citee taken. 845  
 When ye haue sayd, this corps layd out forsake;  
 My hand shall seke my death, and pitie shal  
 Mine enmies moue, or els hope of my spoile.  
 As for my graue, I wey the losse but light,  
 For I my yeres, disdainfull to the gods, 850  
 Haue lingred fourth, vnable to all nedes,  
 Sins that the sire of gods and king of men  
 Strake me with thonder and with leuening blast.'  
 Such things he gan reherse, thus firmly bent.  
 But we besprent with teres, my tender son, 855  
 And eke my swete Creusa, with the rest  
 Of the houshold, my father gan beseche  
 Not so with him to perish all at ones,  
 Nor so to yeld vnto the cruel fate;  
 Which he refused, and stack to his entent. 860  
 Driuen I was to harnesse then againe,  
 Miserably my death for to desire.  
 For what aduise or other hope was left?  
 'Father! thoughtst thou that I may ones remoue,'  
 Quod I, 'a foote, and leaue thee here behinde? 865  
 May such a wrong passe from a fathers mouth?  
 If gods will be that nothing here be sau'd  
 Of this great town, and thy minde bent to ioyne  
 Both thee and thine to ruine of this town,  
 The way is plaine this death for to atteine. 870  
 Pyrrhus shall come besprent with Priams blood,  
 That gored the son before the fathers face

- And slew the father at the altar eke.  
 O sacred mother! was it then for this  
 That you me led through flame and wepons sharp, 875  
 That I might in my secret chaumber see  
 Mine enmies; and Ascanius my son,  
 My father, with Creusa my swete wife,  
 Muredred, alas! the one in thothers blood?  
 Why, seruants, then, bring my my armes againe; 880  
 The latter day vs vanquished doth call.  
 Render me now to the Grekes sight againe,  
 And let me see the fight begon of new;  
 We shall not all vnwroken dye this day.<sup>h</sup>  
 About me then I girt my sword again, 885  
 And eke my shield on my left sholder cast,  
 And bent me so to rush out of the house.  
 Lo! in my gate my spouse, clasping my feet,  
 Foregainst his father yong Iulus set.  
 'If thow wilt go,' quod she, 'and spill thy self, 890  
 Take vs with thee in all that may betide.  
 But as expert if thow in armes haue set  
 Yet any hope, then first this house defend,  
 Whearas thy son, and eke thy father dere,  
 And I, sometime thine owne dere wife, ar left.' 895  
 Her shrill loud voice with plaint thus filled the house,  
 When that a sodein monstrous maruel fell.  
 For in their sight, and woefull parents armes,  
 Behold a light out of the butten sprang  
 That in tip of Iulus cap did stand; 900  
 With gentle touch whoes harmlesse flame did shine  
 Upon his here, about his temples spread.  
 And we afraid, trembling for dredfull fere,  
 Bet out the fire from his blasing tresse,  
 And with water gan quench the sacred flame. 905  
 Anchises glad his eyen lift to the sterres;  
 With handes his voice to heauen thus he bent:  
 'If by praier, almighty Iupiter,  
 Inclined thou mayst be, beholde vs then  
 Of ruth at least; if we so much deserue, 910  
 Graunt eke thine ayd, father, confirm this thing.'  
 Scarse had the old man said, when that the heuens  
 With sodein noise thondred on the left hand;  
 Out of the skie, by the dark night there fell  
 A blasing sterre, dragging a brand or flame, 915  
 Which, with much light gliding on the housetop,

- In the forest of Ida hid her beames ;  
 The which, full bright cendleing a furrow, shone,  
 By a long tract appointing vs the way ;  
 And round about of brimstone rose a fume. 920
- My father vanquist, then beheld the skies,  
 Spake to the gods, and tholly sterre adored :  
 'Now, now,' quod he, 'no longer I abide ;  
 Folow I shall where ye me guide at hand.  
 O native gods! your familie defend ; 925  
 Preserue your line. This warning comes of you,  
 And Troy stands in your protection now.  
 Now geue I place, and wherso that thow goe,  
 Refuse I not, my sonne, to be thy feer.'
- This did he say ; and by that time more clere 930  
 The cracking flame was heard throughout the walles,  
 And more and more the burning heat drew nere.  
 'Why then, haue done, my father dere,' quod I,  
 'Bestride my neck fourthwith, and sit thereon,  
 And I shal with my sholders thee susteine, 935  
 Ne shal this labor do me any dere.  
 What so betide, come perill, come welfare,  
 Like to vs both and common there shal be.  
 Yong Iulus shall beare me company,  
 And my wife shal follow far of my steppes. 940  
 Now ye, my seruantes, mark well what I say :  
 Without the town ye shall find, on an hill,  
 An old temple there standes, wheras sometime  
 Worship was don to Ceres the goddesse ;  
 Biside which growes an aged cipresse tree, 945  
 Preserued long by our forefathers zele.  
 Behind which place let vs together mete.  
 And thou, father, receiue into thy handes  
 The reliques all, and the gods of the land,  
 The which it were not lawfull I should touch, 950  
 That come but late from slaughter and blodshed,  
 Till I be washed in the running flood.'
- When I had sayd these wordes, my sholders brode  
 And laied neck with garmentes gan I spred,  
 And theron cast a yellow lions skin ; 955  
 And therupon my burden I receiue.  
 Yong Iulus, clasped in my right hand,  
 Followeth me fast with vnegal pace ;  
 And at my back my wife. Thus did we passe  
 By places shadowed most with the night. 960

And me, whom late the dart which enemies threw  
 Nor preasse of Argiue routes could not amaze,  
 Eche whispring wind hath power now to fray  
 And euery sound to moue my doutfull mind,  
 So much I dred my burden and my feer. 965

And now we gan draw nere vnto the gate,  
 Right well escapte the daunger, as me thought,  
 When that at hand a sound of feet we heard.  
 My father then, gazing throughout the dark,  
 Cried on me, 'Flee, son! they ar at hand.' 970

With that bright sheldes and shene armours I saw.  
 But then, I knowe not what vnfrendly god  
 My trobled wit from me biraft for fere,  
 For while I ran by the most secret stretes,  
 Eschuing still the common haunted track, 975  
 From me catif, alas! bereued was

Creusa then, my spouse—I wote not how,  
 Whether by fate, or missing of the way,  
 Or that she was by werinesse reteind,  
 But neuer sithe these eies might her behold;— 980  
 Nor did I yet perceiue that she was lost,  
 Ne neuer backward turned I my mind,  
 Till we came to the hill wheras there stood  
 The old temple dedicate to Ceres.

And when that we were there assembled all, 985  
 She was only away, deceiuing vs,  
 Her spouse, her son, and all her compainie.  
 What god or man did I not then accuse,  
 Nere wood for ire, or what more cruell chaunce  
 Did hap to me, in all Troies ouerthrow? 990

Ascanius to my feeres I then betoke,  
 With Anchises, and eke the Troian gods,  
 And left them hid within a valley depe.  
 And to the town I gan me hye againe,  
 Clad in bright armes, and bent for to renew 995  
 Auentures past, to search throughout the town,  
 And yeld my hed to perils ones againe.

And first the walles and dark entrie I sought  
 Of the same gate wherat I issued out,  
 Holding backward the steppes wher we had come 1000  
 In the dark night, loking all round about.  
 In euery place the vgsome sightes I saw;  
 The silence selfe of night agast my sprite.  
 From hense againe I past vnto our house,  
 If she by chaunce had ben returned home. 1005

The Grekes were there, and had it all beset.  
 The wasting fire blown vp by drift of wind  
 Aboue the roofes, the blazing flame sprang vp,  
 The sound wherof with furie pearst the skies.  
 To Priams palace and the castel then 1010  
 I made; and ther at Iunous sanctuair,  
 In the void porches, Pheniz, Ulisses eke,  
 Sterne guardens stood, watching of the spoile.  
 The riches here were set, reft from the brent  
 Temples of Troy: the table of the gods, 1015  
 The vessells eke that were of massy gold,  
 And vestures spoild, were gatherd all in heap.  
 The children orderly, and mothers pale for fright,  
 Long ranged on a rowe stode round about.  
 So bold was I to shoue my voice that night, 1020C  
 With cleges and cries to fill the stretes throughout,  
 With Creuse name in sorrow, with vain teres,  
 And often sithes the same for to repete.  
 The town restlesse with furie as I sought,  
 Thunlucky figure of Creusaes ghost, 1025  
 Of stature more than wont, stood fore mine eyen.  
 Abashed then I woxe; therwith my heare  
 Gan start right vp; my voice stack in my throte.  
 When with such words she gan my hart remoue:  
 'What helps to yeld vnto such furious rage, 1030  
 Swete spouse?' quod she. 'Without wil of the gods  
 This chaunced not. Ne lefull was for thee  
 To lead away Creusa hense with thee;  
 The king of the hye heuen suffreth it not.  
 A long exile thou art assigned to bere, 1035  
 Long to furrow large space of stormy seas;  
 So shalt thou reach at last Hesperian land,  
 Wher Lidian Tiber with his gentle streme  
 Mildly doth flow along the frutfull felds.  
 There mirthful wealth, there kingdom is for thee; 1040  
 There a kinges child preperde to be thy make.  
 For thy beloued Creusa stint thy teres,  
 For now shal I not see the proud abodes  
 Of Myrmidons, nor yet of Dolopes,  
 Ne I, a Troyan lady, and the wife 1045  
 Unto the sonne of Uenus, the goddessse,  
 Shall goe a slaue to serue the Grekish dames.  
 Me here the gods great mother holdes.  
 And now farwell, and kepe in fathers brest  
 The tender loue of thy yong son and myne.' 1050



This hauing said, she left me all in teres  
And minding much to speake; but she was gone,  
And suttly fled into the weightlesse aire.  
Thrise raught I with mine armes taccoll her neck,  
Thrise did my handes vaine hold thimage escape, 1055  
Like nimble windes, and like the flieng dreame.  
So night spent out, returne I to my feers.  
And ther wondring I find together swarmd  
A new number of mates, mothers, and men,  
A rout exiled, a wreched multitude, 1060  
From eche where flockke together, prest to passe,  
With-hart and goods, to whatsoeuer land  
By sliding seas me listed them to lede.  
And now rose Lucifer about the ridge  
Of lusty Ide, and brought the dawning light. 1065  
The Grekes held thentries of the gates beset;  
Of help there was no hope. Then gaue I place,  
Toke vp my sire, and hasted to the hill."

58

BOOK 4

*(Tottel's Version of 1557)*

But now the wounded quene, with heuy care,  
 Throughout the veines she norisheth the playe,  
 Surprised with blind flame; and to hir mind  
 Gan eke resort the prowesse of the man  
 And honour of his race; while in her brest 5  
 Imprinted stack his wordes and pictures forme;  
 Ne to her limmes care graunteth quiet rest.  
 The next morrow, with Phebus laump the earth  
 Alightned clere, and eke the dawning day  
 The shadowes dark gan from the poale remoue, 10  
 When, all vnsound, her sister of like minde  
 Thus spake she to: "O sister Ann, what dreames  
 Be these, that me tormented thus afray?  
 What new guest is this, that to our realme is come;  
 What one of chere; how stout of hart in armes? 15  
 Truly I think, ne vaine is my belefe,  
 Of goddish race some offspring shold he be:  
 Cowardry notes hartes swarued out of kind.  
 He driuen, Lord! with how hard destiny;  
 What batailles eke atchiued did he recount! 20  
 But that my mind is fixt vnmoueably  
 Neuer with wight in wedlock ay to ioyne,  
 Sith my first loue me left by death disseuered,  
 If geniall brands and bed me lothed not,  
 To this one gilt perchaunce yet might I yeld. 25  
 Anne, for I graunt, sith wretched Sichees death  
 My spouse and house with brothers slaughter staind,  
 This onely man hath made my sences bend  
 And pricked foorth the mind that gan to slide:  
 Now feelingly I tast the steppes of mine old flame. 30  
 But first I wish the earth me swallow down,  
 Or with thunder the mighty Lord me send  
 To the pale gostes of hel and darknes deepe,  
 Ere I thee staine, shamefastnes, or thy lawes.  
 He that with me first coppled, tooke away 35  
 My loue with him; enjoy it in his graue".

58

## BOOK 4

*(Version based upon Ms. Hargrave 205)*

But now the wounded quene, with heavie care,  
 Through owt the vaines doth nowrishe ay ye plage,  
 Surprised with blind flame; & to her minde  
 Gan to resort the prowes of the man,  
 And honour of his race; whiles in her brest 5  
 Imprinted stake his wordes & forme of face;  
 Ne to her lymmes care graunteth quiet rest.  
 The next morowe, with Phoebus lampe the erthe  
 Ylightned clere, & eke the dawninge daye  
 The shadowe danke gan from the pole remove, 10  
 When, all vnsownd, her sister of like minde  
 Thus spake she to: "Oh sister, what dremes  
 Be these that me tormenten thus afraide?  
 What newcome gest vnto our realme ys come;  
 What one of chere; how stowt of hart in armes? 15  
 Truelie I thinke, ne vaine ys my beleife,  
 Of goddishe race some of springe shuld he seeme:  
 Cowardie noteth hartes swarved owt of kinde.  
 He driven, Lord! with how hard destinie;  
 What battells eke atcheived did he tell! 20  
 & but my mind war fixt vnmovablie  
 Never with wight in weddlocke for to joine,  
 Sithe my first love me lefte by deth disseverid,  
 Yf bridall bowndes & bed me lothed not,  
 To this one fawlt perchance yet might I yeld. 25  
 For I wyll graunt, sithe wretched Syches dethe  
 My spouse & howse with brother slaughter stand,  
 This onelie man hath made my senses bend  
 & pricketh furthe the minde that gan to slide:  
 Felenglie I tast the steppes of mine old flame. 30  
 But first I wishe the erth me swallowe downe,  
 Or with thunder the mightie Lord me send  
 To the pale gostes of hell and darkness depe,  
 Or I the stayne, shamefastnes, or thi lawes.  
 He that with me first cooped, tooke awaie 35  
 My love, which still enjoye he in his grave."

Thus did she say, and with suppressed teares  
 Bained her brest. Wherto Anne thus replied:  
 "O sister, dearer beloved then the lyght,  
 Thy youth alone in plaint still wilt thou spill? 40  
 Ne children sweete, ne Venus giftes wilt know?  
 Cinders, thinkest thou, mind this, or graued ghostes?  
 Time of thy doole, thy spouse new dead, I graunt  
 None might the moue: no, not the Libian king,  
 Nor yet of Tirc; Iarbas set so light, 45  
 And other princes mo, whom the rich soile  
 Of Affrick breedes, in hounours triumphant.  
 Wilt thou also gainstand thy liked loue?  
 Comes not to mind vpon whoes land thou dwelst?  
 On this side, loe! the Getule town behold, 50  
 A people bold, vnvanquished in warre;  
 Eke the vndaunted Numides compasse thee;  
 Also the Sirtes vnfrendly harbroughe.  
 On thother hand, a desert realme for thirst,  
 The Barceans, whose fury stretcheth wide. 55  
 What shall I touch the warres that moue from Tirc,  
 Or yet thy brothers threatens?  
 By gods purueiaunce it blewe, and Iunos helpe,  
 The Troiaynes shippes, I think, to runn this course.  
 Sister, what town shalt thou see this become? 60  
 Through such allie how shal our kingdom rise,  
 And by the aid of Troiane armes how great?  
 How many waies shal Cartages glorie grow?  
 Thou onely now besech the gods of grace  
 By sacrifice. Which ended, to thy house 65  
 Receue him, and forge causes of abode;  
 Whiles winter frettes the seas, and watry Orion,  
 The shippes shaken, vnfrendly the season".  
 Such words enflamed the kindled mind with loue,  
 Loosed al shame, and gave the doubtfull hope. 70  
 And to the temples first they hast and seeke  
 By sacrifice for grace, with hogreles of two yeares  
 Chosen, as ought, to Ceres that gaue lawes,  
 To Phebus, Bachus, and to Iuno chiefe,  
 Which hath in care the bandes of mariage. 75  
 Faire Dido held in her right hand the cup,  
 Which twixt the hornes of a white cowe she shed  
 In presence of the gods, passing before  
 The aulters fatte; which she renewed oft  
 With giftes that day and beastes debowled, 80

Thus did she saye, & with surpris'd teares  
 Bayned her brest. Whereto thus An replied:  
 "O sister more beloved then the light,  
 Thi youth all sole in plaintes wilt thou nedes spill? 40  
 Ne children swete, ne Venus giftes wilt knowe?  
 Cindres, thinkest thou, minde this, or graved ghostes?  
 Time of thie dole, thi spouse new dedd, I graunt  
 None might the moue; Iarbas not to fere,  
 The Libian king dispis'd eke by the, 45  
 & other princes moe, whom the riche soyle  
 Of Aefrike bredes, in honours tryvmphant.  
 Wilt thou also withstand the loue that likes the?  
 Come not to minde vpon whose land thou dwelst?  
 On this syde, loe! the Getule towns behold, 50  
 A people bold, vnvanquish'd in warr;  
 Eke the vndaunted Numides compas the;  
 Also the Syrtes vnfrindlie harboroughes.  
 On tother hand the desert realme of Scythe,  
 The Barceans, whose furie stretcheth wide. 55  
 What shall I touch the wars that moue from Tyre,  
 Or yet thie brothers threates?  
 By godes purveiaunce yt blue, & Junos helpe,  
 The Troiane shippes, I thinke, to rounne this course.  
 Sister, what towne shalt thou se this become? 60  
 Through such alie how shall our kingdome rise,  
 & by the ayde of Troiane armes how great?  
 How manie waies shall Carthage glorie growe?  
 Thou onelie now beseke the godes of grace  
 By sacrifice. Which ended, to thie howse 65  
 Receave him, & forge causes of abode;  
 Whiles winter freates the seas, & watrie Orion,  
 The shippes shaken, vnfrindlie the season."  
 Such wordes inflamde the kindled hart with love,  
 Lewsed all shame, & gaue the dowtfull hope. 70  
 & to the temples fyrst thei hast & seke  
 By sacrifice for grace, with hogreles of two yeares  
 Chosen, as owght, to Coeres that gaue lawes,  
 To Phoebus, Bacchus, & to Juno cheif, 75  
 Which hath in care the bandes of mariage.  
 Fair Dido held in her right hand the cupp,  
 Which twixt the hornes of a white cowe she shedd  
 In presence of the godes, passing before  
 The aultres tall, which she renued ofte  
 With giftes that daye & bestes deboweled, 80

Gasing for counsell on the entrales warme.  
 Ay me, vnskilfull mindes of prophesy!  
 Temples or vowes, what boote they in her rage?  
 A gentle flame the mary doth deuoure,  
 Whiles in the brest the silent wound keepes life. 85  
 Unhappy Dido burns, and in her rage  
 Throughout the town she wandreth vp and down;  
 Like to the striken hinde with shaft in Crete,  
 Throughout the woods, which, chasing with his dartes,  
 Aloofe, the shepheard smiteth at vnwares, 90  
 And leaves vnwist in her the thirling head,  
 That through the groues and landes glides in her flight,  
 Amid whose side the mortall arrow stickes.  
 Aeneas now about the walles she leades,  
 The town prepared and Cartage welth to shew; 95  
 Offring to speak, amid her voice, she whistes.  
 And when the day gan faile, new feastes she makes;  
 The Troies trauales to heare anew she listes,  
 Inraged al, and stareth in his face  
 That tels the tale. And when they were al gone, 100  
 And the dimme mone doth eft withhold the light,  
 And sliding starres prouoked vnto sleepe,  
 Alone she mournes within her palace voide,  
 And sets her down on her forsaken bed,  
 And absent him she heares, when he is gone, 105  
 And seeth eke. Oft in her lappe she holdes  
 Ascanius, trapt by his fathers forme,  
 So to begile the loue cannot be told.  
 The turrets now arise not, erst begonue;  
 Neither the youth weldes armes, nor they auauunce 110  
 The portes, nor other mete defence for warr.  
 Broken there hang the workes and mighty frames  
 Of walles high raised, threatening the skie.  
 Whom as soone as Ioues deare wife saw infect  
 With such a plage, ne fame resist the rage, 115  
 Saturnes daughter thus burdes Venus then:  
 "Great praise", quod she, "and worthy spoiles you win,  
 You and your son, great gods of memory,  
 By both your wiles one woman to deuouer.  
 Yet am I not deceiued, that foreknew 120  
 Ye dread our walles and bildinges gan suspect  
 Of high Cartage. But what shalbe the ende?

Gasing for cownsell on the thentrailes warme.  
 Ay me, vnskillfull myndes of prophetise!  
 Alas, blind mindes of prophetes! what avayle  
 Temples or vowes, what booten thei in rage?  
 A gentle flame the marie doth devower, 85  
 Whiles in the brest the sylent wound kepth life.  
 Vnhappi Dido burnes, & in her rage  
 Through owt the towne she wandreth vp & downe;  
 Like to the stryken hinde with shafte in Crete,  
 Through owt the woodes, which, chasing with his dartes, 90  
 Aloofe, the shepard smyteth at vnwares,  
 & leaves vnwiste in her the thirling hedd,  
 That through the groves & laundes glides in her flight,  
 Amidd whose syde the mortall arrowe stykes.  
 Aeneas now abowt the walls she leades, 95  
 The towne preparte & Carthage welth to showe;  
 Offring to speake, amidd her voice, she whistes.  
 & when the daye gan fayle, new feastes she makes;  
 The Troiane travailes to here anew she listes,  
 Enraged all, & stareth in his face 100  
 That tells the tale. And when thei war all gone,  
 & the dymme moone repressed the daie light,  
 & slidinge sterres provoked vnto slepe,  
 Alone she moornth within her palaice voide,  
 & settes her downe on her for saken bedd, 105  
 & absent him she heres, when he is gone,  
 & seithe eke. Ofte in her lappe she holds  
 Askanius, trapte by his fathers fourme,  
 To proue if she might so beguile her loue.  
 The turretes now arise not, erst begoune; 110  
 Nether the youth weeldes armes, nor they avauce  
 The port, nor other mete defence for warr.  
 Broken thei hang, the workes & mightie frames  
 Of walls hie raised, sthretching to the skie.  
 Whom as soone as Ioves dere wife saw infect 115  
 With such a plague, ne fame resist the rage,  
 Saturnus dowghter bourdes thus with Venus than:  
 "Great praise", quod she, "& worthie spoiles ye winne,  
 You & your sonn, great godes of memorie,  
 By bothe your wiles one woman to devower. 120  
 Yet am I not deceyved, that foreknew  
 Ye dredd our walles & buyldinges did suspect  
 Of hie Carthage. But what shalbe the end?

Or wherunto now serueth such debate?  
 But rather peace and bridale bandes knit we,  
 Sith thou hast spede of that thy heart desired. 125  
 Dido doth burne with loue, rage fretes her boones.  
 This people now, as common to vs both,  
 With equal fauour let vs gouerne then.  
 Lefull be it to serue a Troian sprouse;  
 And Tirianes yeld to thy right hand in drowre." 130  
 To whom Venus replied thus, that knewe  
 Her wordes proceded from a fained minde,  
 To Libian coastes to turne thempire from Rome:  
 "What wight so fond such offer to refuse?  
 Or yet with thee had leuer striue in warr? 135  
 So be it fortune thy tale bring to effect.  
 But destinies I dout, least Ioue nill graunt  
 That folke of Tire, and such as came from Troie,  
 Should hold one town; or graunt these nacions  
 Mingled to be, or ioyned ay in leage. 140  
 Thou art his wife; lefull it is for the  
 For to attempt his fansie by request.  
 Passe on before and folow the I shall".  
 Quene Iuno then thus tooke her tale againe:  
 "This trauaile be it mine. But by what meane, 145  
 Marke, in fewe wordes I shal thee lerne eftsones,  
 This worke in hand may now be compassed.  
 Aeneas nowe, and wretched Dido eke,  
 To the forest a hunting minde to wende  
 To morne, as soon as Titan shall ascend, 150  
 And with his beames hath ouerspred the world.  
 And whiles the winges of youth do swarm about,  
 And whiles they raunge to ouer set the groues,  
 A cloudie showr, mingled with haile, I shall  
 Poure down, and then with thonder shake the skies. 155  
 Thasseemble scattered, the mist shall cloke.  
 Dido a caue, the Troyan prince the same  
 shall enter to, and I will be at hand.  
 And if thy will sticke vnto mine, I shall  
 In wedlocke sure knit and make her his own: 160  
 Thus shall the maryage be." To whose request  
 Without debate Venus did seme to yeld,  
 And smyled soft, as she that found the wyle.  
 Then from the seas the dawning gan arise.



Or whervnto now serveth such debate?  
 But rather peace & brydall bondes knitt we, 125  
 Syth thow hast spedd of that thie hart desyred.  
 Dido doth burne, the rage her bones doth perse.  
 The people now then common to vs bothe;  
 With egall favour so lett vs governe them.  
 Lefull be it to serve a Troiane spouse; 130  
 & Tyrians yeld to thie right hand in dower."

To whom Venus replied thus, that knew  
 Her wordes proceded from a fayned minde,  
 To Lybian costes to turne the prince from Rome:  
 "What wight so fond such offer to refuse? 135  
 Or yet with the had lever lyve in warr?  
 So be it fortune thi tale bring to effect.  
 But destenies I dowte, lest Jove will graunt  
 That folke of Tyer, & such as came from Troie,  
 Shuld hold one towne; or graunt these nations 140  
 Mingled to be, or joined aye in league.  
 Thow art his wief; lefull yt is for the  
 For to attempt his fancie by request.  
 Passe on before & followe the I shall."

Quene Juno then tooke thus her tale againe: 145  
 "This travaile be yt mine. But by what meane,  
 Marke, in few wordes I shall the lerne eftsones,  
 This work in hand maie now be compassed.  
 Aeneas now, & wretched Dido eke,  
 The forest till a hunting minde to wend 150  
 The morow, as soone as Titan shall ascend,  
 & with his beames hath overspredd the erth.

\* \* \* \* \*

& whiles the range doth sett the groues about,  
 A clowdie shower, mingled with haile, I shall 155  
 Pooer down, & then with thunder shake the skies,  
 The assembles skattered, the mistes shall cloke.  
 Dido the cave, the Troiane prince the same  
 Shall enter too, & I wilbe at hand.  
 & if thie will sticke vnto mine, I shall 160  
 In weddlocke suer knitt, & make her his owne:  
 This shall the mariage be." To whose request  
 Without debate Venus did seeme to graunt,  
 & smyled softe, as she that fownd the wile.

Then from the sea the dawning gan arise. 165

The sun once vp, the chosen youth gan throng 165  
 Out of the gates: the hayes so rarely knit,  
 The hunting staues with their brod heads of steele,  
 And of Masile the horsemen, fourth they brake;  
 Of senting houndes a kenel hugh likewise.  
 And at the threshold of her chaumber dore 170  
 The Carthage lords did on the quene attend;  
 The tramplng steede, with gold and purple trapt,  
 Chawng the fomie bit, there fercely stood.  
 Then issued she, awayted with great train,  
 Clad in a cloke of Tyre embradred riche. 175  
 Her quyuer hung behinde her backe, her tresse  
 Knotted in gold, her purple vesture eke  
 Butned with gold. The Troyans of her train  
 Before her go, with gladsom Iulus.  
 Aeneas eke, the goodliest of the route, 180  
 Makes one of them, and ioyneth close the throngs.  
 Like when Apollo leaueth Lycia,  
 His wintring place, and Xanthus floods likewise,  
 To viset Delos, his mothers mansion,  
 Repairing eft, and furnishing her quire, 185  
 The Candians and folkes of Driopes,  
 With painted Agathyrssies, shoute and crye,  
 Enuironing the alters roundabout,  
 When that he walks vpon mount Cynthus top,  
 His sparkled tresse represt with garlandes soft 190  
 Of tender leaues, and trussed vp in gold,  
 His quiuering dartes clattring behinde his back:  
 So fresh and lustie did Aeneas seme,  
 Such lordly port in present countenance.  
 But to the hils and wilde holtes when they came, 195  
 From the rocks top the driuen sauage rose.  
 Loe! from the hill aboue, on thother side,  
 Through the wyde lawnds they gan to take their course.  
 The harts likewise, in troupes taking their flight,  
 Raising the dust, the mountain fast forsake. 200  
 The childe Iulus, blithe of his swift steede,  
 Amids the plain now pricks by them, now thes,  
 And to encounter wisheth oft in minde  
 The foming bore, in steede of ferefull beasts,  
 Or lion brown might from the hill descend. 205  
 In the meane while the skies gan rumble sore;  
 In tayle thereof a mingled showr with hayle.

The son hoist vp, the chosen youth gan throng  
 Vnto the gates: the hayes so rarelie knitt,  
 The hunting staves with ther brode heddes of yron,  
 & of Massile the horsemen, furth thei breke;  
 Of senting howndes a kennell huge likewise. 170  
 & at the thressolde of her chamber dore  
 The Carthage lordes did on ther quene awaite;  
 The trampling steed, with gold & purple deckt,  
 Feirslic stood chawing on the fominge bitt.  
 Then issued she, awaited with a trayne, 175  
 Clad in a cloke of Tyre bordred full rich.  
 Her quyver hong behind her backe, her tresse  
 Knotted in gold, her purple vesture eke  
 Butned with gold. The Troianes of her trayne  
 Before her go, with gladsome Iulus. 180  
 Aeneas eke, the goodliest of the rowt,  
 Makes one of them & ioyneth close the thronges.  
 Like when Apollo leaveth Licia,  
 His wintring place, & Xanthus fluddes likewise,  
 To se Delos, his mothers mansion, 185  
 For to repayer & furnishe new her quyver,  
 The Cretians & folke of Driopes,  
 & painted Agathirth, do howle & crie,  
 Environning the aulters rownd about,  
 When that he walkes vpon mownt Cynthus topp, 190  
 His sparkled tresse repret with garlandes softe  
 Of tender bowes, & tressed vp in golde,  
 His quyver dartes clattringe behind his backe:  
 So freshe & lustie did Aeneas seme,  
 Such lordlie port in cowntinance dothe showe. 195  
 But to the hills & wilde holtes when thei came,  
 From the rockes toppe the wild savage rooes  
 Availe the hill, & on the other syde,  
 Over the laundes, thei gan to take ther course.  
 The hartes likewise, in troopes taking ther flight, 200  
 Raising the dust, the mountaynes fast forsoke.  
 The child Iulus, blithe of his swofte steed,  
 Amides the playne now prickes by them, now these,  
 & to encounter wisheth ofte in minde  
 The fominge bore, in stedd of ferefull beastes, 205  
 Or lyon browne might from the hill discend.  
 In the meane while the heavens gan romble sore;  
 In taylor wher of a mingled shower with haile.

The Tyrian folk, and eke the Troyans youth,  
 And Venus nephew the cotage, for feare,  
 Sought round about; the floods fell from the hills. 210  
 Dido a den, the Troyan prince the same,  
 Chaunced vpon. Our mother then, the earth,  
 And Iuno that hath charge of mariage,  
 First tokens gaue with burning gledes of flame,  
 And, priuie to the wedlock, lightning skies; 215  
 And the nymphes yelled from the mountains top.  
 Ay me! this was the first day of their mirth,  
 And of their harmes the first occasion eke.  
 Respect of fame no longer her withholdes,  
 Nor museth now to frame her loue by stelth. 220  
 Wedlock she cals it; vnder the pretence  
 Of which fayre name she cloketh now her faut.  
 Forthwith Fame flieth through the great Libian towns;  
 A mischefe Fame—there is none els so swift—  
 That mouing, growes; and flitting, gathers force. 225  
 First small for dred, sone after climes the skies,  
 Stayeth on earth, and hides her hed in cloudes.  
 Whom our mother the earth, tempted by wrath  
 Of gods, begat; the last sister—they write—  
 To Caeus, and to Enceladus eke; 230  
 Spedie of foote, of wyng likewise as swift;  
 A monster huge, and dredfull to descriue:  
 In euery plume that on her body sticks—  
 A thing in dede much maruelous to heare—  
 As many waker eyes lurk vnderneath, 235  
 So many mouthes to speake, and listning eares.  
 By night she flies amid the cloudie skie,  
 Shriking, by the dark shadow of the earth,  
 Ne doth decline to the swete sleepe her eyes.  
 By day she sits to mark on the house top, 240  
 Or turrents hye, and the great towns afraies,  
 As mindefull of yll and lyes as blasing truth.  
 This monster blithe with many a tale gan sow  
 This rumor then into the common eares,  
 As well things don, as that was neuer wrought: 245  
 As, that there comen is to Tyrians court  
 Aeneas, one outspoug of Troyan blood,  
 To whom fair Dido wold her self be wed;  
 And that, the while, the winter long they passe

The Tirian folke & skattred Troiane youth  
 & Venus newew the cottages for fere 210  
 Sought rownd about; the fluddes fell from the hills.  
 Quene Dido, with the Troiane prince alone,  
 Chanst on a denn. Our mother then, the erth,  
 & Juno that hath charge of mariage,  
 First tokens gave with burning gledes of flame, 215  
 & previe to the weddlocke, lightning skies;  
 & the nymphes wayled from the mountaynes toppē.  
 Aye me! this was the foremost daye of myrthe,  
 & of mischief the first occasion eke.  
 Respect of fame no lenger her with holdes, 220  
 Ne museth she to frame her loue be stelth.  
 Wedlock she calls it; vnder the pretence  
 Of which faier name she cloketh now her fault.  
 Furthwith Fame flies through the greet Libian townes;  
 A mischief Fame—ther is none ells so swifte— 225  
 That moving, growes; & flitting, gethers strength.  
 First small to dredd, soone after climes the skies,  
 Percing the erth, & hides her hedd in clowdes.  
 Whom our mother the erth, tempted by wrathe  
 Of godes, begat; the last sister—thei write— 230  
 To Cæus and Inceladus.  
 Speedie of foote, of wing likewise right swifte;  
 A monster thing & dreddfull to behold:  
 For everie plume that on her bodie stickes  
 As manie waker eies lurke vnderneath; 235  
 A thing in deed much mervaylous to here,  
 So manie mowthes to speke, & listning eares.  
 By night she flieth amid the clowdie skie,  
 Shriking, by the darke shadowe of the erth,  
 Ne once her eies to swete slepe doth encline. 240  
 By daye she sittes to marke on the howse toppes  
 Or turrettes hie, & the great townes she frayes,  
 Mindfull of yll & lies as blasing truth.  
 This monster blith with manie a tale gan sowe  
 This rumor then into the common eares, 245  
 As well thinges done as that was never wrought:  
 As, that there comen is to Tyrians court  
 Aeneas, that of Troiane bludd is sprong,  
 To whom faier Dido wold her self be wedd;  
 In natures lustes the winter for to passe, 250

In foule delight, forgetting charge of reigne, 250  
 Led against honour with vn honest lust.  
 This in eche mouth the filthie goddesse spreads,  
 And takes her course to king Hiarbas straight;  
 Kindling his minde, with tales she feedes his wrath.  
 Gotten was he by Ammon Iupiter 255  
 Upon the rauisht nimph of Garamant.  
 An hundred hugie, great temples he built  
 In his farre stretching realmes to Iupiter;  
 Altars as many kept with waking flame,  
 A watche alwayes vpon the gods to tend; 260  
 The floores embrude with yelded blood of beastes,  
 And threshold spred with garlands of strange hue.  
 He, wood of minde, kindled by bitter brute,  
 Tofore thaltars, in presence of the gods,  
 With reared hands gan humbly Ioue entreate: 265  
 "Almighty God! whom the Moores nacion,  
 Fed at rich tables, presenteth with wine,  
 Seest thou these things? or feare we thee in vaine,  
 When thou lettest flye thy thonder from the cloudes?  
 Or do those flames with vaine noyse vs affray? 270  
 A woman that wandring in our coastes hath bought  
 A plot for price, where she a citie set;  
 To whom we gaue the strond for to manure,  
 And lawes to rule her town; our wedlock lothed,  
 Hath chose Aeneas to commaund her realme. 275  
 That Paris now, with his vnmanly sorte,  
 With mitred hats, with oynted bush and beard,  
 His rape enioyth; whiles to thy temples we  
 Our offrings bring, and folow rumors vaine."  
 Whom praing in such sort and griping eke 280  
 The altars fast, the mighty father heard,  
 And writhed his loke toward the royal walls  
 And louers eke, forgetting their good name.  
 To Mercurie then gaue he thus in charge:  
 "Hense, son, in hast! and call to thee the windes! 285  
 Slide with thy plumes and tell the Troyan prince,  
 That now in Carthage loytreth, rechlesse  
 Of the towns graunted him by desteny.  
 Swift through the skies see thow these words conuey.  
 His faire mother behight him not to vs 290  
 Such one to be, ne therefore twyse him saued  
 From Grekish arms, but such a one

\* \* \* \* \*

This in ech mowth the filthie goddes spredd,  
 & takes her course to king Iarbas straight;  
 Kindling his minde, with tales she fedd his wrathe.  
 Gotten he was by Hammon Jupiter 255  
 Vpon the ravisht Garamantida.  
 An hundred temples in his realme he buylte,  
 An hundred aulters kepte with waker fyer,  
 A watche allwaies on the goddes to attende;  
 The erth imbrued with yelded blood of bestes, 260  
 & thresholdes spredd with garlandes strange of hew.  
 He, wood of minde, kindled by bitter bruities,  
 Fore the aultars, in presence of the godes,  
 With reared handes gan humblie Ioue entreate:  
 "Allmighti lord, whom the Moors nacion, 265  
 Fede at riche tables, presenteth with wine,  
 Seest thow these thinges? or serue we the in vayne,  
 When thow lettes fle the thunder from the clowdes,  
 Whose flames oft chaunce with vaine noise vs afraye?  
 A wandring woman in our coostes hath bowght 270  
 A plott for price, wher she a village sett;  
 To whom we gaue the strond for to manure,  
 & lawes the towne to rule; our weddlock lothe,  
 Hath chose Aeneas to commaund her realmes.  
 That Paris now, with his vnmanlie sorte, 275  
 With mytred hattes, with oynted bushe & bearde,  
 His rape inioyes; whiles to thie temple we  
 Our offringes bring & hallowe rumours vayne."  
 Whom prayeng in such sort & gryping eke  
 The aulters fast, the mightie father harde, 280  
 & wrythed his looke towards the royall walls  
 & lovers eke, forgetting ther good name.  
 To Mercurie then gaue he thus in charge:  
 "Hence, sonne, in hast! & call to the the windes!  
 Slide with thie plumes & tell the Troiane prince, 285  
 That now in Carthage loytreth reckleslie,  
 Of the townes graunted him by destenie.  
 Swift through the skies se thow these wordes reporte.  
 His faire mother behight him not to vs  
 Such one to be, ne therfor twise him savde 290

As mete might seme great Italie to rule,  
 Dreedfull in arms, charged with seignorie,  
 Shewing in profe his worthy Teucrian race, 295  
 And vnder lawes the whole world to subdue.  
 If glorie of such things nought him enflame,  
 Ne that he listes seke honour by som paine,  
 The towers yet of Rome, being his sire,  
 Doth he enuie to yong Ascanius? 300  
 What mindeth he to frame? or on what hope  
 In enmies land doth he make hys abode?  
 Ne his ofspring in Italie regards?  
 Ne yet the land of Lauin doth behold?  
 Bid him make sayle; haue here the sum and end. 305  
 Our message thus report." When Ioue had sayd,  
 Then Mercurie gan bend him to obey  
 His mightie fathers will; and to his heeles  
 His golden wings he knits, which him transport  
 With a light winde aboute the earth and seas. 310  
 And then with him his wande he toke, whereby  
 He calles from hell pale gostes, and other some  
 Thether also he sendeth comfortlesse;  
 Wherby he forceth sleepes, and then bereues;  
 And mortall eies he closeth vp in deth. 315  
 By power wherof he driues the windes away,  
 And passeth eke amid the troubled cloudes,  
 Till in his flight he gan descrie the top  
 And the stepe flankes of rocky Atlas hill,  
 That with his crowne susteines the welkin vp; 320  
 Whose head, forgrowen with pine, circled alway  
 With misty cloudes, beaten with wind and storme;  
 His shoulders spred with snow; and from his chin  
 The springes descend, his beard frozen with yse.  
 Here Mercury with equal shinning winges 325  
 First touched, and, with body headling bette,  
 To the water thence tooke he his discent,  
 Like to the foule that endlong costes and strondes,  
 Swarming with fysh, flies sweping by the sea.  
 Cutting betwixt the windes and Libian landes, 330  
 From his graundfather by the mothers side  
 Cillenes child so came, and then alight  
 Upon the houses with his winged feete,  
 To fore the towers, wher he Aeneas saw  
 Foundacions cast, arering lodges new, 335  
 Girt with a sward of iasper, starry bright;



From Greekishe armes, but Italie to rule,  
 Dreddfull in armes, & chargde with seignorie,  
 Discovering his worthie Tewcrine race,  
 & vnder lawes the whole world to subdue.  
 If glorie of such thinges nowght him enflame, 295  
 Ne that he list seke honour by some payne,  
 The turrettes yet of Roome doth he envie,  
 That is the father of Ascanius?  
 What mindeth he to frame? or by what hope  
 In innies land doth he make his abode? 300  
 Ne his ofspring in Italie regards?  
 Ne yet the lond of Lavine doth behold?  
 Bidd him make sayle; haue here the summ & ende.  
 Our message thus report." When Iove had said,  
 Then Mercurie gan bend him to obeye 305  
 His mightie fathers will; & to his heeles  
 His golden winges he knittes, which him transport  
 With a light winde aboue the erthe & sees.  
 & then with him his wande he tooke, wherby  
 He calls from hell pale ghostes, & other some 310  
 Thither he sendeth allso comefortles;  
 Wherby he forcethe slepes & bereaves them;  
 & mortall eies he closethe vp in dethe.  
 By pooer wherof he dryves the windes awaie,  
 & passeth eke amidd the trowbled clowdes, 315  
 Till in his flight he gan descriue the topp  
 & steepe flankes of rockie Athlas hill,  
 That with his crowne sustaines the welkin vp;  
 Whose hedd, forgrowen with pine, circled allwaie  
 With mistie clowdes, beaten with winde & stormes; 320  
 His showlders spredd with snowe; & from his chinn  
 The springes discende, his berd frosen with yse.  
 Here Mercurie with egall shininge winges  
 Fyrst towched, & with bodie heddlong bent,  
 To the water thence took he his discent, 325  
 Like to the fowle that endlonge coostes & strondes,  
 Swarming with fishe, flies swymming by the sea.  
 Cutting betwixt the windes & Libian sandes,  
 From his graundfather by the mothers syde  
 The Cylen childe so came, & then alight 330  
 Vpon the howses with his winged feete,  
 Tofore the towers, wher he Aeneas saw  
 Fowndacouns cast & rearinge buyldinges new,  
 Gyrt with a sworde of iasper, starrie bright;

A shining parel, flamed with stately eie  
 Of Tirian purple, hong his shoulders down,  
 The gift and work of wealthy Didoes hand,  
 Stripped throughout with a thin thred of gold. 340

Thus he encounters him: "Oh careles wight,  
 Both of thy realme, and of thine own affaires;  
 A wifebound man now dost reare the walles  
 Of high Cartage, to build a goodly town?  
 From the bright skies the ruler of the gods 345  
 Sent me to thee, that with his beck commaundes  
 Both heuen and earth; in hast he gaue me charge,  
 Through the light aire this message thee to say:  
 What framest thou? or on what hope thy time  
 In idlenes doth wast in Affrick land? 350  
 Of so great things if nought the fame thee stirr,  
 Ne list by trauaile honour to pursue,  
 Ascanus yet, that waxeth fast, behold,  
 And the hope of Iulus seede, thine heir,  
 To whom the realme of Italy belonges 355  
 And soile of Rome." When Mercury had said,  
 Amid his tale, far of from mortall eies  
 Into light aire he vanisht out of sight.

Aeneas, with that vision striken down,  
 Well nere bestraught, vpstart his heare for dread; 360  
 Amid his throtal his voice likewise gan stick.  
 For to depart by night he longeth now,  
 And the sweet land to leaue, astained sore  
 With this aduise and message of the gods.  
 What may he do, alas! or by what woordes 365  
 Dare he persuade the raging quene in loue?  
 Or in what sort may he his tale beginne?  
 Now here, now there his recklesse minde gan run,  
 And diuersly him drawes, discoursing all.  
 After long doutes this sentence semed best: 370  
 Mnesthus first, and strong Cloanthus eke,  
 He calles to him, with Sergest; vnto whom  
 He gaue in charge his nauie secretly  
 For to prepare, and driue to the sea coast  
 His people, and their armour to addresse, 375  
 And for the cause of change to faine excuse,  
 And that he, when good Dido least foreknew  
 Or did suspect so great a loue could break,  
 Wold wait his time to speke therof most meete;  
 The nearest way to hasten his entent. 380

Of Tyrian purple hynge his showldres downe 335  
 His shininge pawle of mightie Didos gifte,  
 Striped through owt with a thinn threde of golde.  
 Then thus he sayd: "Thow, that of highe Carthage  
 Dost the fowndacouns laye to please thie wife,  
 Raising on height a passing fayer citie! 340  
 But oh, for woe; thine owne thinges owt of minde!  
 From the bright skies the ruler of the godes  
 Sent me to the, which with his becke commaundes  
 Both heaven & erth; in hast he gaued me charge  
 Throw the light ayer this message the to saye: 345  
 What buildest thow, or by what hope thy time  
 In idlenes thus wastes in Afrike land?  
 Of so great thinges if not the fame the sturr,  
 Ne lust by honour thie travaile to pursue,  
 Ascanius yet, that thriveth fast, behold, 350  
 & the hope of Iulus seede, thine heire,  
 To whom the realme of Italie belongeth  
 & soyle of Rome." When Mercurie had said,  
 Amid his tale, farr of from mortall eies  
 Into light ayer he vanisht owt of sight. 355  
 Aeneas, with that vision stryken downe,  
 Well ner bestraught, vp start his herre for dred;  
 Amid his throte his voice likewise gan sticke.  
 For to depart by flight he longeth now,  
 & that swete land to leave, astonied sore 360  
 By thadvice & message of the godes.  
 What may he do, alas! or by what wordes  
 Dare he perswade the raging quene in loue?  
 Or in what sort may he his tale begin?  
 Whiles here, now ther his restles minde gan ronne, 365  
 & diverslie him drawes, discoursing all.  
 After long dowbte this sentence semed best:  
 Mnestheus first, & strong Cleanthus eke,  
 He calls to him, with Sergest; vnto whom  
 He gave in charge his navie secretlie 370  
 For to prepare, & drawe to the sea coostes  
 His people, & his armour to addres,  
 & for the change of thinges to faine excuse,  
 & that he wold, when Dido lest foreknew  
 Or did suspect so great a love coold breke, 375  
 Awaite a tyme to speke therof most mete;  
 The nearest waie to hasten his entent.

Gladly his wil and biddings they obey.

Ful soone the quene this crafty sleight gan smell,—  
Who can deceiue a loue in forecast?—

And first foresaw the motions for to come,  
Things most assured fearing; vnto whom 385  
That wicked Fame reported, how to flight  
Was armde the fleet, all redy to auale.

Then ill bested of counsell, rageth she,  
And whisketh through the town like Bachus nunne,  
As Thias stirres, the sacred rites begon, 390  
And when the wonted third yeres sacrifice  
Doth prick her fourth, hering Bachus name hallowed,  
And that the festful night of Citheron  
Doth call her fourth, with noyes of dauncing.

At length her self bordeth Aeneas thus: 395

“Unfaithfull wight, to couer such a fault  
Coldest thou hope? vnwist to leue my land?  
Not thee our loue, nor yet right hand bethrothed,  
Ne cruell death of Dido may withhold, 400  
But that thou wilt in winter shippes prepare,

And trie the seas in broile of whorling windes?  
What if the land thou seekest were not straunge,  
If not vnknown, or auncient Troye yet stoode,  
In rough seas yet should Troye towne be sought?  
Shunnest thou me? By these teares and right hand,— 405  
For nought els haue I wretched lefte my self—

By our spousals and mariage begonne,  
If I of thee deserued euer well,  
Or thing of mine were euer to thee leefe,  
Rue on this realme, whoes ruine is at hand. 410

If ought be left that praier may auaille,  
I thee beseche to do away this minde.  
The Libians and tirans of Nomadane  
For thee me hate; my Tirians eke for thee 415  
Ar wroth; by thee my shamefastnes eke stained,  
And good renoume, wherby vp to the starres

Perelesse I clame. To whom wilt thou me leaue,  
Redy to dye, my swete guest, sithe this name  
Is all, as now, that of a spouse remaines?  
But wherto now shold I prolong my death? 420

What? vntil my brother Pigmalion  
Beate downe my walles? or the Getulian king  
Hiarbas yet captiue lead me away?  
Before thy flight a child had I ones borne,

Gladlie his will & biddinges thei obeie.

Full soone the Quene this craftie sleight gan smell,  
—Who can deceaue a lover in forecast?— 380

& first foresees these mocions for to come,  
Ye most assured fearing; vnto whom  
That wicked Fame reported how the flete  
Was armed new, all readie to auale.

Then yll bestedd of counsell, rageth she, 385  
& whisketh through the towne like Bacchus nonne,

As Thyas sturrs, the sacred rites begonne,  
When the wonted third yeres sacrifice  
Doth prick her furth, hering Bacchus name halowed,  
& when the feastfull night of Cytheron 390  
Doth call her owt, with noise of her dawnsing.

At length her self thus boordes Aeneas with:  
“Vnfaithfull wight, to colour such a flight!

& couldst thou hope vnwist to leave my land?  
Not the our love, nor yet right hand betrothde, 395  
Ne crwell dethe of Dido may with hold,

But that thou wilt in winter shippes prepare  
& take the seas in broyle of raging windes?

What if the land thou sekest war not strange,  
Yf not vnknownen, or auncient Troie stooode, 400

In rowghe seas yet shuld Troie of the be sought?  
Shunnist thou me? by these teares & right hand—

For nowght ells haue I wretched lefte my self—,  
By our spowsailes & mariage begoune,

If I of the deserued ever well, 405  
Or thing of mine war ever to the leefe,

If to request that enie place be lefte,  
Rue on this realme, whose ruine ys at hand,

I the beseche, & do awaie this minde.  
The Libian folke & tyrantes Numydanne 410

For the me hate; my Tryians eke are wrothe;  
My shamefastnes eke stayned for thi cause,

& good renowne, wherby vp to the starrs  
Pereles I clambe. To whom wilt thou me leaue,

Readie to die, O my swete gest, syth this name 415  
Ys all, as now, that of a spowe remaines?

But wherto now shuld I prolong my dethe?  
What? vnto my brother Pigmalion

Bete downe my walls? or the Getulian king  
Iarbas yet captive lead me awaie? 420

Before thie flight a child had I conceaved,

Or sene a yong Aeneas in my court 425  
 Play vp and down, that might present thy face,  
 All vtterly I could not seeme forsaken."  
 Thus sayd the quene. He, to the gods aduise,  
 Unmoued held his eies, and in his brest  
 Represt his care and stroue against his wil, 430  
 And these few wordes at last then forth he cast:  
 "Neuer shall I denie, quene, thy deserte,  
 Greater than thou in wordes may well expresse.  
 To think on thee ne irke me aye it shall,  
 Whiles of my selfe I shall haue memory, 435  
 And whiles the spirit these limmes of mine shal rule.  
 For present purpose somewhat shal I say.  
 Neuer ment I to clok the same by stelth,  
 Sclaunder me not, ne to escape by flight.  
 Nor I to thee pretended mariage, 440  
 Ne hyther can to ioine me in such leage.  
 If desteny at mine own liberty  
 To lead my life would haue permitted me,  
 After my wil my sorow to redoub,  
 Troy and the remainder of our folke 445  
 Restore I shold, and with these scaped handes  
 The walles againe vnto thee vanquished,  
 And palace high of Priam eke repaire.  
 But now Apollo, called Grineus,  
 And prophecies of Licia me aduise 450  
 To sease vpon the realme of Italy;  
 That is my loue, my country, and my land  
 If Cartage turrets thee, Phenician borne,  
 And of a Libian town the sight deteine,  
 To vs Troians why doest thou then enuy 455  
 In Italy to make our risting seat?  
 Lefull is eeke for vs straunge realmes to seeke.  
 As oft as night doth cloke with shadowes darke  
 The earth, as oft as flaming starres apere,  
 The troubled ghost of my father Anchises 460  
 So oft in sleepe doth fray me, and aduise;  
 The wronged hed by me of my deare sonne,  
 Whom I defraud of the Hisperian crown,  
 And landes allotted him by desteny.  
 The messenger eke of the gods but late 465  
 Sent down from Ioue—I sware by either hed—,  
 Passing the ayre, did this to me report.  
 In bright day light the god my selfe I saw

Or saw a yong Aeneas in my court  
 Play vp and downe, that did present thie face,  
 All vtterlie I could not seme forsaken."  
 Thus sayd the quene. He, to the godes advice, 425  
 Vnmoved held his eies, & in his brest  
 Represt his care & stroue against his will,  
 & these wordes few at lengthe furth gan he cast:  
 "Never shall I denie, quene, thie desertes,  
 Greater then thou in wordes may well expres. 430  
 To thinke on the ne yrke me ay it shall,  
 Whiles of my self I shall haue memorie,  
 & whiles the sprite these limmes of mine shall rule.  
 It is not great the thing that I requyer.  
 Nether ment I to cloke the same by stelth, 435  
 Slaunder me not, ne to eskape by flight.  
 Ne I to the pretended mariage,  
 Ne hither cam to joine me in such league.  
 Yf destenie at mine owne libertie  
 To lead my life woold haue permitted me, 440  
 After my will my sorowes to redowble,  
 Troie & the remainder of all my folke  
 Restore I shuld, & with these scaped handes  
 Ther walls againe vnto the vanquished,  
 & palaice hie of Priam eke repayer. 445  
 But now Apollo, called Gryneus,  
 & prophecies of Licia me bidd  
 To sease vpon the realme of Italie;  
 That is my loue, my countrie, & my land.  
 Yf Carthage turretes the, of Phenis land, 450  
 & of a Libian towne the sight detaynes,  
 To vs Troianes whie dost thou then envie  
 In Italie to make our rested ende?  
 Lefull it is for vs strang realmes to seke.  
 As ofte as night doth cloke with shadowe danke 455  
 The erthe, as oft as flaming sterrs appere,  
 The troobled ghost of my father Anchises  
 So ofte in slepe doth feare & advice me,  
 & wronged hedd by me of my dere sonne,  
 Whom I defraude of the Hesperian crowne 460  
 & landes allotted him by destenie.  
 The messenger eke of the godes but late,  
 Sent downe from Ioue—I swere by either hedd—,  
 Passing the aier, did this to me reporte.  
 In bright daie light the god my self I sawe 465

Entre these walles, and with this eares him heard.  
 Leue then with plaint to vexe both the and me; 470  
 Against my will to Italy I go."

Whiles in this sort he did his tale pronounce,  
 With waiward looke she gan him ay behold,  
 And roling eies that moued to and fro,  
 With silent looke discoursing ouer al. 475

And foorth in rage at last thus gan she brayde:  
 "Faithlesse! forsworn! ne goddesse was thy dam,  
 Nor Dardanus beginner of thy race,  
 But of hard rockes mount Caucase monstruous 480  
 Bred thee, and teates of tyger gaue thee suck.

But what should I dissemble now my chere,  
 Or me reserue to hope of greater things?  
 Mindes he our teares, or euer moued his eyen?  
 Wept he for ruth, or pitied he our loue?

What shall I set before, or where begin? 485

Iuno, nor Ioue, with iust eyes this beholds.

Faith in no where in suretie to be found.

Did I not him, thrown vp vpon my share,

In neede receiue, and fonded eke inuest

Of halfe my realme, his nauie lost, repair; 490

From deathes daunger his fellowes eke defend?

Ay me! with rage and furies, loe! I driue.

Apollo now, now Lycian prophesies,

Another while the messenger of gods,

He sayes, sent down from mighty Ioue himself, 495

The dredfull charge amid the skies hath brought.

As though that were the trauil of the gods,

Or such a care their quietnes might moue!

I hold thee not, nor yet gainsay thy words:

To Italie passe on by helpe of windes, 500

And through the floods go searche thy kingdom new.

If ruthfull gods haue any power, I trust

Amid the rocks thy guerdon thou shalt finde,

When thou shalt clepe full oft on Didos name.

With burial brandes I, absent, shall thee chase, 505

And when cold death from life these lims deuides,

My gost eche where shall still on thee awaite.

Thou shalt aby, and I shall here thereof;

Among the soules below thy brute shall come."

With such like wordes she cut of half her tale, 510

With pensiue hart abandoning the light,

And from his sight herself gan farre remoue,



Entre these walls, & with these eares him hard.  
 Leave then with plaint to vexe both the & me;  
 Against my will to Italie I goe."

Whiles in this sort his tale he did pronownce,  
 With wayward looke she gan him aie behold, 470  
 With rowling eies that moved to & fro,  
 With sylent looke discoursing over all.  
 & furth at last in rage thus gan she brayde:  
 "Faithless! foresworne! thie dame ne goddes was,  
 Nor Dardanus beginner of thie race, 475  
 But soor hard rockes mownt Caucase monstrous  
 Bredd the, & tettes of tygres gaue the sucke.  
 But what shuld I dissemble now my chere,  
 Or me reserue to hope of greater thinges?  
 Shedd he one teare, or ever movde his eien? 480  
 Wepte he for ruth, or pitied our loue?  
 What shall I sett before, or wher beginne?  
 Iuno, ne Iove, with iust eies this beheld.  
 Faith is no wher; no surete is to be fownde.  
 Did I not him, throwen vp vpon my shore, 485  
 In nede receaue, & fownded eke invest  
 Of half my realme; his navie lost, repayer;  
 From dethes daunger his felowes eke defende?  
 Aie me! with rage of furies, lo! I driue.  
 Apollo now, now Lician prophecies, 490  
 An other while the messenger of godes,  
 He saith, sent downe from mightie Iove him self,  
 This dreddfull charge amidd the skies hath browght.  
 As though that were the travaile of the godes,  
 Or such a care ther quietnes might moue! 495  
 I hold the not, nor yet gainsaye thie wordes;  
 To Italie passe on by helpe of windes,  
 & through the fluddes go serche thi kingdome new.  
 Yf rufull godes haue enie power, I trust  
 Amidd the rockes thie hyer shalt thow fynde, 500  
 When thow shalt clepe full oft on Didos name.  
 With buriall brandes I, absent, shall the chase,  
 & when cold dethe from life these lymmes deuide,  
 My ghost ech wher shall still on the awaite.  
 Thow shalt abie, & I shall here thereof; 505  
 Among the sowles bylowe this bruite shall come."

With such like wordes she cutt of half his tale,  
 With pensife hart abandoning the light,  
 & from his sight her self gan farr remoue,

Forsaking him, that many things in fere  
 Imagened, and did prepare to say.

Her swouning lims her damsels gan releue, 515  
 And to her chamber bare of marble stone,  
 And layd her on her bed with tapets spred.

But iust Aeneas, though he did desire  
 With comfort swet her sorows to appease,  
 And with his words to banish all her care, 520  
 Wailing her much, with great loue ouercome,  
 The gods will yet he woorketh, and resortes  
 Unto his nauie, where the Troyans fast  
 Fell to their worke, from the shore to vnstock  
 High rigged ships. Now fleetes the talowed kele. 525  
 Their oares with leaues yet grene from wood they bring,  
 And mastes vnshauē, for hast to take their flight.  
 You might haue sene them throng out of the town  
 Like ants, when they do spoile the bing of corne  
 For winters dred, which they beare to their den, 530  
 When the black swarm creeps ouer all the fields,  
 And thwart the grasse by strait pathes drags their pray.  
 The great graines then som on their shoulders trusse,  
 Some driue the troupe, som chastice eke the slow,  
 That with their trauaile chafed is eche pathe. 535

Beholding this, what thought might Dido haue!  
 What sighes gaue she, when from her towers hie  
 The large coasts she saw haunted with Troyans workes,  
 And in her sight the seas with din confounded!  
 O witlesse loue, what thing is that to do 540  
 A mortal minde thou canst not force thereto!  
 Forced she is to teares ay to returne,  
 With new requestes to yeld her hart to loue.  
 And least she should before her causelesse death  
 Leave any thing vntried: "O sister Anne," 545  
 Quoth she, "behold the whole coast round about,  
 How they prepare, assembled euery where;  
 The streming sailes abiding but for wynde;  
 The shipmen crowne theyr ships with bows for ioy.  
 O sister, if so great a sorow I 550  
 Mistrusted had, it were more light to beare.  
 Yet nathelesse, this for me wretched wight,  
 Anne, shalt thou do, for faithles, thee alone  
 He reuerenced, thee eke his secretes tolde.  
 The metest time thou knewest to borde the man;  
 To my proude foe thus, sister, humbly say: 555  
 I with the Grekes within the port Aulide

Forsaking him, that manie things in feare 510  
 Imagyned, & did prepare to saye.  
 Her sowning lymmes her damsells gan releue,  
 & to her chamber bare of marble stone,  
 & layd her on her bedd with tapistes spredd.  
 But iust Aeneas, though he did desyer 515  
 With comfort swete her sorrowe to appease,  
 & with his wordes to bannishe all her care,  
 To waile her much with grete love ouercome,  
 By the godes will yet workes he, & resortes  
 Vnto his navie, wher the Troianes fast 520  
 Fell to ther worke, from the shore to vnstocke  
 Highe charged shippes. Now flectes the talowed kele.  
 Ther ores with leaues yet grene from woode thei bringe,  
 & mastes vnshauen, for hast to take ther flight.  
 Ye might haue seen them throng owt of the towne 525  
 Like antes, when thei do spoile the bingie of corne  
 For winters dredd, which thei beare to ther denne,  
 When the blake swarme creepes ouer all the feeldes,  
 & thwart the grasse by straight pathes dragg ther praye.  
 The gret graynes then somme on ther showlders trusse, 530  
 Some driue the troope, some chastice eke the slowe;  
 With ther travaile chaffed ys euerie path.  
 Beholdinge thus, what thought might Dido haue!  
 What sighes gauē she, that from her towers of height  
 The large coostes saw haunted with Troians werkes, 535  
 & in her sight the seas with dynne confownded!  
 O wittles loue, what thing is that to do  
 A mortall minde thow canst not force therto!  
 Forced she is to teares ay to returne,  
 By new requestes to yeld her hart to loue. 540  
 & lest she shuld before her causeles dethe  
 Leave enie thing vntried: "O Sister An,"  
 Quod she, "behold the whole coost rownd abowt,  
 How thei prepare, assembled everie wher;  
 The streminge sayles abyden but for windes; 545  
 The shippmen crowne ther shippes with bowes for ioie.  
 O sister, if so great a sorrowe I  
 Mistrusted had, it wear more light to beare.  
 Yet natheles, this for me wretched wight,  
 An, shalt thow doe, for faithles, the alone 550  
 He reverenced, & eke his secrettes told.  
 The metest tymes thow knew to boorde the man;  
 To my prowde foe thus, sister, humblie saye:  
 I with the Grekes in the port Aulide

Coniured not, the Troyans to destroy;  
 Nor to the walles of Troy yet sent my fleete;  
 Nor cynders of his father Anchises 560  
 Disturbed haue, out of his sepulture.  
 Why lettes he not my wordes sinke in his eares  
 So harde to ouertreate? whither whirles he?  
 This last boone yet graunt he to wretched loue:  
 Prosperous windes for to depart with ease 565  
 Let him abide. The foresayde mariage now,  
 That he betraied, I do not him require,  
 Nor that he should faire Italy forgo;  
 Neither I would he should his kingdom leaue;  
 Quiet I aske, and a time of delay, 570  
 And respite eke my furye to asswage,  
 Till my mishap teach me, all comfortlesse,  
 How for to wayle my grief. This latter grace,  
 Sister, I craue; have thou remorse of me!  
 Whiche, if thou shalt vouchsafe, with heapes I shall 575  
 Leaue by my death redoubled vnto thee."

Moisted with teares thus wretched gan she playne;  
 Which Anne reportes, and answere brings againe.  
 Nought teares him moue, ne yet to any wordes  
 He can be framed with gentle minde to yelde. 580  
 The werdes withstande, & God stops his meke eares.  
 Like to the aged boysteous bodied oke,  
 The which among the Alpes the northerne windes,  
 Blowyng now from this quarter, now from that,  
 Betwixt them striue to ouerwhelme with blastes; 585  
 The whistlyng ayre among the braunches rores,  
 Which all at once bow to the earth her croppes,  
 The stock once smit; whiles in the rockes the tree  
 Sticke fast; and loke! how hye to the heauen her toppe  
 Reares vp, so deepe her roote spredes downe to hell: 590  
 So was this lorde now here, now there beset  
 With wordes, in whose stoute brest wrought many cares.  
 But still his minde in one remaines; in vaine  
 The teares were shed. Then Dido, frayde of fates,  
 Wisheth for death, irked to see the skyes. 595  
 And that she might the rather worke her will,  
 And leaue the light—a grisely thing to tell—,  
 Upon the altars, burnyng full of cense,  
 When she set giftes of sacrifice, she saw  
 The holy water stocks waxe blacke within; 600  
 The wine eke shed, chaunge into filthy gore.

- Coniured not, the Troianes to destroie; 555  
 Nor to the walls of Troie yet sent my fleete;  
 Nor cynders of his father Anchises  
 Disturbed, aye owt of his sepulture.  
 Whie lettes he not my wordes synk in his eares  
 So hard for to intreat? whither whorles he? 560  
 This last boone yet graunte he to wretched loue:  
 Prosperous windes for to depart with ease  
 Let him abide. The foresaid marriage now,  
 That he betraide, I do not him requyer,  
 Nor that he shuld faire Italie forgoe; 565  
 Nether I woold he shuld his kingdome leaue;  
 Quiet I aske, & a tyme of delaye,  
 & respite eke my furie to aswage,  
 Till my mishappe teach me, all comefortles,  
 How for to waile my greif. This latter grace, 570  
 Sister, I craue; haue thow remorse of me!  
 Which, if thow shalt vouchsafe, with heapes I shall  
 Leave by my dethe well rendred vnto the."
- Mingled with teares thus wretched gan she plaine;  
 Which An reportes, & answer bringes againe. 575  
 Nowght teares him moue, ne yet vnto my wordes  
 He harkyns, though that he war milde of kynde.  
 Destenie withstandes; a god stoppes his meke eares.  
 Like to the aged boistrous bodid oke,  
 Amidd the Alpes, which that the northren windes, 580  
 That now from this, now from that quarter blowe,  
 Betwixt them striue to overwhelme with blast;  
 The whistling ayer amongst the braunches rores,  
 Which all at ones bowe to the erthe hys croppes,  
 The stocke onste smyte; whiles in the rockes the tree 585  
 Stikes fast; & looke! how hie to heaven his topp  
 Rears vp, as deepe his roote spredes downe to hell:  
 So was this lord now here, now ther besett  
 With wordes, in whose stowt brest wrowght maine cares.
- But still his minde in one remaynes; for nowght 590  
 The teares werr shed. Then Dido, frayd of fates,  
 Wisheth for dethe, yrkenge to see the skies.  
 & that she might the rather worke her will,  
 & leaue the light—a greislie thing to tell—  
 Vpon the aulters, burninge full of sence, 595  
 When she sett giftes of sacrifice, she sawe  
 The holie water stockes waxe blake within;  
 The wine eke shedd, change into filthie geare;

This she to none, not to her sister told.  
 A marble temple in her palace eke,  
 In memory of her old spouse, there stood,  
 In great honour and worship, which she held, 605  
 With snowwhite clothes deckt, and with bows of feast;  
 Wherout was herd her husbandes voyce and speche  
 Cleping for her, when dark night hid the earth.  
 And oft the owle with rufull song complaind  
 From the house top, drawing long dolefull tunes. 610  
 And many things, forspoke by prophets past,  
 With dredfull warning gan her now affray,  
 And stern Aeneas semed in her slepe  
 To chase her stil about, distraught in rage.  
 And still her thought that she was left alone 615  
 Uncompanied, great viages to wende,  
 In desert land her Tyrian folk to seeke.  
 Like Pentheus, that in his madnes saw  
 Swarming in flocks the furies all of hell,  
 Two suns remoue, and Thebes town shew twain; 620  
 Or like Orestes, Agamemnons son,  
 In tragedies who represented aye  
 Driuen about, that from his mother fled  
 Armed with brands, and eke with serpents black;  
 That sitting found within the temples porche 625  
 The vglie furies his slaughter to reuenge.  
 Yelden to wo, when phrensie had her caught,  
 Within her selfe then gan she well debate,  
 Full bent to dye, the time and eke the meane;  
 And to her wofull sister thus she sayd, 630  
 In outward chere dissembling her entent,  
 Presenting hope vnder a semblant glad:  
 "Sister, reioyce! for I haue found the way  
 Him to returne, or lose me from his loue.  
 Toward the end of the great ocean flood, 635  
 Where as the wandring sun discendeth hence,  
 In the extremes of Ethiope, is a place  
 Where huge Atlas doth on his sholders turne  
 The sphere so round, with flaming starres beset;  
 Borne of Massayle, I heare, should be a nunne, 640  
 That of Thesperian sisters temple old  
 And of their goodly garden keper was,  
 That geues vnto the dragon eke his foode,  
 That on the tree preserues the holy fruit  
 That honie moyst, and sleping poppey castes. 645

Which she to none, ner to her sister told.  
 A marble temple in her palaice eke, 600  
 In memorie of her old spouse, ther stode,  
 In great honour & wurshippe, which she held,  
 With snow white clothes deckt, & with bowes of feast;  
 Wher oft was hard her husbondes voice, & speche  
 Clepinge for her, when derke night hidd the erth. 605  
 & oft the owle with ruffull song complaind  
 From the howse topp, to drawe his plaining tunes.  
 & manie thinges, forspoke by prophetes past,  
 Of dreddfull warninges gan her now afraye,  
 & sterne Aeneas semed in her slepe 610  
 To chase her still abowt, bestraught in rage.  
 & still her thowght that she was left alone  
 Vnwaited on great voiages to wende,  
 In desert land her Tyrian folke to seke.  
 Like Pentheus, that in his maddnes sawe 615  
 Swarminge in flockes the furies all of hell,  
 Two souns remoue, & Thebes towne showde twaine;  
 Or like Orestes, Agamemnons sonne,  
 In tragedies who representeth aie  
 Driven abowt, that from his mother fledd 620  
 With armed brandes, & eke with serpentes blake;  
 That sitting fownd within the temples porche  
 Th uglie furies his slaughter to revenge.  
 Yolden to woe, when frensie had her caught,  
 Within her self then gan she well debate, 625  
 Full bent to dye, the tyme & eke the meane;  
 & to her wofull sister thus she sayd,  
 In owtward chere dissembling her entent,  
 Presentinge hope vnder a semblant glade:  
 "Sister, reioice! for I haue fownd the waie 630  
 Him to returne, & loose me from his loue.  
 Toward the ende of the ocean fludd,  
 Wheras the sonne descendeth & declines,  
 In thextremes of Aethiope, is a place  
 Wher huge Atlas doth on his showlders turne 635  
 The sphere so rownd, with flaming sterrs besett;  
 Borne of Massile, I here, shuld be a nonne,  
 Of the Hesperian sisters temple old  
 The garder, that giues the dragon foode  
 That on the tre preserues the holie fruite 640  
 Which honie moist & sleping popey cast.

This woman doth auaunt, by force of charme,  
 What hart she list to set at libertie,  
 And other some to perce with heuy cares ;  
 In running flood to stop the waters course,  
 And eke the sterres their meuyngs to reuerse ; 650  
 Tassemble eke the gostes that walk by night.  
 Under thy feete thearth thou shalt behold  
 Tremble and rore, the okes come from the hill.  
 The gods and thee, dere sister, now I call  
 In witnes, and thy hed to me so sweete, 655  
 To magike artes against my will I bend.  
 Right secretly within our inner court,  
 In open ayre reare vp a stack of wood,  
 And hang theron the weapon of this man,  
 The which he left within my chamber stick. 660  
 His weedes dispoiled all, and bridal bed,  
 Wherein, alas ! sister, I found my bane,  
 Charge thereupon ; for so the nunne commaundes,  
 To do away what did to him belong,  
 Of that false wight that might remembraunce bring." 665  
 Then whisted she ; the pale her face gan staine.  
 Ne could yet Anne beleue her sister ment  
 To cloke her death by this new sacrifice,  
 Nor in her brest such furie did conceiue ;  
 Neither doth she now dred more greuou thing 670  
 Then folowed Sichees death ; wherefore  
 She put her will in vre. But then the quene,  
 When that the stak of wood was reared vp  
 Under the ayre within the inward court,  
 With clouen oke and billets made of fyrrre, 675  
 With garlandes she doth all beset the place,  
 And with grene bows eke crown the funerall ;  
 And therupon his wedes and swerd yleft,  
 And on a bed his picture she bestowes,  
 As she that well foreknew what was to come. 680  
 The altars stande about, and eke the nunne  
 With sparkeled tresse ; the which thre hundred gods  
 With a loude voice doth thunder out at once :  
 Erebus the grisely, and Chaos huge,  
 And eke the threefolde goddesse Hecate, 685  
 And three faces of Diana the virgin ;  
 And sprinkles eke the water counterfet,  
 Like vnto blacke Auernus lake in hell.  
 And springyng herbes reapt vp with brasen sithes  
 Were sought, after the right course of the moone ; 690



This woman doth avaunt, by force of charmes,  
 What hart she list to sett at libertie,  
 & other some to perse with heavie care;  
 In ronning floode to stopp the waters course, 645  
 & in the sterrs ther order to reverse;  
 The ghostes that walke by night eke to assemble.  
 Vnder thie foote the earth thow shalt behold  
 Tremble & rore, the okes fall from the hills.  
 The godes & the, dere sister, now I call 650  
 In wittnes, & thie hedd to me so swete,  
 To magike art against my will I bend.  
 Right secretlie within our inner court,  
 In open aier reare vp a stacke of woode,  
 & hang ther on the weapon of this man, 655  
 The which he lefte within my chamber sticke.  
 His weedes despoiled all, & brydall bedd,  
 Wherin, alas! sister, I fownd my bane,  
 Charge ther vpon; for so the nonne commaundes,  
 To do awaie what so did him belong, 660  
 Of that false wight that might remembrance bring."

Then whisted she; the pale her face gan staine.  
 Ne could yet An beleue her sister ment  
 To cloke her dethe by this new sacrifice,  
 Nor in her brest such furie did conceaue; 665  
 Nether doth she now dredd more grevous thinges  
 Then folowed Sycheus dethe, wherfor  
 She puttes her will in vre.  
 But the quene, when the stacke was reared vp  
 Vnder the aier within the open court, 670  
 With cloven oke & billetes made of fyrr,  
 With garlandes then she doth besett the place,  
 & with grene bowes eke crowen the funerall;  
 & ther vpon his weedes & sword forsake,  
 & over his bedd his picture she bestowes, 675  
 As she that well foreknew what was to come.  
 The aulters stand abowt, & eke the nonne  
 With sparkled tresse; the which iii C godes  
 With a lowd voice doth thunder owt at once:  
 Herebus greislie, & Chaos eke, 680  
 With the threfold goddes Proserpine,  
 & thre figures of Dian the virgine;  
 & sprinkles eke the water counterfayte,  
 Vnto the blake Avernus lake in hell.  
 Weare sought, after the right course of the moone;  
 & springing herbes reaped with brasen sighes 685

The venim blacke intermingled with milke;  
 The lumpes of fleshe twene the new borne foales eyen  
 To reue, that winneth from the damme her loue.  
 She, with the mole all in her handes deuout,  
 Stode neare the aulter, bare of the one foote, 695  
 With vesture loose, the bandes vnaced all;  
 Bent for to dye, cals the gods to recorde,  
 And gilty starres eke of her desteny.  
 And if there were any god that had care  
 Of louers hartes, not moued with loue alike, 700  
 Him she requires of iustice to remember.  
 It was then night; the sounde and quiet slepe  
 Had through the earth the weried bodyes caught;  
 The woodes, the ragyng seas were falne to rest;  
 When that the starres had halfe their course declined; 705  
 The feldes whist, beastes, and fowles of diuers hue,  
 And what so that in the brode lakes remainde,  
 Or yet among the bushy thickest of bryar,  
 Laide downe to slepe by silence of the night,  
 Gan swage their cares, mindlesse of trauels past. 710  
 Not so the spirite of this Phenician,  
 Unhappy she, that on no slepe could chance,  
 Nor yet nightes rest enter in eye or brest;  
 Her cares redoble; loue doth rise and rage againe,  
 And ouerflowes with swellyng stormes of wrath. 715  
 Thus thinkes she then, this roules she in her mind:  
 "What shall I do? shall I now beare the scorne  
 For to assaye mine olde woers againe,  
 And humbly yet a Numid spouse require,  
 Whose mariage I haue so oft disdayned? 720  
 The Troyan nauy, and Teucrican vile commaundes  
 Follow shall I, as though it shoulde auaile,  
 That whilom by my helpe they were releued?  
 Or for because with kinde and mindefull folke  
 Right well doth sit the passed thankefull dede? 725  
 Who would me suffer—admit this were my will—,  
 Or me scorned to their proude shippes receiue?  
 Oh, wo begone, full little knowest thou yet  
 The broken othes of Laomedons kinde!  
 What then? alone on mery mariners 730  
 Shall I waite, or borde them with my power  
 Of Tyrians, assembled me about?  
 And such as I with trauaile brought from Tyre,  
 Driue to the seas, and force them saile againe?

Ther venime blake entermingled with mylke ;  
 The lompe of fleshe twene the new borne fols eien  
 To weane her from her dames loue.  
 She, with the milk in bothe her handes devoute, 690  
 Stoode nere the aulter, bare on the one foote,  
 With vesture loose, the bandes vnlaced all ;  
 Bent for to dye, calls the godes to record,  
 & gyltie sterrs eke of her destenie.  
 & if that ther werr enie god had care 695  
 Of lovers trwe, vnequall in behest,  
 Him she requires of iustice to remember.  
 Yt was the night that sownd & quiet rest  
 Had through the erth the wearied bodies caught ;  
 The woodes, the raging seas war fallen to rest ; 700  
 When that the starrs had half ther course declinde ;  
 The feldes whiste, beastes, & fowles of dyvers hwe,  
 & what so that in the brode slowghes remaine,  
 Or yet amonges the busshie thickes of bryer,  
 Laid downe to slepe by sylence of the night, 705  
 Gan swage ther cares, mindles of travailes past.  
 Not so the sprite of this Phenician,  
 Vnhappie she, that on no slepe coold chaunce,  
 Nor yet nightes rest in eie nor brest coold entre ;  
 Her cares redowble ; loue rise & rage againe, 710  
 & ouerflowes with swelling stormes of wrathe.  
 Thus thinkes she then, thus rowles she in her minde :  
 "What shuld I do? shall I now beare the skorne  
 For to assaye myne old woers againe,  
 Or humblie yet a Numyde spouse require, 715  
 Whose mariage I haue so ofte disdainde?  
 The Troiane nevie, & Teuchryn vile commaundes  
 Follow shall I, as though it shuld availe,  
 That whilome by mie helpe thei war releved?  
 Or for bycause with kynd & mindfull folke 720  
 Right well doth sitt the passed thankfull dede?  
 Who would me suffer—admitt this war my will—,  
 Or skorned me to ther prowde shippes receaue?  
 Oh, woe begon, full litle doest thou knowe  
 Or smell the broken othes of Laomedus kinde! 725  
 What then? alone with merie maryners  
 Shall I awaite, or boorde them with my power  
 Of Tyrians, assembled me abowt?  
 & such as I with travaile browght from Tyre,  
 Druie to the seas, & force them sayle againe? 730

But rather dye, euen as thou hast deserued, 735  
 And to this wo with iron geue thou ende!  
 And thou, sister, first vanquisht with my teares  
 Thou in my rage with all these mischiefes first  
 Didst burden me, and yelde me to my foe.  
 Was it not graunted me, from spousals free, 740  
 Like to wilde beastes, to liue without offence,  
 Without taste of such cares? Is there no fayth  
 Reserued to the cinders of Sychee?"  
 Such great complaints brake forth out of her brest;  
 Whiles Aeneas, full minded to depart, 745  
 All things prepared, slept in the poupe on high.  
 To whom in slepe the wonted godheds forme  
 Gan aye appere, returnyng in like shape  
 As semed him, and gan him thus aduise,  
 Like vnto Mercury in voyce and hue, 759  
 With yelow bushe, and comely lymmes of youth:  
 "O Goddessesonne, in such case canst thou sleepe?  
 Ne yet bestraught the daungers doest forsee  
 That compasse thee, nor hearst the faire windes blowe?  
 Dido in minde roules vengeance and desceite; 755  
 Determd to dye, swelles with vnstable ire.  
 Wilt thou not flee, whiles thou hast time of flight?  
 Straight shalt thou see the seas couered with sayles,  
 The blasyng brondes the shore all spred with flame.  
 And if the morow steale vpon thee here? 760  
 Come of, haue done, set all delay aside;  
 For full of change these women be alway."  
 This sayd, in the dark night he gan him hide.  
 Aeneas, of this sodain vision  
 Adred, starts vp out of his sleepe in hast; 765  
 Cals vp his feers: "Awake! get vp, my men!  
 Abord your ships, and hoise vp sayl with speede!  
 A god me wills, sent from aboue againe,  
 To hast my flight, and writhen cabels cut.  
 Oh holy god, what so thow art, we shall 770  
 Folow thee, and all blithe obey thy will.  
 Be at our hand, and frendly vs assist!  
 Adresse the sterres with prosperous influence!"  
 And with that word his glistering sword vnshethes,  
 With which drawen he the cabels cut in twaine. 775  
 The like desire the rest embraced all.  
 All thing in hast they cast, and fourth they whurle.  
 The shores they leaue; with ships the seas ar spred;  
 Cutting the fome by the blew seas they swepe.

But rather dye, even as thow hast deserved,  
 & to this woe with yron geve thow ende!  
 & thow, sister, first vanquisht with my teares,  
 Thow in my rage with all these mischiefes fyrst  
 Did burden me, & wisht me to my foe. 735  
 Was it not graunted me, from spousailes fre,  
 Like to wild bestes, to lyve with owt offence,  
 With owt tast of such cares? Is ther no faith  
 Reserude to the cynders of Sycheus?  
 Such great complaintes brake furth owt of her brest; 740  
 Whiles that Aeneas, certein to depart,  
 All thinges preparede, slept in the pupp on hie,  
 To whom in sleape the wonted godheddes forme  
 Gan aie appere, returning in like shape  
 As semed him, & gan him thus advise, 745  
 Like vnto Mercurie in voice & here,  
 With yelow bushe & comelie lymmes of youthe:  
 "O goddes sone, in such case canst thow sleape?  
 Nor yet bestraight the daungers dest for see  
 That compass the, ner here the faire windes blowe? 750  
 Dido in minde rowles veniaunce & deceite;  
 Certein of death, swells with vnstable yre.  
 Wilt thow not fle, whiles thow hast tyme of flight?  
 Straight shalt thow se the seas coverd with sayles,  
 The blasing brondes the shore skalt all with flame. 755  
 & if the morow steales vpon the here?  
 Come of, haue done, sett all delaie aside;  
 For full of change these women be allwaie."  
 This said, in the dark night he gan him hide.  
 Aeneas, of this sodaine vision 760  
 Adredd, stertes vp owt of his sleape in hast;  
 Calls vp his feres: "Awake! gett vp, my men!  
 Aburd your shippes, & hoise vp sayle with spede!  
 A god me wills, sent from aboue againe,  
 To hast my flight, & wrethed cables cutt. 765  
 O holie god, what so thow art, we shall  
 Followe the, & all blithe obaye thie will.  
 Be at our hand, & frindlie vs assist!  
 Adresse the sterrs with prosperous influence!"  
 & with that word his raser sword vnshethes, 770  
 With which drawen he the cable cutt in twaine;  
 The like desire the rest imbraced all.  
 All thing in hast thei refte, & furth thei whorle.  
 The shore thei leave; with shippes the sees ar spredd;  
 Cuttinge the fome by the grene seas thei sweepe. 775

Aurora now from Titans purple bed 780  
 With new day light hath ouerspred the earth,  
 When by her windowes the quene the peping day  
 Espyed, and nauie with splaid sailes depart  
 The shore, and eke the porte of vessels voyde.  
 Her comly brest thrise or foure times she smote 785  
 With her own hand, and tore her golden tresse.  
 "Oh Ioue!" quoth she, "shall he then thus depart,  
 A straunger thus, and scorne our kingdom so?  
 Shall not my men do on theyr armure prest,  
 And eke pursue them throughout all the town? 790  
 Out of the rode sone shall the vessell warpe?  
 Hast on, cast flame, set sayle, and welde your owers!  
 What said I? but where am I? what phrensie  
 Alters thy minde? Vnhappy Dido, now  
 Hath thee beset a froward destenie? 795  
 Then it behoued, when thou didst geue to him  
 The scepter. Lo! his faith and his right hand,  
 That leades with him, they say, his countrie godes,  
 That on his back his aged father bore!  
 His body might I not have caught and rent. 800  
 And in the seas drenched him, and his feers?  
 And from Ascanius his life with iron reft,  
 And set him on his fathers bord for meate?  
 Of such debate perchaunce the fortune might  
 Haue bene doutfull; would god it were assaied! 805  
 Whom should I feare, sith I my selfe must die?  
 Might I have throwen into that nauy brandes,  
 And filled eke their deckes with flaming fire,  
 The father, sonne, and all their nacion  
 Destroied, and falln my self ded ouer al! 810  
 Sunne, with thy beames that mortall workes discries;  
 And thou, Iuno, that wel these trauailes knowest;  
 Proserpine, thou, vpon whom folk do vse  
 To houle, and call in forked waies by night;  
 Infernal furies, ye wreakers of wrong; 815  
 And Didos gods, who standes at point of death:  
 Receiue these wordes, and eke your heauy power  
 Withdraw from me, that wicked folk deserue,  
 And our request accept, we you beseche.  
 If so that yonder wicked head must needes 820  
 Recouer port, and saile to land of force,  
 And if Ioues wil haue so resolued it,  
 And such ende set as no wight can fordoe;

Aurora now from Titans purple bedd  
 With new daies light had ouerspredd the earth,  
 Through the windowe the quene the creking daye  
 Aspied, & navie with splaide sayles depart  
 The shore, & eke the port of vessells voide. 780  
 Her comelye brest thrise or fower tymes she smitte  
 With her owne hand, & tare her golden tresse.  
 "Oh Iove!" quod she, "Shall he then thus depart,  
 A straunger thus, & skorne our kingdome soe?  
 Shall not my men do on ther armour prest, 785  
 & eke persue them through owt all this towne?  
 Owt of the rode soone shuld the vessells warpe?  
 Hast on, cast flame, hoise sayle, & weelde your ores!  
 What said I? but wher am I? what fransie  
 Alters thie minde? Vnhappie Dido, now 790  
 Hath the be sett a froward destenie?  
 Then the behoued, when thow did deuide  
 Thie sceptre. Loe, his faithe & his right hand,  
 That ledes with him, thei saye, his cuntrie godes,  
 That on his backe his aged father bare! 795  
 His bodie might not I haue caught & rent,  
 & in the sees haue drentcht him, & his pheres?  
 Or from Askanius his life berefte with yron,  
 & sett him on his fathers boord for meat?  
 Of such debate perchaunce the fortune might 800  
 Haue dowtefull bene; woold god yt war assayd!  
 Whom shuld I fear, that sithe my self must dye?  
 Might I haue thrown into that navie brondes,  
 & fylled eke ther deckes with flaming fyer,  
 The father, sonn, & all the nacion 805  
 Distroyed, & fall my self ther ouer all!  
 Sunne, with thie beames that mortall werkes descriest;  
 And thow, Iuno, that well these travailes knowst;  
 Proserpine, thow, vpon whom folke do vse  
 To howle, & call in forked waies by night; 810  
 Infernall furies, ye wreekers of wrong;  
 & Didos godes, which standes at point of deathe:  
 Receaue these wordes, & eke your heaue powre  
 With drawe from me, that wicked folke deserue,  
 & our request accepte, we you besech. 815  
 If so that yonder wicked hed must nedes  
 Recouer port, & sayle to land of force,  
 & if Ioues will hath so resolved it,  
 & such end sett as no wight can fordoe;

Yet at the least asailed mought he be 825  
 With armes and warres of hardy nacions;  
 From the boundes of his kingdom farre exiled;  
 Iulus eke rashed out of his armes;  
 Driuen to call for helpe, that he may see  
 The giltlesh corpses of his folke lie dead.  
 And after hard condicions of peace, 830  
 His realme, nor life desired may he brooke;  
 But fall before his time, vngraued amid the sandes.  
 This I require; these wordes with blood I shed.  
 And, Trians, ye his stocke and all his race  
 Pursue with hate! rewarde our cinders so! 835  
 No loue nor leage betwixt our peoples be!  
 And of our bones some wreaker may there spring,  
 With sword and flame that Troians may pursue!  
 And from hencefoorth, when that our powr may stretch,  
 Our costes to them contrary be for aye, 840  
 I craue of God; and our streames to their fluddes;  
 Armes vnto armes; and offspring of eche race  
 With mortal warr eche other may fordoe!"

This said, her mind she writhed on al sides,  
 Seking with spede to end her irksome life. 845  
 To Sichees nurse, Barcen, then thus she said—  
 For hers at home in ashes did remaine—:  
 "Cal vnto me, deare nurse, my sister Anne;  
 Bid her in hast in water of the fludde  
 She sprinckle the body, and bring the beastes 850  
 And purging sacrifice I did her shewe.  
 So let her come; and thou thy temples bind  
 With sacred garlandes; for the sacrifice  
 That I to Pluto haue begonne, my mind  
 Is to performe, and geue end to these cares; 855  
 And Troian statue throw into the flame."  
 When she had said, redouble gan her nurse  
 Her steppes, forth on an aged womans trot.

But trembling Dido egerly now bent 860  
 Upon her sterne determinacion,  
 Her bloodshot eies roling within her head,  
 Her quiuering chekes flecked with deadly staine,  
 Both pale and wan to think on death to come,  
 Into the inward wardes of her palace  
 She rusheth in, and clam vp, as distraught, 865  
 The buriall stack, and drew the Troian sword,  
 Her gift sometime, but ment to no such vse.



Yet at the least assayled might he be 820  
 With armes & warrs of hardie nacions;  
 From the bondes of his kingdome farr exiled;  
 Iulus eke ravisht owt of his armes;  
 Driven to call for helpe, that he maie se  
 The wailfull corses of his folke lie dedd. 825  
 & after hard condicions of peace,  
 His realme, nor life desyred maie he brooke;  
 But dye before his tyme, vnburied amidd the sandes.  
 This I require; these wordes with blud ishedd.  
 &, Tirians, ye his stocke & all his race 830  
 Pursue with hate! reward our cindres so!  
 No loue nor league betwixt our peoples be!  
 And of our bones some wrecker may ther springe,  
 With sword & flame that Troianes may pursue!  
 And from hencefoorth, when that our powr may stretch, 835  
 Our coostes to them contrarie be thei aie,  
 I craue of God; that our streames to ther fluddes;  
 Armes vnto armes; & ofspringe of ech race!"

This sayd, her mind she wrythde ouer all sides,  
 Seking with spede to ende this yrkesome life. 840  
 To Syches nurse, Barcen, then thus she sayd—  
 For hers at home in asshes did remaine—:  
 "Call vnto me, dere nurse, my sister An;  
 Bidd her in haste in water of the floode  
 She sprinkle the bodye, & bring the beastes 485  
 & purging sacrifice I did her showe.  
 So lett her come; & thow thie temples bynde  
 With sacred garlandes; for the sacrifice  
 That I to Pluto haue begonn, I mynde  
 For to perfourme, & geue ende to these cares; 850  
 A Troiane statue throwe into the flame."  
 When she had sayd, redowble gan her nurse  
 Her steppes, forth on an aged womans trott.

But trembling Dido egerlie now bent  
 Vpon her sterne determinacion, 855  
 Her bludd shott eien rowling within her hedd,  
 Her quiering chekes fleked with deadlie staine,  
 Both pale & wanne to thinke on deathe to come,  
 Into the inner wardes of her palaice  
 She russheth in, & clamme vp, as bestraught, 860  
 The buriall stacke, & drew the Troiane sword,  
 Her gifte sometime, but ment to no such vse.

Where, when she saw his weed and wel known bed,  
 Weping a while, in study gan she stay,  
 Fell on the bed, and these last words she said: 870  
 "Swete spoiles, whiles God and destenies it wold,  
 Receue this sprite, and rid me of these cares!  
 I liued and ranne the course fortune did graunt,  
 And vnder earth my great gost now shall wende.  
 A goodly town I built, and saw my walles, 875  
 Happy, alas, to happy, if these costes  
 The Troyan shippes had neuer touched aye!"  
 This said, she laid her mouth close to the bed.  
 "Why then", quoth she, "vnworken shall we die?  
 But let vs die, for thus, and in this sort 880  
 It liketh vs to seeke the shadowes darck.  
 And from the seas the cruel Troyans eies  
 Shall wel discern this flame, and take with him  
 Eke these vnlucky tokens of my death."  
 As she had said, her damsells might perceue 885  
 Her with these wordes fal pearced on a sword,  
 The blade embrued, and hands besprent with gore.  
 The clamor rang vnto the pallace toppe;  
 The brute ranne throughout al thastained towne.  
 With wailing great, and womens shril yelling 890  
 The roffes gan roare, the aire resound with plaint,  
 As though Cartage or thauncient town of Tyre  
 With prease of entred enemies swarmed full;  
 Or when the rage of furious flame doth take  
 The temples toppes, and mansions eke of men. 895  
 Her sister Anne, spritelesse for dread to heare  
 This fearefull sturre, with nailes gan teare her face.  
 She smote her brest, and rushed through the rout,  
 And her dieng she cleapes thus by her name:  
 "Sister, for this with craft did you me bourd? 900  
 The stak, the flame, the altars, bred they this?  
 What shall I first complaine, fosaken wight?  
 Lothest thou in death thy sisters fellowship?  
 Thou shouldst haue calld me to like destiny:  
 One wo, one sword, one houre mought end vs both! 905  
 This funerall stak built I with these handes,  
 And with this voice cleped our natiue gods;  
 And, cruel, so absentest me from thy death?  
 Destroyd thou hast, sister, both thee and me,  
 Thy people eke, and princes borne of Tyre. 910  
 Geue here; I shall with water washe her woundes,  
 And suck with mouth her breath, if ought be left."

- Wher, when she saw his weedes & wellknown bedd,  
 Wepinge a while, in studie gan she staye,  
 Fell on the bedd, & these last wordes she sayde: 865  
 "Swete spoiles, whiles God & destenie did permitt,  
 Receave this sprite, & ridd me of these cares!  
 I ran the course so longe as fortune did yt graunt,  
 & vnder earth my great ghost now shall wende.  
 A goodlie towne I buylt, & saw my walls, 870  
 Happie, alas, to happie, if these coostes  
 The Troiane shippes had never towched aie!"  
 This sayd, she layd her mowth close to the bedd.  
 "Whie then," quod she, "vnwroken shall we die?  
 But let vs die, for thus, & in this sort 875  
 Yt liketh vs to seke the shadows darke.  
 & from the seas the crwell Troiane eies  
 Shall well discerne this flame, & take with him  
 Eke these vnluckie tokens of my deathe."  
 As she had sayd, her damsells might perceve 880  
 Her with those wordes fall persed on the sword,  
 The broyling blood with gore, & handes imbrwed.  
 The clamer rang vnto the palaice topp;  
 The brute ran through all the astoined towne.  
 With wailing great, & womens laymenting 885  
 The roophes gan rore, the aire resownd with plaint,  
 As thowgh Carthage or auncient Tyre  
 With presse of entred armes swarmed full;  
 Or when the rage of furious flame doth take  
 The temples toppes, & mansions eke of men. 890  
 Her sister An, spriteles for drede to here  
 This dreddfull sturr, with nailes gan tere her face.  
 She smotte her brest, & russheth through the rowte,  
 & dying thus she cleapes her by her name:  
 "Sister, for this with crafte did you me boorde? 895  
 The stacke, the flame, the aulters, bredd thei this?  
 What shall I fyrst complaine, forsaken wight?  
 Loothest thou in dethe thi sisters felowship?  
 Thow shuld haue called me to like destenie:  
 One woe, one sword, one hower ende both vs two! 900  
 Thys funerall stacke buylt I vp with these handes,  
 & with this voice cleped our natiue godes;  
 & crwell, so absentes me from thie deathe?  
 Distroid yt hath, sister, both the & me,  
 Thie people eke, & princes borne of Tyre. 905  
 Geve here; I shall with water washe her woundes,  
 & sucke with mowthe her breath, if owght be lefte."

This said, vnto the high degrees she mounted,  
 Embrasing fast her sister now half dead,  
 With wailefull plaint; whom in her lap she layd, 915  
 The black swart gore wiping dry with her clothes.  
 But Dido striueth to lift vp againe  
 Her heauy eyen, and hath no power thereto:  
 Deepe in her brest that fixed wound doth gape.  
 Thrise leaning on her elbow gan she raise 920  
 Herself vpward, and thrise she ouerthrewe  
 Upon the bed, ranging with wandring eies  
 The skies for light, and wept when she it found.  
 Almighty Iuno hauing ruth by this  
 Of her long paines and eke her lingring death, 925  
 From heauen she sent the goddesse Iris downe,  
 The throwing sprit and iointed limmes to loose.  
 For that neither by lot of destiny  
 Nor yet by kindly death she perished,  
 But wretchedly before her fatall day, 930  
 And kindled with a sodein rage of flame,  
 Proserpine had not from her head bereft  
 The golden heare, nor iudged her to hell.  
 The dewye Iris thus with golden wings,  
 A thousand hues shewing against the sunne, 935  
 Amid the skies then did she flye adowne,  
 On Didos head where as she gan alight:  
 "This heare", quod she, "to Pluto consecrate,  
 Commaunded I reue; and thy spirit vnloose  
 From this body." And when she thus had said, 940  
 With her right hand she cut the heare in twaine,  
 And therwith al the kindly heat gan quench,  
 And into wind the life foorthwith resolue.

Thus sayd, vnto the hie degrees she mownted,  
 Embracing fast her sister now half deed,  
 With wailfull plaint; whom in her lapp she layd, 910  
 The blake swart gore wiping drie with her clothes.  
 & Dido striveth to lifte vp againe  
 Her heavie eien, & hath no power therto:  
 Depe in her brest the fixed wound doth gape.  
 Thrise leaning on her elbowe gan she raise 915  
 Her self vppward, & thrise she ouerthrew  
 Vpon the bedd, raginge with wandring eies  
 The skies for light, & wept when she it fownde.  
 Allmightie Iuno, havinge ruthe by this  
 Of her long paines & eke her lingring deathe, 920  
 From heaven she sent the goddes Iris downe,  
 The striving sprite & iointed lymmes to loose.  
 For that neither by lott of destenie  
 Ner yet by naturall death she perished,  
 But wretchedlie before her fatall daye, 925  
 & kindled with a sodayne rage of flame,  
 Proserpine had not from hedd berefte  
 The golden herre, nor iudged her to hell.  
 The dewie Iris thus with golden winges,  
 A thowsand hues showinge against the soun, 930  
 Amidd the skies then did she fle adowne,  
 On Didos hedd wheras she gan alight:  
 "This herre," quod she, "to Pluto consecrate,  
 I do bereaue; & eke the sprite vnloose  
 From thie bodie." & when she had thus sayd, 935  
 With her right hand she cutt the herr in twaine,  
 & therwith all the naturall heat gan quench,  
 & into winde furthwith the life resolve.

## NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. See Bapst, *Deux Gentilshommes—Poètes de la cour de Henry VIII* 153, for full discussion of date of birth.
2. *Calendar State Papers, Spanish, 1529-1530*, no. 228.
3. *Letters and Papers* 5. no. 1626.
4. Ibid.
5. *Let. and Pap.* 16. no. 350. Bapst quotes the above from the unabridged letter.
6. See poem 19, vs. 13-18.
7. *Cal. St. Pap., Sp., 1529-1530*, no. 425.
8. Bapst gives 1538 as the year of this event, but on what authority I cannot find.
9. See the notes to all three poems.
10. Manuscript Harleian 296. f. 171, quoted by Bapst.
11. Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 1. 118-120.
12. *Let. and Pap.* 21. 2. no. 555. 1.
13. Anstis, *Register of the Order of the Garter* 2. 423.
14. Bapst, 249, from a manuscript of Bennet College.
15. Bapst, 255.
16. See poem 34, vs. 41-42.
17. See poem 40.
18. Bapst, 256 ff.
19. *Let. and Pap.* 17 nos. 493, 542, 543, 557.
20. See notes to poem 34.
21. See poem 19, v. 7.
22. *Acts of the Privy Council*, quoted by Bapst, 268.
23. Sloane MS. 1523, f. 37, quoted by Bapst, 269.
24. *Let. and Pap.* 18.1. no. 73.
25. See also nos. 74, 315, 327, 347.
26. See poem 32.
27. *Cal. St. Pap., Sp., 1542-1543*, no. 259.
28. *Let. and Pap.* 19.2. no. 176.
29. See poem 47, and notes.
30. Bapst, 316-317.
31. See letter to Henry from Surrey, *Let. and Pap.* 20.2. no. 928; quoted by Bapst, 324.
32. *Let. and Pap.* 20.2. no. 950; quoted by Bapst, 324.
33. See letter from Thomas Hussey to Surrey, under date of Nov. 6, *Let. and Pap.* 20.2 no. 738; quoted by Bapst, 319.
34. I think Bapst is mistaken in his assertion that Surrey visited London in December 1545 at the request of the Privy Council. He finds an allusion to this visit in the letter of the Council to Surrey under date of March 21, 1546 (*Let. and Pap.* 21.1 no. 433): "Upon consideration of all such letters as have been written from thence (Boulogne) and also of such information as *hath been gyven unto His Highness by mouth here by your Lordship.*" I think this refers rather to such oral reports as were made at Surrey's request by Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir Thomas Wyatt, as indicated in Surrey's letter of Dec. 7, and by Ellerker, as indicated in letter of Jan. 8, 1546.

35. *Let. and Pap.* 21.1. no. 33. The French historian, Mouthuc, attributed the victory to the conduct of the French commander, Oudart du Biez, who leapt from his horse, took up a pike, and thus aroused the spirit of his men.

36. *Let. and Pap.* 21.1. no. 81.

37. Poem 9.

38. See poems 21 and 33, and notes.

39. *Let. and Pap.* 20.2. no. 658.

40. These letters are quoted in full by Nott, 207-211.

41. Letter quoted in full by Nott, 224-227.

42. See letter of March 15, Nott, 220.

43. Quoted by Nott, 223.

44. *Let. and Pap.* 21.1. no. 1274.

45. *Let. and Pap.* 21.2. no. 555.4.

46. As Bapst pertinently remarks, the art of heraldry did not exist until the period of the crusades.

47. See MS Heralds College L., fol. 14; MS Harleian 297, fol. 256 b.

48. See Anstis, *Register of the Order of the Garter* 1.175.

49. See notes to poem 54.

50. *Let. and Pap.* 21.2. no. 696,

51. Bapst identifies this Edmund Knyvet with the Edmund Knyvet who in 1541 struck Thomas Clere, the friend of Surrey, within the tennis court of the King's house, and nearly lost his head therefor. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, however, the Edmund Knyvet who quarreled with Clere was an uncle of Surrey's cousin and accuser, who died May 1, 1546.

52. *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, quoted by Bapst, 253.

53. *Let. and Pap.* 21.2. no. 644.

54. *Let. and Pap.* 21.2. no. 756.

55. *Let. and Pap.* 21.2. no. 617.

56. *Let. and Pap.* 22.2. no. 697.

57. See Bapst, 348-349.

58. If one will read this sonnet aloud, throwing the accents where the scansion requires, he will discover that it is pleasant to the ear and light upon the tongue. It is musical, and many of the words are actually more pleasing in sound with the accent thus thrown upon the final syllable. Wyatt had a sensitive ear, and modern readers regard his verse as rough largely because, expecting correspondence between the metrical accent and the thought and word accents, they do not read the verses as Wyatt read them.

59. I have disregarded the poem "Brittle beautie, that nature made so fraile," as it is very doubtful if Surrey is the author.

The generalization in the text applies, of course, only to those verses in which the accent is required to be thrown on the weak syllable of a noun in order to secure a pleasant and musical line. In the translations from the *Aeneid* there are a very large number of verses which, if scanned mechanically, would show the accent resting upon the weak syllables of nouns, verbs, and adjectives. But Surrey appreciated that the very genius of blank verse as an effective narrative medium, aiming at naturalness and vividness of incident and conversation, now hastening and now retarding the movement of the story and ever avoiding monotony, requires the relief of the verse by the occasional use of feet other than the iambus, especially the trochee; the iambus being merely the norm around which the verse plays.

## TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.—*Additional Ms. 28635.*

D.—*Additional Ms. 17492.*

D.—Day, John. *The Fourth Book of Virgill.*

Dg.—Douglas, Gawin, *Works of.*

E.—*Egerton Ms. 2711.*

H.—*Ms. Hargrave 205.*

Harl.—*Ms. Harleian 78.*

Hip.—Hippolito de Medici, Translation of *Æneid, Book 2.*

K.—Koeppel, E. *Studien zur Geschichte des Englischen Petrarchismus.*

Lb.—Nicolo Liburnio. Translation of *Æneid, Book 4.*

N.—Nott, George Frederick, *The Works of Surrey.*

P.—*Additional Ms. 36529.*

Pl.—Piccolomini, Bartolommeo Carli, Translation of *Æneid, Book 4.*

S.—Surrey.

T.—Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes, or Certain Bokes of Virgiles Æneis.*

V.—Virgil.



## TEXTUAL NOTES

### 1

*T.*, p. 10.—*Title*: A complaint by night of the louer not beloved.

### 2

*T.*, p. 4.—8 *second ed.* flete.—*Title*: Description of Spring, wherin eche thing renews, saue onelic the louer.

### 3

*P.* 55b.—10 omitted, probably through carelessness; I have supplied the *v.* conjecturally, from the suggestion of the corresponding *v.* in *T.*

*T.*'s version (12) differs radically:

I neuer sawe my Ladye laye apart  
Her cornet blacke, in colde nor yet in heate,  
Sith first she knew my griefe was growen so great,  
Which other fansies driueth from my hart  
That to my selfe I do the thought reserue,  
The which vnwares did wounde my wofull brest:  
But on her face mine eyes mought neuer rest,  
Yet, sins she knew I did her loue and serue  
Her golden tresses cladde alway with blacke,  
Her smilyng lokes that hid thus euermore,  
And that restraines whiche I desire so sore.  
So dothe this cornet gouerne me alacke:  
In somer, sunne: in winters breath, a frost:  
Wherby the light of her faire lokes I lost.

—*Title*: Complaint that his ladie after she knew of his loue kept her face alway hidden from him.

### 4

*P.* 55b.—6 doubtful.

*Variants in T.* (8): 1 that liueth and reigneth in.—2 That built.—7 cloke.—10 whereas he lurkes and plaines. — 12 paynes. — 14 his death, takes his.—*Title*: Complaint of a louer rebuked.

### 5

*P.* 56a.—Foll by H. S.—9 snow altered from sone, same hand.

*Variants in T.* (9): 4 fired flame.—9 An other so colde in frozen yse.—*Title*: Complaint of the louer disdained.

### 6

*P.* 57a. *T.* (11) reads as follows:

Set me wheras the sunne doth parche the grene,  
Or where his beams do not dissolue the yse;  
In temperate heate where he is felt and sene;  
In presence prest of people madde or wise.  
Set me in hye, or yet in lowe degree:  
In longest night, or in the shortest daye:  
In clearest skye, or where clowdes thickest be:  
In lusty youth, or when my heeres are graye.  
Set me in heauen, in earth, or els in hell,  
In hyll, or dale, or in the fomyng flood:  
Thrall, or at large, aliue where so I dwell:  
Sicke, or in health: in euyll fame, or good.  
Hers will I be, and onely with this thought  
Content my selfe, although my chaunce be nought.

*Title*: Vow to loue faithfully howsoever he be rewarded.

### 7

*T.*, p. 10.—*Title*: The frailtie and hurtfulness of beautie.

8

*T.*, p. 12.—*Title*: Request to his loue to ioyne bountie with beautie.

9

*T.*, p. 32.—*Title*: The fansie of a weried louer.

10

*P.* 56b.—*Foll.* by H. S.

*Found also in H.*, with the variants:—3 shall ensue.

11

*P.* 50a.—*Foll.* by Ffinis, H. S.—19-20 *supplied fr. T.*—22 might.—28 yet *replaced by it above, later hand.*—44 t in atgaas *seems to replace some earlier letter.*—45 she *inserted by later hand.*—52. or.

*Found also in A*[24a]. *and H*[115]., with the variants:—1 *A.* the tender grene lacking.—10-40 *A.* lacking, *due to mutilation of Ms.*—19-20 *H.* lacking.—25 *H.* *stirs.*—44 *A.* *H.* suck.—51 *A.* good will.—53 *A.* fele the wownd yet greene.

*Variants in T*[1].:—1 his tender.—4 new.—8 the shade.—10 mine.—13 hath.—14 time in time.—15 in time.—17 kindes.—18-19 *the couplet in the text.*—21 all thing.—22 night.—23 it self.—25 tormentes.—26 and curse.—27 opprest.—28 it doth.—29 trauailes.—33 lest by my chere my chance appere to playn.—34 in my minde.—35 the place.—36 the lace.—44 agazed.—51 of my tene.—*Title*: Description of the restlesse state of a louer, with sute to his ladie, to rue on his diyng hart.

12

*T.*, p. 21.—*Title*: To the Ladie that scorned her louer.

13

*T.*, p. 14.—*Title*: The louer comfourteth himself with the worthinesse of his loue.

14

*P.* 53b.—19 straynith *altered from (?) straynmeth.*—25-29 lacking; *supplied from T.*

*Variants in T*[24].: *sts.* 3, 5, and 8 *lacking.*

—13 First when, those.—14 my mortall.—15 within her. 22 and blinde Cupide did whippe.—31 in paine to put.—32 mine vnrest.—*Title*: The louer describes his restlesse state.

15

*P.* 54a.—*Foll.* by Ffinis, H. S.—9 sightes.—27 e of blynde *doubtful.*—28 sparskled. ----

*Variants in T*[5].:—2 me cause.—6 misguiding me had led the way.—7 mine eyen.—8 had made me lose a better.—9 sighes.—10 with game.—11 the boiling smoke.—12 the persault heate of secrete flame.—13 doe bayne.—15 her bewty hath the fruites.—22 glowing red.—24 wherin.—*Title*: Description of the restlesse state of a louer.

16

*T.*, p. 22.—27 *second ed.* troubles.—*Title*: The forsaken louer describeth and forsaketh loue.

17

*T.*, p. 24.—*Title*: The louer excuseth himself of suspected change.

18

*T.*, p. 20.—21 *second ed.* by lawe of kinde.—*Title*: A praise of his loue: wherin he reproueth them that compare their Ladies with his.

19

*T.*, p. 217.—*Title*: The constant louer lamenteth.

## 20

*Found in Harl. 30b; and in T(241), where the poem is not assigned to Surrey. As each of these versions appears corrupt, the text has been compiled from the two.*

*Variants in Harl.:*—3 the foyle.—4 to say.—7 to repent.—9 razinge will, wanton youthe.—13 heaven.—17 his.—18 for.—21 now ther.—23 is good.—25-30 wanting.—*Foll. by Ffinis.*

*Variants in T.:*—7 to finde.—10 Which we haue.—11 From Sicilla to Caribdis cliues.—*Title:* The louer disceiued by his love repenteth him of the true loue he bare her.

## 21

*T., p. 15.—Found also in D. 55a, where the hand is very slovenly, words, and even lines, being scratched out, to be replaced by slightly different spellings. Variants:*—8 a shepe, remiemberances.—9 wordes.—10 guernances.—12 wante off.—25 nyghtes.—30 sswalle by rayges.—32 assales.—38 makes me to playne.—40 my mowrtht.—*Title:* Complaint of the absence of her louer being upon the sea.

*The first stanza is in Harl (30b).*

## 22

*P. 53a.—I wais replaces wailles later hand.—12 do inserted, same hand.—30 his crossed out and replaced by ün, later hand.—31-32 wanting; supplied from A.—36 e of colde doubtful*

*Found also in A[26a], with the variants:*—1 wayes.—2 wills doth.—5 and causeth.—11 me lacking.—13 and lettes.—21 dead.—22 cheekes.—30 in fume.—31-32 *couplet in the text.*—35 lover.—41 the fyer.—43 a yolden.—44 mashe.—46 glyntt.

*Variants in T[6].:*—1 waies.—2 doe.—4 whom.—5 He makes the one to rage.—6 other.—10 a depe dark hel.—11 and me withholdes.—12 willes me that my.—14 were lost.—15 So, may turne.—17 content my self.—19 harmes, dissembling.—24 wote.—30 in fume.—31-32 *the couplet:* and though he list to se his ladies grace ful sore,/such pleasures as delight the eye doe not his health restore.—36 (alas who would beleue?).—39 with others help.—42 I burne, I wast, I leze.—43 a yelding.—45 or els with seldom swete to season.—48 wil printe.—49 the slipper, the sodain.—50 the doubtful, the certain.—*Title:* Description of the fickle affections pangas and sleightes of loue.

## 23

*T., p. 7.—Variants in the second ed.:*—6 woes.—34 vnwittingly.—39 I.—41 expressed.—*Title:* Complaint of a louer, that defied loue, and was by loue after the more tormented.

## 24

*T., p. 16.—Variants:*—73 *first ed.* had; *second ed.* hath.—*Title:* Complaint of a dying louer refused vpon his ladies iniust mistaking of his writyng.

## 25

*T., p. 22.—7second ed.* my well beloued.—*Title:* A warning to the louer how he is abused by his loue.

## 26

*T., p. 26.—1 second ed.* walkt.—3 *all eds.* read howl.—12 *Ye for yet.*—14 *first ed.* go, *second ed.* grow.—*Title:* A careless man, scorning and describing, the suttle vsage of women towarde their louers.

## 27

*A. 23a.—Foll. by Ffinis.*—13 slyttes.—27 stykes.—30 and before eke inserted; same hand—32 them inserted; same hand.

*Variants in T. [198]:* 6 seke for to take.—7 Whose practise yf were proued.—8 Assuredly beleue it well it were to great.—10 could.—14 full well.—16 With will.—17 had ioynde.—21-38 missing.—*Title:* Of the dissembling louer. *T. attributes it to an "uncertain author".*

## 28

*T.*, p. 220.—*Title*: The faithfull louer declareth his paines and his vncertain ioies, and with only hope recomforteth somewhat his wofull heart.

## 29

*P. 55a.*—*Foll.* by H. S.—6 an *inserted before erle, diff. hand.*—11 *furst inserted; same hand.*—13 of kind *replaces orig.* her mate *or* her mace.

*Variants in T(9).*:—6 an erle.—8 *no article*, tasteth costly.—13 Her beauty.—14 can.—*Title*: Description and praise of his loue Geraldine.

## 30

*P. 55a.*—*Foll.* by H. S.—*orig.* plat.—12 *before distill stands doth, crossed out.*—14 have altered from half; *hand uncertain.*

## 31

*P. 51a.*—*Foll.* by Ffinis, H. S.—49 Eache; *reading supplied from T.*—54 in releif, *it looks as if the writer started to make a y, and then altered it to i.*

*Found also in H[117].; no variants.*

*Variants in T[13].*:—9 seates.—16 leads.—19 though one should anotherwhelme.—23 trayned with.—29 holtes.—32 of force.—33 wide vales eke.—40 night.—47 doest.—49 Eccho.—*Titles* Prisoned in Windsor, he recounteth his pleasure there passed.

## 32

*P. 52a.*—*Foll.* by Ffynis, H. H.—10 lest.—22 Sceptures.—61 they.

*Found also in A[25a]., with the variant:*—66 vnto thie rightuous.

## 33

*A. 31a.*—*Foll.* by Ffinis. Preston.—15-16 *lacking.*—30 Bearkes.—31 fyndes.

*Variants in T[19].*: 11 Whome I was wont tembrace with well contended minde.—12 winde.—13 Where, well him, sone him home me.—15-16 *couplet in text.*—17 oft times do greue.—18 that when I wake I lye in doute where.—19 me semes do grow.—20 dere Lord ay me alas me thinkes I see him die.—21 with his faire little sonne.—24 I say welcome my lord.—30 breake, huge vnrest.—31 finde.—34 sum hidden place, wherein to slake the gnawing of my mind.—36 no cure I find, good return.—37 saue whan I think, by sowre.—39 and then vnto my self I say when we shall meete.—40 litle while, the ioy.—41 I you coniure.—43 this excesse.—*Title*: Complaint of the absence of her louer being vpon the sea.

## 34

*A. 27a.*—*Foll.* by Ffinis.

*Variants in T[218].*: 2 can shew.—3 I late.—5 the gentle, it pleased.—6 he semed well.—10 of fresher.—11 were coy.—12 vnto the which.—17 With that she.—20 nor al.—22 go range.—23 With that he.—25 his wrath.—35 your self haue heard.—37 both *omitted.*—40 to lese his life.—41 whose liues.—42 their willes preserued ar, right *omitted.*—43 But now I doe, it moueth.—47 our kyndes.—48 your frendes.—49 am fled.—52 on such.—53 coyed.—54 be trapt, with such.—55 lust to loue.—56 of currant sort.—60 nor lure nor.—64 this your refuse.—65 And for reuenge therof.—66 I thousand.—69 bent and bow.—70 sailes.—72 with bloody mouth go slake your thirst on simple shepe I say.—*Title*: A song written by the earle of Surrey to a lady that refused to daunce with him.

## 35

*P. 63a.*

*Found also in A[28b]., without variants.*

## 36

*P. 63b.*—1 sonnden.

*Found also in A(29b)., without variants.*

## 37

*T.*, p. 31.—8 *first ed.* his prison; *second ed.* this prison.—*Title*: Bonum est mihi quod humiliasti me.

## 38

*P.* 56a.—*Foll* by H. S.—6 Spalmes.—13 yprinted *altered from* imprinted, *same hand*.

*Found also in E[85b]., without variants.*

*Variants in T[28].*: 3 dan Homers.—13 imprinted.—14 ought.—*Title*: Praise of certain psalms of David, translated by Sir. T. W. the elder.

## 39

*T.* p. 32.—*Title*: Exhortacion to learne by others trouble.

## 40

*P.* 56b.—*Foll.* by H. S.

*Variants in T(30).*:—1 Thassirian.—3 on fire.—4 Did yeld, vanquisht.—5 dint.—10 and womanish.—11 impacient.—*Title*: Of Sardinapalus dishonorable life and miserable death.

## 41

*P.* 54b.—*Foli.* by H. S.—8 contynvance *altered from* contenaunce, *same hand*.—12 sov-eranty *altered from* soventy, *same hand*.

*Variants in T[27].*: 1 that do.—5 no strife.—10 trew wisdom ioyned with simplenesse.—12 the wit may not oppresse.—13 the faithful wife, without.—16 ne wish for death, ne.—*Title*: The meanes to attain happy life.

## 42

*T.*, p. 27.—*Title*: Praise of meane and constant estate.

*Found also in Harl (29a)., where the poem is subjected to rather elaborate corrections, in the same hand, but in different ink. Variants in the original ms. version*: 1 the compas.—3 forshunnynge.—5 Who gladly halsethe.—7 dene vnplayne.—9 The luster pyne the greater wyndes oft it rues.—10 sueight; *false omitted*.—11 And lyghtninges assalyt hiegh mountaynes & cleves.—12 A hoort well scholed in ouer hartes depe.—13 ameniment; ferethe.—14 Wynter smarte.—16 Bowe vnben shall cease & vvice frame to sharpe.—17 In streight estate appere thou hardie and stoute.—18 when full vnlucky.—20 rief. *Foll.* by Ffnis.

*Variants in the revised ms. version*: 1 this.—4 Lest on.—5 enhalsethe.—9 *it omitted*.—10 sueightes fall.—13 Hopes amendment.—14 sharpe.

## 43

*A.* 26a.—*Foll.* by Ffnis.

*Variants in T(30).*: 4 doth.—16 dented chewes.—*Title*: How no age is content with his own estate, and how the age of children is the happiest, if they had skill to understand it.

## 44

*P.* 56b.—*Foll.* by H. S.

*Variants in T(218).*: 1 knowledge was not rife.—2 other were.—3 conuert.—4 wende.—5 yet no voyde.—12 we led to vertues traine.—13 brestes.—14 they do eate.—*Title*: A praise of Sir Thomas Wyate th[e] elder for his excellent learning.

## 45

*P.* 57a.—*Foll* by H. S. *A note reads* "Here ende my Ld. of Surreys Poems." *Variant in T (28).*: 2 thy liuely hed.—*Title*: Of the death of the same Sir T. W.

## 46

*T.*, p. 29.—*Title*: Of the same.

## 47

*Camden's Remains*, p. 514.—2 high.—12 seven times seven.

*Found also in John Aubrey, History of Surrey* 5.247, with the variant:—2 Count, thou.

## 48

*P. 58b.*—27 straunge replaced by all; *hand uncertain.*—31 I replaces some erased word; *hand uncertain.*—39 therby.—*Foll.* by Finis.

*Found also in A(32a).*, with the foll. variants:—16 dischargde.—27 all things under.

## 49

*P. 59a.*—22 times.—43 ligh(t)some.—54 r(e)garde.—79 hards.—82m(a)y. *Foll.* by Finis.

*Found also in A(32b).*, with the foll. variants:—9 I mynd.—22 tewnes.—26 so.—72 the broken sleapes.—74 frewte or with paynes.

## 50

*P. 59b.*—10 reuiues replaces reioyce; *diff. hand.*—33 seke.—43 sore *orig.* fore.—44 wheras that replaced by eke wher; *diff. hand.*—55 hathe ether geuen to man revised to hath geuen to ether man; *diff. hand.*—66 fore inserted; *hand uncertain.*—*Foll.* by Finis.

*Found also in A(33b).*, with the foll. variants:—44 where.—51 This errour.

## 51

*P. 61a.*—13 earles folke; ease replaces eache; *prob. same hand.*—22 the traueill.—26 spends.—34 thre fould inserted; *diff. hand.*—45 change replaced by deth; *diff. hand.*—58 re of unsaureth inserted; *prob. diff. hand.*

goe.—54 yolden ghost.

*Found also in A(34b).*, with the foll. variants:—13 thought sloothe and carelesse.—44 goe.—54 yolden ghost.

## 52

*P. 62a.*—4 fayth, not *alt.* to none; *hand uncertain.*—15 er of better crossed out.—17 words *alt.* to works; *hand uncertain.*—27 out *alt.* to outer; *prob. another hand*; our: *ms. note by Percy.*—29 the replaced by to; *hand uncertain.*—32 toiling inserted before hand, then itself replaced by tillers, *diff. hands.*—35 hordith: *ms. note by Percy.*—43 gredy replaced by righteous; *gredy a clerical error through anticipation of the word later in the line.*—48 armes: *ms. note by Percy*; furst *alt.* to fyrst.—50 boote: *ms. note by Percy.*—52 that that *alt.* to that those, and again to then that; *diff. hands.*—61 ne replaced by no; *diff. hand.*—*Foll.* by Finis.

*Found also in A(34a).*, with the foll. variants:—4 none prevayle.—14 lustes.—15 bet.—17 workes.—27 withouten.—28 our secreat.—29 to lyving.—48 armes of povertie.

## 53

*A. 28a.* Latin title supplied.—34 list inserted.—*Foll.* by Finis.

## 54

*P. 65a.*—7 of dred inserted after cold, *diff. hand.*—11 e inserted in spady; i of thei replaces *orig.* n, same hand; later, altered to they; *diff. hand.*—15 kept the walles altered to do keep walles; *diff. hand or hands.*—16 whiles myscheif altered to whiles myscheif eke and later to myscheif ioyned.—18 then replaced by ne; *diff. hand.*—20 not replaced by for; *diff. hand.*—21 not crossed out; *diff. hand.*—26 them hell altered to hym hele; *diff. hand.*—47 phalme.—*Preceded by Exaudi Deus Orationem Meam.*—*Foll.* by Finis.

*Found also in A(30b).*, with the foll. variants:—2 herken.—16 and myschief joynede.—18 ne my.—26 hym self devoure.—29 aulture.—*The Latin line foll.* by id est, cast thie care upon the Lord and he shall norishe the.

## 55

*P. 63a.*—27 blasted.—*Preceded by Domine Deus Salutis. Foll. by Finis.*

Found also in *A(28b)*., with the foll. variants:—4 as in.—9 me cast.—17 do.—24 thie praise.—26 nor.—27 blazed, mowthes.—44 to my.

## 56

*P. 64a.*—14 glutton *alt. to* glutted; *diff. hand.*—17 that frame.—18 *final s of* skourges *crossed out.*—25 doth *inserted after* lord; *diff. hand.*—27 iniquitye.—30 affects.—47 flesch *alt. to* fleerce; *diff. hand.*—49 rare *alt. to* care; *diff. hand.*—*Preceded by Quum Bonus Israel Deus.—Foll. by Finis.*

Found also in *A(29b)*., with the foll. variants:—14 glutted.—18 skourdge.—22 with cupps.—33 beholde.—35 and whan.—47 goolden fleerce.—59 others succours.

## 57

*Headed:* The second boke of Virgiles Aenacis.—147 pleased.—284 twine.—327 fouth.—335 *Foll. by line:* By cordes let fal fast gan they slide adown.—924 felow.—926 liue.—962 amazde. *N. emends to read* could make amazed.—987 ccompanie.—1026 mine *wanting.*

## 58

*H. headed:* *P. Vergilii Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus Britannice Sermoni Donatus per Comitem S.*—H. 8 *Gloss:* The description of the tyme.—H. 10 *Gloss:* The talke of a lover.—H. 15 of how.—H. 31 *Gloss:* A calling upon the godes, wherin, by reasons advice, she requires to resist yis force of love.—T. 54 forthrust.—H. 56 *move before touch crossed out.*—H. 58 sufferance.—H. 72 with offred steres.—T. 88 to *omitted.*—T. 92 flight.—H. 106 he she heres.—H. 107 with hold *before she crossed out.*—H. 109 them.—H. 116 fame resist to.—H. 120 wills.—H. 128 then (them?) commend.—T. 141 at *for* art.—H. 163 soone.—T. 222 faut.—H. 226 strengh.—H. 247 *line supplied from T.*—H. 266 rich *replaces with crossed out.*—H. 281 hedd *before looke crossed out.*—H. 304 ou.—H. 315 awaie *before amid crossed out.*—T. 327 thend.—T. 334 the *omitted.*—H. 346 Whi buildest; th *crossed out;* thy time *supplied from T.*—T. 347 he *omitted.*—H. 349 *before lust some letter crossed out.*—H. 360 to leave *supplied from T.*—H. 379 fleight.—H. 383 flame.—H. 392 lengh.—H. 428 lenghe.—H. 433 these wordes.—T. 435 sielfe.—T. 439 men.—T. 441 men *for* me in.—H. 441 life *before will crossed out.*—T. 433 haue haue.—T. 447 thee *for* the.—H. 455 shadowe.—H. 469 pronowne.—T. 475 silence.—H. 489 now *before lo crossed out.*—T. 505 thase.—H. 506 I this.—H. 522 the kele talowed.—H. 558 ne pulled *replaces aye; same hand.*—H. 561 *originally* grauntes.—H. 583 rore.—H. 584 ther croppes.—H. 610 her *corrected from* his.—H. 622 seking.—H. 625 se *crossed out after* within.—H. 638 Hesperians.—H. 639 garden.—H. 659 man *instead of* nonne.—H. 663 men.—H. 673 funeralls.—H. 678 iiiic.—H. 698 quiet.—H. 762 gett *before Awake crossed out.*—H. 765 wretched.—H. 770 vnshethles.—H. 787 all *before owt crossed out.*—H. 796 I *before not crossed out.*—T. 797 So.—T. 798 goodes.—H. 807 says *instead of* sunne.—H. 830 (?) yea.—H. 835 *line supplied from T.*—H. 853 for A *instead of* forth on.—T. 855 herforme.—H. 864 in *before wepinge crossed out.*—H. 871 towne *before alas crossed out.*—H. 874 quod she *above; same hand.*—H. 882 handes & *before eke crossed out and inserted after it.*—T. 885 damsell.—H. 905 & *before eke crossed out.*—H. 906 thi *before her crossed out.*—H. 915 a *of raise inserted above.*—H. *followed by finis.*

## VARIANTS IN D

(The following table gives all the readings in D. which vary from the readings in T. The verses are numbered as in T.)

26 Ay me, since, Sicheus.—27 fewde defiled.—28 he hath my sences bent.—32 with thunder or.—34 or, lawe.—36 My love which (?) still enjoye he in grave.—37 surprised.—41 That, nor.—42 Doeth dust.—44 Iarbas not to feere.—45 The Libian king dyspised yet by thee.—48 wythstande the love that likes thee.—49 *Omits*.—50 in.—52 And for eke.—53 Wyth Syrtes the unfriendly.—54 for thurste.—67 starre.—73 as they ought.—84 *omits* A, maryes.—88 yshotte.—90 fasteneth in her unaware.—91 left in her unwist.—96 the.—98 Troians.—99 stared.—101 reprysed the dayelyght.—106 withholdes.—107 Ascanus.—108 *adds* that *before* cannot.—111 *omits* mete.—113 threatening to.—114 in effect.—115 Wyth a pestilence.—116 burdeneth *for* burdes.—119 wylles.—121 to suspect.—126 loves and burnes, the rage her bones doth perse.—127 is then now common.—130 dowry.—132 from desmembled mind.—140 in a.—149 The forest till.—152 Dum trepidant ale.—153 The raunger doth set the groues about.—154 *omits* I shall.—155 on them.—162 seem to graunt.—163 fast.—166 Unto.—171 there the Quene awayte.—174 backed with a grete rout.—177 wounde up in.—189 *omits* that.—190 he prest.—194 in countenance present.—198 whereas theyre course.—199 trompes.—204 tyszerous.—209 coltage.—210 arounde.—211 the Troyan prince likewise.—216 wayted.—217 foremost day of myrthe.—218 myshappe.—219 withheld.—226 on hye.—227 Percing the.—231 *omits*.—232 for to tell.—233 For, plume.—236 harkening.—237 cloudes and skie.—239 delyne *instead of* decline.—240 see.—242 *omits* as, blasting.—247 Aeneas comen sprong of Troyan bloode.—249 In Natures lust the winter for to passe.—250 Regnorum immemores turpique.—251 cupidine captos.—252 the mouthes.—256 ravisht Garamantida.—257 temples in his large realme.—258 *lacking*.—259 Altars as many with waker burning flame.—260 to attend.—261 Flowers embrused yelded bloode of beastes.—263 bryntes.—264 Afore the aulters.—269 the *for* thy.—270 Whose flames of fyre.—271 A wandring woman.—272 village.—278 the.—282 And with his loke gan thwart.—289 reporte.—292 but Italye to rule.—293 *lacking*.—295 Discovering, tencryne.—299 doth he envy.—300 To yong Ascanus that is his father.—305 *omits* and end.—306 messenger, Then Mercurie gan.—307 When Jove had said, bend.—310 the.—312 other some also.—313 thyther he sendes; *line differently divided*.—318 And.—320 sholders.—321 forcrowne.—324 frosted beard.—326 wyth the body.—327 extent.—330 Rushing.—334 For towers.—337 *lacking*.—339 His shying pawle of myghty Didos gifte.—343 a maryed man.—345 skies bright.—345 that by.—348 there.—349 Why buildest thou, by.—350 thus wastes.—352 lystes.—358 vanysheth.—364 By the advise.—367 dare.—369 discussing.—374 drewe.—376 change of thinges, ascuse.—380 chasten.—387 shippe.—389 Bachus munite.—390 Bacchatur—Cithaeron.—(Virgil's lines 301-3 quoted *instead of* any translation corresponding to T. 390-4).—395 thus bordes she AE. of herself.—396 flyght *instead of* fault.—401 Cruel, to trie, boysterous.—403 *omits* yet.—413 The Libians and Tirians, tyrans of Nomadane.—414 ar wrothe.—415 My shamefastnes eke stained for thy cause.—417 came.—421 To tary till.—424 the, conceived.—426 To play.—431 These wordes yet at last then forth.—436 synowes.—437 It is not grete the thyng that I requyre.—438 Neyther.—441 *omits* me in.—444 redout.—446 escaped.—450 wyll me advise.—451 lease.—453 of Phoenix land.—456 resydence.—457 it is.—461 doth me feare and advise.—463 Hisprian.—475 sylence; *same misprint*.—477 thy dame ne Goddes was.—479 Tancase.—487 There is no fayth, so surety.—489 *adds* foolyshe *before* eke.—492 am.—494 *adds* the *before* Gods—503 byre.—500 thys—521 To wayle.—522 By the etc.—525 charged.—526 *adds* the *before* wood.—529 buige.—537 syghtes.—542 and.—543 and yeld.—544 *omits* and.—548 strayed sayle abideth.—552 nevertheless; *adds* a *before* wretched.—554 and eke.—557 in.—561 ay.—563 for to entreat.—564 hys.—576 well-rendred.—577 Myngled.—578 bryng.—580 He harkens though that he were mylde of kynde.—581 Destenies.—582 boysterous.—584 Blowing now from this, now from that quarter,



blow.—587 hys.—589 hys.—590 as, hys.—595 Wyshed, yrketh.—601 geare.—602 Which syght, not.—607 Wher oft.—608 Clypping.—609 complayne.—610 to dray his playning tunes.—614 be-straught.—615 *omits* left.—616 Unwayted on.—617 folkes.—626 highly.—632 *omits* a.—635 thende of the great Octian.—636 the sun dyscendeth and declynes.—641 Of the Hysperiane sisters temple.—642 *lacking*.—643 The garden that gyves the Dragon food.—645 (?). poppy that slepe provokes.—651 The gostes that walk by night eke to assemble.—653 fall.—655 *omits* to me.—671 Then, Sicheus.—672 *lacking*.—673 But the Quene when the stake was reared up.—676 then she doth.—678 forsooke.—679 on hys.—684 eke.—685 *omits* and eke; Proserpina.—688 Like unto the.—689 reaped up.—691 Theyr.—700 Of lovers unequal in behest.—707 longes remaynde.—709 that.—713 might rest in eye nor brest cold enter.—714 *omits* doth.—719 nunned.—726 Or scorned me.—728 doest thou wotte.—729 Or smell the broken othes.—733 with Ire.—737 *omits* first.—739 Did, wyshe.—734 Sicheus.—744 complaint.—745 certayne.—756 Certayne of death.—757 flye.—759 stald all.—761 onsyde.—762 *omits* For.—765 from.—768 Joue.—777 wrest.—782 creaking.—783 the *added before* navye.—785 three.—787 hence.—791 and *added before* out; *otherwise like T.*—796 when thou with hym devydedst.—797 The Scepture.—798 goodes.—810 fall myself theyr.—812 knowes.—815 *adds eke after* furies.—822 *omits* it.—832 unburied.—839 Now; *omits* that our.—843 *lacking*.—844 over.—845 thys.—846 then briefly.—855 Is to reform.—859 all egerly.—871 desteny did permytte.—877 Troian.—886 the.—887 The bolying bloud with gore and handes embrued.—890 lamenting.—892 auncient towne.—899 And dyeng thus she cleapes her.—907 Or.—908 As cruel for to absent.—910 at Tyre.—916 geare.—917 But, strave.—919 under.—932 *adds* yet *after* not.—939 *adds eke after* and.



## CRITICAL NOTES

### 1

Adapted from Petrarca *Sonetto in Vita* 113:

Or che 'l ciel e la terra e 'l vento tace,  
E le fere e gli augelli il sonno affrena,  
Notte 'l carro stellato in giro mena,  
E nel suo letto il mar senz'onda giace;  
Veggio, penso, ardo, piango; e chi mi sface  
Sempre m'è innanzi per mia dolce pena:  
Guerra è 'l mio stato, d'ira e di duol piena;  
E sol di lei pensando ho qualche pace.  
Così sol d'una chiara fonte viva  
Move 'l dolce e l'amaro ond'io mi pasco;  
Una man sola mi risana e punge.  
E perchè 'l mio martir non giunga a riva,  
Mille volte il dì moro e mille nasco  
Tanto dalla salute mia son lunge.

Surrey's sonnet, with its abrupt opening, its more dramatic antithesis, and its superior interpretation of nature, is much the finer of the two. The opening verses, and especially the noble fifth verse, are prophetic of the Georgian poets.

### 2

Adapted from Petrarca *Sonetto in Morte* 42:

Zefiro torna, e 'l bel tempo rimena,  
E i fiori e l'erbe, sua dolce famiglia,  
E garrir Progne e planger Filomena,  
E primavera candida e vermiglia.  
Ridono i prati, e 'l ciel si rasserena;  
Giove s'allegra di mirar sua figlia;  
L'aria e l'acqua e la terra è d'amor piena;  
Ogni animal d'amar si consiglia.  
Ma per me, lasso, tornano i più gravi  
Sospiri, che dal cor profondo tragge  
Quella ch' al Ciel se ne portò le chiavi;  
E cantare augelletti, e fiorir piagge,  
E 'n belle donne oneste atti soavi,  
Sono un deserto, e fere aspre e selvagge.

Petrarca's spring is typically Italian with its smiling plains and serene sky, and Zephyrus and Venus are introduced as in the beautiful spring pieces of Botticelli. Surrey's sonnet is as typically English with its green-clad hills and dales, its blossoming hedgerows and shady streams. It is the spring of Chaucer's Prologue and of such lyrics as *Summer is icumen in*. Note that Surrey minimizes the lover's complaint to dwell longer upon nature.

10. Cf. *Parliament of Fowles* 353: The swallow, murderer of the bees smale.

### 3

Translated from Petrarca *Ballata* 1:

Lassare il velo o per Sole o per ombra,  
Donna, non vi vid'io,  
Poi che'n me conosceste il gran desio  
Ch' ogni altra voglia d'entr' al cor mi sgombra,  
Mentr'io portava i be' pensier celati  
C'hanno la mente desiando morta,  
Vidivi di pletate ornare il volto:  
Ma poi ch'Amor di me vi fece accorta,  
Fur i biondi capelli allor velati,  
E l'amoroso sguardo in se raccolto.  
Quel ch' i' più desiava in voi, m'è tolto;  
Sì mi governa il velo,  
Che per mia morte, ed al caldo ed al gelo,  
De' be' vostr' occhi il dolce lume adombra.

## 4

Translated from Pet. *Son. in Vita* 91:

Amor, che nel pensier mio vive e regna,  
 E 'l suo seggio maggior nel mio cor tene,  
 Talor armato nella fronte vene,  
 Ivi si loca ed ivi pon sua insegna.  
 Quella ch' amare e sofferir ne 'nsegna,  
 E vuol che 'l gran desio, l' accesa spene,  
 Ragion, vergogna e reverenza affrene;  
 Di nostro ardir fra se stessa si sdenga.  
 Onde Amor paventoso fugge al core,  
 Lassando ogni sua impresa, e piagne e trema;  
 Ivi s' asconde, e non appar più fore.  
 Che poss'io far, tremendo il mio Signore,  
 Se non star seco infin all'ora estrema?  
 Che bel fin fa chi ben amando more.

The translation is more lively and dramatic than the original. By careful compression Surrey is able to add the thought that Love's arms are those "wherein with me he fought," thus securing later the fine contrast between the ease with which Love subdued the lover and his ignominious flight from the presence of the lady.

It is interesting to compare Wyatt's translation of the same sonnet, a translation which is vigorous, but rough:

The longe love, that in my thought doeth harbor,  
 And in my hert doeth kepe his residence,  
 Intoo my face preaseth with bolde pretence,  
 And therin campeth, spreding his baner.  
 She that mee lerns too love and suffre,  
 And willes that in my trust and lustes negligence  
 Be rayned by reason, shame & reverence,  
 With his hardines takis displeasur.  
 Where with all, untoo the herte forrest hee fleith,  
 Leving his enterprise, with payne & cry,  
 And there him hideth & not appereth.  
 What may I doo, when my maister fereth,  
 But, in the felde, with him too lyve & dye,  
 For goode is the liffe ending faithfully.—(Edgerton Ms. 5a.)

## 5

This fancy may have been suggested by Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* 1.78:

E questo hanno causato due fontane.  
 Che di diverso effetto hanno liquore;  
 Ambe in Ardenna, e non sono lontane.  
 D' amoroso desio l' una empie il core;  
 Chi hee de l' altra senza amor rimane,  
 E volge tutto in ghiaccio il primo ardore.  
 Rinaldo gustò d' una, e amor lo strugge;  
 Angelica de l' altra, a l' odia e fugge.

Rajna, *Le Fonti dell' Orlando Furioso* 93-95 (1900) discusses at length the Italian and Classical analogues.

## 6

Translated from Pet. *Son. in Vita* 95:

Ponmi ove 'l Sol occide i fiori e l'erba,  
 O dove vince lui 'l ghiaccio e la neve;  
 Ponmi ov' è 'l carro suo temprato e leve,  
 Ed ov' è chi cel rende o chi cel serba,  
 Ponn' in umil fortuna, od in superba,  
 Al dolce aere sereno, al fosco e greve;  
 Ponmi alia notte, al dì lungo ed al breve,  
 Alla matura etate od all' acerba;  
 Ponn' in cielo od in terra od in abisso,  
 In alto poggio, in valle ima e palustre,  
 Libero spirito od a' suoi membri affisso;  
 Ponmi con fama oscura o con illustre:  
 Sarò qual ful, vivrò com' io son visso,  
 Continuando il mio sospir trillustre.

Petrarca, in turn, was indebted to Horace l. 22:

Pone me, pigris ubi nulla campis  
 Arbor aestiva recreatur aura,  
 Quod latus mundi nebulae malusque  
 Juppiter urget;  
 Pone sub curru nimium propinqui  
 Solis in terra domibus negata;  
 Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,  
 Dulce loquentem.

4. This verse, interpolated by Surrey, contrasts the flippant and intolerant ignorance of the proud with the humility of the sage. Tottel's substitution, "In presence prest of people madde or wise", is much less effective.

## 7

In *Ms. A.* this sonnet, lacking vs. 10 and 12, is assigned to Lord Vaux. If by Surrey, it is not Surrey at his best: the alliteration is unduly studied and the imagery common, and the primitive tendency to two strong beats in each half of a verse is much less pronounced in any of Surrey's unquestioned poems. Nott cites the double rhymes as evidence that Surrey did not write the poem, concluding with the statement: "If this poem be Surrey's, it is the only piece of his in which double rhymes occur." Yet the fine poem, "Alas so all thinges nowe doe holde their peace", which immediately precedes in Nott's edition, has the same rhyme scheme.

1-3. Cf. *Pet. Son. in Morte* 63.1-2:

Questo nostro caduco e fragil bene,  
Ch' è vento ed ombra ed ha nome beltate.

Cf. also Lydgate, *Beware of Doubleness* 49-52 (Skeat, *Supplement to Chaucer* 292):

What man y-may the wind restrain,  
Or holden a snake by the tail!  
Who may a slipper eel constrain  
That it will void withouten fall?

Puttenham has incorporated in *The Arte of English Poesie* (Arber, p. 136) a poem in imitation of this sonnet, prefaced by the statement that it is "our owne, made to daunt the insolence of a beautiful woman":

Brittle beauty, blossome daily fading;  
Morne, noone, and eue, in age and eke in eld,  
Dangerous, disdainefull, pleasantly perswading;  
Easie to gripe, but cumbrous to weld;  
For slender bottome, hard and heauy lading;  
Gay for a while, but little while durable;  
Suspicious, incertaine, irrevocable,  
O! since thou art by triall not to trust,  
Wisedom it is, and it is also iust,  
To sound the stemme before the tree be feld;  
That is, since death vwill driue vs all to dust,  
To leaue thy loue ere that vve be compeld.

## 8

1-8. "Nature's precious gift of beauty (fourme and fauour), wherewith you engage your friends, bestowing your charms upon them (fede them), is an earnest that you are designed to show forth the supreme skill of Nature; Nature, whose workings are not so unknown but the alert spirit may divine that where beauty so perfect has been implanted, the fruit of other graces must needs appear."

9. The second and fourth editions of *T.* read *Garret* instead of *Ladie*. *Garret* was a common version of the name Fitzgerald, and this sonnet, like No. 29, is thus associated with the name of Elizabeth Fitzgerald. What was the original reading? Did the two readings exist in manuscript form, and if so does one of them represent a correction made by the author? Did the editor adopt *Ladie* for the first edition to universalize the poem? Did he then change the reading to *Garret* in the second edition to please Elizabeth Fitzgerald? It should be borne in mind that in July, 1557, the date of the second edition, Edward Fiennes de Clinton, the husband of Elizabeth, as Lord High Admiral held the centre of the stage, directing the naval operations on the outcome of which the destiny of England was thought to depend. In any case, why should the reading have been changed four times in the first five editions? It was probably more than mere chance.

4. This neo-Platonic conceit was very popular in Renaissance amatory verse. Cf. *Pet. Son. in Vita* 108.1-4:

In qual parte del Cie!, in qual idea  
Era l' esempio onde Natura tolse  
Quel bel viso leggiadro, in ch' ella volse  
Mostrar quaggiù quanto lassù potea?

Cf. also *Son. in Vita* 190, which suggested to a long line of sonneteers, Italian, French and English, that Heaven was jealous of its perfect product and would not long spare it to earth:

Chi vuol veder quantunque può Natura  
 E'l Ciel tra noi, venga a mirar costel,  
 Ch' è sola un Sol, non pur agli occhi miei  
 Ma al mondo cieco, che virtù non cura.  
 E venga tosto, perchè Morte fura  
 Prima i migliori, e lascia star i rei:  
 Questa, aspettata al regno degli Dei,  
 Cosa bella mortal passa e non dura.

Surrey was also familiar, of course, with *Troilus and Criseyde* 1.99-105:

Criseyde was this lady name a-right;  
 As to my dome, in all Troyes citee  
 Nas noon so fair, for passing every wight  
 So aungellyk was hir natyf beautee,  
 That lyk a thing immortal seemed she,  
 As doth an hevenish parfit creature,  
 That doun were sent in scorning of nature.

## 9

The allusion in v. 12 shows that this sonnet was written sometime between Sept. 1545 and March 1546, while Surrey was commander of Boulogne and lieutenant-general on the continent, with his headquarters in the Lower Town of Boulogne. This is significant, as it shows that Surrey's interest in sonnets was not confined to his earlier poetical efforts. In October Surrey had requested that his wife might join him in France, a request that was finally refused in March, on the ground that "trouble and disquietness unmeet for woman's imbecilities" were approaching. Bapst thinks that this sonnet, under the guise of a conventional love lament, reflects upon the hardship of this separation. Cf. poems 21 and 23, and notes.

## 10

This epigram, with its trenchant final couplet giving an unexpected turn to the thought, is quite in the spirit of the best Renaissance tradition.

## 11

1-6. Cf. *Troil. and Cris.* 5. 8-14:

The golden-tressed Phebus heighe on-lofte  
 Thyres hadde alle with his bemes shene  
 The snowes molte, and Zephirus as ofte  
 Y-brought ayein the tendre leves grene,  
 Sin that the sone of Ecuba the quene  
 Bigan to love hir first, for whom his sorwe  
 Was al, that she departe sholde a-morwe.

10. Cf. *Pet., Son. in Vita* 150.1-2:

D'un bel, chiaro, polito e vivo ghiaccio  
 Move la fiamma che m' incende e strugge.

18. *K.* suggests the reading *at hand to freeze*, to furnish the proper antithesis, and quotes *Pet. Son. in Vita* 169. 12:

S' arder da lunge ed agghiacciar da presso,

and vs. 41-42 of the poem "Suche waywarde wais hath love":

In standing nere my fyre, I know how that I frese;  
 Ffar of, to burn . . . . .

Similar antitheses found in *Son. in Vita* 142. 13-14:

Ma perir mi dà 'l Ciel per questa luce;  
 Che da lunge mi struggo, e da press' ardo;

and *Tr. Amore* 3.168:

Arder da lunge ed agghiacciar de presso.

However, the reading of the text is supported by all of the extant versions.

30. Cf. *Pet. Sest.* 1. 2:

Se non se alquanti c' hanno in odio il sole.

32. A conventional idea that is often met in amatory verse; it is the theme of Petrarca's *Son. in Vita* 22.

34-38. Cf. *Son. in Vita* 123. 1-4:

Quando mi vene innanzi il tempo e 'l loco  
Ov' io perdel me stesso, e 'l caro nodo  
Ond' Amor di sua man m' avvinse in modo  
Che l' amar mi fe dolce e 'l pianger gioco.

40-44. These lines are reminiscent of *Son. in Vita* 137. 7-14:

La vela rompe un vento umido eterno  
Di sospir, di speranze e di desio.  
Pioggia di lagrimar, nebbia di sdegni  
Bagna e rallenta le già stanche sarte,  
Che son d'error con ignoranza attorto.  
Celansi i duo miei dolci usati segni;  
Morta fra l' onde è la ragion e l' arte:  
Tal ch' incomincio a disperar del porto.

This sonnet of Petrarca's was translated entire by Wyatt; see *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, 1.

44. Nott accepts the reading *sucke*, found in A. and H., in preference to *sinke*, and cites in defence thereof *Son. in Vita* 198. 5-6:

Far potess' io vendetta di colei  
Che guardando e parlando mi distrugge,  
E per più doglia poi s'asconde e fugge,  
Celando gli occhi a me sì dolci e rei  
Così gli afflitti e stanchi spiriti miei  
A poco a poco consumando sugge.

This citation is very far-fetched: in this instance it is the mistress who "sucks" the spirits of the lover; in Surrey's poem it would be the lover who would "suck in" his deadly harm. It is poetically more effective and more in keeping with the sonnet which suggested the figure to Surrey, to picture the lover's spirits as a ship which is sinking, *Tal ch' incomincio a disperar del porto*. This is the "deadly harm" which the hard-hearted mistress takes in sport.

The suggestion that the lover, like the sailor, lifts his eyes to the stars, is taken from *Canz. in Vita* 8. 4. 1-6:

Come a forza di venti  
Stanco nocchier di notte alza la testa  
A' duo lumi c' ha sempre il nostro polo;  
Così nella tempesta  
Ch' i' sostengo d' amor, gli occhi lucenti  
Sono il mio segno e 'l mio conforto solo.

## 12

The temper of this piece is not unlike that of No. 34, in which Surrey indignantly resents an insult paid him by some lady high in the court, presumably Lady Hertford. Is it too fanciful to associate this poem with the experience there reflected? Note that in v. 7 Surrey alludes to himself as a "man of war", and that it was immediately after the conjectured rebuff of Lady Hertford in refusing to dance with him at a ball given by him that he accompanied his father, in August, 1542, on his expedition against Scotland. The poem has something of the swagger of a young man undertaking his first real military enterprise.

For the conceit upon which the whole poem turns, compare Chaucer, *The Book of the Duchesse*, vs. 617-686, in which there is an elaborate adaptation of the language of chess. This usage obtained much vogue among the lyric poets and dramatists.

## 13

3-5 Cf. *Pet.Son. in Vita* 13. 1-2:

Plovonmi amare lagrime dal viso,  
Con un vento angoscioso di sospiri.

In *Ms. Harl 78, f. 27b.* is a poem of which certain stanzas are practically identical with this. It is there attributed to Wyatt, and Nott conjectures that the two poems were translated from a common original in friendly competition. However, no Italian model is known to exist, and the poem is apparently a mosaic of Petrarchian lines. Moreover, the language of certain stanzas is so nearly identical as to preclude the possibility of independent workmanship. The Harleian version is probably a clumsy reworking of Surrey's poem, or an attempt to reconstruct it from memory: it lacks the introductory stanzas, it misses the irony of the second stanza, and throughout it is faulty in metre. The text is as follows:

Lyke as the wynde with rasinge blaste  
Doth cawse eche tree to bowe and bende,  
Even so do I spende my tyme in wast,  
My lyff consumyng vnto an ende.

Ffor as the flame by force dothe quenche the fier,  
And runnyng streames consume the rayne,  
Even so do I my self desyer  
To augment my greff and deadly payne.

Whear as I fynd yat whot is whott,  
And colde is colde by course of kynde,  
So shall I knet an endeles knott;  
Such fructe in love, alas! I fynde.

When I forsaw those christall streames  
Whose bewtie doth cawse my mortall wounde,  
I lyttyl thought within those beames  
So swete a venim for to have founde.

I fele and se my owne decay;  
As on that beareth flame in his brest,  
Forgetfull thought to put away  
The thyng yat breadethe my vnrest.

Lyke as the flye dothe seke the flame,  
And after warde playethe in the fyer,  
Who fyndethe her woe, and sekethe her game,  
Whose greffe dothe growe of her owne desyr.

Lyke as the spider dothe drawe her lyne,  
As labor lost so is my sute.  
The gayne is hers, the lose is myne;  
Of euell sowne seade suche is the frute.

5. Cf. *Pet. Son. in Vita*, 33. 1-4:

Se mai foco per foco non si spense,  
Nè fiume fu giammai secco per pioggia;  
Ma sempre l' un per l' altro simil pioggia,  
E spesso l' un contrario l' altro accense.

"As fire increases flame and rain swells the streams, so does her presence heighten my distress."

9. Cf. *Ibid.* 15. 5-7:

Ed altri, col desio folle, che spera  
Gioir forse nel foco perchè splende,  
Provan l' altra virtù, quella che 'ncende.

Wyatt translated this passage as follows (*Foxwell. The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, p. 11):

Other reloyse that se the fyer bright,  
And wene to play in it as they do pretend,  
And fynde the contrary of it that they intend.

14. Cf. *Son. in Vita* 89.5: *Dagli occhi vostri uscio 'l colpo mortale.*

15. Cf. *Ibid.* 101. 8, *Canz.* 16. 7: *Dolce veneno.*

17. Cf. *Ibid.* 97. 1-4:

Quando 'l voler che con duo sproni ardenti  
E con un duro fren mi mena e regge,  
Trapassa ad or ad or l'usata legge  
Per far in parte i miei spirti contenti.



id. 121. 8: Ch' ha sì caldi gli spron, sì duro il freno.

21. *Ibid.* 157. 1-4:

Voglia mi sprona, Amor mi guida e scorge,  
Placer mi tira, usanza mi trasporta,  
Speranza mi lusinga e riconforta,  
E la man destra al cor già stanco porge.

29. *Ibid.* 180. 1-4:

Amor, io fallo, e veggio il mio fallire;  
Ma fo sì com'uom ch'arde e 'l foco ha'n seno,  
Che 'l duol pur cresce, e la ragion vien meno  
Ed è già quasi vinta dal martire.

33. *Ibid.* 121. 6-7: Quanto al mondo si tesse, opra d'aragna Vede.

Wyatt translated this sonnet; cf. *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, p. 14.

35. *Ibid.* 169. 14: Vostro, Donna, il peccato, e mio fia 'l danno.

36. *Ibid.* 121. 14: Tal frutto nasce di cotal radice.

## 15

10. Cf. *Pet. Son. in Vita* 62.13-14:

Forse non avrai sempre il viso asciutto:  
Ch' i' mi pasco di lagrime; e tu 'l sai.

24. Cf. *Son. in Morte* 70. 1-2:

Del cibo, onde 'l Signor mio sempre abbonda,  
Lagrime e doglia, il cor lasso nutrisco.

## 16

3-4. "Her thoughts, reflected in her eyes, are communicated to my heart through my eyes."

17-21. "Happy is the man who, not having tasted of love, has escaped that torment of an unrelieved passion, which love teaches so insistently."

29-32. "The truest thing that may be said about love, and its greatest injustice, is that its poor victim cannot long endure life."

## 17

30. "Ganders fo," i. e. the fox.

34-40. "Do not think that one who was so anxious to win your love and so loth to forego it, would willingly fall from his felicity or would desire a change."

45-48. Cf. *Pet. Sest. in Vita* 2. 9-10:

Quand' avrò queto il cor, asciutti gli occhi,  
Vedrem ghiacciar il foco, arder la neve.

## 18

13. Cf. A very common conceit among the polite poets, from the time of the Troubadours.

## 19

4. Cf. *Pet. Son. in Vita* 153.6: E temprà il dolce amaro, che n' ha offeso.

7. This probably alludes to the military expedition to Scotland on which Surrey accompanied his father in the early autumn of 1542, shortly after his imprisonment in the Fleet for quarreling with John a Leigh, and after the humiliating incident described in poem 34. It may have seemed best to the King, after these stormy episodes, to send this hot-blooded youth North to cool down.

7-18. Compare the antithetical ideas here expressed with the following passages from Petrarca:

*Son. in Vita* 88.14: E tremo a mezza state, ardendo il verno.

99.6: Di state un ghiaccio, un fuoco quando verna.

130.5: Trem' al più caldo, ard' al più freddo cielo.

15-16. Cf. *Pet. Son. in Morte* 87. 1-2:

Spirito felice, che si dolcemente  
Volgei quegli occhi più chiari che 'l sole.

16. Cf. *Son. in Vita* 103.9: L' aere percosso da lor dolci rai.

22. Cf. *Ibid.* 180.5: Solea frenare il mio caldo desire.

## 20

It is very doubtful if this poem is to be assigned to Surrey, despite the fact that it is so assigned in *Ms. Harl. 78*. Tottel places it among the poems of "Uncertain Authors." The rhyme scheme, a b a c b c, is nowhere else used by Surrey, the comparisons are awkwardly handled, and the diction has little to commend it.

1-6. "I had thought that I was like Ulysses, seeking the faithful Penelope, but I find that I am like Troilus, deceived by Cressida."

18. The "repentance" is not that of the lover, but the pity which the lady finally takes upon him.

## 21

This poem may have been written, as no. 33 clearly was, for the Countess of Surrey, to voice her impatience at the separation from her husband, during his absence on military duty in France. Cf. notes to nos. 9 and 33. It is the one poem of Surrey's in the Duke of Devonshire Ms. and is in the hand-writing of Mary Shelton, the sweetheart of Sir Thomas Clere, Surrey's companion, who accompanied him to France. (Cf. notes to No. 47.) Perhaps the poem was written for Mary Shelton herself, in recognition of her love for Clere, and was inserted in the Ms. after being sent her from France. It is adapted from Serafino del Aquilo *Epist.* 5:

Quella ingannata, afflitta et miseranda  
Donna, non donna piu, ma horrendo mostrio.

The epistle, in turn, is adapted from Phyllis' complaint of Demophoon in Ovid's *Heroides* 2.

12-13. These verses are suggested by *Pet. Son. in Vita* 137. 7-8:

La vela rompe un vento umido eterno  
Di sospir, di speranze e di desio.

24-28. Cf. *Epist.* 37-41:

Ah quante uolte quando il ciel s' imbruna  
A mezza notte uscio del freddo letto  
A sentir l' hore, a remirar la luna,  
Fatta son marinar per questo effetto.

33. Cf. *Ibid.* 79-80:

E s' afondato è alcun dal tempo rio  
Che 'l sappia dico: ahime: questo è sommerso

Cf. also *Troil. and Cris.* 5.228: O herte mine! Criseyde, my swete foe!

## 22

This poem is largely indebted to *Pet. Trionfo D' Amore* 3. 151-190, and 4. 139-153. The first of these passages reads as follows:

Or so come da se il cor si disgiunge, E come sa far pace, guerra e tregua, E coprir suo dolor quand' altri 'l punge.	
E so come in un punto si dilegua E poi si sparge per le guance il sangue, Se paura o vergogna avvien che 'l segua.	155
So come sta tra' fiori ascoso l' angue; Come sempre fra due si veggghia e dorme; Come senza languir si more e langue.	
So della mia nemica cercar l' orme, E temer di trovarla; e so in qual guisa L' amante nell' amato si trasforma.	160
So fra lunghi sospiri e brevi risa Stato, voglia, color cangiare spesso; Viver, stando dal cor l' alma divisa.	165

So mille volte il di ingannar me stesso; So, seguendo 'l mio foco ovunque' e' fugge, Arder da lunge ed agghiacciar da presso.	
So com' Amor sopra la mente rugge, E com' ogni ragione indi discaccia;	170
E so in quante maniere il cor si strugge. So di che poco canape s' allaccia Un' anima gentil, quand' ella è sola, E non è chi per lei difesa faccia.	
So com' Amor saetta e come vola; E so com' or minaccia ed or percore; Come ruba per forza e come invola;	175
E come sono instabili sue rote; Le speranze dubbiose e 'l dolor certo; Sue promesse di fe' come son vote;	180
Come nell' ossa il suo foco coperto E nelle vene vive occulta piaga, Onde morte è palese e 'ncendio aperto.	
In somma so com' è incostante e vaga, Timida, ardità vita degli amanti; Ch' un poco dolce molto amaro appaga:	185
E so i costumi e i lor sospiri e canti E 'l parlar rotto e 'l subito silenzio E 'l brevissimo riso e i lunghi pianti, E qual è 'l mel temprato con l' assenzio.	190

The other passage reads:

Errori, sogni ed immagini smorte Erra d' intorno al carro trionfale; E false opinioni in su le porte;	140
E lubrico sperar su per la scale; E dannoso guadagno, ed util danno; E gradi ove più scende chi più sale;	145
Stanco ripose e riposato affanno; Chiara disnor, e gloria oscura e nigra; Perfida lealtate, e fido inganno; Sollicito furor, e ragion pigra;	
Carcer ove si vien per strade aperte, Onde per strette a gran pena si migra; Ratte scese all' intrar, all' uscir erte. Dentro, confusion turbida, e mischia Di doglie certe e d' allegrezze incerte.	150

3. Cf. *Tr. Am.* 3. 176, 180; 4. 147.

5. Cf. *Pet. Canz.* 15. 2. 1-2:

S' i' 'l dissi, Amor l' aurate sue quadrella  
Spenda in me tutte, e l' implombate in lei.

9. Cf. *Pet. Son. in Vita* 175. 7-8:

Che non pur ponte o guado o remi o vela,  
Ma scampar non pottemmi ale nè piume.

16. Cf. *Tr. Am.* 3. 152.

18. Cf. *Pet. Son. sopra vari Arg.* 7. 1-2:

S' Amore o Morte non dà qualche stroppio  
Alla tela novella ch' ora ordisco.

19-22. Cf. *Tr. Am.* 3. 153-155, and 164.

25-26. Cf. *Ibid.* 187-188.

28-29. Cf. *Ibid.* 158-159, and 4. 145.

33-35. Cf. *Tr. Am.* 3. 160-162.

36. Cf. *Son. in Vita* 11. 9-14:

39. Cf. *Tr. Am.* 3. 166.

40. Cf. Chaucer, *Squire's Tale* 491-492:

And for to maken other be war by me,  
As by the whelp chastid is the leoun.

41. Cf. *Tr. Am.* 3. 168.

43-44. Cf. *Ibid.* 169-171.

45. Cf. *Ibid.* 186.

47. Cf. *Ibid.* 177.

49. Cf. *Ibid.* 178.

50. Cf. *Ibid.* 179, 182-183; 4. 153.

## 23

The influence of Chaucer is of course apparent throughout this fresh and spirited little poem.

21-23. "In their songs methought the birdes thanked nature much that she had permitted them—such was their good fortune—to love all that year, to choose them mates just as their fancy dictated."

41-42. "All that was but the mental impression of one who would be well quit of Cupid."

## 24

This poem is a fusion of one type of the early French *pastourelle*, in which a shepherd complains to another of his hard-hearted mistress, and of one type of the early French *chanson à personnages*, in which the poet chances upon a man who is lamenting an unrequited love. The opening verses, which give the setting, are reminiscent of the *chanson*, although winter has been substituted for the conventional May morning. The sophisticated references to classical myths appear odd enough in this setting of folk poetry. (Cf. *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics* xxxvi ff., and *Transition English Song Collections*, *Cambridge History of Eng. Lit.* 2. 389, 392-3.)

44. A very common conceit with the sonneteers. Cf. Chaucer, *The Book of the Duchesse*, 908-911:

For certes, Nature has swich lest  
To make that fair, that treyly she  
Was hir cheef patron of beautee,  
And cheef ensample of al hir werke.

77-80. Such references show the very great vogue that *Troilus and Criseyde* enjoyed.

48. Cf. Pet. *Son. in Vita* 37. 6:

E corcherassi 'l Sol là obtre, ond' esce  
D' un medesimo fonte Eufrate e Tigre;  
Prima ch' i' trovi in cià pace, nè tregua.

## 25

9-10. "I am suffering so much distress on your account that I cannot rest until you know the disconcerting truth."

11-12. "This love of yours, which abuses you by deceiving you, has so completely mastered you that it sacrifices everything to your passion, and fitfully seizes you." The construction is rather loose.

## 26

27. "The row" means the whole company of lovers.

## 27

This poem is a playful rejoinder to the one which precedes it. There is a good deal of question as to whether the poem should be assigned to Surrey. In the ms. from which it is taken, *A.*, it is given as the first of a group of Surrey's poems, but by Tottel it is assigned to "an vncertain auctor". However, in the second edition it is transposed from its original position at page 198, and is placed immediately after the poem, "Wrapt in my carelesse cloke", with the title, "An answer in the behalfe of a woman". It is to be noted that only the first twenty verses are given in Tottel. Surrey may have written the poem as a mere literary pleasantry, or it may have been written by another in good-natured rivalry. If written by another, he has succeeded in hitting off the style of Surrey to a nicety.

The theme of Susanna and the Elders was a favorite one with the Renaissance artists, and was treated *ad nauseam*.

## 28

5-8. Petrarca has given beautiful expression to this thought in two of his lyrics. Cf. *Sest. in Vita* 1. 1-6:

A qualunque animale alberga in terra,  
 Se non se alquanti c' hanno in odio il sole,  
 Tempo da travagliare è quanto è 'l giorno;  
 Ma poi ch' il ciel accende le sue stelle,  
 Qual torna a casa, e qual s' annida in selva  
 Per aver posa almeno infin all' alba.

See also the fourth *Canzone* in which Petrarch contrasts, in pictures of charming color, the rest which awaits the pilgrim, the laborer, the shepherd and the shipman, with his own feverish unrest.

60. A very common conceit. Thus Troilus (*Troilus and Criseyde* 4. 318-322.) and Arcite (*The Knights Tale* 2765-2770).

## 29

The subject of this sonnet is Elizabeth Fitzgerald, the little daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare. Born in Ireland in about 1528, she was brought to England in 1533 when her father was involved in charges of rebellion. In 1537 she entered the household of the Princess Mary (*Ms. Vesp. C. xiv.*, 1. 274.) and in 1540 was transferred to the service of Queen Catherine Howard. In 1543 she married Sir Anthony Browne, a widower of sixty. I take it that Surrey first met her at Hunsdon in March 1537, and met her again at Hampton in July, prior to the ninth (Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary* [London, 1831] 21, 23 and 33 show that Mary was at Hunsdon and at Hampton on these dates.) The poem was probably written in July, 1537, while Surrey was confined at Windsor for having struck a courtier. Though the offense was committed in June, Surrey was probably not confined before July 12, as on that date he was at Kennington, his father's home, suffering from some illness (*Let. and Pap.* 12. 2. 248).

A stubborn literary tradition has it that this maiden was the object of Surrey's verse. Nash seems to be responsible for this tradition, for in his romance entitled *The Unfortunate Traveller, or the Life of Jack Wilton* (1594), Surrey is reputed to have consulted Cornelius Agrippa in Venice as to the welfare of Elizabeth and to have seen her image in a magic mirror, and later, while in Florence, to have offered to defend his lady's beauty against all comers. Drayton perpetuated the fiction in his *England's Heroical Epistles, Henry Howard Earle of Surrey to Geraldine*, 1598, of which the *Argument* is as follows: "Henry Howard, that true noble Earle of Surrey, and excellent poet, falling in love with Geraldine; descended of the noble family of the Fitzgeralds of Ireland, a faire and modest Lady; & one of the honorable maydes to Queen Katherine Dowager; eternizeth her prayses in many excellent Poems, of rare and sundry inuentions: and after some fewe yeares, being determined to see that famous Italy, the source and Hlicon of al excellent Arts; first visiteth that renowned Florence, from whence the Geraldts challeng their descent, from the ancient family of the Geraldi: there in honor of his mistress he aduanceth her picture: and challengeth to maintaine her beauty by deeds of Armes against all that durst appeare in the lists, where after the proofoe of his braue and incomparable valour, whoce arme crowned her beauty with eternall memory, he writeth this epistle to his dearest Mistres."

This tradition gained wide vogue in the seventeenth century and Warton gave it full credence in his *History of English Poetry* (4.23). Nott accepted it as its face value and indeed became so obsessed with the idea that he construed all of the amatory poems in the light of it, introducing the name Geraldine into manufactured titles for the poems, and filling his notes, in other respects often so admirable, with sentimental trash.

The truth probably is that Surrey whiled away an idle hour of confinement by composing a sonnet in compliment to a little girl of nine whose pretty face chanced to have

caught his fancy. If he did for the time being accept her as the "Laura" of his verse, it must have been in a spirit of playfulness. Most of his amatory verse is undertaken largely as a literary exercise, as any student of Renaissance polite verse must appreciate.

1. The Fitzgeralds were supposed to be descended from a Florentine family, the Geraldii.

6. The mother of Elizabeth was Lady Elizabeth Grey, fourth daughter of Thomas, Marquis of Dorset, granddaughter of Elizabeth Woodville, queen of Edward IV, and first cousin of Henry VIII (D. N. B.).

## 30

This and the following poem were written in the summer of 1537, while Surrey was confined at Windsor for having struck a courtier.

7. *Ioly woes*; cf. the Italian *dolci quai*. *The hateless shorte debate*: the sweet quarrels of lovers. So Troilus (*Troil. and Cris.* 2.1099): I have a Ioly wo, a lusty sorwe.

11. Cf. *Pet. Son. in Morte* 20. 1-2: I'ho pien di sospir quest' aer tutto.

## 31

This poem, like the preceding, was written at Windsor in the summer of 1537, during Surrey's confinement. In surroundings that were all eloquent with the memory of the happy boyhood years spent at Windsor with Richmond, the King's son, and that contrasted the past and the present so sharply, the poet fondly recalls the affectionate comradeship and the enthusiasms of the former days. It must be allowed, to be sure, that the narrative is somewhat idealized, for some of the activities described are those of young men rather than of lads in their earliest teens.

Cf. *Troil and Cris.* 3. 1366:

Or elles when that folk be sike  
Easy sighes such as ben to like.

53-54. Koepfel notes the similarity of this sentiment to the pathetic words of Francesca (*Inferno*, 5. 121-123):

Nessun maggior dolore,  
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice  
Nella miseria.

## 32

In April, 1543, Surrey, in company with certain boon companions, one of whom was Thomas Wyatt, the son of the poet (*Acts of the Privy Council* 1. 104), was committed to the Fleet on the twofold charge of eating meat in Lent, and of going about the streets at night breaking windows with a stone-bow. In the *Acts of the Privy Council* the offence is entered as follows: "Att Saint-James the first day off aprill... Th'erle of Surrey being sent for t'appere before the Cownsell was charged as well off eating off flesshe, as off a lewde and unsemely manner of walking in the night abowght the stretes and breaking with stonebowes off certeyne wyndowes. And towching the eating off flesshe. he alleged a licence, albeitt he hadde nott secretly used the same as apparteyned. And towching the stonebowes, he cowlde nott denye butt he hadde verye evyll done therein, submitting himselff therefore to such ponissement as sholde to them be thought good. Whereapon he was committed to the Fleet."

It may have been during his confinement that this irrepressible young nobleman composed this waggish satire, in which he pretends that the city had become so lost in trespasses and sin that nothing short of such drastic means could arouse it to a sense of its spiritual condition.

The metre is the *terza rima*, save for vs. 29-40, which rhyme a b a b a b c d c d c d. As in these lines the poet is inveighing against the seven deadly sins, he may intend a playful intimation that the *terza rima* should not be polluted with anything so evil. It may be, of course, that the change of metre is merely to secure rapidity.

2. "Such was my indignation at the dissolute life within the city walls that fear of retribution could not keep me from forcibly rebuking it. Mere words, as the preachers well know, are of small avail, and so I resorted to this novel method of voicing my protest. My punishment of the city, under cover of the night, accords with your secret sins, and should teach you that justice seeks out every fault, and that no one is secure from it."

21. Cf. Isaiah 47. 11.

45-55. Cf. Revelation 18 and Jeremiah 51, for general similarities.

56-58. Cf. Jeremiah 51. 49.

59. Nott calls attention to Petrarca's invective against the vices of the Papal Court at Avignon, *Son. sopra Varj. Agr.* 14:

Fiamma dal ciel su le tue trece piova.

60-64. Adapted from Ezekiel 5. 12-17, 6. 11-14, and Jeremiah 50.15. Nott thinks that Surrey may have in mind a second sonnet of Petrarca's in which he condemns Avignon as the modern Babylon, *Son. sopra Varj. Agr.* 15. 9-10:

G1' idoll suoi saranno in terra sparsi,  
E le torri superbe, al Ciel nemiche.

65-68. Cf. Jeremiah 51-48.

### 33

This poem was clearly written for the Countess of Surrey while Surrey was separated from her during his winter of military service in France. Evidently Surrey and his wife found this separation very trying; cf. notes to poems 9 and 21. The poem leaves no doubt of the affection which was mutually felt. Note the felicitous domestic picture in vs. 21-28.

22. Thomas Howard, the eldest son of the poet, then aged nine.

29. Cf. *Troil and Cris.* 4. 234-237:

Up-on his beddes syde a-down him sette,  
Ful lyk a deep image pale and wan;  
And in his brest the heped wo bigan  
Out-breste.

### 34

In *Tottel* this piece bears the title, "A song written by the earle of Surrey to a ladie that refused to daunce with him." Bapst conjectures that this lady was Lady Hertford, the wife of Edward Seymour. He finds support for this theory in the deep-seated enmity of the two houses, in the fact that the escutcheon of the Stanhopes—Lady Hertford's family—was supported by two wolves, and in Drayton's association of the names of Surrey and Lady Hertford in his epistle, *Surrey to Geraldine*, 145-148:

Nor beauteous Stanhope, whom all tongues report  
To be the glory of the English Court,  
Shall by our nation be so much admir'd,  
If euer Surrey truly were inspir'd.

The closing lines suggest to Bapst that Surrey gave the function at which the insult was received, and he fixes the date as August, 1542, by interpreting verse 41 as a reference to those members of Surrey's family who were in confinement during the proceedings against Catherine Howard.

3. The lion was an heraldic emblem of the Howards.

11. The pride and spirit of Lady Hertford were exemplified by her quarrels with Catherine Parr over the question of precedence.

30. Thomas Howard, grandfather of the poet, overthrew James IV of Scotland in the famous battle of Flodden Field.

35-40. This reference is to Surrey's uncle, Thomas Howard, the second son of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk. In June, 1536, he was committed to the Tower because he had affianced himself to Lady Margaret Douglas, the King's niece, without the royal knowledge or assent. Inquiry showed that Surrey's sister, the Duchess of Richmond, had encouraged this secret alliance and that the lovers had frequently met in her presence

to avoid suspicion (*Let and Pap.* 11. no. 48 [July 8, 1536]). Lord Thomas remained in the Tower until his death two years later. That he and Lady Margaret were ardently attached to one another and continued so even after their confinement, despite the diplomatic protestation of Lady Margaret to Cromwell "Not to thynk that eny fancy doth remain in me towching hym (*Let. and Pap.* 11. no. 294)", finds confirmation in the poems written by their own hands in the *Duke of Devonshire MS.* (See *Bibliography*), which Lady Margaret had evidently borrowed from the Duchess of Richmond and then conveyed surreptitiously to Sir Thomas in the Tower. Miss Ida K. Foxwell (*A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems*, London, 1911, p. 132) in her keen history of the vicissitudes of this manuscript, speaks of these poems as follows: "A series of poems by Sir Thomas Howard occurs in another part of the book. Stanzas of intense hopefulness and assurance that all will be well are followed by verses expressing firmness and unaltered resolve to remain true to Margaret. He speaks of means taken to undermine his resolution by cajolery or cruelty, but the poems always end with loving words to 'my none swete wyf'. At length privation told upon a frame that was never robust, and his last verses are a cry for death that 'his soul may go forth to his ladye'..... Broken-hearted and desperate verses in the Devonshire Manuscript bear witness to Margaret's grief."

## 35

This poem serves as a prologue to the translation of Psalm 88, and number 36, in turn, as a prologue to Psalm 73, psalms which presumably Surrey translated while awaiting execution. Bapst makes the following observation upon these poems: "Especially worthy of remark among the poems written at this supreme hour are the two prologues. That of Psalm 73 is addressed to George Blage, with whom, one must remember, the Count had had the altercation which led to his downfall; that of Psalm 88, to Sir Anthony Denny, an intimate of Henry VIII, who must have had a share in Surrey's arrest. But, at the point of death, the poet wished to show his enemies that he had forgotten all the quarrels of this naughty world, and was concerned only with his passage to another life." (page 361.) Sir Anthony Denny was one of the secretaries of Henry VIII, a man who, according to Ascham, was wholly occupied with religion, learning, and affairs of state. When Henry VIII was on his deathbed, so shortly after the execution of Surrey, Denny bravely besought him to repent of his sins and to ask God's mercy. Denny was a zealous promoter of the Reformation, and this was doubtless one ground of dislike between him and Surrey.

8. This does not mean the pardon of the King, as Nott supposed, but God's pardon. The accompanying psalm plainly shows that Surrey was awaiting death at the time of writing.

## 36

George Blage, an old companion in arms of Surrey's, was, like Denny, an enthusiastic Reformist. At the trial, Edward Rogers recalled a heated dispute between Surrey and Blage over the question of the anticipated regency during the minority of Edward VI. Surrey haughtily contended that his father, as the first duke of England, should hold this office. Blage, in turn, warmly retorted that he hoped such a calamity would never occur. The dispute ended in invectives and threats. *Let. and Pap.* 21.2 no. 555.4.

## 37

Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, the second son of the poet, states in the Dedicatory Epistle to his *Dutiful Defence of the Royal Regimen of Women* that this poem was the last which his father wrote. Nott is inclined to refer the poem to an earlier confinement, because "Surrey plainly intimates that he either had obtained, or was on the point of obtaining, the King's pardon." However, though only seven at the time of his father's execution, Northampton ought to have known the history of the poem. Moreover, the similarity of the opening verse to that of the preceding poem is



strong presumptive evidence of the date. If this is, indeed, the last poem, the storms and clouds refer to the poet's spiritual struggles; the "paine foreknowne", to the anticipated death for which he is now fortified by patience; the "swete reuenge," to his spiritual triumph over his enemies; and the "wretch", to Southwell, whom Surrey had offered to fight when accused by him of treason. Yet one is hard put to it to construe verses 9-11 to this interpretation. May not the poem have been written in the early days of December, before the trial, when Surrey may have had some occasion for thinking that his skies were clearing? The harsh spirit of the closing lines is certainly incompatible with the resignation of one who has forgiven his enemies and is about to die. It does not comport with the two Prologues and Psalms 88 and 73.

12. The "glass" is the mental reflection; cf. *Troil and Cris.* 1. 365-366:

Thus gan he make a mirour of his minde,  
In which he saugh al hoolly hir figure.

## 38

1. Alexander the Great. Plutarch twice relates the incident: *Lives*, p. 467 (ed. 1831), and *Morals, The Fortune or Virtue of Alexander*, 4. Flügel (*Neuenglische Lesebuch* 302) cites the opening lines of the Dedication to Henry VIII of Berthelette's edition of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (1532): "Plutarcke wryteth whan Alexander had discomfyte Darius, the Kyng of Perse, among other iewels of the sayde Kynges there was founde a curyous lyttell cheste of great value, which the noble Kyng Alexander beholdynge, sayde: 'This same shall serue for Homere.' Which is noted for the great loue and fauour that Alexander had vnto lernynge."

6. Wyatt paraphrased Psalm 37 and the seven Penitential Psalms. See *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat* 125-163.

11-12. Cf. 2 Samuel 11-12.

13-14. These verses are probably directed against Henry VIII. See *Introduction*, p. 16.

## 39

This poem is addressed presumably to Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex (b. 1526 [?]), who took part with Surrey in the military operations against France in 1544. Radcliffe was related to Surrey as his father, Henry Radcliffe, second Earl of Sussex (b. 1506 [?]), married Lady Elizabeth Howard, a daughter of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk—the poet's grandfather—, by his second wife. The poem may possibly be addressed to Henry Radcliffe, but Surrey would hardly use this paternal tone to a man eleven years his senior, or reflect upon the "rechlesse youth" of a man of thirty-eight.

2. Nott quotes Tibullus (37):

Vos ego nunc moneo. Felix, quicumque dolore  
Alterius disces posse carere tuo.

6. Cf. Foxwell, *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat, Epigram 31*, p. 33:

Sighes ar my foode: drynke are my teares:  
Clynkinge of fetters suche musycke wolde craue:  
Stynke and close aye away my lyf wears:  
Innocence is all the hope I have.  
Rayne, wynde or wether I iudge by myne eares.  
Mallice assaulted that rightiounes should have,  
Sure I am, Brian, this wounde shall heale agayne,  
But yet, alas, the scarre shall styll remayne.

Wyatt was twice committed to the Tower: once in 1536, in conjunction with the imprisonment of Anne Boleyn, and again in 1538, when accused by Edmund Bonner of treasonable correspondence with Cardinal Pole.

## 40

7. The King referred to is Sardanapalus. See *Introduction*, p. 16.

## 41

This poem is a translation of Martial's famous epigram on the golden mean, *Ad Seipsum*:

Vitam quae faciant beatio rem,  
Iucundissime Martialis, haec sunt;  
Res non parva labore, sed relicta;  
Non ingratus ager, focus perennis;  
Lis nunquam, toga rara, mens quieta;  
Vires ingenuae, salubre corpus;  
Prudens simplicitas, pares amici;  
Convictus facilis, sine arte mensa;  
Nox non ebria, sed soluta curis;  
Non tristis torus, et tamen pudicus;  
Somnus, qui faciat breves tenebras;  
Quod sis, esse velis nihilque malis;  
Summum nec metuas diem nec optes.

Cf. the following sonnet by Plantin, the proprietor of the famous press, and now reprinted from the old press as a souvenir:

Avoir une maison commode, propre & belle,  
Un jardin tapissé d'espalliers odorans,  
Des fruits, d'excellent vin, peu de train, peu d'enfans,  
Posseder seul sans bruit une femme fidèle.

N'avoir dettes, amour, ni procès, ni querelle,  
Ni de partage à faire avecque ses parens,  
Se contenter de peu, n'espérer rien des Grands,  
Régler tous ses desseins sur un juste modèle.

Vivre avecque franchise et sans ambition,  
S'adonner sans scrupule à la dévotion,  
Domter ses passions, les rendre obéissantes.

Conserver l'esprit libre, & le jugement fort,  
Dire son Chapelet en cultivant ses entes,  
C'est attendre chez soi bien doucement la mort.

The doctrine of the golden mean evidently made a strong appeal to a generation that was so subject to the uncertainties of fortune. See poem 42, and poem 52, vs. 29-30, where Surrey voices the doctrine again, and *Tottel*, p. 255.

## 42

Is this poem addressed to the poet's brother or son, or is it addressed to Thomas Wyatt the younger, Surrey's comrade in many a mad frolic? If to the latter, there may be an element of pleasantry in the offering of this sage advice.

The poem is adapted from *Horace, Book 2, Ode 10*:

Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum  
Semper urgendo neque, dum procellas  
Cautus horrescis, nimium premendo  
Litus iniquum.  
Auream quisquis mediocritatem  
Diligit tutus caret obsoleti  
Sordibus tecti, caret invidenda  
Sobrius aula.  
Saepius ventis agitatur ingens  
Pinus et celsae graviore casu  
Decidunt turres feriuntque summos  
Fulgura montes.  
Sperat infestes, metuit secundis  
Alteram sortem bene praeparatum  
Pectus. Informes hiemes reducit  
Jupiter, idem  
Summovet. Non si male nunc et olim  
Sic erit; quondam cithara tacentem  
Suscitat musam, neque semper arcum  
Tendit Apollo.  
Rebus angustis animosus atque  
Fortis appare; sapienter idem  
Contraheis vento nilium secundo  
Turgida vela.

## 43

Surrey was of course familiar with the description of the successive ages in *Horace, Ars Poetica*, 156ff. Cf. also the beautiful poem by Sir Thomas More (*Padelford, Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, p. 100).

19-22. Cf. *Cant. Tales, The Reeve's Prologue* 13-17:

But ik am old, me list not pley for age;  
 Gras-tyme is doon, my fodder is now forage,  
 This whyte top wryteth myne olde yeres,  
 Myn herte is al-so mowled as myne heres.

## 44

This and the two following elegiac poems are in memory of Sir Thomas Wyatt. Miss Foxwell, in her admirable monograph (*A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems*, p. 125ff.), presents strong evidence that in 1526, when a lad of nine, Surrey came into possession of the manuscript in which Wyatt wrote the first version of his poems, and that later he presented the volume to his sister, the Duchess of Richmond, presumably on the occasion of her marriage to Henry Richmond, the king's son. Surrey probably conceived thus early an admiration for the literary work of the senior poet. Yet it is not likely that a friendship existed between the two poets prior to 1541. Wyatt was fourteen years older than Surrey; he was a protegee of Cromwell, towards whom Surrey shared his father's enmity; and he favored the protestant movement in the Church. Moreover, with the exception of a few months in 1539, Wyatt was engaged in diplomatic service abroad from June 1537 to May 1540. But the malicious attack of Bonner upon Wyatt after the fall of Cromwell evidently aroused the ire of Surrey, for he and his sister induced the new queen, Catherine Howard, to use her influence with the king in securing the release of the poet from the Tower. For the remaining two years of Wyatt's life there may well have existed a hearty friendship between the two poets. John Leland in his *Naeniae in Mortem Thomas Viati, Equitis Incomparabilis*, 1542, dedicated to Surrey, gives the following contemporary evidence of the relation of the two poets:

Accipe, Regnorum comes illustrissime, carmen  
 Quo mea Musa tuum laudavit moesta Viatum  
 Non exspectato sublatum funere terris.  
 Nominis ille tui, dum vixit, magnus amator.  
 Nom modo tu vivum coluisti candidus illum,  
 Verum etiam vita defunctum carmine tali  
 Collaudasti, quale suum Chaucerus, avitae  
 Dulce decus linguae, vel juste agnosceret esse.

The poem may be paraphrased as follows: "If in a rude and unscientific age, Jove won undying gratitude in Crete, and others won like gratitude elsewhere, for teaching the arts of humanity; if, even in times of greatest ingratitude, there have always been some to extol virtue—a goodly means to deter men from crime and to inflame them with a passion for virtue—; shall Wyatt's friends be blamed if, in modern days, they deplore—the only office that the living can perform for the dead—the loss of one who used his rare mind to teach Christ to his fellows? When living, his face vexed you, and now his very ashes consume you with envy."

13-14. Surrey has especially in mind Edmund Bonner and Simon Heynes, who, in 1538, accused Wyatt of complicity with Cardinal Pole, of loose living, and of speaking contemptuously of the king; charges which were pressed with such warmth after the death of his friend Cromwell in 1540 that Wyatt was confined for a time to the Tower.

## 45

See introductory note to the preceding poem.

2-3. See note to verses 13-14 of the preceding poem.

4. Cf. Pet. *Son in Vita* 29.1-4:

Quel ch' in Tessaglia ebbe le man si pronte  
 A farla del civil sangue vermiglia,  
 Pianse morto il marito di sua figlia,  
 Raffigurato alle fattezze conte.

Cf. also *Ibid* 70. 1-4:

Cesare, poi che 'l traditor d' Egitto  
 Li fece il don dell' onorata testa,  
 Celando l' allegrezza manifesta,  
 Pianse per gli occhi fuor, siccome è scritto.

12. Cf. *Trois. and Cris.* 5. 1788:

And kiss the steps whereas thou seest pace  
 Of Virgil, Ovid, Homer, Lucan, Stace.

## 46

See introductory note to no. 44.

## 47

The subject of this poem is Thomas Clere (died April 14, 1545), Surrey's companion and squire, who, in saving the life of Surrey at the siege of Montreuil (September 19, 1544), received a wound from which he never recovered. Clere was buried at Lambeth, in the chapel assigned to the Howards, and the verses were inscribed on the tablet suspended near the tomb.

1. Clere was born at Ormesby, his father's seat in Norfolk.
2. He was descended from the DeClermont house. Nott emends to read: "Clere, of the Count of Cleremont, thou'rt hight." But the emendation misses the meaning, for the whole point of the epitaph is to identify Clere with the Howard family. In effect, the thought is as follows: "Though of another house, the Howards claim you: you were born in Norfolk, your remains rest in our chapel, you had the blood of the Ormondes, a house united to ours by marriage (Clere's uncle, Thomas Boleyn, a grandson of the seventh Earl of Ormonde, having married Elizabeth Howard), your lady was Mary Shelton, daughter of another allied house (Mary being the cousin of Anne Boleyn), and you chose me as your lord, saving my life at the expense of your own." The epitaph demonstrates the propriety of burying Clere in the Howard chapel.
3. His maternal grandmother was Margaret, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Ormonde.
4. Anne Boleyn; also descended from the Earl of Ormonde.
5. Clere was in love with Mary Shelton, a lady of the court. See notes to 21.
7. Kelsal; a town that had been burned in the expedition against Scotland in the autumn of 1542.
8. Surrey and Clere served under Sir John Wallop at the siege of Landrecy in October, 1543. Boulogne was taken by Henry in person, in September, 1544, a few days after the fall of Montreuil.
13. That these words are not mere rhetoric is evidenced by Surrey's generosity to his young attendant. Nott (LXXXVIII) cites the Patent Rolls to the effect that Surrey "made over to him all his rights in the Manor of Wyndham, which he had received by grant from the king, the 26th of November, 1545. On the 12th of May previous, he sold to him the Manor of Bradcarehall and the Rectory of Shropham in Norfolk."

## 48

The translations from Ecclesiastes and the Psalms are very free, and are given a modern atmosphere and a personal bent. They are full of the color of Tudor England, and they reflect the disillusionment of fortune that was so poignantly felt by sensitive and high-spirited men who were the victims of royal caprice. The introductory verses to Psalms 88 and 73 (See poems 35 and 36) furnish unequivocal evidence, quite aside from internal evidence, that the Psalms were translated during Surrey's final imprisonment, and the like temper of the translations from Ecclesiastes is strong presumptive evidence that they were produced at the same time. They bespeak the same tormenting sense of the treachery of friends, the malice of enemies, and the mutability of things temporal.

3-4. These verses illustrate the freedom which Surrey takes with the original. The Latin merely says (v. 2): *Vanitas vanitatum, dixit Ecclesiastes; vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas.*

7-10. Cf. the Vulgate (v.4): *Generatio praeterit, et generatio advenit; terra autem in aeternum stat.*

13-16. This passage is much more spirited and picturesque than the original (vs. 6-7): *Gyrat per meridiem, et flectitur ad aquilonem; lustrans universa in circuitu pergīt spiritus, et in circulos suos reveritur. Omnia flumina intrans in mare, et mare non redundat; ad locum, unde exeunt flumina, revertuntur, ut iterum fluant.*

29. "Kyndled" is here an adjective.

29-30. Cf. the Vulgate (vs. 13): *Hanc occupationem pessimam dedit Deus filiis hominum, ut occuparentur in ea.*

43-44. "Such men as endeavor to institute new things can learn the futility thereof from those who receive these efforts with scorn." The Vulgate reads (vs. 17): *Et agnovi, quod in his quoque esset labor, et afflictio spiritus, eo quod in multa sapientia multa sit indignatio, et qui addit scientiam, addit et laborem.* Surrey arrives at his meaning through interpreting *indignatio* as the vexation or displeasure which ones search for wisdom causes others, not as the vexation felt by the searcher himself. The King James version properly accepts the latter interpretation: "For in much wisdom is much grief."

## 49

11ff. This very free translation is doubtless construed to Surrey's own ambitious designs in building Mount Surrey. It is most significant that there is no warrant in the original for the motive expressed in verse 12: "By princely actes thus straue I still to make my fame indure." The gaining of wisdom is the sole motive expressed in the original.

21-24. Note the liberties here taken in translation (vs.8): *Feci mihi cantores et cantatrices, et delicias filiorum hominum, scyphos et urceos in ministerio ad vina fundenda.*

35-39. This is all an amplification of the sentence (vs. 12): *Transivi ad contemplan- dam sapientiam, erroresque et stultitiam.*

35. "Then I realized how, thus glorying in my ability to achieve my ends, I had been the victim of my pride."

63-64. "Who can foretell the character of him to whom I must leave my goods?"

53-56. "As the just reward of folly is quickly forgotten after slanders' loathsome voice proclaims it, so that just fame which should attend the deserving is as quickly obliterated by time."

77-82. A departure from the original (vs. 26): *Homini bono in conspectu suo dedit Deus sapientiam, et scientiam et laetitiam; peccatori autem dedit afflictionem et curam superfluum, ut addat, et congreget, et tradit ei, qui placuit Deo; sed et hoc vanitas est, et cassa sollicitudo mentis.*

81-82. "But I, so far-famed for my riches, know how little value there is in the heaping up of treasure."

## 50

Surrey has construed the opening verses of this familiar chapter, designed to show the propriety of times and seasons, to a pronouncement of the caprice and instability of man's conduct.

5. "The plants which we grafted with so much trouble."

11-12. Considering the destruction of the monasteries, a very suggestive Tudor interpretation of the Latin (vs. 5): *Tempus spargendi lapides, et tempus colligendi.*

25-33. An interesting treatment of the original (vs. 11): *Cuncta fecit bona in tempore suo, et mundum tradidit disputationi eorum, ut non inueniat homo opus, quod operatus est Deus ab initio usque ad finem.*

61-66. Surrey reads the golden mean and Christian largesse into this passage. The original is as follows (vs. 22): *Et deprehendi nihil esse melius, quam laetari hominem in opere suo, et hanc esse partem illius. Quis enim eum adducet, ut post se futura cognoscat?*

## 51

11-16. Cf. the Latin (vs. 4-6): *Rursum contemplatus sum omnes labores hominum, et industrias animadverti patere invidiae proximi; et in hoc ergo vanitas, et cura superflua est. Stultus complicat manus suas, et comedit carnes suas, dicens: Melior est pugillus cum requie, quam plena utraque manus cum labore et afflictione animi.*

37-46. This passage is construed and elaborated from the following (vs. 14-15): *quod de carcere catenisque interdum quis egrediatnr ad regnum; et alius natus in regno, inopia consumatur. Vidi cunctos viventes, qui ambulant sub sole cum adolescente secundo, qui consurget pro eo.*

43-44. "I have seen others, friends or foes indifferently, wear their feet bare in pursuing those on whom fortune smiles."

49. "A train equally as great."

51-58. The King James translation does not recognize the following verse (17) which is the basis for these fervent lines: *Multo enim melior est obedientia, quam stultorum victimae, qui nesciunt, quid faciunt mali.* Surrey evidently had in mind, among other passages, Psalm 50. 17 (Psalm 51, 17, in the King James version): *Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus: cor contritum et humiliatum, Deus, non despicias.*

## 52

29-30. These verses give utterance to that doctrine of moderation so often met in the writers of this period. See notes to 41.

The couplet is an interpolation, though the thought is the converse of that in verse 9 of the Vulgate (vs. 10 of the King James version), in which the discontent of the rich is expressed.

31-32. The fine sentiment in this couplet is construed from the following (vs. 8): *Et insuper universae terrae rex imperat servienti.*

37-38. The original hardly warrants this construction (vs. 10): *Ubi multae sunt opes, multi at qui comedunt eas. Et quid prodest possessori, nisi quod cernit divitias oculis suis.*

40. Nott alters to read, "and feasts of none excess", but the Vulgate confirms the manuscript reading (vs. 11): *Dulcis est somnus operanti, sive parum, sive multum comedat.*

41-42. The meaning of this awkward passage would seem to be something as follows: "But the rich lie awake, whose animal heat cannot so soon induce rest, because it cannot digest the variety of meats with which they have overcharged their bodies." The Latin is as follows (vs. 11): *Saturitas autem divitis non sinit eum dormire.*

53-62. In this passage the poet construes the thought to extol benevolence. The vulgate reads (vs. 17-18): *Hoc itaque visum est mihi bonum, ut comedat quis, et bibat, et fruatur laetitia ex labore suo, quo laboravit ipse sub sole numero dierum vitae suae, quos dedit ei Deus, et haec est pars illius. Et omni homini, cui dedit Deus divitias, atque substantiam potestatemque ei tribuit, ut comedat ex eis, et fruatur parte sua, et laetetur de labore suo: hoc est donum Dei.*

## 53

This Psalm is found only in *MS. A*. It has none of the intense emotion of the other three Psalms, and may have been written at an earlier period. The translation is free, very spirited, full of color, and worshipful in tone.

45-52. The only suggestion for these lines is the concluding verse (10): *Domine Dominus noster, quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra.*

## 54

Although this Psalm appears after Psalms 88 and 73 in both *MSS. P* and *A*, its haughty militant tone is in marked contrast to the exalted resignation that characterizes them, and has led Bapst to assign it to the early days—the 2 to the 12—of December, 1546, during which Surrey, in common with his erstwhile friend, now his accuser, Sir Richard Southwell, was merely detained in custody. Surrey allows himself the utmost latitude in translation; indeed, the poem is to all intents and purposes autobiographical,—an angry invective against his enemies.

11-12. "What means of flight can my complaints lay hold of, that I may escape from the stormy blasts that threaten me?"

13. An interesting adaptation of the Latin (vs. 10): *praecipita, Domine: divide linguas eorum.*

The "conjured league" are his accusers, such as Southwell, Sir Edmund Knyvet, and Sir Gawain Carew, who arose on every hand to inform against Surrey.

22-25. Sir Richard Southwell, who had informed the Council that Surrey had used the arms of Edward the Confessor in quartering his arms. Southwell, though thirteen years older than Surrey, had long been an intimate friend. Surrey alludes to him as "my friend" in a letter to his father under date of October 15, 1536 (*Letters and Papers*, 11, 727; quoted by Bapst, p. 220.); Southwell was for a time attached to the household of Norfolk, took part with Surrey in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and served under him in France.

26. I see no need of altering "them" to "him". The poets mind here reverts to the many enemies that suddenly had come out into the open, the "conjured league". The original itself observes this sudden change to the plural (vs. 16): *Veniat mors super illos, et descendant in infernum viventes.*

38-39. The Vulgate merely says (vs. 22): *Molliti sunt sermones ejus super oleum; et ipsi sunt jacula.* Surrey evidently had in mind the prior English translations.

42-48. At this point Surrey impatiently drops the role of translator, and gives vent to his indignation. The "friar", whose falseness is here condemned, has not been identified. He was evidently some ecclesiastic who had been a party to the accusation, or who, during Surrey's confinement, had sought to deceive him, perhaps by giving him false assurance.

47. By "thother Psalm" I think that Surrey meant not another Psalm, but the untranslated verse (23) of the present Psalm: *Jaeta super Dominum curam tuam, et ipse te enutriet: non dabit in aeternum fluctuationem justo.* Perhaps the poet had quite as much in mind the succeeding and final verse: *Tu vero, Deus, deduces eos in puteum interitus. Viri sanguinum, et dolosi non dimidiabunt dies suos; ego autem sperabo in te, Domine.*

## 55

This poem is marked by a spirit of repentance and deep humility; it is the utterance of a Christian gentleman schooling himself to the thought of death. Verse 37, "My wretched state beholde whome death shall strait assaile," to all intents an interpolation, leaves no doubt, quite aside from other testimony, as to the time of composition. The poet has construed a Psalm which, though "containing a grievous complaint", is not penitential, to voice his own deep sense of repentance. Thus, verses 3-4,

Graunt that the iust request of this repentaunt mynd  
So perce thyne eares that in thy sight som fauour it may find,

are represented in the Latin only by the following (vs. 3): *Intret in conspectu tuo oratio mea; inclina aurem tuam ad precem meam.* Verse 5: "My sowle is fraughted full with grief of follies past," is construed from the words (v. 4), *Quia repleta est malis anima mea.* Again, verses 33-34,

And in the morning eke, when that the slepe is fledd,  
With floods of salt repentaunt teres to washe my restles bedd,

are construed from the clause (v. 14), *Et mane oratio mea praeveniet te.*

9. "To please my foe" is a pure interpolation.

13-14. The very personal application of these verses is emphasized by a comparison with the Latin (vs. 9): *Longe fecisti notos meos a me: posuerunt me abominationem sibi.*

19-31. The translation is here very free. Thus, verses 19-22 are represented in the Latin only by the clause (v. 11), *Numquid mortuis facies mirabilia?* Verses 25-26 translate (v. 13), *Numquid cognoscentur in tenebris mirabilia tua, et justitia tua in terra oblivionis.* Verses 29-30 are interpolated.

37-38. The Latin merely says (v. 16): *Pauper sum ego, et in laboribus a juventute mea: exaltatus autem, humiliatus sum et conturbatus.*

43-44. Note that Surrey does not, as does the Psalmist, attribute this forced absence of his friends to God's doings: (v. 19): *Elongasti a me amicū et proximum et notos meos a miseria.*

## 56

29-30. Cf. the Latin (v. 13): *Ergo sine causa justificavi cor meum, et lavi inter innocentes manus meas.*

34-37. Cf. the Latin (v. 15-16): *Si dicebam: Narrabo sic: ecce nationem filiorum tuorum reprobavi. Existimabam, ut cognoscerem hoc, labor est ante me.*

39-51. Surrey clearly has his proud enemies in mind.

43-48. An amplification of the following verse (20): *Velut somnium surgentium, Domine, in civitate tua imaginem ipsorum ad nihilum rediges.*

49-50. A very free adaptation; the Latin reads (v. 21): *Quia inflammatum est cor meum, et renes mei commutati sunt.*

53. This verse is an interpolation, and therefore doubly significant as a biographical reference. It is one of several passages in his Psalms which show that Surrey had long had bitter enemies.

15-56. A poetical translation of the words (v. 24): *Tenuisti manum dexteram meam.*

## 57

Surrey's translation of the second book of the *Æneid* cannot be assigned to an earlier date than 1539, as it shows frequent indebtedness to the Italian translation by Cardinal Hippolito de Medici or his secretary which appeared as a separate volume that year, and appeared in the following year in a translation of the first six books by various authors.

There is some uncertainty as to which of the two books, the second or the fourth, Surrey translated first. The fact that the translation of the fourth book is obviously indebted to the Italian version in blank verse by Nicolo Liburnio published in 1534, and that this translation owes little if anything at all to the translation by Piccolomini which appeared in the 1540 volume referred to above, and the further fact that the fourth book seems to have been better known,—so much better, in fact, that Day printed it in 1554, apparently ignorant that Surrey had translated any other book—, favor assigning priority of translation to this book.

On the other hand, the second book is more indebted to the translation by Hippolito than is the fourth book to the version by Liburnio, and the second book leans much more upon the Scotch translation by Gawin Douglas than does the fourth book. Moreover, the second book uses the old suffix *en* seven times (vs. 77, 291, 741, 196, 206, 824, 884) as opposed to four instances of its use in H (*Ms. Hargrave 205*), the earliest version of Book Four, and the prefix *y* five times (vs. 137, 157, 219, 336, 523), as opposed to one instance in H. Furthermore, the anapaest is used only nine times (vs. 62, 245, 304, 435, 591, 614, 755, 786, 991), and the amphibrach only two or three times (vs. 333, 638, 1012), in Book Two, as opposed to twelve anapaests and thirteen amphibrachs in H. (For the line references in H., see the introductory note to the notes on Book Four.) Surrey employed these feet much more freely in his later verse. Again, as Imelmann points out, certain expressions in the second book which translate the Latin literally are to be met with again in the fourth book, where they can only be regarded as very free translations. Thus Virgil 2. 98-99, *spargere voces in vulgum ambiguas*, yields (2. 122) "*In common eares false rumors gan he sowe*," whereas v. 4. 189, *Haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat*, is translated (H. 244-245),

This monster blith with manie a tale gan sowe  
This rumour then into the common eares.

So also V. 2. 624, *considerare in ignes*, yields (2. 821) "*fall down in burning gledes*," whereas V. 4. 167, *fulsere ignes*, is translated (H. 215), "*with burning gledes of flame*." As *sow* is a



closer translation of *spargere* than of *replebat*, the presumption is that in each of these instances the phrasing in the fourth book was influenced by the phrasing in the second. Taking all factors into account, I am inclined to think that the second book was the first to be translated.

In both books Surrey was much indebted to the Scotch translation by Douglas, borrowing words and phrases at will. I have not attempted to note all such obligations, but I have given characteristic instances in the notes to Book Two, and in the notes to Book Four have endeavored to quote all passages from Douglas which throw light upon the variants in the three versions of the translation. From the Italian translations I have intended to quote all significant passages. I question, however, whether Surrey actually borrowed from Piccolomini at all, a doubt that is also entertained by Miss Willcock. Surrey's great indebtedness to the Italians was in the matter of form. In them he had models of concise translation, in contrast to the prolixity of Douglas. His ambition would seem to have been to surpass the Italians themselves in succinctness and he actually succeeded in compressing the thought into fewer lines than they, approximating the frugality of the Latin itself. Thus Virgil has 705 lines in Book Four; Liburnio, 1141; Piccolomini, 1005; and Surrey, 940.

In translating the second book Surrey would also seem to have been mindful of a French translation by Octavien de Saint Gelais, Bishop of Angoulesme, which was part of *Les Oeuvres de Virgille* that appeared in 1529. There is some reason to think that Douglas had access to this translation in manuscript form. I have not been able to secure rotographs of this book, but have noted the more significant parallelisms from the table of comparative passages furnished by Fest.

18-22. Cf. Dg(68.1-5).:

The Greikis chiftanes, irkit of the weir  
Bypast or than so mony langsum jeir,  
And oft rebutit by fatale destany,  
Ane huge hors, like ane greit hill, in hy  
Craftelle thai wrocht in wirschip of Pallas.

22. *Minerua* may be suggested by Hip. (23): di *minerua* Con diuin'arte.

36-39. Cf. Dg(69.4-8).:

Quharfor all thai of Troy, blyth as thai mocht,  
Thair langsum dulle and murnyng did away,  
Kelst wp the portis and ischit furth to play,  
The Greikis tentis desyrus for to se,  
And voyd placis quhar thai war wont to be.

40. Pyrrhus may be suggested by Hip. (45): qui stauan le genti Di *Pirrho*.

71-72. Cf. Oct(Fest 59).:

Las! si fortune alors nous eust bien dit,  
Allheure estoit leur prinse descouverte.

V(54-55). reads:

Et, si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset,  
Impulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras.

74-78. Cf. Dg(71.1-5).:

Lo, the ilk tyme, harland onto the King  
Troiane hirdis with greit clamour did bring  
A jong man, balth his handis behynd his bak  
Hard bundin, that wilfully for to be tak  
Rendrit himself.

82-83. The influence of Hip (98-100). is apparent:

La giouentu Troiana d' ogn' intorno  
Sparsa corre a uederlo e fanno a gara,  
Chi piu faccia al prigion uergogna e scorno.

V(63-64). reads:

Undique visendi studio Troiana iuventus  
Circumfusa ruit, certantque in ludere capto.

87. Cf. Hip (104).: Sbigottito nel uolto. V(67). reads:

Namque ut conspectu in medio turbatus,

135. Cf. Oct(Fest 59).: reprint son dire. V(107). merely reads *fatur*.
293. Oct(Fest 58). may have influenced the translation:  
Droit au temple de la dame Pallas.
- V(232). does not mention the name of the goddess:  
Ducendum ad sedes simulacrum orandaque divae  
Numina conclamant.
- 298-301. Cf. Dg(81.31-82.4).:  
The fatale monstour clame our the wallis then,  
Greit wamit, and stuffit full of armyt men;  
And thair about ran childring and maidis jing,  
Singand carellis and dansand in a ring;  
Full wele was thame, and glad was euery wycht,  
That with thair handis anis twich the cordis mycht.
311. Cf. Hip (363).: dal uoler di Dio *sospinta*; whereas C(247). only says: Ora,  
dei iussu non umquam credita Teucris.
339. Cf. Hip (395).: *Le coniurate* lor schiere ordinando. V(267). reads: agmina  
conscia iungunt.
352. Cf. Hip (410).:  
e inuolti i crespi crini  
Nel sangue hauea.
- V(277). merely says. concretos sanguine crinis.
395. Cf. Hip. (457):  
Allhor la falsa fede e i fieri inganni  
De i Greci ascosti u' appariscon ueri.
- V(309-310). reads:  
Tum vero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt  
Insidiae.
- 445-462. Cf. Dg(89.8-30).:  
O, je most forcy jong men that bene heir,  
With breistis strang, and sa bald curage hie,  
In vayne je preis to succour this cite  
Quhilk byrnis all in fire and flambis reid;  
The goddis ar all fled out of this steid,  
Throw quhais mycht stuide our empire mony day;  
Now all thair templis and altaris waist leif thal.  
Bot gif your desire be sa fermle prest  
To follow me, dar tak the wtyrmest  
Quhat fortune is betyde, all thingis je se;  
Thair is na mair; lat ws togidder dee,  
And in amynd our enemyis army schute.  
To wencust folkis is a confort and bute  
Nane hoipe of help to beleif, or reskew.  
Swa, with thir wourdis, the jong menis curage grew,  
That in the dyrk like rawynnys wolfis, or rawis,  
Quham the blynd fury of thair empty mawis  
Dryvls furtht of thair den to seik thair pray,  
Thair litle quhelpis left with dry throtis quhill day;  
So, throw the wapnis and our fais went we  
Apoun the deid vndowtit, and wald not fle.  
Amynd the cietie we held the master streit;  
The dirk nycht hid ws with clos schaddowis meit.
515. The translation was probably influenced by the Italian (595):  
Contra al uoler de i Dei speranza alcuna.
- V(402). reads Heu nihil invitis fas quemquam fidere divis.
518. Cf. Hip (600).: Gli occhi *infiammati*. V(405). reads: ardentia lumina.
544. Cf. Hip (629).: A gli altar sacri de *l'armata* dea. V(425). reads: divae armipo-  
tentis ad aram.
- 593-601. Cf. Dg(95.25-96.1).:  
Theirat I enterit, and to the wallis hycht  
Wpwent, quhair wrechit Troianis, as thal mycht,  
Threw doun dartis, thocht all was bot in waist.  
We stert ontill a hie turret on haist,  
The top wpstrekand to the sterris hie,  
Quharon we wont war all Troy for to see,  
The Grekis schippis, and thair tentis eik.  
With instrumentis of yrne we pyke, and seik  
Round all about quhar the jonyngis war worn.

607-608. Cf. Hip (691-692).:

Al portico dinanzi, e ne la prima  
Porta con l' arme staua lieto Pirrho.

V(469-470). merely says:

Vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus  
Exultat.

655-665. Cf. Dg(98.17-99.5).:

Perauentur, of Priamus je wald speir  
How tyde the chance; his fait, gif je list, heir.  
Quhen he the cietie saw takin and doun bet,  
And of his palice broken every jet,  
Amyd the secrete closettis eik his fais,  
The ald gray, all for nocht, to him tays  
His hawbrek quhilk was lang furth of vsage,  
Set on his shoulderis trymbling than for age;  
A swerd, but help, about him beltis he,  
And ran towart his fais, reddy to de.  
Amyd the cloiss, vnder the hevin all balr,  
Stude thair that tyme a mekle fair altair,  
Neir quhame thar grew a rycht auld laurer tree,  
Bowand towart the altair a little wee,  
That with his schaddow the goddis did ourheild.

675-676. The repetition of *such* is suggested by Hip. (778-779):

Non tale aiuto, non difese tali  
Quanto tempo richlude.

685-686. Cf. Hip. (788-789).:

e plegato le gran corti uote  
Ricerca in uano.

V(528-529). reads: vacua atria lustrat Saucius.

711. *Without sound*: Cf. V(544-545).:

Sic fatus senior, telumque imbelles sine ictu  
Coniecit rauco quod protinus aere repulsum.

721. Cf. Hip. (826):

Questo di fatti fu di priamo il fine.

V(554). reads:

Haec finis Priami fatorum; hic exitus illum  
Sorte tulit.

740-745. Cf. Dg(102.1-6).:

All war thair fled full wery, left me allane;  
Sum to erd loppin fro the hie towris of stane,  
Sum in the fyre thair irkit bodyis leit fall.  
Thair was na ma bot I left of thame all,  
Quhen in the temple of Vesta the goddes  
Lurkand full law, intill a secrete place—

749. Cf. Hip(853).:

Per la ruina de la antiche mura.

V(571). merely says: eversa ob Pergama.

781-782. Cf. Hip(889).:

Figlio, qual gran furor ti muoue, e spinge  
Irè si fiero?

V(594). reads:

Nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras.

788. Cf. Hip(897).:

E se non fusse ch'io pur gli ho difesi.

V(599). reads: ni mea cura resistat.

795. Cf. Hip(906-907).: e ti fa *oscuro* intorno. V(605) reads: et umida circum  
Caligat.

818-823. Cf. Dg(105.3-9).:

This saing, sche hir hid in the clos nycht.  
Than terrible figuris apperis to my sycht  
Of greit goddis, semand with Troy aggrevit.  
And tho beheld I all the citle mischevit,  
Fair Ilion all fall in gledis doun,  
And, fra the soill, grete Troy, Neptunus toun,  
Ourtumblit to the ground.

*Razed* may have been suggested by Oct(Fest 59).:

Lors me sembla que tout fust embrasé  
En feu et flammes Ilion et rasé.

859. Cf. Hip(978-979).: al *crudo* fato Ceder. V(653). reads, *fatoque urgenti incumbere.*

880-890. Cf. Dg(107.22-108.1).:

The lattir end, thus vencust and wndone,  
Callis ws agane to battale and assay:  
Haue done, cum on, this is our lattir day.  
Rendir me to the Grekis, or suffir me  
The bargane agane begwn at I ma see;  
This day wnwrokin we sall neuir al be slane.  
About me than my swerd I belt agane,—  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And litle Iulus forgane his fadir upset:  
Gif thou list pas, quod sche, thi self to spill—

896. Cf. Hip(1020-1021).:

Ella cosi gridaua, e d'un gran pianto  
Tutta la casa empiuma.

V(679). reads:

Talia vociferans gemitu tectum omne replebat.

915. Cf. Hip(1044-1045).:

e seco indi trahea  
Con molta luce una facella accessa.

V(694). reads: *facem ducens.*

917. Cf. Hip(1048-1049).:

ne la selua Idea  
Asconder i suoi raggi.

V(696). reads: *Idaea claram se condere silva.*

921-925. Cf. Dg(109.19-24).:

With that, my fader vencust start on fuite,  
And to the goddis carpis to be our bruite,  
The haly sterne adornit he rycht thair;  
Now, now, quod he, I tary ne langair;  
I follow, and quhiddir je gide me sall I wend.  
O native goddis, your awne kinrent defend.

943-944. Cf. Oct(Fest 58).:

Ung temple y a de longue antiquité,  
Jadis basty pour Ceres la deesse.

V(714). merely says: *templum vetustum Desertae Cereris.*

967. Cf. Oct(Fest 58).:

bien certes pensoye  
Estre echappé de peril.

V(730-731). reads:

omnemque videbar  
Evasisse viam.

1051. Cf. Oct(Fest 58).: *l'enfant qui fuit e tien e mien.*

V(789). reads: *nati communis.*

There are extant three sixteenth century versions of Surrey's translation of the fourth book, a version printed by John Day for William Owen, presumably in 1554, Tottel's printed version of 1557, and a version in Ms. Hargrave 205. Of these three, the manuscript version, though Elizabethan, most nearly reproduces Surrey's original translation. The ms. contains, in addition to the translation, The Tragedy of Gismund of Salerne and a dictionary of poetical epithets. As the tragedy and the translation are in the same hand, the small conventional hand of the professional scribe, and as the tragedy is early Elizabethan work, having been produced before the Queen by the "Gentlemen of the Inns of Court" in 1568, this copy of the translation cannot be pre-Elizabethan. Manifestly the copy was made for some gentleman who felt the sixteenth century gentleman's preference for a manuscript, rather than a printed, version. But though the copy is so late, it follows an original that must have been early and relatively authentic, for, as

compared to the two printed texts, it contains many archaic words and traditional inflections, grammatical irregularities, inconsistencies in tense, a relative disregard of the identity of word accent and of metrical accent, incomplete verses, and a greater indebtedness to the earlier translations, notably to that of Gawin Douglas. This version, slightly emended where errors and omissions would seem to have crept in, is presented as the nearest approach to Surrey's actual translation. It may be that the poet reworked his translation to some extent, but this version was the approximate basis for any such revision.

Of Day's printed version, only one copy is known to be extant. Until the present year, this copy has formed a part of the rare library of Mr. Christie Millar at Britwell Court, Burnham Beeches. At the time of writing, it is in the hands of Sotheby, who is now disposing of the library. As scholars were not able to gain access to it, there has been much conjecture of late years about this volume, both as to the date of publication and the authenticity of the text. This uncertainty is now relieved through the series of studies being published by Miss Gladys D. Willcock, who gave a preliminary description of the ms. in *The Modern Language Review* for July, 1919, a table of variants from the readings of T. and H. in the April number of this year, and who will discuss the question of readings in forthcoming numbers. Miss Willcock gained access to the book just before the opening of the war, but has been unable to revise her copy or correct her proof from the original text, as the library was closed during the war, and is now being dispersed. Her work, however, gives evidence of accuracy.

The title-page of this book reads as follows:

*The Fourth Booke of Virgill, intreating of the love between Æneas and Dido translated into English and drawne into a strange metre by Henrye, late Earle of Surreye, worthy to be embrased.*

Imprinted at London by John Day for William Owen dwellyng in Paternoster Rowe at the sygne of the cock.

Although the book is not dated, the question of date is virtually settled by the dedication. This dedication, addressed to the son of the poet, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, is most illuminating:

"To the most pussant prince, Thomas, Duke of Norfolkke, Wylliam Owen, hys most humble oratour wysbeth perpetual helthe and felicitie.

"When it chanced a cople of thys part of Virgill, translated by your graces fater (right honorable lord) by the meanes of a frend of myne to come to my handes; I had not only held ye same as no small treasure because I had heard of it lyke as others the monuments of that noble wyt of hys.... but also my desyre was great at one tyme or other, yf by a meanes convenient I myght publyshe the same: and that the rather because I coulde understande of no man that had a cople thereof, but he was more wylling the same should be kepte as a private treasure in the handes of a few, then publyshed to the common profyt and delectacion of many. But so much as my cople, although it were taken of one wrytten with the authors owne hande, was not yet so certaine that it might be thoughte of ytsel suffycient to be publyshed, partly for that the writer had not tyme sufficient to the due examinacion thereof, after it was written, and also because the redyng of the authors cople itself, by reason of the spedy writing therof, was somewhat doubtful: for these causes gettyng two other copleys also, wrytten out by other men, I caused myne to be conferred with them bothe, and of theym yt to be received as most worthy to be allowed, whiche was both to the Latyn most agreable and also best standing with the dignity of that kynde of metre.

"And this my doying I trust no honest man shall be able to reprove, but rather it shall be an occasion to such as favour the monumentes of so noble a wyt, yf they have a better cople to publyshe the same. As for the unthankful I passe not how much they repine at my dede, so that I may understande your grace to take in goode part my goode wyll herein; whyche if you do (as I nothyng dout of your graces goodnesse) yt shall no little encourage me hereafter to bryng other hys workes to light as they shall come to

my handes. Thus beseeching our Lord God to continue your grace in welth and increse of virtue, I wyshe you hartily wel to fare."

Miss Willcock correctly argues that as the poet's son became the Duke of Norfolk on the death of his grandfather in August 1554, and as Day presumably issued no books in 1555 and 1556 (Cf. E. Gordon Duff, *Century of Printing*, p. 58), this book, which must have preceded Tottel's edition of 1557 inasmuch as it presents only the fourth book and that in a version obviously known to Tottel, must have appeared in the closing months of 1554.

Despite the claims of the dedication, the book is most carelessly done, for it contains a very large number of misprints. These, however, are easily detected.

A line by line comparison of H. and D. leaves no room for doubt that *in the main* H. furnishes earlier readings than D. In the first place, H. shows much more indebtedness to the Scotch translation by Douglas than does D., there being many passages in which D. departs from earlier readings as found in H. which had been influenced by this translation, and only a solitary passage in which the reverse is true. Moreover, D. builds out three lines metrically incomplete in H. (230, 693, 892. Here, and in subsequent references, the line numbers are those of D., which are identical with those of T.): it revises fifteen readings to avoid such archaisms as the old verbal suffixes *en* and *eth*, the verbal prefix *y*, the infinitive introduced by *for to*, and the auxiliaries *nedes*, *gan*, *do*, *doth*, *did* (2, 13, 22, 40, 83, 185, 187, 194, 355, 368, 495, 548, 785, 811, 812); it revises twelve verses in the interest of accent (53, 173, 174, 239, 314, 460, 535, 583, 635, 782, 889, 906); it revises twenty-one sentences to improve the syntax (29, 252, 254, 341-343, 377-379, 384, 425, 454, 532, 601, 609, 664, 678, 717, 739, 750, 791, 806, 841-843, 898, 904); it successfully revises six verses to secure more finished phrasing (14, 191, 650, 873, 892, 905); and effectively revises twenty-eight passages,—words, phrases, or entire sentences—, in the interest of accurate translation (54, 133, 135, 184, 268, 300, 329, 341-343, 375, 408-412, 483, 486, 579, 587, 656, 674, 686, 694, 702, 750, 775, 778, 779, 796, 816, 873, 893, 909). Again it makes very generous use of the anapaest and amphibrach, employing the former three or four times as often as does H., and the amphibrach twice as often.

On the other hand, there are some verses in D. that are more defective in syntax and in metre, and a large number that are more defective in translation than the corresponding verses in H. These will be considered later.

The interesting question at once arises, did Surrey himself make some, or all, of the revisions enumerated above. That he did not make all of them is certain; on the other hand, it is conceivable, although the evidence is rather inconclusive, that he did make some of them.

Comparison with those poems which were obviously written in his later years creates a strong presumption against attributing to Surrey those changes in D. made in the interest of more modernized reading. The following very partial series of references to the later poems will show how freely Surrey used the infinitive introduced by *for to* and the auxiliaries *gan* and *do* in his later verse:

The infinitive introduced by *for to*:

Psalm 88 (No. 55; date, 1546): vs. 17, 18.

"Good ladies, you that have your pleasure in exyle" (No. 33; date, 1544-1546): vs. 11.

The auxiliaries *do*, *did*, *doth*:

Prologue to Psalm 73 (No. 36; date 1546): vs. 9.

Psalm 73 (No. 56; date 1546): vs. 3.

Psalm 88: vs. 42.

"Good ladies, you that have your pleasure in exyle": vs. 3.

A Tribute to Wyatt (No. 44; date 1542): vs. 13, 14.

A Second Tribute to Wyatt (No. 45; date, 1542): vs. 1, 12, 13.

A Third Tribute to Wyatt (No. 46; date, 1542): vs. 5, 9, 18.

A Tribute to Thomas Clere (No. 47; date, 1545): vs. 6, 11.

. The auxiliary *gan* :

"Eache beste can chuse his feere" (No. 34; date, 1542) : vs. 12, 18, 26.

Prologue to Psalm 73: vs. 10.

Psalm 73: vs. 34.

The verbal suffix *ed* treated as a separate syllable occurs about once in every ten lines in H., an average that is maintained in the later poems. Again, the suffix *eth* is very common in the later poems, the poet affecting it rather than avoiding it.

There remain those rare instances in which H. uses the verbal suffix *en* and the verbal prefix *y*. The former occurs four times (vs. 13, 84, 247, 545) and the latter once (vs. 9). With the exception of vs. 247, D. revises all of these lines to obviate the archaisms. As these forms are not to be met in any of the later poems, the revisions are clearly in line with Surrey's ultimate practice. Moreover, as the suffix *en* occurs seven times in the translation of Book Two and the prefix *y*, five times, unless H. itself represents the revision of some still earlier version, the translation of the fourth book would seem to record the changing practice of the poet so far as these forms are concerned. The internal evidence, however, does not favor assigning these revisions in D. to Surrey, for they violate that close translation of the Latin which Surrey seems to have been scrupulously careful to secure. Vs. 13 reads in H.:

What dremes  
Be these that me tormenten thus afraide?

D. revises to read:

Be these that me tormented thus afray,

changing the finite verb to a participle, and the participle to a finite verb. The Latin (9) favors H.:

Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent?

Likewise in vs. 545 the Latin (417), *vocat iam carbasus auras*, favors the finite verb in H.:

The streminge sayles abyden but for windes,

rather than the participle *abiding* in D.

Again, it is not likely that Surrey was responsible for those revisions in D. aimed to secure identity of word accent and metrical accent. He appreciated that blank verse must be flexible, that to sustain a spirited narrative the measure must be kept vigorous through a judicious interspersing of trochees and other feet, and there is abundant evidence that he aimed to keep his blank verse from becoming flabby or mechanical.

Nor is it reasonable to assign to Surrey those many revisions in D. that result in anapaests and amphibrachs. To be sure, these feet are found more often in H. than in Book Two, the anapaest occurring twelve times in H. (58, 67, 161, 389, 415, 457, 484, 771, 809, 866, 901, 924) as opposed to nine in Book Two (62, 245, 304, 435, 591, 614, 755, 786, 991), and, disregarding such elisions as *eyen*, *heuen*, *descriest*, the amphibrach occurring fifteen times in H. (117, 129, 219, 349, 424, 441, 536, 647, 675, 697, 709, 717, 722, 828, 908) as opposed to three times in Book Two (332, 638, 1012). But D. affects these feet, adding over thirty anapaests and a dozen amphibrachs, often, in fact, inserting unnecessary words in order to secure them. The later poems do not show any such marked predilection for these feet. Moreover, T. does not follow D. in the majority of these readings, showing incidentally that D. represents the work of some reviser whose changes did not commend themselves to the later editor.

The improvements in syntax that D. secures include many slight revisions to obtain uniformity in the tense and number of verbs, and a few elaborate revisions to remedy imperfect sentences. The former type of revision is illustrated in the following: H(528-529). reads:

When the blake swarme creepes ouer all the feeldes,  
& thrawt the grasse by straight pathes dragg ther praye.

D (532). replaces *dragg* by *drags*, thus securing consistency in number. As an example of the more elaborate revision may be cited the respective translations of vs. 628-629:

Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas  
Imprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipsique nepotesque.

With his characteristic conciseness Surrey translated to read (H. 836-838):

Our coostes to them contrarie be thei aie,  
I craue of God; that our streames to their fluddes;  
Armes vnto armes; & ofspringe of ech race!

D (841-843).revised as follows:

Our costes to them contrary be for aye,  
I craue of God; and our streames to their fluddes;  
Armes unto armes; and ofspring of eache race  
With mortal warr eche other may fordoe!

Although D. secures better sentence construction, it amplifies the last clause in a manner quite foreign to Surrey. While, therefore, Surrey may have made some of these revisions, he clearly did not make all of them.

The improvements in translation to be noted in D. concern for the most part such slight points as the translation of a singular noun by a plural, or a plural by a singular, or the closer translation of a Latin verb, but in a few instances D. corrects a glaring mistranslation. A conspicuous illustration of the latter is furnished in the translation of vs. 42-43:

Hinc deserta siti regio, lateque furentes  
Barcaei.

Misunderstanding *siti* and taking it for a proper noun, Surrey originally translated as follows (H. 54-55):

On thother hand, a desert realme <sup>The</sup> for <sup>of Scythia</sup>thurste.  
The Barceans, whose furie stretcheth wide.

D. corrects to read:

On thother hand, a desert realme for thurste.

It is quite conceivable that Surrey made some of these revisions, because he was scrupulously anxious to secure an accurate translation, and one of the versions of which Owen, the editor of D., speaks may contain such author's revisions.

On the other hand, there are more instances in which D. mistranslates where H. follows the Latin, than instances in which D. corrects faulty translations in H. Altogether I have noted thirty-four such passages (D., vs. 32, 41, 50, 72, 88, 161, 196, 208, 209, 233-234, 261, 262, 270, 279, 330, 352, 362, 413, 421, 480, 519, 635, 646, 670, 707, 716, 809, 846, 868, 907, 917). One or two glaring illustrations will suffice. Vs. 151-153 of the Latin read as follows:

Postquam altos ventum in montes atque inuia iustra,  
Ecce ferae, saxi delectae vertice, caprae  
Decurrere iugis.

H (196-199). translates:

But to the hills and wide holtes when thei came,  
From the rockes toppe the wild savage rooes  
Avalle the hill, & on th other syde,  
Over the laundes thei gan to take ther course.

*Rooes* is of course not the exact equivalent of *caprae*, but D. mistook the word for the verb *rose*, and in an effort to emend, never consulting the Latin produced the following:

From the rocks top the driven savage rose.  
Loe! from the hill above, on th other side,  
Throught the wyde lawnds they gan to take their course.

Again, note the translation of the following (201-202):

pecudumque cruore  
Pingue solum et variis florentia limnia sertis.

H (260-261). renders:

The erthe imbrued with yelded blood of bestes,  
& thresholdes spredd with garlandes strange of hew.

D reads:

Flowers embrused yelded bloode of beastes,  
And threshold spred with garlands of strange hue.

This ridiculous reading in D. is the result of some revisionist's misunderstanding of an earlier version, a version which supplied the line to T.:

The floores embrude with yelded bloud of beastes.



From this comparison, if not from the preceding, it is necessary to conclude that the inaccuracies in translation to be found in D. are not to be charged to an early author's version, but rather to conclude that Owen, or one of the revisers who made the copies to which Owen alludes in his Preface, revised without consulting the Latin.

There are also frequent lines in D. that bespeak a very faulty ear (D. 39, 42, 395, 431, 584, 595, 919), and other lines that contain phrases less vigorous or picturesque, in short less poetical, than the corresponding lines in H. (D. 27, 42, 165, 177, 226, 240, 320, 324, 792.) I take it that none of these readings can be Surrey's. Thus, translating the following (247):

Atlantis duri, caelum qui vertice fulcit,

H (318). reads:

That with his crowne sustaines the welkin vp.

D. substitutes *sholders* for *crowne*, which is less accurate, less metrical, and less picturesque. In the same context, D. alters the lines (321-322):

& from his chinn

The springes discende, his berd frosen with yse,

to read:

The springes discende, his frosted beard with yse.

Although the accent is normalized, the line is distinctly weakened. In attempting to improve the following line (H. 428),

& these wordes few at lengthe furth gan he cast,

D. treats *wordes* as a dissyllable and blunders into an unpleasant internal rhyme:

These wordes yet at last then forth he cast.

Surrey would never have been guilty of such lines as these. They should not be interpreted as early and crude readings that remained imbedded in D. though corrected in H.

Although, as stated above, D. is, in the main, less archaic than H., more correct in syntax, more careful in accentuation, and more regular in number of feet, there are a few instances in which the reverse is true. Thus D. 232 contains, as opposed to H., the infinitive *for to tell*; and D. 247, a suffix in *en*:

Aeneas comen sprong of Troyan blode.

Are these reminiscent of Surrey's original readings? It may be. As opposed to H., D. also presents three instances in which the wrong tense is used: vs. 91, *left* for *leaves*; 99, *stared* for *stareth*; 219, *withheld* for *withholdes*. These also may represent Surrey's earliest readings. D. 492 contains an incorrect verb form, used to avoid an additional syllable:

Ay me! with rage and furies am I drive.

H. reads, *loe! I drive*. As the Latin (376) uses a passive verb, *Heu! furiis incensa feror*, D. may here give Surrey's original rendering. There are, finally, four verses in D. (80, 300, 641, 805) in which the accents are faulty, as opposed to correct accentuation in H., and six verses (90, 312, 401, 445, 489, 765) in which four or six feet are used instead of five. Some of these lines also may furnish the original translations. Thus the Latin (234),

Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?

is rendered in D (299-300):

The towers yet of Rome doth he envy  
To yong Ascanus, that is his father?

This is awkward, but it observes the force of the Latin dative, and sounds earlier than the corresponding line in H (298):

That is the father of Ascanius.

There remain for consideration three passages in which D. merely quotes the Latin in lieu of translation, and a solitary passage in which D. is closer to the translation of Douglas (Dg.) than is H. As in two of the three instances in which D. quotes the Latin the same verses are untranslated in H (152, 251-252), the presumption is that Surrey had not found satisfactory translations and had left the lines for further consideration. The third passage is translated in H (387-391), but as it is a peculiarly difficult one to

turn into equally concessive English, D. is probably earlier than H., the Latin interpolation representing an original hiatus in Surrey's text. The Latin (301-303) is as follows:

qualls commotis excita sacris  
Thyas, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho  
Orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.

H(387-391). translates:

As Thyas sturrs, the sacred rites begonne,  
When the wonted thir yeres sacrifice  
Doth prick her furth, hering Bacchus name halowed,  
& when the feastfull night of Cytheron  
Doth call her owt, with noise of her dawnsing.

T(391-394). reads:

And when the wonted thir yeres sacrifice  
Doth prick her fourth, hering Bachus name hallowed,  
And that the festful night of Cithaeron  
Doth call her fourth, with noyes of dauncing.

It may be, of course, that D. follows a reviser who noted the metrical irregularities in the original of H. and the faulty syntax of the original of T., and so concluded to leave the passage for further study. The chances are, however, that Owen would not have printed the Latin if he had found any English version. This would seem to be one instance where the D. version is rather clearly the earlier. D. probably registers the earlier reading, also, in the solitary verse (257) in which it is closer to Dg. than is H. (See note to this line.)

As a result of the whole comparative study, my conclusions are that D. is, in the main, a later version than H., and that while it probably restores a few of Surrey's earliest readings and may possibly contain some of the poet's later revisions, it is largely the work of other revisionists, of whom there were several. Thus one recognizes four well defined tendencies in the revisions: revisions made in the interest of grammatical correctness or modernization; revisions lacking in poetical imagination and in a feeling for the music of verse; revisions aiming at correctness of translation; and revisions that altogether ignore the Latin. As Owen had access to two other versions besides a copy of an author's manuscript, and as he probably undertook some fresh revisions on his own authority, D. may well be the product of three revisionists other than the poet, and perhaps of more than three. H. must therefore be regarded as the more nearly standard text.

T. is much the most modern of the versions. It carries the revisions of syntax farther than D., secures metrical regularity, fills out incomplete lines and translates omitted passages, corrects errors in translation—though guilty of two or three glaring mistakes in translation, and secures clearness, and smooth and graceful phrasing, even at the expense of conciseness. It is the work of a revisor or editor who had good taste and a good ear, though more feminine in taste, less severe and bold, than Surrey. As a chapter in the development of English verse, it would be interesting to discuss in detail the characteristics of H. and T. relative to one another, but as this does not primarily concern Surrey, it does not properly belong to this study.

6. T. gives the more ornate rendition; H., the more faithful: V(4).: haerent infixi pectore vultus.

18. An individual rendering; cf. V(13).: Degeneres animos timor arguit.

20. Note T.'s device to remedy *atcheived* as a three syllable word.

21. Translation influenced by Dg(175. 10-10).:

Now, certis, wer it nocht determyt with me,  
And fixit in my mynde unmovably,  
That to no wycht in wedlock me list I—.

24. *Bowndes* (H.) is probably a scribal error for *brandes*; cf. V(18).:

Si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset.

*Geniall* is suggested by D(175.16).: *Genyus* chalmer.

26. V(20). justifies the *Anne* of T.

27. D. reads *fewde defiled*, a weaker and less poetical phrase.

36. V(29). reads: ille habeat secum servetque sepulcro.

42. D. reads *dust*, a weaker word.

43-47. T. is much closer to V(35-38).:

Esto, aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti,  
Non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas  
Ductoresque alli, quos Africa terra triumphis  
Dives alit.

50. V(40). favors the plural: Hinc Gaetula *urbes*.

54. *Of Scythe* (H.) results from misconstruing *siti* as a proper noun in the genitive case in the phrase (V. 42), Hinc deserta *siti* regio. D. and T. correct the error. Dg(177.4). reads: Ay full of *thirst*.

58. Cf. V(45).: Dis equidem auspibus reor. *Sufferance* hardly does justice to the Latin. *Purveiaunce* is borrowed from Dg(177.7-8)., and was doubtless the reading in the original ms.:

Be dispositioun of goddis, I wene, non vther,  
And by the purviance of Juno.

72. The reading of D. and T. is due to misunderstanding *bidentis* in the line (V.57), Mactant lectas de more *bidentes*. The translation was probably influenced by Lb(89-90).:

Secondo lo costume d'anni due  
Occidono le lor pecore elette.

I am inclined to think that D. and T. here give the original version.

79. *Fatte* (T.), not *tall* (H.), is the correct translation. The Latin (62) reads: pingues spatiat ad aras. Cf. Dg(178.21).:

Or pas tofore the Altaris, with fatt offerandis.

T. 82-83, H. 82-84. T. is closer to the Latin (65-66):

Heu vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem,  
Quid delubra iuvant?

H. was influenced by the wordy translation of Dg(179.3).:

O walaway! of spamen and duinis  
The blind myndis, quihikis na way diffynis  
The force nor strenth of luif with his hard bandis!  
Quhat await thir sacrificse or offerandis?

T.88, H.89. D., ignoring the Latin, reads *yshotte for in Crete*.

T. 113, H. 114. *Threatening* and *stretching* translate *aequata* (V. 89).

T. 115, H. 116. The Latin (91) reads, nec famam obstare furori. The original line was influenced by Dg., and T. gives this earlier version. Dg(180.23). reads:

Nether fame nor honour the rage resist mycht.

T. 126, H. 127. Cf. the Latin (101):

Ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furem.

Dg(181.17). supports T.:

For Dido birnis in halt luif all at anis.

T. 127, H. 128. The Latin (102) favors T.:

Communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus  
Auspiciis.

The unrevised reading of H. was probably a scribe's error. Dg(181.19-20). reads:

Lat ws thir peple to ws common, forthy,  
By freyndlie favoris govern equaly.

T. 133, H. 134. *Thempire* as in D. and T., the Latin (106) reading *regnum*.

T. 135, H. 136. *Strive* as in D. and T., is the better translation; the Latin (108) reads *Contendere bello*. Cf. Dg(181.30-31).:

or zit with the had lever

Contend in batale.

T. 137-129, H. 138-140. Cf. V(110-111).:

Sed fatis incerta feror si Iuppiter unam  
Esse velit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis.

T. 152-155, H. 153-156. The Latin (120-122) reads:

His ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimbum,  
Dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt,  
Desuper infundam, et tonitru caelum omne clebo.

As D. quotes the Latin in lieu of translating *Dum trepidant alae*, and as H. leaves it untranslated, the presumption is that Surrey did not understand the meaning of *alae* and left the passage for further consideration. T. leaves one in uncertainty as to what is meant by *the wings of youth*. If the meaning is the bands of young men who spread out to scare the game, the translation is free but approximates the meaning, as *alae* means either the red feathers used to scare the game or the huntsmen (*alatores*) employed in the service. Lb(192-194). translates:

Mentre de cacciatori l'ali sparse  
Segon le fere, & con astutie pronte  
Cingono selue d'ogni parte, & ualli.

Pl(143-144). reads:

Mentre le torne uanno infretta, e i boschi  
Cingon cercando le seluagge fere.

H. follows Dg(182.20). in employing *range* as a noun:

Quhen that the rangis and the fald on breid  
Dynnys throw the gravis, sersing the woddis wyde  
And setis sett the glen on every side.

D. reads *ranger*; as this results in an amphibrach, it is presumably a revised reading. T. 153 is obviously revised by one who disregarded or misunderstood the Latin and did not heed the translation in D.

T. 161, H. 162. H. is the closer translation (V. 127): *Hic hymenaeus erit.*

T. 165, H. 166. D. and T. give the distinctly weaker and less poetical reading

T. 166, H. 167. T. is correct in interpreting *portis* as an ablative in the line (V. 130),

It portis iurare exorto delecta iuventus.

H. leans upon Dg(183.8-9):

fast to the ettis þhringis  
The chois galandis.

T. 169, H. 170. Is the translation influenced by Lb(215):

Et d' usta buona gran copia de cani?

The Latin (132) merely says: *odora canum vis.*

T. 171, H. 172. H. and D. follow Dg(183.15). in the choice of the verb: the *quene awatis*.

T. 174, H. 175. T. is closer to the Latin (136): *magna stipante caterva.*

T. 177, H. 178. D. reads *wound up in*, a less happy phrase.

T. 184, H. 185. *Viset*, as in D. and T., is the closer translation (V.144): *ac Delum maternam invisit.*

T. 186, H. 187. Cf. V(146): *Cretesque Dryopesque.*

T. 196-198, H. 197-199. T. follows D. in mistaking *rooes* for a verb, and revised on that assumption. V(152). reads:

Postquam altos ventum in montes atque inuia lustra,  
Ecce ferae, saxi delectae vertice, caprae  
Decurrere iugis.

T. 208, H. 209. H. translates more closely than T. and D. The Latin (162) reads:

Et Tyrii comites passim et Troiana iuventus.

T. 209, H. 210. *Cottages* rather than *cottage*. Cf. V(163-164): *diversa per agros Tecta metu petiere.*

T. 211-212, H. 212-213. T. follows V(165):

Speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem  
Deveniunt.

H. follows Dg(185.22-23):

Within a cave is enterit Dido queyn,  
And eik the Troiane duke, all thaim allane.

T. 226, H. 227. D. reads *on hye*, a less effective phrase.

T. 230. Note that D. and T. here build out an original short line.

T. 232, H. 233. Cf. V(181)., monstrum horrendum.

T. 233-236, H. 234-237. H. and D. give the more literal translation (V. 181-183):

cui quot sunt corpore plumae  
Tot vigiles oculi subter, mirabile dictu,  
Tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit aures,

This version is also closer to Dg(186.22-23):

Hw mony fedderis bene on his body fynd,  
Als mony walkrife ene lurkis ther ondir.

T. follows D. in the transposition of lines.

H. 247. This line is omitted in H., but probably through scribal error, as it is found in D.

T, 249-251, H. 250-251. There are no lines in H. and D corresponding to T. 250-251.

Surrey probably left the passage for further consideration. T. furnishes a characteristically loose translation of the Latin (193-194):

Nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere  
Regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.

T. 252, H. 252. The present tense is correct; cf. V(195).: diffundit.

T. 254, H. 254. Here also the present tense is correct; cf. V(197).:

Incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras.

T. 256, H. 256. Cf. V(198).:

Hic Hammone satus rapta Garamantide nympha.

Cf. also Dg(187.30):

Apon the maid revist Garamantida.

T. 257-259, H. 257-258. T. expands the translation, in order to accomodate the Latin (199-200):

Templa Iovi centum latis inmania regnis,  
Centum aras posuit, vigilemque sacraverat ignem.

H. and D. were clearly influenced by Dg(187.31-34):

Within his large realmis huge and braid  
Ane hundreth templis to Jupiter he maid,  
Ane hundreth altaris, quharin the walkrife fire  
He dedicate.

D. is actually closer to Dg., for it reads,

An hundred temples in his large realme he built.

T. 262, H. 261. *Thresholdes* not *threshold*; cf. V(202)., limina.

T. 268, H. 267. *Feare*, as in D. and T. translates the Latin (208-209) correctly:

Aspicias haec, an te, Genitor. cum fulmina torques,  
Nequiquam horremus.

T. 279, H. 278. H. gives the better translation in *hallowe*; cf. the Latin (218): *famamque fovemus inanem*. H. adopted the word from Dg(189.1): and in vane *hallowis* the name. T. follows D.

T. 282, H. 281. D. reads:

And with his loke gan thwart the royal walls.

This may be the earliest reading. The Latin (220) is as follows: *oculosque ad moenia torsit Regia*.

T. 287, H. 286. *Rechlesse* is clearly the reading to be preferred, as the Latin (225) shows: *fatisque datas non respicit urbes*.

T. 292-293. T. inserts "such as one As mete might seme" to accomodate the Latin *fore* (229) in the following:

Sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem  
Italiam regeret.

T. 294, H. 292. In translating *belloque frementem* (V. 229) as *Dreddfull in armes*, Surrey may possibly have been influenced by Pl (299)., who translates, *Fra gran strepito d'armi*.

T. 295, H. 293. Neither *Shewing in profe* nor *Discovering* is an adequate translation of the Latin (231) *Proderet*.

T. 299-300, H. 297-298. H. fails to observe the force of the dative in the original (234), *Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arcas*. D. gives a correct but crude rendition, "To young *Ascanus*, that is his father", which may be the original reading. T. translates correctly and felicitously. Dg(189-190). understands the Latin, but translates freely:

3it than the fadir aucht na wise to invy  
That Ascanius bruke Romis senjeory.

T. 320, H. 317. D. reads *sholders*, a poor substitution.

T. 324, H. 321. D. reads *frosted beard*, a less fortunate phrase.

H. 327. Is *swymming* a scribe's error?

T. 330, H. 328. H. is correct in reading *sandes*; cf. V(257):

Litus harenosum ad Libyae, ventosque secabat.

D. reads "*Rushing betwixt.... sandes*."

T. 337-339, H. 335-336. V(262-264). reads:

Tyrioque ardebat murice laena  
Demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido  
Fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro.

H. is influenced in phrasing by Dg(191.18):

Of mychty Didois gift wrocht all his wedis.

but does not embody the idea that Dido *made* the garments. T. incorporates this idea and translates *Tyrio ardebat murice* with a flourish. D. follows H.

T. 341-344, H. 338-341. T., following D., corrects the grammatical looseness and gives the more graceful and spirited translation, but H. closely follows the Latin order (265-267):

tu nunc Kathaginis altae  
Fundamenta locas pulcharamque uxorius urbem  
Exstruis? heu regni rerumque oblite tuarum!

T. 349, H. 346. The Latin (271) reads, *Quid struis*. T. agrees with Dg(191.28). in reading *what*; H. and D. with Dg. in reading *builæst*: *Quhat buildis* thou heir in Liby or Cartage. Probably the original version read *what buildest thou*.

T. 352, H. 349. The Latin (273) favors H.:

Nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem.

T. Follows D.

T. 362, H. 359. *Flight* not *night* as in T. and D. Cf. V(281):; *Ardet abire fuga*. Cf. also Dg(192.13):; *Sair he langis to fle* and to depart.

T. 375-376, H. 372-373. Cf. V(290):

Arma parent, et, quae rebus sit causa novandis.

T. 377, H. 375. D. and T. translate the adjective *optima* (291). H., in common with Pl., omits it.

T. 384, H. 381. The Latin (297) favors the past tense: *motusque excepit prima futuros*. Dg(193.19)., however, uses the present: *Thar departing at hand first sche espyis*.

T. 386-387, H. 383-384. Cf. the Latin (298-299):

Eadem impia Fama furenti  
Detulit armari classem cursumque parari.

T. 390-394, H. 387-391. D. quotes the Latin in lieu of translation. As the passage is a peculiarly difficult one to translate into equally concise English, D. probably represents an original lacuna in Surrey's text. The *and* in T. 391 is obviously interpolated to correct the accents, but the last verse is better in D. than in T. The faulty syntax in T. and the repetition of phrasing is further evidence that the passage occasioned more or less experimental translation.

T. 396-397, H. 394-395. T. is closer to the Latin (305-306):

Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide tantum  
Posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?

Note that T. secures a run-on line.

T. 408-412, H. 405-409. V(317-320). favors the sequence of ideas in D. and T.:

Si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam  
Dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam,  
Oro, siquis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.

H., however, renders more literally the clause, *siquis adhuc precibus locus*. Dg(194.25-29). also observes the Latin order:

Gif euer ony thank I deseruit towart the,  
Or ocht of myne to the was leif, quod sche,  
Half mercy of our lynnage redde to spill;  
Gyf tyme remains jit thow heir prayeris will,  
This fremmit mynd, I pray jow, do away.

D. 413-414. D. offers the following garbled reading:

The Libians and Tirlans, tyrans of Nomodane,  
For thee me hate; my Tirlans eke are wroth.

T. 414. Note the change to a run-on line.

H. 421. Influenced by Dg(195.16): Had I ane child consavit.

T. 431. In seeking to avoid the archaic *gan*, D. and T. stumble into an internal rhyme.

T. is based on D., which reads, These wordes yet at last then forth he cast.

T. 436, H. 433. *Limmes* is correct; cf. V(336): *dum spiritus hos regit artus*. Did the transcriber of H. misread an original *limes* as *lines*, and then substitute *wordes* as more in keeping with the context?

T. 437, H. 434. Neither version quite catches the meaning of the Latin (337): *Pro re pauca loquar*.

T. 443, H. 440. *Permitted* may show the influence of Lb(552): *S'i fati permetterser*.

T. 445-446, H. 442-443. This passage is rather clearly indebted to Lb(555-557):

Primeramente la città troiana,  
Et de li miel le reliquie dolci  
Ristorerel.

V(342-343). reads:

Urbem Troianam primum dulcesque meorum  
Reliquias colerem.

H. 454. Imelmann suggests, with some likelihood, the influence of Pl(466-467):

<sup>e à noi</sup>  
Lecito è ricercar gli strani regni.

V(350). reads: *Et nos fas externa quaerere regna*.

T. 480, H. 477. The Latin (367) justifies the plural in *tigres*.

T. 483, H. 480. The Latin (369) favors D. and T.: *Num fletu ingemuit nostro?*

T. 487, H. 484. V(373). reads: *nusquam tuta fides*. The English is influenced by Dg(198.17): *For noquhare now faith nor lawte is found*. Imelmann suggests the influence of Pl(502-503). as well:

Alcuna sicurtade al mondo  
La fe non trova.

Lb(603). reads: *In nessun loco sicura è la fede*.

T. 517, H. 514. V(392). merely says: *stratibus reponunt*. Lb(637). reads: *Et ripongola tra letti honorati*, and Pl(562)., *al riccho letto*.

T. 525, H. 523. T. gives the more colorful translation of *celsas* (397) in *high rigged*.

T. 533, H. 530. Lb(659-660). seems to have influenced this translation:

Parte per trascinar i maggior grani  
Di formento con spalle appunta.

V(405-406). reads:

<sup>pars grandia trudunt</sup>  
Obnixae frumenta umeris.

T. 537, H. 534. Cf. Lb(665): *Da torr' eccelsa*.

T. 557-559, H. 554-556. The influence of Lb(690-694). is obvious:

Digli, ch' io non unque congiurai  
Con greci in porto Aulide à la ruina  
De la trolana gente, ne mi' armata  
Contra le mura mal di Troia misi.

T. 567, H. 573. V(436). reads: *cumulatam morte remittam*. Imelmann suggests the indebtedness of H. to Pl(597-598):

<sup>io morendo</sup>  
Poi te ne renderò larga mercede.

T. 584. D. gives the following awkward reading:

Blowing now from this, now from that quarter ,blow.

T. 589, H. 586. D. and T. observe the Latin gender of *quercus*. D(203.2)., however, employs the masculine.

H. 590. Cf. Dg(207.6):

That all for nocht the teris war furth yet.

T. 637, H. 605. V(460). reads: *Hinc exaudiri voces*. Dg(204.8). reads *Quharin*.

T. 610, H. 608. T. is both more literal and more poetical; cf. V(462-463):

Solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo  
Saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces.

T. 625, H. 623. *Sitting* is correct; cf. V(473): *ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae*, and Dg(204.32): *Sittand* in the temple port to wreik hir deid.

T. 635, H. 632. D. reads:

Toward the ende of the great Octian.

The adjective does not occur in V(480): *Oceani finem iuxta*.

T. 636, H. 633. The Latin (480) merely says: *solemque cadentem*. H. and D. follow Dg(205.15): *Thar as the son declynis and gois down*.

T. 640-644, H. 637-641. V(483-486). reads:

Hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos,  
Hesperidum templi custos epulasque draconi  
Quae dabat et sacros servabat in arbore ramos.

T. translates the passage loosely and amplifies the thought. H. gives a compressed and, if the ms. reading of vs. 640—the *garden*—be kept, an incorrect translation. Imelmann substitutes *warden*, and attributes the word to Dg(205.23): *And wardane of the riall temple, thai say*. I think it much more likely, however, that the original reading was *garder* (cf. O. F. *garder*) or *gardian*, misread by some early copyist. *Gardian* is supported by Liburnio, and that Surrey had his eye upon the Italian translation is rather clear from the subsequent lines, in which, like Liburnio, he violates the Latin in making the dragon the preserver of the sacred fruit (788-792):

guardiana  
Del tempio de l'Hesperidi, qual daua  
Pasto al dragone conseruante i rami  
Sacri ne l'arbor, humido spargendo  
Mel, & papauer che sogno produce.

H. also violates the Latin in ascribing the honey and the poppy to the holy fruit, a mistake that may have resulted from misunderstanding the construction of *spargendo* in the above.

The Scotch translation reads:

And to the walkryf dragon meit gaf sahe,  
That kept the goldyn apillis in the tre,  
Strynkland to hym the wak hony sweit,  
And sleipryfe chesbow seid, to quickin his spreit.

*Garden* was probably the reading in a ms. which T. revised, and this would seem to explain why the word remains imbedded in T., though the translation has been sufficiently amplified to accomodate *custos*.

T. 653, H. 649. *Hills*, not *hill* as in T. and D. V(491). reads: *et descendere montibus ornos*.

T. 656, H. 652. *Artes* as in T. and D., the Latin (493) reading: *magicas artes*.

T. 670, H. 666. *Thinges*, not *thing* as in T. and D. V(502). reads *aut graviora timet*.

T. 672-673. Note that T. here corrects the metrical irregularities in H.

T. 684-686, H. 680-682. V(510-511). reads:

Erebumque Chaosque  
Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.

*Figures* was suggested by Dg(207.21): *The thre figuris of the virgin Dynae*. *Greislie* was also suggested by Dg. Note that D. like T. reads *faces*.

T. 692-693. Note the amplification in T. and D. to correct the faulty scansion in H.



T. 694, H. 690. *Mole*, as in D. and T., rather than *milk*; cf. L(517). *mola*.

H. 696. Influenced by Dg(208.7):. Or persavis luifaris inequhale of behest.

T. 702, H. 698. D., followed by T., keeps closer than H. to the Latin (522) syntax:

Nox erat, et....

T. 707, H. 703. Dg(208.16). reads: And quhatsumevir in the braid *lochis weir*.

T. 716, H. 712. The Latin (533), *sic...ita*, favors H. rather than D. and T.

T. 728-729, H. 724-725. The Latin (541-542) reads:

Nescis heu, perdita necdum,  
Laomedontee sentis periuria gentis?

H. translates *sentis* very literally: T., to avoid the vulgarity and to reduce the Alexandrine to a hexameter, omits the word, but does translate *necdum*.

T. 739, H. 735. V(549). reads: atque *obicis* hosti.

T. 750, H. 746. *Hue*, as in D. and T., not *here*; cf. V(558):. *voecemque coloremque*.

H. 755. Cf. Dg(211.9):. All the cost belive of flambis *scald*.

H. 770. Cf. Dg(211.29):. *scherand* swerd. V(580), reads: *Fulmineum*.

H. 773. Cf. Dg(211.32):. Thai hurll away, ankeris wphint and raif.

T. 775, H. 771. *Cables*, as in D. and T.; cf. Latin (580) *retinacula*.

T. 779, H. 776. *Blew*, as in D. and T.; cf. Latin (583) *caerula*.

T. 778, H. 774. *Shores*, as in D. and T.; Latin (582) *Litora*.

H. 778. Cf. Dg(212.8):. the....greking of the day. V(586-587). reads:

Regina e speculis ut primum albescere lucem  
Vidit.

T. 792, H. 788. D. and T. both read *set sayle*, a much less poetical phrase.

T. 810, H. 807. Cf. V(606):. *memet super ipsa dedissem*. Dg(213.25). reads: And thaim abufe syne deid myself had laid.

T. 827, H. 823. The Latin (616) reads: *complexu avulsus Iuli*.

T. 832, H. 828. Dg(214.23). reads: And ly *vnerdit* amyddis of the sandis.

T. 833, H. 829. Cf. V(621):. *Haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo*.

T. 843. As this verse is lacking in both H. and D., it was probably added by T. to remedy what seemed to be undue compression in the translation. The Latin (627-629) reads:

Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas  
Imprecor, arma armis; pungent ipsique nepotesque.

D. 846. Without any warrant, D. reads:

To Sichees nurse then briefly thus she said.

H. 853. *For An* was probably a scribe's misreading or misunderstanding of *forth on*. The Latin (640) reads:

Sic ait. Illa gradum studio celerabat anlli.

The original line was obviously influenced by Dg(215.29-30):.

Thus said Dido; and the tother, with that,  
Hicht on furth with slow pace lyke ane trat.

T. 868, H. 863. *Weedes*, rather than weed; cf. V(648):. *Iliacas vestes*.. T. follows D.

H. 866. Cf. Lb(1057-1058):.

O dolci spoglie, mentre i fati & Dido  
Permetteuan.

T. 873, H. 869. D. and T. remedy the Alexandrine in H.

T. 880-881, H. 875-876. Imelmann proposes the influence of Pl(931-932):.

Ma pur moriamo, dice, in questa in questa  
Guisa mi giova andar ne l'ombre oscure.

The same adjective, however, occurs in Lb(1073-1074):.

così m'aggrata  
Con questo colpo andar à l'ombre scure.

V(659-660). reads:

Dixit, et os impressa toro, "morlemur inultae,  
Sed morlamur" ait. "Sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras."

T. 884, H. 879. Cf. Lb(1075-1076):.

& porte seco  
Gli auguri infausti de la nostra morte.

V(662). merely says: *et nostrae secum ferat omnia mortis.*

T. 982. Note that D. and T. build out the line.

T. 893, H. 888. V(669-670). favors D. and T.: *Exstinxti te meque, soror.*

T. 919, H. 914. D., not sensitive to the music of a verse, reads: *Deepe under her breast.*

T. 939, H. 934. V(702-705). favors D. and T.:

"hunc ego Diti  
 Sacrum iussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo."  
 Sic ait et dextra crinem secat: omnia et una  
 Dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.

H. may be following P1(1001-1003). in neglecting to mention the idea of command:

Io questo  
 Sacrato a Pluton mando, e te da questo  
 Corpo disciolgo.

T. 932, H. 937. Dg(219.29). is responsible for the reading of H.:

And thair with all the naturall heit out quent.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### MANUSCRIPTS

*Additional 17492(D.)* The so-called *Duke of Devonshire Ms.* which contains Wyatt's original version of many of his poems, and additional poems by other writers of the time of Henry VIII. Only one poem by Surrey, No. 21, is represented, though the manuscript was probably in his possession as a youth. The manuscript is fully described, and its romantic history conjecturally worked out, by Miss A. K. Foxwell, *A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems.*

*Egerton 2711(E.)* Contains the revised autograph poems of Wyatt. One of Surrey's poems, No. 39, is included. Miss Foxwell has discussed the manuscript in the work cited above, and published the poems of Wyatt in *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt.* Cf. Flügel's earlier edition in *Anglia*, 17-18.

*Additional 36529(P.)* Ms. of the late sixteenth century, containing poems apparently collected by Sir John Harrington of Kelston (d. 1612). Among these poems are twenty-eight by Surrey and nine by Wyatt. Much more authentic than Tottel. Thus, to give only one illustration, the ms. version of the poem, "I neuer saw youe, madam, laye aparte", follows the Italian original (see p. 17), whereas Tottel's version (see p. 49) departs radically from it and appears to be a revision by an editor, who did not even know the source of the poem. Full catalogue description and comparative study of the manuscript may be found in *The Manuscript Poems....of Surrey, Anglia* 29.

*Additional 28635 (A.)* Professes to be exact copy of the so-called *Harrington Ms. No. 2*, used by Nott. Contains eighteen of Surrey's poems, in addition to many by Wyatt and others. Written, in part at least, after 1553, as a line in one of Wyatt's satires was revised to avoid giving offence to Mary. Though offering some emendations, it is doubtless close to the autograph versions of Surrey's poems. In general it agrees with P. as opposed to Tottel. Discussed in detail by Miss Foxwell.

*Additional 28636.* Transcription of E.

*Hill (H.)* Ms. owned, in early part of last century, by Thomas Hill of London. Used by John Nott and G. F. Nott; and the former has noted its variants from Tottel's versions in a fragmentary volume of his edition now in British Museum. Contains three of Surrey's poems.

*Harleian 78 (Harl.)* Late sixteenth century miscellany, containing, among other papers, seven of Wyatt's poems, and two of Surrey's (Nos. 20, 21, and 42), and three stanzas of a third (No. 21). Comparison with the Wyatt autograph mss. proves it to be trustworthy.

*Hargrave 205 (H.)* Ms. of third quarter of sixteenth century. Principal contents are Surrey's translation of the fourth book of the *Æneid*, and, in the

same hand, the tragedy of *Gismond of Salerne*, acted before the queen in 1568. For full discussion, see Imelmann, *Surrey's Æneis IV in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, Willcock, *A hitherto uncollated Version of Surrey's translation of the Fourth Book of the Æneid*, and introductory note to No. 58, p. 203.

## EDITIONS OF SURREY

Day (John), *The Fourth Boke of Virgill.....drawne into a strange metre by Henrye, late Earle of Surrey*, London, (?) 1554. For discussion of date, see notes to 58.

Tottel (Richard), *Certain Bokes of Virgiles Aeneis turned into English meter, by Henry Earle of Surrey*, London, 1557.

Tottel (Richard), *Songes and Sonettes written by the right honourable Lorde Henry Howard, late Earle of Surrey and other*, London, June 5, 1557.

Other sixteenth century editions appeared in 1557 (July 31), 1558, 1565, 1567, 1574, 1585, 1587.

*Poems of Henry Howard, Earle of Surrey, with the Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat, and Others.....*, London, 1717. Copies in British Museum have ms. notes by T. Sewell, T. Park, and J. Haselwood.

Percy and Stevens, *Songes and Sonettes.....with Surrey's translations from Virgil and Ecclesiastes and additional poems*, 2 vols., London, 1807. One of five copies of worked sheets in British Museum.

Nott (John), *Songs and Sonnets.....*, Bristol, 1812. Edition almost totally destroyed by fire. The only four copies known to exist, all lacking titlepage and preface, are in the British Museum. One copy has preserved fifty pages of the Notes; two others furnish manuscript collations of certain editions of *Tottel's Miscellany*; and one of these contains copious notes of sources by John Nott and G. F. Nott. This edition furnished G. F. Nott with practically all of his notes, for which he gave no credit; see article in *Anglia* 29 on the relation of the two editions.

*Certain bokes of Virgiles Aeneais, turned into English meter, by Henry Earle of Surrey*, Roxburghe Club, London, 1814.

Nott (G. F.). *The works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Elder*, London, 1815-1816

*Aldine Edition of the British Poets, Vols. 11-12*, 1866.

Arber (E.), *Tottel's Miscellany (English Reprints)*, London, 1897.

*The Surrey and Wyatt Anthology*, London, 1900.

Padelford (F. M.), *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, Boston, 1907.

## MISCELLANEOUS

- Acts of the Privy Council of England* (ed. by J. R. Dasent), London, 1890.
- Anstis (J.), *Register of the Order of the Garter*, London, 1724.
- Bale (J.), *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (ed. by R. L. Poole), London, 1902.
- Bapst (E.), *Deux Gentilshommes-Poètes de la Cour de Henry VIII*, Paris, 1891.
- Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, (ed. by G. A. Bergenroth and P. de Gayangos), London, 1862-1904.
- Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol III, Cambridge, 1909.
- Camden (W.), *Remains concerning Britain*, London, 1674.
- Courthope (W. J.), *History of English Poetry*, London, 1904.
- Dictionary of National Biography* (ed. by L. Stephen and S. Lee), London, 1908-09.
- Dittes (R.) *Zu Surrey's Aeneisübertragung, Beiträge zur Neueren Philologie, Jacob Schipper dargerbracht*, Vienna, 1902.
- Domestic Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII* (ed. by J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie), London, 1862-1910.
- Drayton (M.), *England's Heroical Epistles, Henry Howard to Geraldine*, London, 1598.
- Emerson (O. F.), *The Development of Blank Verse: A Study of Surrey, Modern Language Notes*, 4.
- Fehse (H.), *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Petrarchismus in England*, Chemnitz, 1883.
- Fest (O.), *Über Surrey's Virgilübersetzung, nebst Neuaustrgabe des vierten Buches, Palaestra*, 1903.
- Foxwell (A. K.), *A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems*, London, 1911.  
*The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, London, 1914.
- Froude (J. A.), *The History of England*, London, 1856-1870.
- Giustiniano (S.), *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII* (tr. by R. Brown), London, 1854.
- Hippolito de Medici, *Il Secondo di Vergilio in lingua volgare volto*, Venice, 1539.
- Hoelper (F.), *Die Englische Schriftsprache in Tottel's Miscellany*, Strassburg, 1894.

Hume (M. A. S.), *The (Spanish) Chronicle of King Henry VIII*, London, 1889.

Imelmann (R.), *Surrey's Aeneis IV in ursprünglicher Gestalt, Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, 1905.

Douglas (Gavin), *Poetical Works of* (ed. by John Small), 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1874.

Koeppel (E.), *Studien zur Geschichte des Englischen Petrarchismus, Romanische Forschungen* 5.

Leland (J.), *Naeniae in Mortem T. Viati*, London, 1542.

Liburnio (Nicolo), *Lo Quarto Libro dell' Eneida Virgiliana, con verso heroico uolgar in lingua thosca tradotto*, Venice, 1534.

Padelford (F. M.), *The Manuscript Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Anglia* 29.

*The Relation of the 1812 and 1815-1816 Editions of Wyatt and Surrey, Anglia* 29.

Piccolomini, (Bartolommeo Carli), *Il Quarto di Vergilio*, in *I sei primi Libri del Eneide*, Venice, 1541.

Saintsbury (G.), *A History of English Prosody*, London, 1906.

Willcock (Gladys D.), *A hitherto uncollated Version of Surrey's translation of the Fourth Book of the Æneid, Modern Language Review*, July 1919, April 1920, and to be continued.

Wriothesley (C.), *A Chronicle of England during the Reign of the Tudors* (ed. by W. D. Hamilton), London 1875.

## GLOSSARY

### A

- ACCOLL, v., *to embrace, clasp*. Cf. Fr. *accoler*. 57.1054.  
 ACCOMPT, n., *account*. 31.46  
 ADDRESS (E), v., *prepare, make ready*. 58 T. 375, H. 372.  
 ADVERTISEMENT, n., *warning*. 39.4.  
 AFRAIES, v., *alarms, terrifies*. 58. T. 241.  
 AME, n., *aim, design*. 22.8.  
 APEACE, v., *appease*. 14.8.  
 APPAIRE, APPEIR, v., *to become impaired*. 55.16, 57.217.  
 APT, adj., *prone*. 7.3.  
 ARKE, n., *chest, coffer*. 38.3.  
 ASSWAGE, v., *diminish, fade*. 43.20.  
 ATGAAS, at gaze. 11.44.  
 ATTAINT, v., *lay hold of, infect*. 24.8.  
 AUANCE, v., *advance, assist*. 16.9  
 AVAUNT, v., *boast*. 58. T. 646, H. 643.

### B

- BAINE(D), BAYNE(D), v., *bathe(d)*. Cf. Fr. *baigner*. 58.38.  
 BANE, *death*. Cf. Chaucer, *Troilus* 602: "For which the folk of Thebes caught  
 hir bane." 13.16.  
 BAYNE, cf. BAINE.  
 BAYTE, v., *bait, allure*. 31.16.  
 BEHIGHT, n., *promise*; from verb *behight*. 56.60.  
 BEHIGHT, pf. pple., *promised*. 57.43; 58.290.  
 BERAYNE, v., *wet, bedew*. Rare; imit. fr. Chaucer, *Troilus* 4.1144: "After that  
 he long had . . . with his teris salt hire breest byreyned." 31.42.  
 BESPRENT, ppl. adj., *sprinkled*. Cf. obs. *besprengan* (*be-sprengan*). 58. T. 887.  
 BESTRAIGHT, BESTRAUGHT, ppl. adj., *distraught, distracted*. 58. T. 360. H. 357;  
 T. 753, H. 749.  
 BETT, adj., *better*. Freq. in Mid. E. 52.15.  
 BEWRAYE, v., *reveal, expose*. 15.11.  
 BLIUE, adv., *quickly*. Cf. *belive*. 57.293.  
 BODE, v., *portend, betoken*. 34.64.  
 BOLNE, pf. pple., *swollen*. Cf. N. E. D. *bollen*. 57. 346, 609.  
 BOOLKS, n., *bulks, bodies*. Cf. *Hamlet* 2.1: "It did seem to shatter all his bulk."  
 52. 42.  
 BOORDE, cf. BOURD.  
 BOORDES, BORDETH, BOURDES, v., *accosts, addresses*. Cf. N. E. D. *board*. 58. T.  
 395, H. 392.  
 BOURD, BOORDE, v., *to mock, (?) to deceive*. 58. T. 900, H. 895.

- BOWLNE, cf. BOLNE.  
 BOYSTEIOUS, adj., *boisterous, rough*. 13. 9; 58. T. 582.  
 BRAKE, n., *thicket of bushes*. 2. 7.  
 BRAYDE, v., *to cry out*. 58. T. 476, H. 473.  
 BRENT, v., *burned*. 57. 403.  
 BREWT(E), cf. BRUIT.  
 BRITTLE, adj., *fickle*. 17. 18.  
 BRUIT(E), BREWT(E), BRUTE, n., *bruit, fame, renown, tidings, din, clamor*. 15.  
 15; 48. 23; 49. 81; *et freq.*  
 BUCKELED, ppl. adj., *united, i. e. buckled together*. 54. 4.  
 BURDES, cf. BOORDES.

## C

- CALLYNG, n., *summons to right conduct*. 39.3.  
 CAREFULL, adj., *full of grief, sorrowful*. 11. 50.  
 CARRIBES, prop. n., *Charybdis*. 20. 11.  
 CENDELING, ppl. adj., *kindling*. 57.936.  
 CENSE, n., *incense*. 58. T. 598, H. 595.  
 CHAMBARE, prop. n., *Cambria*. 29.4.  
 CHAPPS, n., *jaws*. First met in 16th century. 43.17.  
 CHARGED, ppl. adj., *burdened*. 56. 43.  
 CHASE, v., *chose*; obs. pt. of *choose*. 47. 5.  
 CHAUNG, n., *change*. 31. 38.  
 CHAUNGE, cf. CHOPP.  
 CHOPP, v., "to chop and change, an alliterative phrase in which, as the force of the word *chop* has become indistinct, the meaning has passed from that of *to barter* to that of *to change*": N. E. D. 43.12.  
 CHRISTALL, adj., *crystal*. 14. 13.  
 CHUSE, v., *choose*. 34. 1.  
 CLAMBE, CLAME, v., *climbed*. 58. T. 417, H. 414.  
 CLEPES, n., *shouts*. 57. 1021.  
 CLIUES, CLIVES, n., *cliffs*. 20. 11, 42. 11.  
 CLOSURES, n., *enclosures*. 32. 47.  
 COLDE, v. pt., *could*. 32. 8  
 COMPTE, n., *reckoning*; obs. form of *count*. 49. 31.  
 CONIURES, n., *conspiracies*; obs. and rare. 51. 41.  
 CONTYNVANCE, n., *longstanding*. 41. 8.  
 CONVART, v., *convert, reverse*. 33.41.  
 CORNET, n., "*part of a headdress, consisting of lappets of lace, or the like, hanging down the sides of the cheeks*": N. E. D. 3. 12.  
 COUNTY, n., *count*. 47. 2.  
 COWARDIE, COWARDRY, n., *cowardice; coward-ry*. 58.18.  
 CRUELNES, n., *cruelty*. 11. 4.  
 CURE, n., *care*. Cf. L. *cura*. 57. 788.  
 CURRANT, adj., *servile*. Cf. N. E. D. *accurant*. 34.56.



## D

- DEGREES, n., *steps*. 58. T. 913, H. 908.  
 DERE, n., *injury, harm*. Cf. O. E. *daru*. 57.936.  
 DESCRIBE, v., *see, behold*. 58. T. 232.  
 DESERTES, n., *merits*. 33. 6.  
 DISPOYLED, pf. pple., *stripped of clothes, disrobed*. 31. 13.  
 DISTRAIN, v., *oppress, afflict*. 13. 2.  
 DOMES, n., *judgments*. 8. 6.  
 DOUT, n., *doubt*. 21. 41.  
 DOWTHT, v., *doth*. 21. 41.  
 DRADFULL, adj., *dreadful*. 32. 26.

## E

- EASYE, in EASYE SPARKES, adj., *easily kindled*. 22. 7.  
 EFTSITHES, adv., *often, from time to time*. 57.588.  
 EIEN, EYEN, n., *eyes*. 57.906; 58. T. 692, H. 688. *et freq.*  
 EMBRUDE, EMBRUED, v., *defiled*. 57. 214; 58. 261, T. 287, 886.  
 EMPRESSED, ppl. adj., *oppressed*. 23.41.  
 ENDLONG, prep., *along*. 58. T. 328, H. 326.  
 ENDURED, ppl. adj., *hardened, indurated*. Rare. 32.50; 55.25.  
 ENSEW, v., *ensue*. 10. 3.  
 ENTERPRISE, n., *judgment in an undertaking*. 17. 10.

## F

- FAAS, n., *face*. 10. 2.  
 FABLE, n., *falsehood*. 11. 3.  
 FALNE, pf. pple., *fallen*. 42. 10.  
 FARE, n., *lot, condition*. 13. 30.  
 FAYNE, adv., *fain, gladly*. 34. 42.  
 FERÉ, FEER, FEERE, n., *companion*, 23. 23; 31. 46; *et freq.*  
 FERSE, n., *queen*. Cf. O. Fr. *fierce*, from Persian. 12. 12.  
 FET, pf. pple., *arrived at*. Nautical; cf. N. E. D. *fetch*. 57. 35.  
 FINE, n., *end*. 57. 72.  
 FONDED, FOWNDED, ppl. adj., *deluded, foolish*; from *fond*, to *play the fool*. 58.  
 T. 489. H. 487.  
 FOURDE, n., *ford*. 22. 9.  
 FRAYES, cf. AFRAIES, 58. H. 242.  
 FRINDLIE, adj., *friendly*. 34. 2.  
 FRIOWR, n., *friar*. 54. 42.  
 FROMWARD, adv., *in an opposite direction*. Cf. *to-ward*. 54. 1.

## G

- GAME, n., *amusement, entertainment, jest*. 34.75; 15.10.  
 GATE, v., *gain, reach*. 57.264.  
 GEARE, n., *foul matter, pus*. Cf. *Faerie Queene*, 6. 12: "That spat out poyson  
 and gore-bloudy gere." 58. H. 599.  
 GESTES, n., *notable deeds*. 38. 4.  
 GIN, n., *trap, engine*. 57. 298.  
 GLEDDES, n., *coals, embers*, Cf. *glow*. 57.821; 58. T. 214.  
 GLIMSING, pr. pple., *glancing*. 16. 5.  
 GLYNS, n., *glimpse*. Cf. Mid. E. *glimsen*. 22. 46.  
 GOSTLY, adj., *spiritual*, as opposed to fleshly. 29.8.  
 GREISLIE, GRISELY, adj., *frightful*. 58. T. 597. H. 594.  
 GRESLY, adj., *grizzly, ancient*. 50. 39.  
 GUYSE, n., *practice*. 50. 11.

## H

- HAAT, n., *hate*. 11. 30.  
 HABLE, v., *able*. 11. 11.  
 HALSETH, v., *embraces*. 42. 5.  
 HAP, n., *bad luck, mishap*. Sometimes means *good luck*. 20. 13.  
 HAULTURE, n., *height, altitude*. Cf. It. *altura*. 54. 29.  
 HARTYE, adj., *coming from the heart*. 22. 37.  
 HAYE(S), n., *net used for catching animals*. See N. E. D. for origin. 58. T. 166,  
 H. 167.  
 HEALTH, HELTHE, n., *safety*. 22. 50; 33. 10.  
 HIGHT, pf. pple., *called, named*. 47. 2.  
 HOGRELES, n., *young sheep of the second year*. Dim. of *hog*; cf. *cock-erel*. 58.  
 T. 72.  
 HOLTES, n., *woods*. 58. T. 195, H. 196.  
 HOORREY, adj., *hoary*. 48. 13.  
 HOVE, v., *linger, tarrey*. Cf. *Colin Clout* 666: "The which in court continually  
*hooved*." 31. 6.  
 HYER, adv., *higher*. 32. 33.

## I

- IMBRUED, Cf. EMBRUDE.  
 IMPREST, pf. pple., *stamped*. 5. 8.  
 INFLAME, *inflammation*. 11. 10.  
 IOILY, adj., *jolly*. 30. 7.  
 IRKED, ppl. adj., *exhausted*. 57. 742.

## L

- LAIED, ppl. adj., *placed under, impressed, subjected*. Tr. L. *subjectaque colla*. Cf. *laid* in such uses as *laid paper*. 57. 954.
- LEARNETH, v., *teaches*. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*. 3. 2. 12: "and *learn* me how to lose a winning match." 15. 25.
- LEMANS, n., *mistresses*. Cf. Mid. E. *leofmon*. 49.23.
- LESE, v., *lose*. 17. 43; 22. 42.
- LET, pf. pple., *hindered*. 15. 6.
- LIST, n., *desire, intention*. Cf. *Othello*. 2. 1. 105: "when I have *list* to sleep." O. E. *lust*. 14. 20.
- LOFTYE, adj., *heaven-inspired*. 32. 29.
- LOKE, n., *look*. 22. 48.
- LOPEN, pf. pple, in WERE LOPEN=*had leaped, thrown themselves*. Cf. *St. Pap. Henry VIII* 4.493: "The friendes of the said traitor are *loppen* (run) to hym into Scotlaunde." 57. 741.
- LUCKED, v. pt., *turned out*. From obs. v. *luck*. 57. 494.
- LUSTYNESS, n., *beauty of attire*. A derived meaning that disappeared in the 16th century. 11. 2.
- LYFSOME, adj., *liefesome, pleasing*. Cf. N. E. D. *leesome*. 33. 23.

## M

- MAKE, n., *mate, companion, husband or wife*. 2. 4; 34. 7; 57. 751.
- MARIE, MARY, n., *marrow*. 58. T. 84, H. 85.
- MEANE, adj., *moderate*. 41. 9.
- MINGE, v., *mingle*. Cf. N. E. D. *ming, mingle*. 2. 11.
- MOLE, n., *a sacrificial cake made of grains of spelt coarsely ground and mixed with salt*. Cf. L. *mola*. 58. T. 694.
- MUTTRELL, prop n., *Montreuil*. 47.9.

## N

- NECK, n., *a move to cover check*. 12. 3.
- NER, adv., *nearer*. 14. 3.
- NIGGISHE, adj., *niggardly, stingy*. 52. 58.
- NONE, in MY NONE, *my own*. 14.29.
- NOTES, NOTETH, v., *denotes, characterizes*. 58. 18.

## O

- OR, adv., *ere*. 15. 16; 22. 14.
- OTHER, subst., *others*. 44. 2.
- OUERTHWARTES, n., *adversities, rebuffs*. 42. 12.
- OVERLAID, ppl. adj., in *overlaid with number*=*crushed by numbers*. 57. 542.

## P

- PALE, n., *stake*. 2. 6.
- PALME PLAYE, n., *an old game resembling hand-ball*. Cf. Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes* 2. 3, 85. 31. 13.
- PASSED, v. pt., *cared*; usually w. neg. 17. 3.
- PATCHING, adj., *knavish, acting like a "patch."* 54. 46.
- PAYNE, n., *pains, careful effort*. The plural in this sense was just coming into use in Surrey's time. 34. 20.
- PAYNT, v., *color with a view to deception*. 15. 26.
- PEASON, n., *peas*. Cf. PESE. Cf. N. E. D. 7.6.
- PEOPLE, adj., *pebble*. 32. 25.
- PERCELL, n., *portion*. 11. 51.
- PERE, confused w. *pear*, aphetic form of *appear*. Cf. N. E. D. *pear, peer*. 11. 33.
- PERSY, prop. n., *Persia*. 39. 1.
- PESE, n., *pea*. Cf. PEASON. 17.11.
- PHERES, Cf. FERRE.
- PHRENTIC, adj., *phrenetic, frantic*. 57. 410.
- PIGHT, v. pt., *pitched*. 57. 40.
- PLAGE, PLAYE, n., *wound*. 58. 2.
- PLAYE, n., *entertainment*. 31. 38.
- PLAYNE, v., *lament, mourn*. 4. 10.
- PONDERETH, v., *weighs*. The original meaning. 22. 8.
- PRAYES, n., *praise*. 31. 26.
- PREA, v., *prey*. 34. 31.
- PRELOKED, v. pt., *looked with anticipation*. Rare. 54. 33.
- PREST, adv., *quickly*. 58. T. 789, H. 785.
- PRETENSE, n., *intention, purpose*. 23. 34.
- PURCHASE, v., *obtain by great effort*. 38. 6.

## Q

- QUOD, v., *quoth, said*. 23. 7.

## R

- RAKHELL, adj., *careless, unrestrained*. Mid. E. *rakel, rash*, corrupted to *rakehell*; whence, by shortening, *rake*. 30. 8.
- RANGE, v. pt., *rang*. 38. 2.
- RASHED, pf. pple., *pulled violently*. Cf. N. E. D. *rash*. 58. T. 827.
- RAUGHT, v. pt., *grasped, clutched, laid hold of*. 24. 62; 57. 272.
- RECURE, v., *recover, become whole*. 39. 5.
- RECURE, v., *succor*. 47. 9.
- REDE, v., *advise, urge*. 12. 9.
- REDUCETH, v., *brings back*. 11. 14.

- REFARDE, v., *restored, given back*. Var. of *refer*. 28. 59.  
 REFUSE, n., *refusal*. 34. 64.  
 REPAYRE, n., *concourse of people*. 13. 19.  
 REPREST, pf. pple., *pressed back*. Latinism. 11. 27.  
 REPUGNANT, adj., *opposite, antithetical*.— The orig. meaning; Cf. O. Fr. *repugnant*. Cf. *Hamlet* 2. 2. 493. 5. 10.  
 REPULSE, n., *check*. 14. 18.  
 REQUYRE, v., *request*. Customary sense in 16th century. 33. 6.  
 REVESTED, pf. pple., *re clothed*. 30. 3.  
 REWE, v., *rue*. 10. 5.  
 REWTHE, n., *ruth*. 31. 21.  
 RIGHTWISE, adj., *righteous*. 32. 66.  
 RIUES, v., *splits*. 42. 9.  
 ROON, v., *run*. 14. 20.  
 ROOUNYNG, adj., *running*. 14. 6.  
 ROW, n., *company*. Rare; Cf. N. E. D. 26. 27.

## S

- SALUTH, v., *salutes*. Cf. Mid. E. *saluen*. 33.25.  
 SARVE, v., *serve*. 11. 9.  
 SAUGHT, v. pt., *reached*. 57. 280, 1054.  
 SCATHE, n., *harm*. 54. 4.  
 SENCE, cf. CENSE.  
 SHADOO, v., *conceal*. 4.7.  
 SHAPP, v. pr., *imagine, conceive*. 32. 33.  
 SHENE, adj., *shining*. Cf. adj. *sheen*. 57. 971.  
 SHITT, v., *shut*. 55. 28.  
 SHOPE, v. pt., *prepared*. Cf. N. E. D. *shape*. 57. 577.  
 SICKLES, adj., *free from sickness*. 22. 29.  
 SIGHES, SITHES, n., *scythes*. 58. T. 689, H. 685.  
 SIGHT, v. pr., *sighed*. 43. 4, 25.  
 SITHES, n., *sighs*. 57. 1023.  
 SKILLS, v., *matters*. —*It skills not* common idiom in 16th century. 33. 4.  
 SLACKE, n., *looseness*. 11. 37.  
 SLIPPER, adj., *slippery, unsure*. Cf. *Othello* 2.1.243: “a *slipper* and subtle knave.” 22.49.  
 SLUGGISH, adj., *dull, stupid*. 23. 13.  
 SMART, n., *pain*. 11. 29, *et freq.*  
 SMOKY, adj., *having appearance of smoke, hazy*. 30. 11.  
 SOOTE, adj., *sweet*. Cf. Mid. E. *sôte*. 2. 1.  
 SOWER, subst., *the sour*. 33. 37.  
 SOWNDLES, adj., *soundless*. 32. 25.  
 SOWNDYD, ppl. adj., *sounded*. 53. 30.

- SPENCE, n., *expenditure of money*. 49. 76; 52. 61.  
 SPILT, pf. pple., *lost*. 22. 14.  
 SPLAID(E), ppl. adj., *unfurled, spread out*. 58. T. 783, H. 779.  
 SPOORE, n., *spur*. 14. 19.  
 SPOT, v., *defile, mar.* 17. 3.  
 STACK, STAKE, v. pt., *stuck*. 58. 6.  
 STALE, n., *meat offered to a falcon that has gone in search of prey, to lure it back*.  
 34. 60.  
 STAYE, n., *support, prop.* 33. 25.  
 STITHE, n., *stithy, anvil*. 46. 7.  
 STREAMES, n., *currents, streams, rays of light*. So used by Chaucer, Lydgate,  
 and court poets. 14. 13; 20. 22.  
 STYCKES, v., *hesitates, scruples*. 27. 6.  
 SWARMES, n., *troops*. 31. 23.  
 SYMPLE, adj., *ingenuous*. 22. 4.

## T

- TARGE, n., *shield*. 40. 6.  
 THIRLING, ppl. adj., *piercing*. 58. T. 91, H. 92.  
 THO, adv., *then*. 24. 25.  
 THREPE, v., *urge, press*. Lincoln Dialect. 54. 3.  
 THROWING, ppl. adj., *agonizing, suffering*. Cf. *throe, to suffer*. 58. T. 927.  
 TICKELL, adj., *inconstant*. 7. 4.  
 TO, adv., *too*. 15. 7; *et freq.*  
 TOTHER(S), *the other(s)*. 22. 6; 53. 32.  
 TRAYND, v. pt., *allured, enticed*. Cf. Mid. E. *trainen*. 34.54.  
 TRAYNES, *allurements*. Cf. *Macbeth* 4. 3. 118: "Macbeth by many of these  
*trains hath sought to win me.*" 15. 14; 22. 47.

## U

- UGSOME, adj., *ugly, hideous*. 57. 102.  
 VNEGALL, adj., *unequal*. 22. 8.  
 VNNETH, adv., *with difficulty, hardly*. Cf. O. E. *uneafe*. 33.33.  
 VNWIST, v., pf. pple., *unknown, unobserved*. Cf. WITE. 23. 15.  
 UNWROKEN, ppl. adj., *unwreaked, unrevenged*. 57. 884; 58. T. 879. H. 874.  
 VPSUPPED, pf. pple., *supped up*. 31. 44.  
 URE, VRE, n., *use, practice, operation*. Cf. *inure*. 13. 28; 17. 23; *et freq.*  
 VSE, n., *practice, custom*. 11. 24.

## V

- VAADE, v., *evade*. 50. 13.  
 VAPORED, ppl. adp., *moistened*. 30. 12.  
 VAUNTE, n., *glory, credit*. 34. 34.  
 VNPARFITED, pf. pple., *unperfected*. 46. 15.

- VNRIGHT, n., *wrong*. 32. 16.  
 VNWIST, v., pf. pple., *unknown, unobserved*. Cf. WITE. 23.15.  
 VEARE, n., *spring foliage*. 30. 4.  
 VENUME, VENVME, n., *venom*. 5. 10; 14. 16.  
 VER, prop n., *Spring*. 23. 19.

## W

- WAN, old pt. of *win*. 44. 4.  
 WHEARE, subst., *place*. 33. 34.  
 WHILES, adv., *at times*. 56. 3.  
 WHIST(E), v., *to become silent*. Cf. *hist, husht*. 57. 1; *et freq.*  
 WHOURDED, ppl. adj., *hoarded*. 50.64.  
 WITE, WEET(E), v., *to know, learn, understand*. Cf. *wit*, Cent. Dict., Dial. Dict. 17.6; *et freq.*  
 WONNING PLACE, n., *dwelling place*. Cf. O. E. *wunung, dwelling*. 57. 842.  
 WOOD(E), adj., *mad*. Cf. O. E. *wōd*; Woden. 57. 805; 58. 263.  
 WOON, pf. pple., *won*. 22. 13.  
 WORTHE, in IN WORTHE, *in good part*. 14. 23; 27. 26.  
 WOURKE, v., *work*. 32. 16.  
 WRASTETH, v., *turns about, changes*. Cf. *wrest*. 26. 21.  
 WRECK, v., *to wreak vengeance*. 57. 542.  
 WRETHED, ppl. adj., *twisted*. Cf. WRITHED. 58. H. 765.  
 WRITHED, WRYTHED, v. pt., *turned*. 58. 282.  
 WRITHEN, ppl. adj., *twisted*. 58. T. 769.  
 WROKE, pf. pple., *revenged*. Cf. *wreck*. 57. 770.

## Y

- YBRETHED, pple., *breathing*. 31. 30.  
 YELDON, YOLDEN, ppl. adj., *submissive*. Cf. Chaucer, *Troilus* 3. 96: "humble *i-yolden chere*." Cf. YOLD. 22. 43; 51. 54.  
 YERTHE, n., *earth*. 11. 2.  
 YOLD, pf. pple., *overcome*. From *yield*. Cf. YELDON. 57. 827.  
 YOUTHE, n. pl., *youths*. 31. 23.





## APPENDIX

On the authority of *England's Helicon*, a collection of lyrical and pastoral poems published in 1600, two of the poems attributed to unknown authors in *Tottel's Miscellany* should be accredited to Surrey. These pastorals are spirited and musical, and the diction is clearly reminiscent of Surrey; it is not improbable that they are his work. The poems are herewith submitted.

### 1

#### THE COMPLAINT OF HARPALUS

Phylida was a fayer mayde,  
 And fresh as any flowre,  
 Whom Harpalus the herdman prayed  
 To be his paramour.

Harpalus and eke Corin 5  
 Were herdmen both yfere,  
 And Phillida could twist and spin  
 And therto sing full clere.

But Phillida was all to coy  
 For Harpelus to winne, 10  
 For Corin was her onely ioye  
 Who forst her not a pynne.

How often would she flowers twine,  
 How often garlandes make  
 Of couslippes and of colombine, 15  
 And all for Corins sake.

But Corin he had haukes to lure  
 And forced more the field;  
 Of louers lawe he toke no cure,  
 For once he was begilde. 20

Harpalus preualed nought,  
 His labour all was lost,  
 For he was fardest from her thought,—  
 And yet he loued her most.

Therefore waxt he both pale and leane 25  
 And dry as clot of clay:  
 His fleshe it was consumed cleane,  
 His colour gone away.

His beard it had not long be shaue,  
 His heare hong all vnkempt: 30  
 A man moste fitte euen for the graue,  
 Whom spitefull loue had spent.

- His eyes were red and all forewatched,  
 His face besprent with teares :  
 It semde vnhap had him long hatched 35  
 In middes of his dispayres.
- His clothes were blacke and also bare,  
 As one forlorne was he ;  
 Vpon his heade alwaiies he ware  
 A wreath of wilow tree. 40
- His beastes he vept vpon the hyll,  
 And he sate in the dale,  
 And thus with sighes and sorowes shryll  
 He gan to tell his tale :
- "O Harpelus!" thus would he say, 45  
 "Vnhappiest vnder sunne,  
 The cause of thine vnhappy day  
 By loue was first begone.
- For thou wentest first my sute to seeke,  
 A tygre to make tame, 50  
 That sets not by thy loue a leke  
 But makes thy grefe her game.
- As easye it were for to conuert  
 The frost into the flame,  
 As for to turne a forward hert 55  
 Whom thou so fain wouldst frame.
- Corin, he liueth carelesse,  
 He leapes among the leaues ;  
 He eates the frutes of thy redresse :  
 Thou reapes, he takes the sheaues. 60
- My beastes, a while your fode refrayne  
 And herken your herdmans sounde,  
 Whom spitefull loue, alas! hath slaine,  
 Throughgirt with many a wounde.
- Oh happy be ye beastes wilde, 65  
 That here your pasture takes!  
 I se that ye be not begylde  
 Of these your faythfull makes.
- The hart he fedeth by the hynde,  
 The bucke hard by the doo, 70  
 The turtle doue is not vnkinde  
 To him that loues her so.

- The ewe she hath by her the ramme,  
 The yong cow hath the bulle,  
 The calf with many a lusty lamme 75  
 Do feede their honger full.
- But, wellaway, that nature wrought  
 Thee, Phillida, so faire!  
 For I may say that I haue bought  
 Thy beauty all to deare. 80
- What reason is it that cruelty  
 With beauty should have part?  
 Or els that such great tyranny  
 Should dwell in woman's hart?
- I see therfore to shape my death 85  
 She cruelly is prest,  
 To thend that I may want my breathe.  
 My dayes been at the best.
- O Cupide! graunt this my request,  
 And do not stoppe thine eares: 90  
 That she may fele within her brest  
 The paynes of my dispayres.
- Of Corin, that is carelesse,  
 That she may craue her fee,  
 As I haue done in great distresse 95  
 That loued her faythfully.
- But sins that I shall die her slaue,  
 Her slaue and eke her thrall,  
 Write you, my frendes, vpon my graue  
 This chance that is befall. 100
- 'Here lieth vnhappy Harpelus,  
 Whom cruell loue hath slayne;  
 By Phillida vniustly thus  
 Muredred with false disdaine.' "

*T.*, p. 138. *Title*: Harpelus complaynt of Phillidaes loue bestowed on Corin, who loued her not, and denied him that loued her.—68 *for* makes *read* face.

*Variants in second ed.*:—1 *fayre*.—45 *Harpalus*.—68 *line in text*.—103 *whom Phillida*.—104 *Hath muredred with disdaine*.

*Variants in England's Helicon (Bullen's ed.)*:—2 *As fresh*.—3 *herdsman*.—6 *herdsmen*.—23 *furthest*.—26 *clod*.—29 *been shave*.—36 *midst*.—39 *he always*.—52 *a game*.—53 *As easy were it*.—54 *a flame*.—60 *reap'st*.—62 *hark*.—65 *beasts*.—102 *By cruel love now slain*.—103 *Whom Phyllida*.—104 *Hath murder'd with disdain*.

## THE COMPLAINT OF THESTILIS

Thestilis is a sely man, when loue did him forsake,  
 In mourning wise, amid ye woods thus gan his plaint to make :  
 "Ah! wofull man," quod he, "fallen is thy lot to mone  
 And pyne away with carefull thoughts, vnto thy loue vnknownen.  
 Thy lady thee forsakes, whom thou didst honor so 5  
 That ay to her thou wer a frend, and to thy self a foe.  
 Ye louers that haue lost your heartes desyred choyse,  
 Lament with me my cruell happe and helpe my trembling voyce.  
 Was neuer man that stode so great in fortunes grace,  
 Nor with his swete, alas! to deare, possesst so high a place 10  
 As I, whose simple hart aye thought him selfe full sure,  
 But now I se hye springyng tides they may not aye endure.  
 She knowes my giltlesse hart, and yet she lets it pine,  
 Of her vntrue professed loue so feble is the twine. 15  
 What wonder is it than if I berent my heeres,  
 And crauyng death continually do bathe my selfe in teares!  
 When Creusa, king of Lide, was cast in cruell bandes,  
 And yelded goodes and life also into his enemies handes,  
 What tong could tell hys wo? Yet was hys grief much lesse  
 Then mine, for I haue lost my loue which might my woe redresse. 20  
 Ye woodes that shroud my limes, giue now your holow sound,  
 That ye may helpe me to bewaile the cares that me confound.  
 Ye riuers, rest a while, and stay the stremes that runne,  
 Rew Thestilis, most woful man that liues under the sunne.  
 Transport my sighes, ye windes, vnto my pleasant foe; 25  
 My trickling teares shall witnesse bear of this my cruell woe.  
 O! happy man wer I, if all the goddes agreed  
 That now the susters three should cut in twaine my fatal threde!  
 Till life with loue shall ende, I here resigne my ioy :  
 Thy pleasant swete I now lament whose lack bredes myne any. 30  
 Farewel! my deare, therefore farewell! to me well knowne;  
 If that I die, it shalbe sayd that thou hast slaine thine owne."

*T.*, p. 165. *Title*: The complaint of Thestilis amid the desert wodde.—24 that liued vnder sunne.

*Variants in second ed.*:—15 heeres.—24 as in text.—29 al ioy.

*Variants in England's Helicon*:—1 is omitted.—2 mournful.—5 Thy nymph forsakes thee quite.—6 but to.—23 your streams.—24 Rue Thestilis, the wofull'st man that rests under the sun.

INDEX OF FIRST LINES

	Page
Alas! so all thinges nowe doe holde their peace.....	45
Although I had a check.....	50
As oft as I behold and see.....	52
Brittle beautie, that nature made so fraile.....	47
But now the wounded quene, with heuy care.....	122
Dyvers thy death doo dyverslye bemone.....	80
Eache beeste can chuse his feere according to his minde.....	73
From pensif fanzies, then, I gan my hart reuoke.....	84
Ffrom Tuscan cam my ladies worthi race.....	68
Geue place, ye louers, here before.....	56
Giue eare to my suit, Lord! fromward hide not thy face.....	92
Good ladies, you that have your pleasure in exyle.....	72
Gyrtt in my giltlesse gowne, as I sytt heare and sowe.....	65
If care do cause men cry, why do not I complaine.....	66
If Cipres springes—wheras dame Venus dwelt.....	46
I neuer saw youe, madam, laye aparte.....	46
In the rude age when scyence was not so rife.....	80
In winters iust returne, when Boreas gan his raigne.....	62
I, Salamon, Dauids sonne, King of Ierusalem.....	83
I that Vlysses yeres haue spent.....	57
Laid in my quyett bedd, in study as I weare.....	79
Like to the stereles boote that swerues with euery wynde.....	86
London, hast thow accused me.....	70
Love that doth raine and liue within my thought.....	46
Marshall, the thinges for to attayne.....	78
My Ratclif, when thy rechlesse youth offendes.....	77
Norfolk sprang thee, Lambeth holds thee dead.....	82
Of thy lyfe, Thomas, this compasse well mark.....	42

	Page
O happy dames, that may embrace.....	58
Oh, Lorde, vppon whose will dependeth my welfare.....	93
O lothsome place! where I.....	54
Phylida was a fayer mayde.....	233
Set me wheras the sonne dothe perche the grene.....	47
So crewell prison! how could betyde, alas.....	69
Suche waywarde wais hath love, that moste parte in discorde.....	59
Syns fortunes wrath enuieth the welth.....	57
Th' Assyryans king—in peas, with fowle desyre.....	77
The fansy which that I haue serued long.....	48
The golden gift that nature did thee geue.....	48
The greate Macedon, that out of Persy chased.....	77
The sonne hath twyse brought forthe the tender grene.....	49
The soote season, that bud and blome furth bringes.....	45
The soudden stormes that heaue me to and fro.....	75
Thestilis is a sely man, when loue did him forsake.....	236
The stormes are past, these cloudes are ouerblowne.....	76
They whisted all, with fixed face attent.....	97
This name, O Lord, howe greate is fownd before our sight.....	91
Thoughe, Lorde, to Israell thy graces plentuous be.....	94
Though I regarded not.....	55
To dearly had I bought my grene and youthfull yeres.....	64
When I be thought me well, vnder the restles soon.....	88
When ragyng loue, with extreme payne.....	51
When sommer toke in hand the winter to assail.....	61
When that repentant teares hathe clenysd clere from ill.....	89
When Windesor walles sustained my wearied arme.....	68
When youthe had ledd me half the race.....	53
Wher recheles youthe in a vnquiet brest.....	75
Wrapt in my carelesse cloke, as I walke to and fro.....	64
W. resteth here, that quick could neuer rest.....	81
Yf he that erst the fourme so lively drewe.....	48

I  
University of Washington Publications

IN

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

VOLUME II

1923 - 1928



UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS  
SEATTLE





111

## CONTENTS

1. Spenser's Use of Ariosto for Allegory.....	
<i>Susannah Jane McMurphy</i>	7
Index.....	53
2. Thomas Dekker: A Study in Economics and Social Background.....	<i>Kate L. Gregg</i> 61
Bibliography.....	111
3. Bibliography of Fifteenth Century Literature.....	
<i>Lena Lucille Tucker and Allen Rogers Benham</i>	121
Index.....	266



UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PUBLICATIONS  
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

VOLUME 2

FEBRUARY, 1924

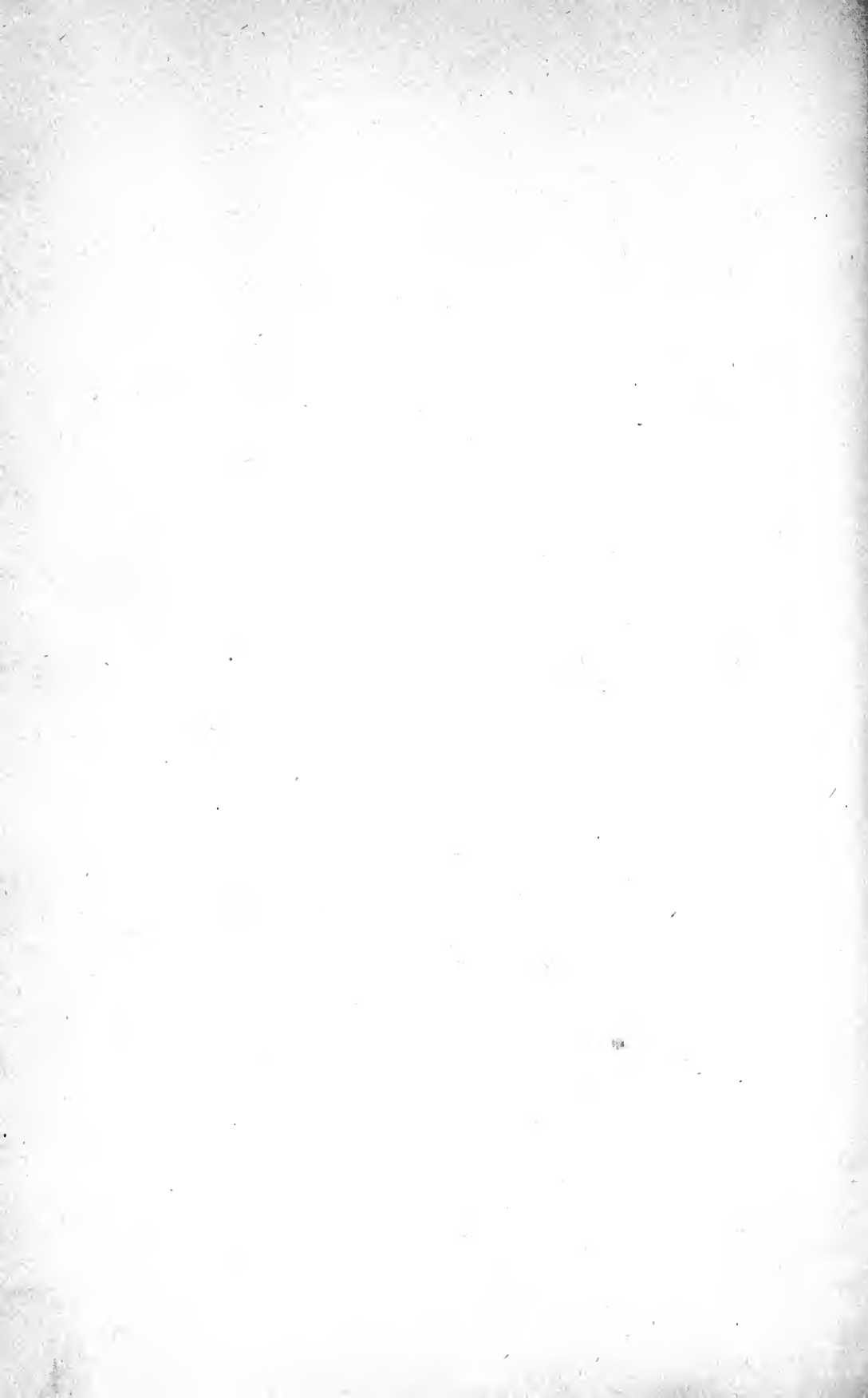
# SPENSER'S USE OF ARIOSTO FOR ALLEGORY

SUSANNAH JANE McMURPHY, Ph.D.

A Thesis Submitted in Candidacy for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

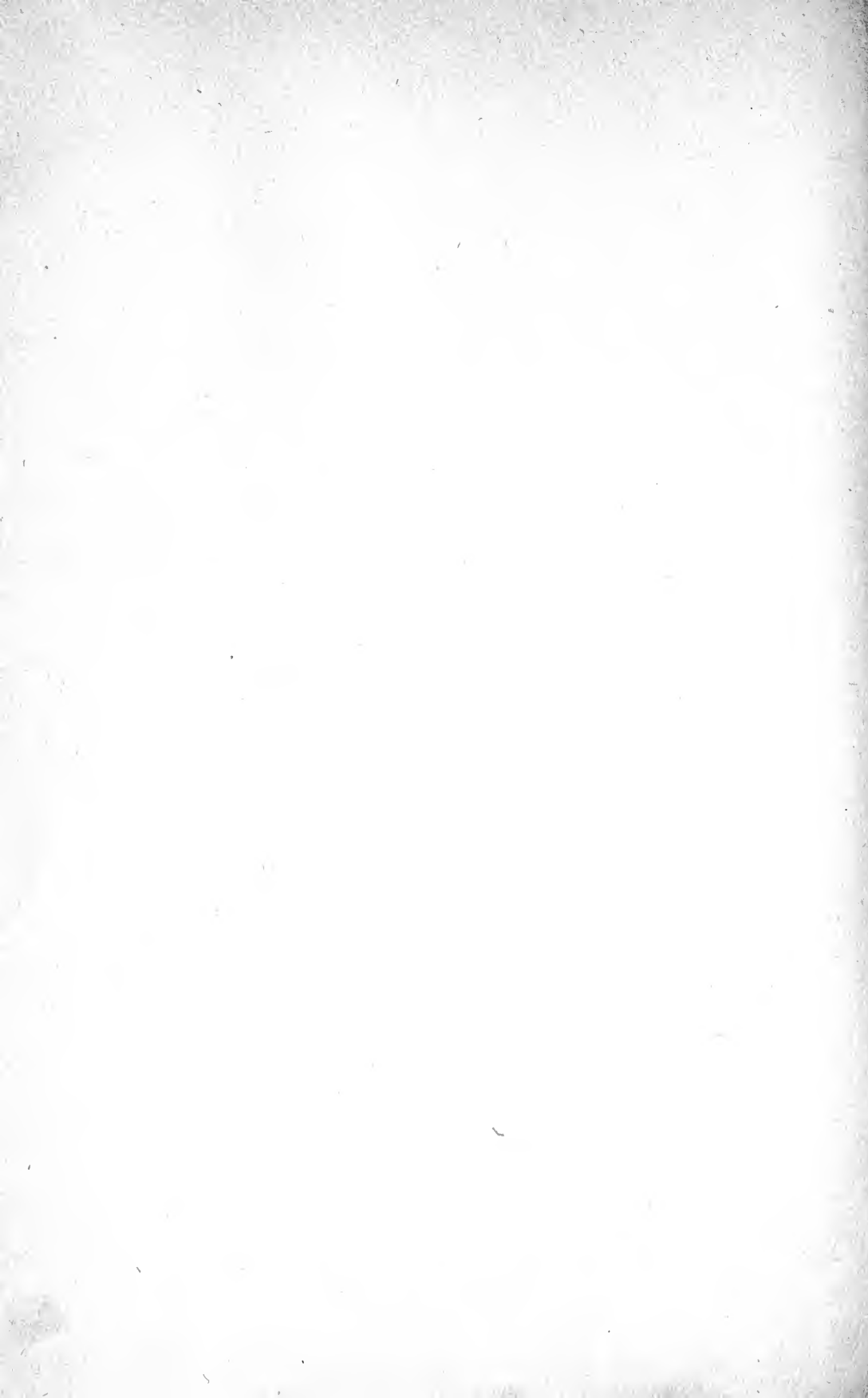


UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS  
SEATTLE



## CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. The Traditional View of Epic as Allegory . . . . .	7
II. The Orlando Furioso as Allegory in Italy and England . . . . .	11
III. Spenser's Use of the Genuine Allegory in Ariosto . . . . .	24
IV. Spenser's Treatment of Ariosto's Romance as Allegory . . . . .	31
V. Ariosto as a Key to Spenser's Political Allegory . . . . .	43
Bibliography . . . . .	50

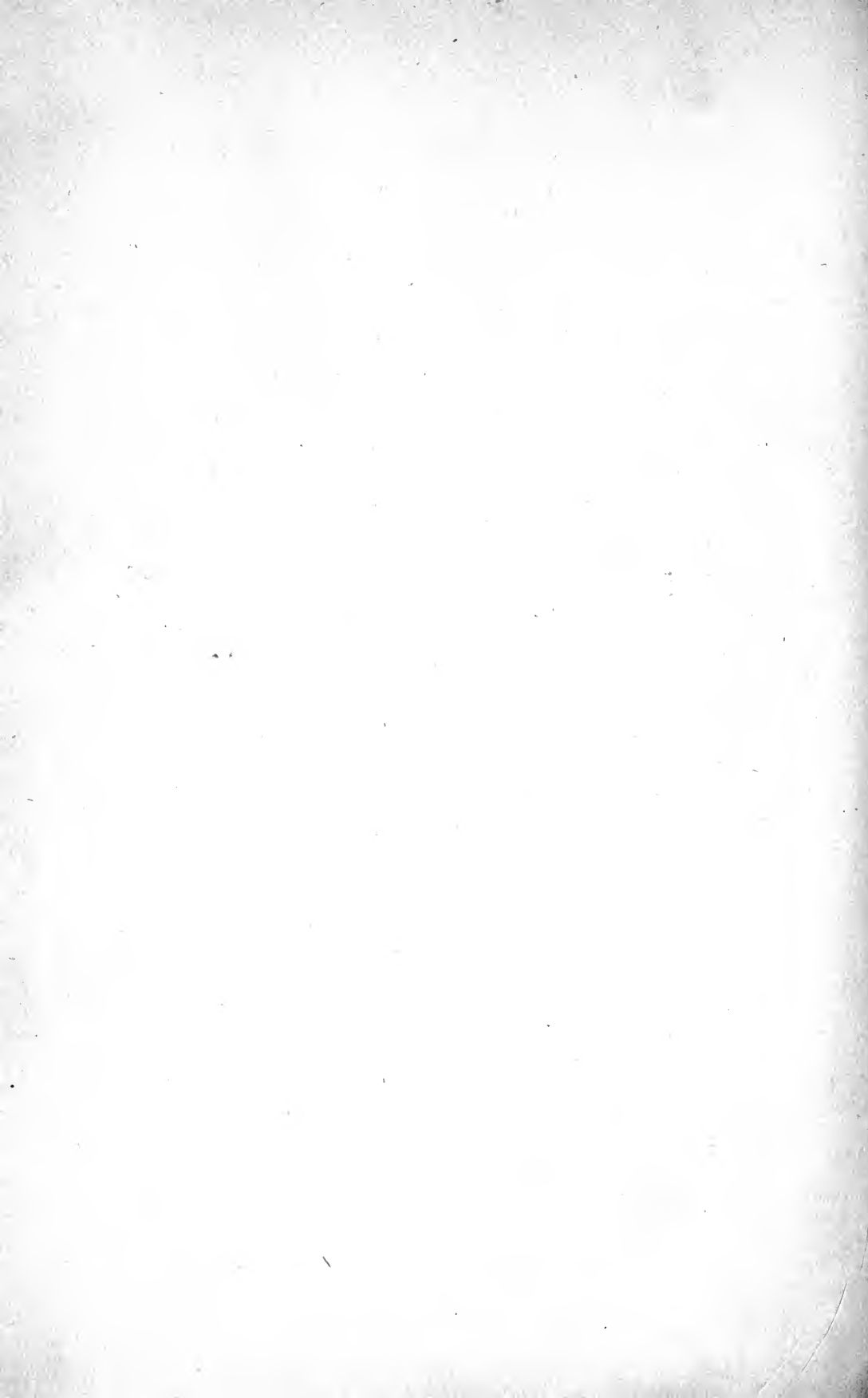


## PREFACE

To readers of Professor Dodge's excellent, and in many respects exhaustive article on *Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto*, it may appear neither necessary nor modest for another to venture again into the field. Professor Dodge's labors, together with those of Professor Gilbert, have indeed mapped out for us the territory whence Spenser drew his material. The list of parallel situations, characters, descriptions, figures, and phrases is quite complete, and the degree and the manner in which Spenser's artistic practice was influenced by the great Italian is set forth with discriminating care. To Professor Dodge's article I must acknowledge my debt for the first hint that Ariosto's contemporaries and critics discovered in him allegory which probably is not there. But neither Professor Dodge, nor, so far as I am aware, other scholars, have attempted to compare these annotators and critics with Spenser, in order to determine how far his borrowings may have been influenced by interpretations of his Italian model which, pedantic though they are, yet reflect the conception of that time, and afford us an insight into Spenser's own views and purposes. It was the neglect of this narrow and particular portion of the field that prompted the following essay. I have not considered the real Ariosto, the artist, the man of affairs, the perhaps slightly satiric, but vivacious and charming Renaissance courtier. Him, Spenser, himself artist and courtier, no doubt appreciated and admired; but it is another Ariosto, the allegorist discovered by a later age and altered temper, whose influence upon his English rival I have endeavored to estimate.

SUSANNAH JANE MCMURPHY.

Stadium High School,  
November 15, 1923.





# SPENSER'S USE OF ARIOSTO FOR ALLEGORY

## I

### THE TRADITIONAL VIEW OF EPIC AS ALLEGORY

It is a truism to say that allegory permeates mediaeval life at every point. Not only do we find it in sermons and similar religious literature where it is the legitimate heir of the prophecies of the Old Testament and the parables of the New, and in the religious drama based on these, but it appears in the pseudo-science of the bestiaries and the lapidaries, in the satire of the beast-epic, in the romances of chivalry and the songs of the Court of Love, in heraldry, in the ceremonies accompanying every solemn function of church and state, in the gravest political and ecclesiastical treatises, in the carvings and stained glass of the cathedrals, in the very dress of all classes of society. The conception of government itself, the World-priest and the World-king, Emperor and Pope, became an allegory of Divine Unity in its dual aspect of temporal and spiritual rule.<sup>1</sup>

Because in the Middle Ages allegory is so evident and necessary a feature of life and thought, we are apt to imagine it passing much more rapidly from men's minds with the gradual dawning of the Renaissance than it either could or did; and when we come upon it in Spenser, combined as it is with certain archaisms of style borrowed from Chaucer, we are apt to think of it as an anachronism, a return to a vanished age, rather than as part and parcel of the thought of the sixteenth century, an air which the men of Spenser's generation breathed quite kindly. Warton, in his *Observations on the Fairy Queen*,<sup>2</sup> remarks the fondness of Elizabeth's age for allegorical shows and pageants, especially at court and during royal progresses; to which we should add the enthusiasm for pastoral poetry, euphuism with its heaping up of allegorical similitudes, the whole canon of English literature—Chaucer, Gower, Langland, Lydgate, Skelton and Hawes, all of them abounding in allegory, the prevalence of allegorical or partly allegorical plays on the stage until nearly the turn of the century, probably many of the current sermons, and one dominant strain in the interpretation and criticism of the classics.

Of the last I must speak somewhat further. The practice of discovering or devising a hidden allegorical meaning in what to our age appear frankly literal, if sometimes legendary, tales, is very old, probably older than, and quite as "classical" as the classical criteria which were used to overthrow it. At least as early as 500 B. C. a moral and physical allegory of Homer had been supplied by philosophers who felt the inadequacy of the simple epic tales to satisfy their increasingly complex intellectual and spiritual desires. By the

<sup>1</sup> Bryce: *Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 89-120.

<sup>2</sup> Warton: *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, II, p. 74 ff.

time of the *Republic*, which indicates a Puritan reaction against art, another incentive is given to the tendency, namely the desire to defend poetry against the utilitarian moralists. By the fourth century before Christ the practice is so widespread that the opponents of the allegorizing habit of mind begin to protest. But the mystic or moral interpretation holds its own in each generation, finding supporters among Stoics, Pharisees, Neoplatonists, and Christian mystics.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile the classic was blended with another stream of influence. As early as the second century B. C. the Pharisees were allegorizing the Old Testament in order to harmonize the written record with the oral traditions of the synagogue, the Cabbala,<sup>4</sup> a process which recalls the efforts of the Greeks three hundred years before and of the Christians some hundreds of years later. By the Christian era the Alexandrian Jews were carrying this tendency yet farther in the attempt to reconcile the Hebrew religion with Greek philosophy. It is interesting to find Philo Judaeus, the noteworthy figure in this movement, treating the patriarchs of the Old Testament as types of the moral virtues, as courage, temperance, justice, and the like.<sup>5</sup> That Paul was familiar with both types of interpretation may be inferred from the allusions to the meaning of the ritual of the altar in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the phrases which recall Stoic concepts in various other epistles.<sup>6</sup> Through Origen and Porphyry both of whom were closely in touch with Neoplatonism, this allegorical view of classical mythology as well as of Scripture received a strong impetus in the early church, not without opposition.<sup>7</sup> We are probably indebted to the mystical interpretation of mythology for the preservation of much ancient literature in the scriptoria of the monasteries. The extreme allegorization of the Scriptures continues unchecked until the Reformation. During the Middle Ages not only Homer and the Greek myths, but also Virgil's *Aeneid*, *Georgics*, and *Eclogues*,<sup>8</sup> and Ovid's *Art of Love* were elaborately allegorized, the latter for the use of nuns! Later the *Metamorphoses* received a moralization at the hands of one del Virgilio, a contemporary of Dante (whose *Divine Comedy* also bears evidence of the tradition).<sup>9</sup> It is hard for the modern mind to conceive the twelve books of the *Aeneid* as an allegory of

how brief the life of man

Runs his erring pilgrimage,

beginning with the shipwreck of birth, and tossed through all the temptations of sense, with each warrior representing a virtue or a passion; still harder to gather moral edification from the *Metamorphoses* and the *Art of Love*, but whoever thinks he has quite slipped the cable of the old tradition need only call to mind our current use of words like siren, harpy, Circe.

<sup>3</sup> Sandys: *History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. I.

<sup>4</sup> Alzog: *Manual of Universal Church History*, Vol. I.

<sup>5</sup> Emile Bréhier: *Philo Judaeus*, in the *Catholic Cyclopaedia*.

<sup>6</sup> Epistle to the Hebrews, Chap. IX, and E. Vernon Arnold: *Roman Stoicism*, p. 408 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Alzog: *Manual of Universal Church History*, Vol. I.

<sup>8</sup> Comparetti: *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, esp. pp. 104-119.

<sup>9</sup> Sandys: *History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. I.

Origen and Porphyry knew three types of interpretation, literal, moral, and spiritual, corresponding to body, soul, and spirit. Later a fourth was added. Wyclif, who pursues this mode of exegesis eagerly in his sermons, explains the system as follows: "It is said comounly that holy writt hath foure undirstondingis. The first undirstondinge is pleyne, by letter of the storye. The secounde undirstondinge is clepid witt allegoric whan men undirstonden bi witt of the lettre what thing shal fall here bifore the dai of dome. The thridde undirstondinge is clepid tropologik, and it techeth how men shulden live here in vertues. The fourthe undirstondinge is clepid anagogike, and it tellith how it shal be with men that ben in hevene. We shulde know this secounde witt of the gospel, for it is bileve of Christene men in erthe."<sup>10</sup> After reading a number of the allegorical sermons of Wyclif (or of earlier homilists in either Latin or English), one perceives that the main purpose of the allegory is, in truth, not morals, but "bileve," that is doctrine. Wyclif is still theologian and scholastic philosopher; even in his most fervent moments he never quite escapes the intellectual fascination of those two points of view. It is perhaps one reason why he did not usher in the Reformation; it is no doubt the prevailingly doctrinal cast of this artificial allegory that accounts for its decay with the growing strength of the Reformation. I mean that it decreases in homiletic literature. There are but faint traces of it left in Latimer. In Elizabethan sermons it is likely, if it occurs, to be confined to the interpretation of parables that really are allegories in their inception. Even there it is not often stretched beyond modest limits.<sup>11</sup> Colet and Erasmus, even before the English Reformation, had contributed a colder and more critical method of exegesis; but also in finding an answer to the allegorized doctrine and ritual of Roman polemicists. Protestant divines, like their prototypes in the field of politics, were driven back upon a literal interpretation of the Scriptures, which they everywhere accepted as ultimate authority.

Meanwhile, if Protestantism tended to restrict allegory within more reasonable limits in the interpretation of the Bible, it may be said to have evoked new extravagance in the field of profane letters. The first movement of the Renaissance was away from everything mediaeval, especially away from the hard intellectualism of the schoolmen. This first eagerness for a richer life seems to have developed in the last half of the fifteenth century into marked licentiousness and materialism. The Church itself had become paganized, ancient philosophy and ancient art replaced religion, no counterbalancing influence made itself felt. But by the end of the century the eternal craving of the human spirit for something more satisfying than mere sensual enjoyment produced both an anti-pagan reaction in the Church and a Neoplatonic movement among the scholars. The mystic-allegoric type of criticism comes to the fore again in the Florentine Academy. The mediaeval interpretation of the classics is revived or remade by Landino, while Ficino and Pico aspire, the

<sup>10</sup> Wyclif: *Select English Works*, Vol. I, Sermon XII.

<sup>11</sup> Sermons of Latimer, Whitgift, Sandys in the *Publications of the Parker Society*.

one to reconcile Plato with Christ in one system, the other to accomplish the harmonizing with this of the Hebrew tradition of the Cabbala.<sup>12</sup> It is interesting to find these heirs of Philo Judaeus the devoted friends of Savanarola, the representative of the anti-Renaissance, puritan movement. Allegory comes forward again as the defense of art.

Pico died in 1494, Ficino in 1499. Savanarola was burned in 1498, and with him was extinguished the energy of the reform movement. Between this date and the sack of Rome in 1527 lies perhaps the last period of joyous paganizing Renaissance—joyous in spite of wars and rumors of wars, a kind of St. Martin's summer of beauty and delight before the winter storms to come. It is the period when Ariosto wrote his *Orlando Furioso*. From 1527 on, the growing strife of sects, the increasingly religious character of the wars, the Counter-Reformation, the greater activity of the Inquisition, and the spread of the puritanic Jesuits, with the rise of Calvinism, constitute a weather little favorable to a care-free paganizing holiday.

<sup>12</sup> Sandys: *History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. II; Saintsbury: *History of Criticism*, Vol. II, Chap. II.

## II

### THE ORLANDO FURIOSO AS ALLEGORY IN ITALY AND ENGLAND

The *Orlando Furioso* was written, as has been said, between 1498 or possibly 1506, and 1532, when the finally complete edition appeared, the first, in only forty cantos, having been published in 1516.<sup>13</sup> The writing synchronizes with the pontificates of three humanistic popes and patrons of art, Julius II, Leo X, and Clement VII; it is the period of Bembo and of Castiglione; of Machiavelli's *Prince* and the exemplification of that ideal, especially in its cultural aspects, at Ferrara and Urbino. That it is also the age of Luther and Zwingli, of Colet and More, one would scarcely surmise from Ariosto. "Beyond the Alps lies Italy", and their peaks seem now to furnish an effectual shelter against the searching northeast winds of the spirit. Ariosto, to be sure, jests at monks and friars with as much zest, but not on the whole as scurrilously, as Boccaccio. (Let it be remembered that his principal patron was a Cardinal.) But this very jesting indicates the absence of the reforming temper in poet and audience. In Germany men could cudgel each other with invective; they could not laugh.

The spirit of the *Furioso* is a curious blending of many strains: there is broad humor, there is satire, practical shrewd sense, whimsicality; allegory developed at times with genuine insight and again merely fantastic; chivalry, tenderness, gaiety, romance; along with a cynical relish for smutty episode, and extravagant flattery scarcely pretending to be sincere. It is difficult to apportion to these various elements their just share in the total result and determine the ground color beneath the iridescent shimmerings. The really offensive episodes may be segregated and removed. With two or three exceptions they are cantos quite extraneous to the main story, injected apparently to give variety and to gratify the author's taste for the fabliaux. Essentially they are not worse of their kind than one finds in Chaucer, although the spirit of the recital is different—a difference between the Teutonic and the Latin habit of mind, hardly to be correctly evaluated by either. The satire in Ariosto is likewise probably not extensive if we distinguish as we should between satire and humor. Ariosto's mood is not prevalingly satirical.<sup>v</sup> His description of the quarrel in the monastery when St. Michael seizes the staff of the crucifix and breaks it over the head of Strife who is presiding at the election of the chapter, is an extreme example. There is an occasional satiric comment thrown in aside from the story, as when the author remarks, with regard to the wanderings of Fiordilige that the ladies of that day wandered forth alone through strange lands for long periods of time quite unaccompanied, but always returned as young, as fair, as pure, as they set out—or their knights were fain to accept them so. These comments seem the irresistible impulse of sharp common sense rather than the

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of the date, see Carducci: *Su l'Orlando Furioso*. I give the extreme limits.

desire to satirize—which satirizing temper usually contains some tinge of moral discontent. More frequent and more characteristic are the instances of humor, sometimes slight, vanishing so quickly that one half questions whether he has seen the smile, sometimes broad and rollicking. It is scarcely safe to account as humor what Warton is pleased to call figures aiming at ridicule because they compare heroes with snarling dogs, peasants cudgeling each other, and like objects.<sup>14</sup> These figures like similar ones in Dante and Homer are clear and lively rather than beautiful, but they are probably not intended as humorous. The deaths of the two drunkards before Paris, the panic-stricken flight of Astolfo's friends as well as foes at the sound of the horn, Gabrinia decked out in the youthful finery of Pinnabello's lady, are examples of comic skill. And it is difficult to imagine any one reading Orlando's heroic combat with the Orc without chuckles of amusement as well as delight. But there is something of the glee in this with which a Yankee views a new machine. You applaud the cleverness of the device fully as much as you smile at the grotesqueness of the image. Altogether Carducci has the right phrase for this aspect of the work: "È male si giudica prosaicamente ironico e volgarmente scettico quel tempo nel quale anzi lo spirito italiano (e fu questo la sua gloria e la sua grazia immortale) giunto al sommo dell' ascensione parve abbracciare, se me si conceda l'immagine, l'antichità e il medio evo, l'occidente e l'oriente con tale una potente gioia di amore espansivo che anche parve un momento volerli e poterli in quel suo divino abbracciamento fondere e confondere in sé."<sup>15</sup>

Of allegory in Ariosto there are two or three authentic examples. Of these the captivity of Astolfo and Ruggiero in Alcina's realm and their escape and sojourn with Logostilla is the most considerable; the visit of Astolfo to Purgatory, to the Earthly Paradise, and to the moon, the creature called Jealousy, the characters of Strife and Fraud and Quiet, the strange monster supposed to represent avarice in Canto XXVI, and possibly the tale of the magic cup in Cantos XLII and XLIII cover nearly all else. In the main, reading him today, we are inclined to see Ariosto using allegory as he uses everything else, mediæval romances of love, chivalric combats, fabliaux of unfaithful wives, classic myths, historical allusion, tales of magic, songs of love, to secure variety and never flagging interest in his tale. It is part of the universal embrace of which Carducci speaks.

If there seems to the northern reader recalling Bunyan and Langland, much intellectual cleverness and little moral earnestness in this allegory, he must remember that intellectual ingenuity, as often as emotional mysticism, may be the mother of this form. There are allegories like the best of the fairy tales, like *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, in which a child-like delight in things—shining armor, beautiful robes, delicious food, rich furnishings—is completely fused with a sense of magic and of spiritual truth, so that you dissipate the truth if you try to separate it from its embodiment; again there

<sup>14</sup> Warton: *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, Vol. I, p. 307.

<sup>15</sup> Carducci: *Su l'Orlando Furioso*, p. 263 ff.

are others in which, even if the author himself could dissociate his idea from its symbol, the symbol is so perfectly the instrument for his melody that we cannot wish to hear it with any other timbre. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. Allegory may be an intellectual exercise, serious as in the *Vision of Mirza*, playful as in *The House of Fame*, or bitterly satirical as in *Gulliver's Travels*, where the aim is not to express the otherwise inexpressible, but to devise a characteristic costume for a well-known figure, and thus present a speaking likeness. Both Ariosto and Spenser approach the latter type. They are genuinely interested in the problems they consider, they essay to discover the true nature of the experience they allegorize, but they are not working under a burning inner compulsion to bring just this message and no other to birth; they have time to embroider the edges of the robe with appropriate designs.

✓ Ariosto passes lightly from one theme to another, from one mood to another. One of his greatest charms is the arch smile with which he remarks, in the midst of a breathless combat, or while the ship is struggling in the teeth of the storm, "Lest you become weary with this, let us return to Paris," or "But now I remember that I have seemed to neglect for a long time the maiden warrior, who, as you may recall," and so on. The technique of the serial novelist had in him already reached its zenith.

Within the cool hall of the palace at Ferrara, or on a sunny terrace of the garden of Belriguardo, amid a smiling circle of courtly nobles, of discreetly wise ladies, with here and there a scholar, a diplomat, a prelate, our Messer Ludovico reads or recites with an expression half dreamy, half gay, his lively, smoothly flowing, ever varied stanzas. It is a tale for such a setting, for a holiday group of friends, for a time of youth—or rather for a leisurely autumn of delight, of beauty and sunshine, savored the more keenly because it is fleeting.

Quanto è bella giovinezza,  
Che si fugge tuttavia!  
Chi vuol esser lieto, sia:  
Di domán non c'è certezza.

The analyses of the scholar-reformer, the rapt contemplation of the mystic have there no place.

The generation that followed Ariosto does not seem to have wished to be gay. Almost from the date of the *Furioso* the labors of the critical tribe begin. In a measure they too achieved the *abbracciamento* or synthesis at least of antiquity and the Middle Ages, if not of Occident and Orient. The allegorical interpretations of Virgil, Homer, Ovid and Dante, Aristotle's theory of imitation, Plato's concept of the idea of beauty, Horace's precept that poetry shall serve to instruct and to delight grow side by side without a conflict at first. A creed may be formulated according to which the poet teaches by moving delight in the imitation of the essential beauty, the essential truth of things. The idea becomes embodied in a person, the truth in an action; thus we have allegory. By reversing the process and seeking the idea beneath the person and the action,

we arrive at the recondite truth hidden from the vulgar in ancient myths, epics—even in modern romances. The scholar wedded to the mediaeval type of interpretation could accept both Aristotle and Plato fully and continue to suck allegory out of a story "as a weasel sucks eggs." Today we have lost the knack; but even after neoclassicism has triumphed, Warton can remark unhesitatingly that Ariosto's is a moral poem, but Spenser's scarcely deserves that title, for his historical allegory overbalances the moral, though the historical personages have a moral purpose.<sup>16</sup>

Of the conflicts that arose among Italian critics over epic and romance, the laws that govern each, and the jurisdiction of Aristotle, over Tasso's and Ariosto's comparative merits as to unity and morality, I fortunately do not need to treat. A summary may be found in Professor Dodge's so comprehensive article on *Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto*, or in Saintsbury's or Dr. Spingarn's history of criticism. What interests us is rather what the allegorizers made of Ariosto as allegory. The two fat little volumes published by Fornari<sup>17</sup> in 1549, and the *Bellezze*<sup>18</sup> by Toscanella, 1574, are works of rather different character. It may be admitted that both appear to us today largely pedantic; but this must be attributed to the fashion of the time. The comments are in the nature of notes of parallels and sources, with a certain amount of rhetorical exposition illustrated, some consideration of etymology, orthography, and grammar, and an occasional note of admiration, unfortunately too often bound up with some rule of "decorum" which the poet is commended for observing. Fornari furnishes a defense of Ariosto, evidently devised for the edification of the Aristotelians, in which he discusses his unity, his imitation of Virgil and Homer, his conformity to the rules of epic poetry, and his variety. Then follow comments in detail, chiefly rhetorical and philological, conducted canto by canto. Fornari tells us that with the twelfth canto he arrived at the idea of writing a little exposition of the moral lesson of each canto as introduction, but the first four had already been so treated. This moralizing does not include allegory, for in the second volume are collected all the episodes that are considered capable of allegorical interpretation. These by no means include the whole work. The best part, Fornari says, and justly, is the sojourn of Astolfo and Ruggiero in the gardens of Alcina and their escape into the realm of Logostilla; but he adds a number of other incidents from other parts of the story, wherein, as in the minuteness of his explanations, he betrays the weakness of all allegorizers, the overelaboration of detail.

In Toscanella's *Bellezze* a brief allegory is prefixed to each canto. Collected together they are by no means consistent; indeed Fornari also admits interpretations which are inconsistent with one another—but have not the critics of Spenser done the same? Besides inconsistencies, it very soon appears that

<sup>16</sup> Warton: *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, Vol. II, pp. 76-7.

<sup>17</sup> Fornari: *Sposizione sopra L'Orlando Furioso di M. Ludovico Ariosto*, Florence, 1549.

<sup>18</sup> Toscanella: *Bellezze del Furioso di M. Ludovico Ariosto*, Venice, 1574.



what both Toscanella and Porcacchi,<sup>19</sup> who publishes an allegory in an edition of the *Furioso* in 1612, mean by allegory, is often merely the moral lesson that may be derived from the incidents. The characters are not embodied virtues and vices, neither are their actions symbolic of spiritual experiences; they are often only men and women who offer examples of virtue or vice, prudence or folly, from which the observer may derive profit.

Fornari as the first in the field is the most exhaustive of these commentators; he displays, if sometimes too much ingenuity, considerable insight also. His method is plainly Neoplatonic. There are three worlds: the super-celestial, the celestial, the sublunary in which we live; some add a fourth, the human body. Nothing in one world is without a corresponding something in each of the others, as, for instance: the body has heat; the sublunary world, fire; the celestial, the sun; and the super-celestial, the seraphic intellect. Only one who knows these correspondences is able to expound an allegory. Poets—who, we are to suppose, go about with these correspondences at their fingers' ends—hide their philosophy under a figure to remove it from the view of the wilfully careless, and also to allure the weak and timid to receive the bitter medicine of wisdom. Fornari is moved to write by a fear lest the unlearned, intent only on "the sweet harmony of words and delightful inventions of the story," remain content and seek to mount no higher "with the wings of the intellect." Besides the allegory and the comments, he collects into a brief essay the contemporary events and persons to which he claims various incidents in the story refer. These allusions are only incidental, by no means amounting to a continuous allegory.

Toscanella, following at an interval of twenty-five years, knows the work of his predecessor, and appears sedulously to avoid repetition. At least, where the temptation would naturally be strongest because the allegory is obvious and interesting, Toscanella finds some other point in the narrative to moralize and ignores those touched by Fornari; or if he interprets the same incidents, he strives to give them a slightly different turn, as if he were trying to be original. His explanations are on the whole less interesting than Fornari's. In spite of divergences, however, there are numerous and substantial points of agreement. To his work Toscanella prefixes a dedicatory preface. After eulogizing the office of poets in general as teachers of morality and the secrets of nature, and mentioning, of course, Homer and Virgil as "spurs to virtue and bridles to vice," he asserts that a similar didactic intention governs Ariosto, who presents a mirror of the actions of men worthy of praise or blame, in order to teach men to live well. All of these poets "in various individuals represented various virtues, in this, one, in that, another, to form a man four-square and perfect of them all, which four-square and perfect man is he who is adorned with all the virtues." We might hope that in the exposition to follow, in which, according to his table, Orlando is the example of the perfect captain, we might get

<sup>19</sup> *Orlando Furioso di M. Ludovico Ariosto, le Nuove Allegorie e Annotazioni di M. Tomaso Porcacchi*, Venice, 1612.

some approximation to this man four-square and perfect pointed out, but Toscanella apparently introduces him only to secure a skillful transition to the flattery of his patron, Francesco Maria Feltrio della Rovere, Prince of Urbino, who is described in the rest of the preface as the pattern of prudence, magnanimity, magnificence, courage, temperance, and justice in which are included liberality and religious zeal. In a second preface to the readers, Toscanella assures us again that Ariosto wrote to instruct, under a cloak of fiction, and that he figures forth the Italian wars of his own day in many of the battles he describes. It is quite certain that he at least drew on his own experience and observation for many of the details.

According to Schoembs,<sup>20</sup> the edition which Harington used for his translation of the *Furioso* was issued by Porro in 1584, with notes by Fornari. This edition I have not seen. It quite evidently follows the 1549 commentary closely, if we may judge from Harington's notes.

The edition "with a new allegory by Tomaso Porcacchi," 1612, too late for Spenser, is chiefly interesting as a product of previous tendencies. There is almost nothing "new" in Porcacchi's allegory; it is much condensed, a very brief paragraph at the beginning of each canto; usually it is a literal translation of Fornari, or a condensed translation; occasionally there are changes which possibly indicate the influence of Toscanella, but where these agree with Harington, we may assume that the change has appeared in the 1584 edition. Only very rarely is there a point quite different from either of the two earlier critics. The preface, also briefer than the earlier ones, follows the usual line of enumerating all the virtues and their opposite vices as exemplified in the poem, and claiming that there is no book "in which with more profit, with greater delight, one may learn what should be shunned, what followed."

The interesting feature of all this is that partly perhaps as the result of controversy, partly merely as the result of editorial labors, a tradition was growing up during Spenser's lifetime, pretty well stereotyped by 1590—a tradition as to how one was to read and interpret his Ariosto, what hidden truths were to be discovered therein, as we today, in turn, inherit traditions concerning the *Faerie Queene*.

To this tradition, the publication in 1581 of *La Gerusalemme Liberata* with Tasso's own interpretation of his characters as moral virtues in battle with evil, could but add strength.<sup>21</sup> Whether Tasso devised the poem first and the allegory afterwards or the reverse, there is much more allegorical quality in his work than in Ariosto's. We are grateful to him for providing his own interpretation, even though it has not precluded the controversies of critics as to whether he meant what he said. It furnishes a clear-cut, definite conception of the epic as allegory.

<sup>20</sup> Jakob Schoembs: *Ariosto's Orlando Furioso in der Englischen Literatur des Zeitalters der Elizabeth*, Soden a. T., 1898.

<sup>21</sup> Tasso: *Jerusalem Delivered*, translated by Fairfax, edition by Morley, 1890.

In the meantime, how was Ariosto being received in England? There is every reason to believe that he flourished as a moral and didactic poet and probably as an allegorist also.

The years immediately preceding the publication of Harington's *Furioso* and the first three books of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* witnessed the appearance of an interesting series of critical pamphlets, the beginnings of English literary criticism: Gascoigne's *Notes of Instruction in English Verse*, 1575; Gosson's *School of Abuse*, 1579; Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie*, 1581 (?); Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetrie*, 1586; and Puttenham's *Art of English Poesie*, 1589, to which may be added Lodge's reply to Gosson, probably 1579-80. Harington's *Apologie*, prefixed to his translation of Ariosto in 1591, follows and echoes them. The discussion of meter which concerns Gascoigne, Webbe, and Puttenham, is beside the question for us here, but not so the discourses on the purpose and reason for being of poetry, and its kinds, for these "shadowy daggers" include the old, well-known weapon of defense, allegory. Gosson's attack, directed principally at the stage, and avowedly not wholly at the plays themselves, but at social abuses arising from the gathering of crowds in places of amusement, nevertheless strays from its point to decry the abuses of poetry, and apparently, in spite of the author's occasional recantations, poetry itself in general. At one point he takes a shot at the old custom of allegorical interpretations, those of Maxentius Tyrius in particular, insisting that they constitute no real defense. "You will smile, I am sure, if you read it, to see how this morall philosopher toyles too draw the Lyons skin upon Aesops Asse." Except that Gosson uses constantly, to enforce his points, figures drawn from the allegorizations he condemns, he occupies an orthodox Puritan position.

Sidney and his successors, Webbe and Puttenham, reply, and their counter contentions have many points in common, among them the disquisitions on poet, maker, and *vates*, the proof of the high estimation in which poets of ancient days were held, and the claim of moral edification as one of the ends of poetry. To the attack on allegorization there is no direct reply, but there is a good deal by implication. Gascoigne, who wrote before Gosson, includes allegory as a suitable device for love poetry—he uses it so himself. Lodge, who has the usual citations to show the high esteem in which poetry was held by the ancients, and anticipates Sidney in claiming the example of holy writ, introduces the old argument that poetry contains a meaning not at once evident to the unlearned. This is of course allegory; and this exact idea not only occurs often enough before Lodge but continues long after. It is, however, only re-asserting the point your opponent has attacked; Lodge does not develop it. Sidney, whose work excels all the others in spirit, if not in content, speaks much of the value of examples presented in poetry, especially Aeneas, Ulysses, Achilles, and Orlando. He even cites, in a notable passage, especial men as patterns of particular virtues, as Ulysses of wisdom and temperance, Achilles of valor, Nisus and Euryalus of friendship; and, again, declares: "Truely I have knowen men that even with reading Amadis de Gaule (which God knoweth

wanteth much of a perfect Poesie) have found their harts mooved to the exercise of courtesie, liberalitie, and especially courage." But all this is not necessarily allegory, still less allegorization. Sidney comments directly on the type in discussing Aesop's fables—one wonders whether with reference to Gosson's gibe—"whose pretty allegories, stealing under the formall tales of Beasts, make many, more beastly then Beasts, begin to heare the sound of vertue from these dumbe speakers," this following hard upon a reference to the instructing parables of the Gospels. There are several sentences later which lead one to suspect that Sidney made no sharp distinction in his mind between moral example and allegory in the more formal sense of the term. Indeed there is a shadowy debatable ground in which one may pass readily from one to the other. Sidney, moreover, like the Italians, is both an Aristotelian and a Platonist. In his discussion of imitation, with delight and teaching as its aim, he instances the painter who depicts Lucretia, "Wherein he painteth not Lucrecia whom he never sawe, but painteth the outwarde beauty of such a vertue." This type of imitation constitutes the truth of poetry, a truth higher than fact. "If then, a man can arive at that child's age to know that the Poets persons and doings are but pictures what should be and not stories what have beene, they will never give the lye to things not affirmatively, but allegorically and figurativelie written." So finally he urges his readers "To beleve with me that there are many misteries contained in Poetrie, which of purpose were written darkely, leas't by prophane wits, it should be abused."

Webbe is a shade more outspoken. He too affirms that esoteric knowledge lies hidden in poetry, cites Aeneas, Ulysses, and the rest, but not Orlando, and even claims that the *Metamorphoses*, "being moralized according to his meaning, and the truth of every tale being discovered, it is a worke of exceeding wysedome and sound judgment." Eclogues, especially Virgil's and Spenser's, he regards as a "cloake of simplicity" under which not only praise of friends but protests against abuses are covertly conveyed.

Puttenham has a similar view of eclogues, a similar familiarity with the allegorization of myths, but his most interesting contribution is the definition of allegory in the list of one hundred and twenty figures which he furnishes, with examples, in his third book; not that it is either new or original, but that it gives an explicit idea of what was meant by allegory when Spenser was writing. Allegory or false-semblant is identified with metaphor, but since it extends to "whole and large speaches, it maketh the figure allegorie to be called a long and perpetuall metaphore". Whereupon follow examples chiefly from love poems, perhaps because of their brevity. A mixed allegory is one in which the idea is only half concealed; so "clouds of care" and similar expressions in a series form a mixed allegory.<sup>22</sup> Though today we might have difficulty in sharply delimiting the province of allegory, it must be clear that

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Wilson: *Arte of Rhetorique*, 1560; Caro, *Apologia dei Academici dei Banchi*, Rome, 1555.

when it is extended to all metaphor of more than a single word's compass by the rhetoricians, and to every moral aspect of incident by the critics, a kind of thinking is prevalent which affords wide latitude to the poet.

The habit and theory of viewing the epic as allegory has still sufficient vitality in 1614-15 to draw from Chapman this characteristic summing up: "Nor is this all-comprising Poesy fantastic or mere fictive; but the most material and doctrinal illations of truth, both for all manly information of manners in the young, all prescription of justice and even Christian piety in the most grave and high governed. To illustrate both which, in both kinds, with all height of expression, the Poet creates both a body and a soul in them. Wherein if the body (being the letter or history) seems fictive and beyond possibility to bring it into act, the sense then and allegory, which is the soul, is to be sought, which intends a more eminent expresseure of Virtue for her loveliness, and Vice for her ugliness, in their several effects, going beyond the life than any art within life can possibly delineate." The *Iliad* is thus an allegory of wrath, "fervor and fashion of outward fortitude to all possible height of heroical action"; the *Odyssey* of "the mind's inward, constant, and unconquered empire unbroken, unaltered, with any tyrannous infliction." Thus we have again the traditional couple of active and contemplative life, private and political man, and nobly phrased. Finally, with the proud esoterism of all the school, he declares: "Poetry is the flower of the Sun, and disdains to open to the eye of a candle."<sup>23</sup>

To this series of critical essays, Harington adds in 1591 the preface to his translation of *Orlanda Furioso*, called, according to the fashion, *An Apologie for Poetrie*. This apology has three parts, a general defense of poetry, a defense of Ariosto in particular, and a defense of Harington himself as translator. The first of these acknowledges acquaintance with Sidney and Puttenham, and follows rather closely the general lines of previous apologies. Certain questions are put aside as having been sufficiently treated by his predecessors; in addition, the most complete and explicit statement of the allegorical method of interpretation is made, with all its four divisions, literal, moral, allegorical, and anagogic, which Harington illustrates by application to the Perseus myth from Ovid. This element in his apology is probably an echo of Fornari, but phrased according to common use in England.

The second part of his discourse, the defense of Ariosto, begins with a comparison of Ariosto and Virgil as writers of historical epic praising a particular family by praise of their ancestors, with the balance inclining in favor of Ariosto who treats a Christian theme. He defends Ariosto's morality, claiming—and justly so—that his examples of lust and luxury are not enticing, that he is more decorous than Chaucer; but, doubting whether his readers will

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Stanyhurst, dedication to Lord Dunsany of his *Translation of the First Four Books of the Aeneis*, and Ascham: *The Scholemaster*, pp. 223 ff. of the Cambridge U. Press edition, 1904. Chapman: *Iliads of Homer*, 2 vols., and *Odysseys of Homer*, 2 vols., ed. Hooper, London, 1897.

be altogether sincerely shocked by the prospect of offenses, he suspects them of turning hastily to all the most reprehensible passages with unseemly curiosity to read those first!

He next points out that Ariosto differs from Homer and Virgil because one age differs from another. This portion of his defense—even to the examples of extraneous incident in Homer, the story of Bellerophon in the conversation of Diomed and Glaucus, and Ulysses' dialogue with the hog,<sup>24</sup>—is translated almost word for word from Fornari. So too are the following topics of discussion, the credibility and verisimilitude of the supernatural as used by Ariosto, his excellence in peripetia or "variety of sudden fortunes," in the abundance of passions well expressed, and his defense of Ariosto's digressions with moralizing in his own person. These, says Harington, not here quoting Fornari's words, though supporting his opinion, are like pleasant seats beside a long road, overshadowed by trees which offer with shade, refreshing fruit. ✓ Of this portion of his *Apologie*, practically all of the ideas, and a considerable number of sentences are taken directly from Fornari's *Apologia* prefixed to his *Exposition*. The silent appropriation is, however, not so interesting as the silent omissions. Where Fornari uses a page, Harington selects a sentence; what he omits is the exposition of Aristotle's *Poetics* with detailed application and refitting to Ariosto's practice. The specific details of the controversy have no interest for Harington, or he expects them to have none for his English audience. Only objections obvious enough to "the man in the street" interest him. The budding English school of critics are not yet enmeshed in the critical tangle.

In the third portion of his *Apologie*, there is some heed to what these critics are interested in—questions of rhymes, double and triple, with Sidney's example as authority. He defends his abridgment of certain portions of the text, and his notes, especially the personal anecdote sometimes injected into them: "True it is, I added some notes to the end of every Canto, even as if some of my friends and my selfe reading it together (and so it fell out indeed many times) had after debated upon them what had beene most worthy consideration in them, and so oft times immediatly I set it down." We wish that this represented his actual practice more fully than it does, and that he had set down also the names of the friends with whom he debated, and distributed to them their opinions. But the bulk of his notes are in fact translations from Fornari, though the arrangement into moral, historical, allegoric, and allusive divisions may be his own. Here and there, however, are insertions plainly original, revealing an engaging personality, shrewdly observant of the world, not without sturdy, gentlemanly standards of conduct, humorous, kindly, sociable, and quite at home in the cultured circle of poets and men of letters about the court.

We would like to think of Spenser joining in those discussions of which we here and there get echoes in the notes, and it is barely possible that he may

<sup>24</sup> This is the source of Spenser's "Let Gryll be Gryll and have his hoggish mind," not in Homer, but in a dialogue of Plutarch. See Warton, II, p. 164.

have done so. We know that he was in London in the fall and winter of 1589-90, but we do not know quite when in the period between 1584 and 1591 the *Furioso* was translated. There is a reference to the *Faerie Queene* in the notes to the forty-third canto, so that the previous portions of the translation may have been going on when Spenser came to London. Harington may have written in London, or he may have retired to his estate at Kelston near Bath. The tradition represents him as circulating his English version of the lascivious tale of Giocondo among Elizabeth's maids of honor; whereupon the Queen, incensed at his choice of the most offensive canto, commanded him to translate the other forty-five before venturing to appear again at court. Harington took some pains with the translation; he strove to give his work a semblance, at least, of erudition, with notes, an *Apologie*, an *exposition of the allegory*, an index, and marginal references; he had it embellished with engravings in imitation of Porro's edition; altogether he felt that it was an achievement of which he could continue to be proud. But still, Harington wielded a facile pen, and he would be likely—if there is anything in the legend—to wish to re-establish himself in the Queen's favor as soon as possible. He had long been familiar with the *Furioso*; he tells us that he had inherited from his father the translation of the first stanza of Canto XIX, which the elder Harington had applied to the Admiral Seymour "both in his life and in his death."<sup>25</sup> It is to be remembered that the erudite features of the book are mostly copied; and there are signs of haste towards the end. The notes to the last cantos are abbreviated considerably; in some cases they almost disappear; in others the author breaks away from his model, and gives us, to our delight, gossipy chat of his own, remote enough at times from the canto in hand. In the comment on Canto XXXII, he tells us that the first fifty stanzas are by his brother: "These are mine, for they were given me by my brother (Francis Harington) who made them for a proove of his veine in this kind; and if his sloth had not bin as blame-worthy as his skill is praise-worthy, he had eased me of much of the paine that I tooke with the rest; and me thinks when I read his and mine owne together, the phrase agrees so well, as it were two brothers." It sounds as if he would have welcomed some relief from a task now growing irksome. The cantos are throughout abridged; the spirit and the narrative of events are preserved, but digressions, especially those celebrating the House of Este, are condensed, sometimes omitted, and there is no attempt to reproduce the language of Ariosto in detail. Altogether it is quite possible that the poem was translated within a year or two of its publication, and Harington could therefore have met Spenser during his stay in London, the more easily as he seems to have known Raleigh. Although Spenser had been absent ten years, he did not return to London an unknown man, for the critics had been continually recurring to *The Shepheardes Calendar* with warmest praise, and some por-

<sup>25</sup> Admiral Seymour was put to death in 1549; the elder Harington, who seems to have faithfully cherished his memory throughout his own life, died in 1582. The date of his translation of the stanza is unknown.

tions of the *Faerie Queene* may already have circulated privately. Harington, as the younger man and a literary enthusiast, would, one imagines, have lost no time in seeking an introduction to this most famous poet of his day. But all this is merely speculation.<sup>26</sup>

When Harington brought out his work, Ariosto's poem was already well known to lovers of Italian poetry in England, for one tale, that of Ariodante and Ginevra, had been twice translated before Harington's version, and had been made the subject of a play, while as early as 1572, two or three references to Angelica present her as the type of pride, or prudishness, that by Gascoigne carrying a gloss which remarks upon her choice at last of "a poore serving man."<sup>27</sup> There is in Scottish a curious version of the Orlando-Angelica romance by John Stewart of Baldynneis, who dedicates his work to James VI. It dates about ten years earlier than Harington's translation, but seems not to have been printed for general circulation, and was probably unknown either to Harington or to Spenser.<sup>28</sup> It affords interesting testimony to the popularity of the tale, however. Stewart excludes from his "Abridgment," as he calls it, everything not directly connected with Angelica and Orlando, whose romance he pursues to the point where Angelica departs with Medoro for the Orient. Here he breaks off, wearied with his task, and brings all to a close with a prophecy that Orlando will get his reason back through the intervention of St. John and Astolfo. What Schoembs calls an "abgeschmackte Moralizierung" in his conclusion is really a very free rendering of Canto XXXIV, stanzas 62-66, in which Ariosto supplies all the ammunition for the "Moralizierung" and a couple of Scriptural examples—not, however, the ones that Stewart elaborates. The version is further interesting because in the portions of the story used by Stewart occurs the incident of the friar which Professor Cory calls the ugliest spot in Ariosto.<sup>29</sup> Harington is criticized by Professor Dodge<sup>30</sup> for rendering such spots with particularity and detail while condensing or omitting other, innocent descriptions. But Stewart is just as detailed as Harington, and Stewart is entirely without that cynical, tongue-in-cheek attitude toward his royal patron and courtly Presbyterian circle which Harington occasionally reveals toward his. We may conclude that in the sixteenth century, Ariosto could be read unexpurgated even by religious minds, without pious horror, or indeed any especial moral excitement.

In his prefatory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, Spenser announces his allegorical purpose, "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline", and clearly regards himself as moving in the current of tradition: "In which I have followed all the antique Poets historicall; first Homere, who

<sup>26</sup> Harington's *Orlando Furioso* was published in 1591, 1607, and 1634. The last is the edition used in this essay.

<sup>27</sup> Schoembs, pp. 3-5, and 99 ff; Gascoigne, *The Posies*, Cambridge University Press, 1907, p. 458.

<sup>28</sup> J. Stewart: *An Abridgement of Roland Furious*, Scot. Text Soc., Vol. 5, Part 2, 1913.

<sup>29</sup> H. E. Cory: *Edmund Spenser, a Critical Study*, p. 142.

<sup>30</sup> R. E. Neil Dodge: *Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto*, in P. M. L. A., 1897.



in the persons of Agamemnon and Ulysses hath ensampled a good governour and a vertuous man, the one in his Ilias, the other in his Odysseis: then Virgil, whose like intention was to doe in the person of Aeneas: after him Ariosto comprised them both in his Orlando; and lastly Tasso dissevered them againe, and formed both parts in two persons, namely, that part which they in Philosophy call Ethice or vertues of a private man, coloured in his Rinaldo; the other named Politice in his Godfredo. By ensample of which excellent Poets, I labour to pourtraict in Arthure, before he was king, the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised; the which is the purpose of these first twelve books: which if I find to be well accepted, I may be perhaps encouraged to frame the other part of polliticke vertues in his person after that hee came to be king."

Here is the old theory of the interpretation of the epic: once more Homer and Virgil figure forth the active and the contemplative man, and Ariosto is accepted on the same basis, for the conception of Orlando might be quoted from Toscanella's table, where he is the pattern of the perfect captain. As among the Italian critics, Aristotle and Plato join hands, for we hear of the private and the public man in Tasso, who really follows Plato very closely, and in the next breath Aristotle is devising the twelve moral virtues; perhaps we are to understand that he has somewhere defined an equal number of politic ones. Had Spenser the *Politics* in mind? But nothing could be further from an exposition of political duty; it has even been questioned whether twelve moral virtues can be discovered in the *Ethics*. However, Spenser is not here unfolding a philosophy, but only repeating a formula which will be accepted by his contemporaries without criticism. Incidentally, by implication, he names several of his principal sources, Homer, Virgil, Ariosto, Tasso, Malory, Aristotle—a goodly array, a one-foot shelf to solace the ten years' exile by Mulla, under Arlo Hill.

### III

#### SPENSER'S USE OF THE GENUINE ALLEGORY IN ARIOSTO

As he studied Ariosto, what influence did that poet's allegory, and the allegorical interpretations put upon him by others have on Spenser's own creations? Did he put it all aside as irrelevant? Did he accept only to alter, to overgo Ariosto as an allegorist? Was he stimulated to further pondering of the problems of human experience?

Let us first examine those parts of Ariosto's work which are undeniably allegorical, of which the most considerable instance is the temptation of the temperate man, in Cantos VI, VII, VIII, and X.

In the *Furioso*, the young knight, Ruggiero, mounted on the Hippogriff, which he cannot control, is borne over land and sea to the island kingdom of Alcina, far off in the Atlantic. On dismounting, he ties his winged steed to a myrtle tree, while he refreshes himself at a nearby stream. The horse tears the branches of the tree, which laments aloud. Ruggiero, hastening to amend his unwitting cruelty, learns that the tree is the English prince, Astolfo, who, through curiosity, had followed Alcina upon a seeming island, really a monstrous whale, and was brought to this kingdom over the stormy waves. He warns Ruggiero from his own experience, to shun the wiles of the enchantress, who transforms her discarded lovers into stocks and stones, or beasts. The young knight accordingly sets out resolved to avoid the borders of Alcina's city and to take the steep and stony path that leads to the citadel of her sister, Logostilla. As he goes forward on foot, leading his ungovernable steed, he encounters a rabblement of beast-headed men. While he is battling valiantly against them, two fair and beautiful ladies ride out from Alcina's city, and the throng of wretches retreats. The ladies commend Ruggiero's prowess and beseech him to undertake the conquest of a monstrous hag, Eriphile, Avarice, who keeps a bridge before the city. Of course the hero consents, and having overcome the hideous creature, follows his guides into Alcina's courts without further struggle. He is received with honor, and becomes the queen's favored lover. Meanwhile his betrothed, Bradamante, has sought him, sorrowing, and at length sends Melissa, the sorceress, to his rescue, with a magic ring, which reveals to him the real ugliness beneath Alcina's seeming beauty. Ruggiero flees from the palace of pleasure, but having learned to distrust the Hippogriff, he chooses this time an ordinary horse. Before he has gone far, he is attacked by Alcina's huntsman with his horse, dog, and falcon, but he repels them and follows a toilsome path through brambles, along the burning sands of the sea-shore, where in the noon-day heat of the journey, three ladies meet and seek to beguile him with refreshing wine and soft repose. When he refuses their proffers, they revile him, but he pushes on. Within sight of Logostilla's capital, he is met and ferried across the stream that bars his way, by an aged and wise pilot. He is received graciously, and sojourns in that

realm, learning there to guide the winged horse, before so unmanageable, for the Hippogriff has been ridden to the citadel by Melissa, carrying with her Astolfo, released from enchantment.

Fornari explains that as Ruggiero is, or becomes, the continent man, his road to temperance is more painful than that of Astolfo, who is naturally temperate, and is misled, not by his appetites, but by curiosity. The finest thing in Ariosto's allegory is his description of this path to Wisdom, beset with bitter conflict, burning thirst, fatigue, and the old temptations in their most seductive form. Spenser, who receives from this tale a number of hints for his Book of Temperance, is apparently insensible to this opportunity. His treatment of the second of his virtues, unlike that of Holiness, is, however, conceived in too static a form for him to make use of Ariosto's plan. Guyon is not, in most of his adventures, the man learning self-control by painful effort. He has already accepted Reason as his guide and looks upon all the passions that cross his path with a touch of scornful aloofness. With this basic alteration in the plan, however, Spenser uses much of Ariosto's material. Like Ruggiero, Guyon has a fiery, mettlesome horse, but it is not winged. Throughout the book he does not ride it, for it was stolen from him while he was seeking to aid Amavia at the spring, and only in the Fifth Book does he recover it from the thief Braggadocchio. The horses in Ariosto—the Hippogriff, Bayardo, Brigliadoro—mean, or are interpreted to mean, appetitive desire. Spenser undoubtedly took Brigadore from Ariosto—the name, Golden Bridle, probably delighting him as a follower of Aristotle—and he took it with the allegorical meaning, at least suggested by Ariosto:

Quantunque debil freno a mezzo il corso  
 Animoso destrier spesso raccolga,  
 Raro è però che di ragione il morso  
 Libidinosa furia addietro volga,  
 Quando li piacer ha in pronto.

Spenser apparently intends to tell us that the Temperate Man must practice abstinence until his virtue is full grown; then his right to his desires is proved by his ability to govern them. But compared to Ruggiero's mad flight across Europe, and his cautious leading of the Hippogriff as he first sets out from the sea-shore for Logostilla's realm, Spenser's incident of the theft of Brigadore and its tardy recovery is tame, and rather obscure. He compensates for the weakness, however, in his comic picture of Braggadocchio, mounted on a steed that he does not own—boasting of amorous passions that he does not feel—and fleeing at the first hint of opposition.

The tragedy of Mordaunt and Amavia may have been suggested by Ariosto. Mordaunt, like Ruggiero, abandons his rightful lady for the enchantress; like Bradamante, Amavia wanders in search of him; as Melissa appeals to Ruggiero's pride in the children one day to be his, so Amavia carries with her on her sorrowful journey Mordaunt's infant son. But the English, unlike

the Italian poet, sees only tragedy as the outcome of the father's sin. Even the innocent child bears the taint of it. It may be this sterner view that prevents Spenser from picturing a Guyon stumbling, falling, and struggling up again from the Slough of Despond to the crest of the Hill Difficulty.

The House of Medina, the Golden Mean, seems to be an embodiment of Aristotle's central-idea of virtue, but there are some suggestions in it of something else, resemblances to the ecclesiastical policy pursued in England, the middle course Elizabeth held between the warring factions, in the endeavor to secure peace:

But lovely concord, and most sacred peace,  
Doth nourish vertue, and fast friendship breeds,  
Weake she makes strong, and strong thing does increase,  
Till it the pitch of highest praise exceeds.

There is a hint in the following lines of debt to Ariosto:

Therein three sisters dwelt of sundry sort,  
The children of one sire by mothers three;  
Who dying whylome did divide this fort  
To them by equal shares in equal fee:  
But stryfull mind and diverse qualitee  
Drew them in parts and each made others foe:  
Still did they strive and daily disagree;  
The eldest did against the youngest goe,  
And both against the middest meant to worken woe.

Now Ariosto, in his description of Alcina's island, tells us that she possessed the greater part of it, having usurped what rightfully belonged to Logostilla, the sole heir, as the only legitimate daughter of her father. This Logostilla lived in chastity, while her two sisters, Alcina and Fata Morgana, born of incest, were vicious and wicked in their lives. They had conspired together, had brought an army against their sister, and had taken from her all her territory except a promontory cut off from the rest by a gulf of sea and uninhabitable mountains, as Scotland is separated from England. When we turn to Fornari, we learn that Logostilla represents the true faith, while the two bastards are respectively the Jewish and Mohammedan sects. This explanation impressed Harington, for he adds: "And there is another cosen of theirs called heresie, and the grandsire of them all, called Atheism that are of late very busie with her." The grandsire reminds one of Spenser's Aveugle, of whom Harington also may be thinking, but of this we shall see other hints later. I do not think the explanation of Ariosto would occur to the reader unaided, at least today. If Spenser used an edition with Fornari's notes, as is not unlikely, he must have been struck by the possibility of applying this figure of the three discordant faiths to England, an impression which the geographical comparison in Ariosto's description would fix in his mind. In this case he has elaborated into a situation what in the *Furioso* is merely a passing reference. It is to be noted

but not of 14  
Pain - of  
Wraith.

that he has changed the rival sisters from bastards to equal heirs of the patri-  
mony. Does Spenser really mean that all three creeds are of equal validity and  
are to live in tolerance and concord? If so, he is more liberal than was usual  
in his day.

Between Ruggiero's mounting the winged horse, and his arrival in Alcina's  
island, Ariosto injects the story of Ariodante and Ginevra, as we have seen, one  
of the most popular of his episodes with English readers. Spenser also turns  
to this tale on leaving the castle of Medina. It becomes with him the tragedy  
of Phaon. Of this romance Harington remarks: "Allegory there is none in this  
booke at all". Morally, Ariodante is an example of credulous jealousy, and  
his brother Lurcanio, who denounces Ginevra, exhibits the vehemence of wrong  
surmise. In this interpretation Harington and Toscanella agree. Spenser alters  
the situation found in all the other versions of the story by making Phaon the  
sole witness of the lady's fancied treachery; thus he combines in one person the  
whole gamut of passions, "wrath, gelosy, grieve, love", and greatly intensifies  
the emotion. He is not, however, altogether successful in turning this into part  
of his allegory, for the Temperate Man is apparently presented as binding  
another's rage, not his own, and this is rather the office of justice than of  
temperance.

At this point, Spenser, who has many kinds of intemperance to treat  
besides excessive indulgence in amorous passion, departs decidedly from Ari-  
osto's allegory. In the five succeeding cantos there is nothing of importance  
from the *Furioso*. These are the cantos that relate the struggles with Pyr-  
ochles and Cymochles, the conversation with Phaedria, and the visit to the  
cave of Mammon, the court of Philotime, and the gardens of Proserpine.

When we pass on to the castle of Alma, we find about it the beast-headed  
throng of monsters that beset Ruggiero's path when he first turned aside from  
entering in at Alcina's gates, and took the road to Logostilla's kingdom. Spen-  
ser elaborates the description in more detail than Ariosto. He omits, it is  
true, the beasts upon which Ariosto's rabble are mounted, but he draws up his  
misshapen sins in squadrons and directs them against the portals of the five  
senses; upon them he confers the character of shades that, wounded, neither  
bleed nor die; and whereas Ariosto makes swollen Sloth the captain of the  
rout—not inaptly, considering his whole design—Spenser elects his opposite, a  
lean, strenuous, terrifying ghost:

As pale and wan as ashes was his looke;  
His body leane and meagre as a rake,  
And skin all withered as a dried snake,  
That seemed to tremble evermore and quake;  
All in a canvas thin he was bedight,  
And girded with a belt of twisted brake;  
Upon his head he wore a Helmet light,  
Made of a dead man's skull, that seemed a ghastly sight.

double  
allegory

This is not  
not allegory  
but romance  
of types

It seems from this and the description of his arrows against whose wounds salves and medicines are of no avail, that Spenser means death, or deadly sin. Arthur, the sum of all the virtues, alone is strong enough to overcome this fiend. Even he is impeded by human impotence and impatience. Spenser goes deeper than Ariosto, but the specific feature borrowed is not much improved, and it has not occurred to him to connect these monsters with Alcina's transformed lovers. It remained for Milton to extract the essence of truth from this conception. We may question also whether the deadly struggle between Arthur and Maleger has anything to do with temperance.

In the Castle of Alma there is so strong a similarity to the House of Medina as to confuse one's memory; both seem to be variations on one theme, as indeed Spenser has borrowed from the same episode in Ariosto for both. According to Harington, Logostilla's kingdom represents, from one viewpoint, the human body, of which the passions have possessed themselves, leaving only the one fort to reason. I do not find this in Fornari, Toscanella, or Porcacchi, and am unable to determine whether Harington got it from the 1584 edition, invented it himself, or possibly took it from the *Faerie Queene*. It is, however, the second point in this allegory in which Harington agrees with Spenser and with none of the Italian critics.

Except the black-robed pilot Reason, who directs Guyon's voyage across the wide and perilous waters to Acrasia's bower, there is in the Twelfth Canto little that may be traced to Ariosto. Rather the voyagings of Ulysses have been called into requisition. In the final disposal of the enchantress there is a marked difference. The transformed lovers are restored to their former shapes, without resistance in Ariosto, but in Spenser with wrath, with shame, and in one case at least with repinings and revilings. The enchantress Alcina, shorn of all her beauties by the magic ring, shows herself shrunken, old, and ugly, but Acrasia, all her beauty unimpaired, is bound and sent to the *Faerie Queene* for judgment. Ariosto tells us that Alcina's palace stood untenanted while she and all her forces pursued Ruggiero, and that when he at last escaped them, she wished to destroy herself. In Spenser's allegory, on the other hand, Guyon and the Palmer lay waste the Bower of Bliss. Spenser has transferred to another point the revelation of Alcina's infirmities; in Duessa he horribly increases the hideousness of the exposure. It is as if Ariosto were saying: Sensual pleasure is not truly pleasure; seen aright it is disgusting; when we turn resolutely from its presence, it ceases to exist, for its life is only in our submission to it. And this is consistent psychology. But Spenser, with an intenser passion, replies: Falsehood, in truth, is ugly; but pleasure of whatever sort is still pleasure; we cannot wait for the reaction of satiated appetite to free us; we must learn to look upon it in all its beauty and allurements and bind it with chains of steel. Between these two views there is the width of Europe. Spenser's morality is naturally the more accordant to our northern taste, but why does he feel it necessary to destroy the Bower of Bliss? If Acrasia is to be bound, if we are to see her as alluring as ever, but conquered,

why mutilate the mere physical, insensible scene of her enchantments, powerless if its tutelary genius is subdued? This seems like a strain of image-breaking Puritanism overcoming the artist.

Of the other allegorical episodes in Ariosto, Astolfo's journey to the Earthly Paradise and to the Moon, with its attendant miracles, is the most extended. Here Spenser borrows nothing, nor is it at all remarkable that he abstains, for there is a sportive, at times satirical, vein in this allegory distinctly unsuitable to Spenser's plan. Nor can I agree with Warton's surmise that the creature called Avarice has lent some qualities to the Blatant Beast, so obviously identical with the Questing Beast of Malory. Moreover, if Spenser received any hints for the Cave of Morpheus from Ariosto's cave of Sleep, the debt cannot be proved, for the details in the two are different, Spenser's being much superior. The remaining instances of allegory are likewise unfruitful.

There is a kind of intermediary group of objects that it may be appropriate to discuss here—the magic ring, the shield, the horn. As the ring, which Ariosto himself calls the ring of reason, is not used by Spenser at all, we need not consider the commentators' difficulties with it,—they have troubles enough with the "lusty, lusty horn." Toscanella says that this horn means the reputation of a great knight for prowess, which is heard throughout the world and terrifies cowards, but he does not labor to explain why it should lose its voice entirely just when the knight has performed his most signal exploit. Fornari interprets the horn as eloquence, the divine fire of the true orator. This is evident because Astolfo uses it to drive Caligorant into his own net, Caligorant being taken for a cunning sophist and his net for false reasoning.<sup>31</sup> Again he blows it, the stern voice of justice, to frighten the harpies from Senapo's palace—those parasite and cormorant ministers of a blind king. All this is very pretty, but upon another occasion when Astolfo blows upon the horn, all his friends as well as foes flee from the market place of Laiazzo and never pause for breath until they have put several leagues of sea between themselves and the orator, and what are we to make of the fact that in the same Moon-heaven where Astolfo finds again that part of his brains which he had, without knowing it, lost upon earth, his horn is finally deprived of its sound altogether? Fornari is puzzled by this; we only regret that he cannot enjoy with us the humor he unconsciously attributes to Ariosto. This horn is perhaps the same that Timias uses:

Was never wight that heard that shrilling sownd  
 But trembling feare did feel in every vaine;  
 Three miles it might be easy heard arwnd,  
 And Echoes three answered it selfe againe:  
 No false enchauntment, nor deceptfull traine,  
 Might once abide the terror of that blast,

<sup>31</sup> This may be the net of Malengin, but there are no details in common to the two incidents except the use of a net. The fight with Malengin seems to have been modeled after a fox hunt.

reach 5  
 got it  
 Claudio

But presently was void and wholly vaine:  
 No gate so strong, no locke so firme and fast,  
 But with that percing noise flew open quite or brast.

This appears to mean the sound of truth, as Fornari imagines it, but Spenser did not need to get it from Ariosto, for he must have known Huon's magic horn, and no doubt had heard

the sound of that dread horn  
 By Fontarabia's echoes borne.

The claim to the shield is better established, as there is a moment in Ruggiero's fight with several knights before Pinnabello's castle when the shield is accidentally uncovered, just as it is in Arthur's battle with Orgoglio, and again in tilt with Corflambo. This shield, according to Fornari, represents the light of Illuminating Grace—that is, when Ruggiero uses it to abash Alcina's huntsman, horse, dog, and hawk, this is its significance, but on other occasions it means fraud and deceit in a combat, or the bright, sparkling light of ladies' eyes! Perhaps if we knew all the "correspondences" of the Neoplatonist we could reconcile these explications, but we have lost the key, and Fornari does not enlighten us. As Spenser was wise enough to use these weapons only in the legends of Holiness and of Chastity, we are not confused by conflicting interpretations. In his story the shield apparently means the blinding light of purity and truth, which dashes pride, lust, and passion.

I do not find that any of the commentators tries to discover a meaning in Pinnabello's malicious trick of depriving ladies of their garments and knights of their armor. From this Spenser may have drawn the evil custom of Blandina and Turpine, smooth-tongued slayers of other men's honor, but when the unfrocking of a clerk or the degradation of a knight was still a literal ceremony, not a figure of speech, I do not see why he needed to go to romance for the suggestion. There is nothing in the character of Blandina that corresponds to Pinnabello's lady, nor have the treacheries of Turpine any other similarity to Pinnabello's.

In this allegorical part of Ariosto's work, then, Spenser finds a number of suggestions. He rarely adopts, however, a device which Ariosto has developed to the full. Rather, the best of that poet's work he puts aside and chooses to elaborate what Ariosto has merely sketched. He usually alters what he adopts, not in its main significance, but in the details he adds, or in the result he derives from the event. These alterations are as often as otherwise no artistic improvement, but they are not the work of a bungler; they are made with forethought to obtain a different issue from Ariosto's, and correspond closely to some divergence in Spenser's thought. He appears to have studied Ariosto's allegory, to have found it stimulating, and pretty definitely and independently to have thought out the problem to his own conclusion.

Beyond P. A. C.'s preliminary shield  
 borrowed from Ariosto



## IV

### SPENSER'S TREATMENT OF ARIOSTO'S ROMANCE AS ALLEGORY

However, the great mass of Ariosto's work is not truly allegorical; either it is romance, pure and simple, or it is romance with magic elements which Fornari and his successors transform into allegory, but which have no such consistent relation to the series of events in which they occur as to convince us that Ariosto hid a moral idea beneath the fancy. Of this part Spenser adopts certain features. Even in the first book there are some scattering imitations, but they are not numerous or marked—in some cases little more than the family resemblance between romances. The lewd hermit from whom it is supposed that Spenser obtained Archimago<sup>32</sup> is the chief character that he has adopted in this part of his tale. This hermit is allegorized as a hypocrite by Harington. Although the Italians do not mention him at all, Ariosto's description of his appearance, and his behaviour, especially in his wooing of Angelica, suggest this signification. The hypocritical cleric is, of course, a stock figure in mediaeval and renaissance satire, but the use of spirits by both characters, and the attempt in each case upon the honor of the maiden serve to connect Spenser's villain with Ariosto's. Spenser, however, uses his hermit as a chief personage in his tale and makes him a much greater figure than Ariosto's merely incidental character.

But in Books Three, Four, and Five are to be found the most interesting examples of this part of Spenser's borrowings. Here his allegory diverges still further from the inner spiritual struggle presented in the adventure of St. George, and becomes more and more the story of the conflict between an accomplished virtue and aggressive vices. At the same time, several knights and ladies serve as representatives of chastity and friendship; there are patrons and patronesses instead of a single champion. It may be that this feature is due to a radical alteration of the author's plan in imitation of Ariosto, or to weariness of spirit and desire for variety, or, again, to mere drift of inclination toward the romance, but it is also possible that, while believing, like most fervently religious men of his day, that there is but one type of Holiness, and that there is obviously but one type of Temperance, which is an individual matter like religion, when Spenser came to consider the social virtues, as chastity, friendship, courtesy, he realized that they could not be treated on an individual scale. (There can be no courtesy, no friendship except in some kind of reciprocal intercourse with one's fellow men.) Moreover, chastity in Spenser is not the vowed celibacy of the mediaeval ascetic, but is synonymous with conjugal love in its purest form. This idea he holds in common with Ariosto's commentators, who describe Bradamante, the model for Spenser's Britomart,

<sup>32</sup> Professor Courthope identifies Archimago and Atlante; both are magicians, have long white beards, and command spirits. Their motives and characteristic acts have no resemblance to one another.

as, successively, the chaste wife in contrast to the meretrix Alcina, the divine love in contrast to carnal love, and in another phrase, Heavenly Grace.

Spenser follows the story of Bradamante more closely than any other that he has accepted from Ariosto. Nearly every one of his incidents has its prototype, yet he may fairly claim to have overgone Ariosto here as an allegorist, for his alterations tend to build up his Britomart into a consistent representative of the virtue the Italian critics claimed for Ariosto's heroine.

The initial entrance of the two is similar, but Ariosto's maiden with dazzling white armor, shield, and crest is a much more striking emblem of chastity than Britomart. Moreover, Bradamante pauses only to overthrow Sacripant, thus frustrating his lustful design upon Angelica, and rides on. This first exploit is suitable to the allegorical idea, while in Guyon's defeat at the hands of Britomart there is, at first sight, a less happy conception. However, it seems from the beginnings of Books II, III, and VI, that Spenser may originally have had an idea of defining the relation of the virtues to one another in the first adventure of each; so he invents an incident to reconcile holiness with temperance, and now he pictures chastity as overcoming and then making peace with this same troublesome ideal of moderation. The consolation addressed to Guyon by Arthur is similar to that Angelica bestows upon Sacripant and the details of the encounter are borrowed from Ariosto as far as possible, but the character of Sacripant has no meaning in Ariosto and could hardly have suggested Guyon for Spenser's incident.

Britomart pursues her journey and arrives at the castle of Malecasta, where the infatuation of its mistress repeats, with considerable closeness, that of Fiordispina for Bradamante. Spenser puts aside as irrelevant and distasteful the after incident of Ricciardetto's impersonation of his sister with its extravagant mythical deception, and concludes with the sudden awakening and indignant anger of Britomart, his own invention. Toscanella alone bestows any attention upon Fiordispina, naming her in his table *impudicitia*, or unrestrained, libidinous passion. Here Spenser has transformed a lascivious incident into its allegorical equivalent; he makes Britomart as courteous to the evil Malecasta as Bradamante is to Fiordispina, but infinitely purified and refined in the silent thoughts behind the polite behaviour.<sup>33</sup>

Professor Dodge has pointed out the very close resemblance between the Merlin prophecies in the two poems; these have no allegorical significance in either, serving merely as a mode of introducing praise of a patron. The overthrow of Marinell has no counterpart in Ariosto, nor is there any woman-hating character like to Marinell.

The flight of Ollyphant at the sight of Britomart may possibly be derived from the flight of Atlante in the guise of a giant, carrying the false presentment of Ruggiero. If so, what in Ariosto represents, according to Fornari,

<sup>33</sup> Whoever wishes to compare the two may read the fifty-fifth stanza of Canto I with *Furioso*, XXV, 30 and 31. This impresses one as a stain on Bradamante's character, nor does Harington's attempt to explain it away convince one.

the false imaginations of earthly love, which lead even Bradamante astray, in Spenser becomes the power of chastity to destroy or to put to flight evil impulses. It is one of the many changes by means of which he transmutes Ariosto's heroine into a really consistent type of virtue.

There are some curious connections between the *Furioso* and the story of Malbecco and Hellenore. The house closed against all comers by jealousy is drawn from the tale related of the Tower of Tristram, but no such characters as Malbecco and Hellenore inhabit the Tower in the *Furioso*. The theme of the suspicious husband is twice treated by Ariosto, however, in Canto XLIII, in the story of the master of the magic cup, and the boatman's tale of Argia. Harington interprets the magic cup which is spilled in the bosom of the husband who consents to test his wife by drinking of it, as suspicion. The virtue of marriage, says Toscanella, is faith: where doubt enters there is no faith, without faith there is no more than the name of marriage, nor can seduction succeed where faith abides. Fornari and Porcacchi agree in sentiment, though neither of them phrases it so well, or emphasizes precisely the same point. Spenser's tale is similar in theme to these, but where Ariosto bears heavily on avarice as a motive in the sin, with Spenser this plays a minor role as a device in accomplishing the abduction. The three stories have no details in common, yet Ariosto dwells so much on chastity in his recital—or should one say on the causes for offense against this virtue?—that one cannot help feeling that Spenser caught from him the idea of treating the problem of the suspicious husband and the unchaste wife in his Book of Chastity. His sympathy lies, as does Ariosto's, rather with the wife, however much he reprehends her vice. Why he introduces Britomart into this company has puzzled some of his critics. She breaks in, but serves no purpose in the progress of the plot, and goes away next morning. Does Spenser merely mean to intimate that suspicion shuts out chastity with all the other virtues in the attempt to shut out vice? It is an active virtue, born of freedom, not of captivity. Malbecco, at any rate, begins as the embodiment of suspicion that provokes to sin, and when the damage is done, is converted into jealousy.

From the contest at the gate of Tristram's Tower, from which each knight is excluded except as he overthrows the guest who has preceded him, Spenser appears to obtain a suggestion for Book IV, Canto I. However, Ariosto's castellan, after he has actually sent the weaker knights out into the storm, summons judges to decide between the merits of the ladies in order that the less beautiful may be expelled also. Bradamante drives out the three nobles who form Ulany's retinue, but insists upon being regarded as a knight only—she has removed only her helmet—and refuses to be drawn into comparison with the lady. Spenser, by a deft turn of events, makes Britomart defend Amoret, and then, revealing her sex, take the knight she has overthrown into her grace. The incident is more charming than Ariosto's, but no more than a family resemblance can fairly be claimed, for only the dishelming of Britomart is

exactly identical in the two. Here Spenser seems to have turned aside from his theme of chastity to use the behaviour of Britomart as an introduction to Friendship.

A more interesting parallel for our purpose is afforded by the rescue of Amoret from the tyrant Busirane. Britomart finds Scudamour in deep distress, weeping and groaning beside a spring, and gently inquires the cause of his dolor. So far Spenser follows Ariosto—it is almost a translation—but Spenser's lover is the more passionately abandoned to his grief, and Spenser has scarcely a glance for the murmuring fountain and the refreshing shade. Each of the knights, Scudamour and Pinnabello, has been bereft of his lady by a strong enchanter. Ariosto's wizard, Atlante, snatches the lady away on his winged steed, the Hippogriff, and shuts her up in a castle of shining steel at the top of a precipitous rock. Those who attempt to assail this fortress he attacks from his flying courser and so bedazzles them with a glittering shield that they are stupified and easily captured. Of Busirane's methods we learn nothing at this point, but when we reach the gate, we find no gate but a fire. Bradamante is moved by a desire to save her own lover; Britomart is wholly disinterested. Bradamante is betrayed by Pinnabello and a series of incidents intervenes, while Britomart arrives at once at the castle of the enchanter. Spenser's heroine engages in no battle at all, but Ariosto describes in detail the fight on the plain below Atlante's citadel, which is preserved by means of vases filled with fire. When these are overturned, and the flames extinguished, the castle vanishes. It may be that these strange fires are the same that we find burning at Busirane's gateway. They signify, according to Fornari, the ardors and the sighs of love, as Atlante is himself the symbol of carnal love, and Bradamante, the rescuer, of divine or spiritual love. Spenser has accepted this idea: Busirane also is the embodiment of lust, and the fire is that ardent physical passion which cannot touch Britomart however it may scorch Scudamour. But Spenser, true to his practice in former cases, proceeds to develop particulars of the conquest of lust by chastity in a field untouched by Ariosto, and therefore instead of the release of the blinding charm of the shield by the magic ring of reason, we have Britomart undergoing a lonely vigil, in which all the emotions that precede and follow the satisfaction of lust pass before her and test her endurance. Thus she frees Amoret, while in Bradamante's rescue of Ruggiero we hear no more of Pinnabello's lady for twenty cantos.

This allegory of Chastity, which repels any stain upon its whiteness even in dreams and awakes to find refuge from insidious thoughts in prayer, and which is able to purify marriage from any earthly taint by its own intrinsic nature, has seemed to several critics all too brief. But there is an inherent difficulty in allegorizing the virtue at all: it is static; the field of its conquest is limited; if it is attacked too often, one comes to doubt its integrity, as the critics themselves realize who find Florimel's woes tedious while accusing Britomart's adventures of too occasional a character.

There remains the love story of Britomart and Artegall. The first encounter, wherein Chastity overcomes an unknown Justice, and the second, in which she is attacked for having defrauded Love, but, being seen, enchants her assailant, whom she in turn recognizes as the masculine virtue long since conceived in dreams, contain but a trait or two of Bradamante's duel with Ruggiero. The exact situations which Spenser creates nowhere appear in Ariosto. Bradamante overthrows many with the lance of gold but Ariosto skillfully avoids having her encounter Ruggiero with this weapon. There is a long duel in the lists at Paris, all a summer's day, between Bradamante, in her own behalf, to secure herself from an unwelcome marriage, and Ruggiero, as Leo's champion, unknown to his betrothed. From this Spenser draws Britomart's failing strength at one point in the struggle beside the fountain. But the contract between Chaste Love and Justice is not derived from Ariosto, for not even the most ingenious allegorizer could interpret Ruggiero as justice.<sup>34</sup>

The only important act of Ruggiero's which Spenser adopts is his leaving Bradamante after a brief interview, on each of two occasions, to hasten to the relief of his King, Agramante. Ariosto praises in this his recognition of the superior claims of public over private duty, honor over love. On one of these occasions, Ruggiero is seriously wounded, and so unable to keep his day with Bradamante. In like manner, Artegall breaks his compact with Britomart by reason of his imprisonment by Radigund. Britomart's fight with Dolon's sons at Pollente's bridge may be an imitation of Bradamante's encounter with Rodomonte on the narrow bridge over the Rhone, which he holds against all comers in order to avenge the death of Isabella. This princess he himself slew, for she entrapped him into the murder to save her honor. It is not quite clear that there is a necessity for this exploit at the bridge in Spenser's tale of Chastity and Justice. In the House of Dolon, she is resisting a new evil, Guile, by armed and sleepless watch, but on the narrow way across the flood, what moral principle is illustrated except that which we have had before, the prowess of the golden spear? Though this is now the Book of Justice, we have nothing here like Bradamante's pointed accusation that Rodomonte is punishing the innocent for his own crimes of lust and murder. Spenser may have some idea of symbolizing the dangers of the path to virtue, but on the whole, he cannot be said here to have developed the material he adopts or endowed it with richer significance. As to the Golden Lance, Toscanella, at last, after this exploit, tells us that it means the hidden virtue which none may resist. Of course Spenser has his lance from Ariosto, and he may have its meaning from Toscanella, but he could equally well have seen its possibilities for himself.

Britomart's jealousy in the interim between Artegall's failure to reappear and Talus' arrival with the news of his capture, is exactly modeled upon Bradamante's like passion—the watching of the road, the counting of the days, the

<sup>34</sup> Toscanella makes a sorry attempt to identify Ruggiero with marital fidelity in spite of his two serious defections, and several delays.

varying imaginations of accident and disloyalty, even the passionate weeping and throes of grief upon her bed. Spenser is probably correct in counting Chastity a jealous virtue. But in casting about for a suitable object of the jealousy, he seems to have rejected Ariosto's device of the long lost sister of Ruggiero, the Amazon Marfisa.—If he had lived in the twentieth century, he might have seen unrealized allegorical possibilities in it.—He chooses rather the pride of the—shall we say female adventurer, or new woman?—who has abandoned her "sphere" to shine more brilliantly in another, to vindicate her self-sufficiency by equal force, or, if out-shone, to conquer still—by being out-shone. There is a radically modern suggestion in Britomart's sallying forth to her lover's rescue through competition with Radigund in arms. Bradamante's corresponding victory over Marfisa in several encounters, Fornari and Toscanella interpret as the victory of virtue over pride. Radigund has in common with Marfisa a fierce, almost termagant arrogance of strength. Marfisa is always triumphant. At the one moment when she is about to be conquered by Ruggiero, the shade of Atlante intervenes to reveal their kinship, to reconcile the pair, and to appease Bradamante. In place of this incident, Spenser has Artegall overcome by Radigund's beauty, just as on an earlier occasion by Britomart's. He adds the whole fiction of Radigund's Amazon kingdom and Britomart's repeal of the liberties of women. Although he may have obtained a suggestion from the lascivious kingdom of the women of Laiazzo, yet there are no details to connect Radigund with these, and closer parallels can be found in classical literature.

✓ Taking the whole allegory of Britomart,<sup>35</sup> even in the minor incidents, such as the sojourn in the Castle of the Lovers, Spenser seems to have followed the plot of Ariosto. Where any allegory is supplied by the commentators or suggested by the author, he accepts it. He is not diverted from his purpose by the allurements of romance, but converts some incidents, like that of Fiordispina, into allegory, and amplifies others, such as the rescue of Ruggiero from Atlante, and the contest with Marfisa, from fragmentary hints. The real difference between his treatment of his borrowings in Books III and IV and in the earlier legends is not a difference in his attention to the allegory or his system of elaborating it, so much as in his narrative method, the intricate interweaving of the threads of several stories, in which he follows Ariosto's plan more closely than he had previously done.

The adventures of Florimel, the Snowy Florimel, Belpheobe, and Amoret form a considerable portion of this web. The last lady has no prototype in Ariosto. The former three are one of Spenser's most interesting transmutations.

Perhaps it may be well to outline the story of Angelica, the Cathayan princess who is the cause of Orlando's madness. At the opening of Ariosto's poem, Angelica has been committed to the charge of Duke Namor, to be the

<sup>35</sup> It is not to be understood that he adopts all the incidents in Ariosto's story. We need to keep in mind that Spenser is not translating Ariosto.

prize of whichever of her contending lovers displays the most valor and prowess in the impending battle with the Saracens. But the battle is lost, and Angelica mounts a horse and escapes into the nearby forest. She sees approaching Rinaldo, whose ardent passion she fears with a deadly fear. Shrieking, she kicks the sides of her horse and takes to headlong flight. Rinaldo is interrupted in the chase by Ferrau. Meanwhile, Angelica, after a day and a night of wandering, has secluded herself in a close thicket of roses, a natural bower, where she takes a much needed nap! She is awakened by the laments of Sacripant, the Circassian king, seated upon the bank of a nearby stream, bemoaning his fruitless pursuit of Angelica. She resolves to make this lover useful as an escort back to her own kingdom in the Orient. She reveals herself, and Sacripant, overjoyed, makes passionate advances. Hereupon Bradamante rides by and overthrows him. Sobered by his defeat, he pursues his way with Angelica until they again encounter Rinaldo. Again Angelica flees while the fight between the two knights rages, and now falls in with the hypocritical old hermit who informs her horse with a demon so that it swims out to sea. Angelica prudently tucks up her skirts beyond the reach of the waves and clings to the horse in terror for her life. The sea gods, charmed with her beauty, hush the waters to a level floor, until at length the horse returns to a desert strand, where the lady finds herself once more in the hands of the hermit. His wicked designs are frustrated, and next she is captured by pirates who sell her in the island of Ebuda, where every day a beautiful maiden is chained to a rock by the seashore to become the prey of an Orc sent by the offended sea-god Proteus. From this perilous situation Angelica is rescued by Ruggiero, who gives her the magic ring of reason while he unsuccessfully combats the Orc from the back of his winged steed. Finding that he makes no impression on the tough hide of the monster—apparently a whale—he takes Angelica on his crupper and flies away. Angelica recognizes the ring which, worn on the finger, dispels enchantments, but carried in the mouth, enables one to become invisible. When Ruggiero becomes too importunately ardent, she disappears from his view. She takes refuge in a shepherd's hut, where, unseen, she helps herself to food, clothing and a mount. Orlando, who has been searching for her all this time, gets his only real glimpse of her when she releases Sacripant from Atlante, designing still to make him her protector on her return to Cathay. Orlando and Ferrau, contrary to her intention, participate in the release and follow her. The three lovers quarrel, and Orlando and Ferrau engage in a duel. Angelica, at first in doubt which to choose, presently decides that lovers are a nuisance and that, being possessed of the ring, she can get along nicely without any of them. So she claps the talisman into her mouth and rides off, after stealing Orlando's helmet, out of pure mischief. We do not see her again until she suddenly appears on the night when Medoro, attempting to rescue and bury the body of his slain lord, is attacked and wounded by a troop of the enemy. Angelica is moved to pity at the sight of the unconscious youth, brings herbs to heal his hurt, and summons a peasant to

carry him to a nearby cottage, where, nursing him, she falls in love with her patient. They spend an idyllic honeymoon in this sylvan retreat, and then set out for Spain where they take ship for the Orient. Orlando, finding the fountain and the cave where the honeymoon was spent, and all around trees and rocks carved with the intertwined names of the happy lovers, and hearing the testimony of the peasant with whom they sojourned, goes mad, flings away his armor, and runs wild through forests and mountains. One last glimpse he gets of Angelica, riding with Medoro along the Spanish shore, and though he does not know her now, he follows after, but once more she escapes by virtue of the ring.

The commentators are all very severe upon Angelica for her pride, and then for her love of "a poor foot soldier of no reputation." Ariosto gives some color to this by his rather humorous comments on her rejection of all her famous suitors, whereupon Love, provoked by her independence, lies in wait for her at the pass. The reader is inclined to see in the arrant coquette the most delightful of Ariosto's creatures. She is at least all of one piece. Across the poet's pages she moves, or rather flits, with mocking gaiety, malicious, witty, alluring, unabashed, quite confident of her power to wind the most impetuous knight around her finger and come off unscathed. Rinaldo is the only exception; she has loved Rinaldo, and now she hates him with a hatred that is two-thirds fear.

Her terrified flight whenever he appears signifies, according to Toscanella, the perils of beauty wandering alone, or, according to Fornari, that the only certain refuge of virtue from libidinous love is in flight. Harington adds: "Resist the devil, but fly fornication." In this case Spenser has not, I think, appreciated the humor of his predecessor, but whether he does or not, he evidently considers the flirtatious complexity of Angelica's character impossible for allegory, for he divides or analyzes her into three parts. We have her first as Beauty fleeing fornication, the chastity that unwittingly provokes attack, and must needs flee. This Angelica he calls Florimel, and subjects her to as many untoward adventures as Angelica undergoes, though all of them are somewhat different. The grisly forester, Guyon and Arthur, the witch's son, the hellish beast, the ancient sailor, Proteus himself, have only a general resemblance to Rinaldo, Sacripant and Orlando, the bewitched horse, the old hermit, and the Orc, but in the outline of events, in the theme of persecuted Beauty, and in the approximate translation of the first flight, Spenser has followed Ariosto; each of his embodiments of lust or love is a new testimony to the perils of Beauty unprotected. This Florimel Professor Cory finds insipid, a constant interruption of the plot, while others declare that she is without allegorical significance, a figure of pure romance. In view of the radical change Spenser makes here from his model, I cannot agree with this view. It may be unsuccessful allegory, but I think it is definitely intended as an embodiment of one phase of the problem of chastity. We may not like it, but it is still true that there is a type of beauty that excites passion, and its protection does lie in retreat from observation.



Spenser evidently regards coquetry as quite incompatible with the modest shyness he sees in Florimel, but having taken up the Angelica theme, he wishes to account for this trait too, or perhaps realizes that his Florimel in flight will be recognized, and desires to lay the ghost of Angelica the flirt in his readers' minds. We have, therefore, Snowy Florimel, who seems to be chaste in her behaviour although the testimony of the girdle belies this, but

So greate a mistress of her art she was,  
 And perfectly practiz'd in womans craft,  
 .....  
 Was so expert in every subtile slight  
 That it could overreach the wisest earthly wight.

This snowy lady keeps at bay, but hopeful, the witch's son, Ferrau, Braggadocchio, Blandamour; and as, according to Fornari, Angelica the coquette falls at last to the lot of a mere foot soldier, so Snowy Florimel, the mere false mask of chaste Beauty, gives herself to Braggadocchio, the hollow semblance of a knight, and when the true beauty is brought in, vanishes quite away. This gives a new significance to Angelica's vanishings.

Meanwhile, however, Angelica, not the coquette, but the proud maiden "who contemned all men," who pities and rescues the wounded Medoro, has received yet another treatment. As Belpheobe we find this foster daughter of Diana gazing upon the wounded Timias. She conveys him to her sylvan palace, and cures his wound with cunning medicines. It is he who loves his benefactress, not she who stoops to him. Like Angelica, Belpheobe is a Queen, beyond the hopes of Arthur's faithful squire; the resolute virgin is offended when her guest turns his thoughts to love. And now Spenser borrows a trait, not from Medoro, happy in his suit, but from mad Orlando, all semblance of humanity lost, shaggy and unkempt, roaming the woods and wilds. Timias retires to a vine-clad cave, alone, and Arthur, passing, pities but cannot recognize his squire, so altered is he. It is Belpheobe's arrow, not the arrow of Timias, that saves Amoret from the monster. And after Timias has duly repented his momentary dream, she yields him grace once more. We know, of course, that Belpheobe is Elizabeth, "as a most vertuous and beautiful woman". She seems to be also the type of chastity, unlike Britomart, that refuses marriage. Spenser does not think affection for a valorous and loyal squire of lower rank blame-worthy—indeed Ariosto never really presents this view—but he leaves in shadowy uncertainty the issue of this relation. What could he do else, having declared the identity of his heroine?

This splitting of the character of Angelica into three distinct units can have no purpose if Spenser is here merely indulging in "irresponsible, unallegorical romance," for why should he take such pains to supply each lady with just those features from Ariosto's store-house that remodel her into a consistent character? In Ariosto we have all the charm of adventurous vicissitude plus beauty and wit, and the delightful aplomb of the insouciant flirt. Spenser

ignores the wit, giving us a tearful Florimel, subtracts the adventure and presents a hateful coquette, and minus both wit and danger, he creates the grave and lofty beauty of Belpheobe. I cannot think that he was so clumsy as to rework this material without a purpose, and a definitely allegorical one as well. Perceiving the danger in depicting a chastity too often attacked, he has interwoven the other chief thread from Ariosto's plot to enrich the texture, but he believes that these accompaniments of chastity, timid modesty, cold and proud virginity, daring coquetry, are essentially disparate qualities, and so he has untwisted the thread and given each strand a separate place in his design.

The continued use Spenser makes of Ariosto in the cases already discussed is in striking contrast to the incidental character of his borrowings in the last three books. Except the portions that complete the stories of Britomart, Belpheobe, and the Florimels, there are only minor imitations of Ariosto in this part of his work, nor are the parallels close. Some of the actions of Braggadocchio at the tournament are borrowed from Ariosto's coward Martano; Ate in the scene in which she is proposed as a prize to Braggadocchio, and again when she traduces Amoret to Scudamour, plays the part of Gabrinia who is also a type of spite and treason; Artegall's conflict with Pollente resembles at one point Brandimart's with Rodomonte; Arthur rescues Aemylia and Amyas, whose earlier history has some resemblance to that of Isabella and Zerbino. But there are no large themes borrowed in Book IV, which is the most unsatisfactory of all the books in point of unity, without possessing the romantic charm of the Book of Courtesy. In his two mystical allegories of friendship, that of Cambell and Triamond, and that of Amyas and Placidas, Spenser adopts nothing from Ariosto, for the story of Aemylia and her lover is distinct from Placidas' proof of devotion. This is the more striking because in instances of fine human comradeship and loyalty, Ariosto particularly abounds, and he has at least one example, in Leo and Ruggiero, of extreme romantic friendship. Spenser finds no embodiment, however, nor anything that can be made an embodiment, of his peculiar, Neoplatonic idea of the *alter ego*, the community of soul between friends.<sup>36</sup> In the two tragedies of feminine constancy, that of Isabella and that of Fiordilige, Ariosto reaches his highest pitch of spiritual emotion, but here we have a different relation from that of friend to friend. To justice, the Italian poet gives scarcely a thought. When his commentators desire to emphasize the virtues of a king in Charles, the most that they can do is to point out his piety, and his very commonplace efforts to provision and fortify Paris against attack. But Spenser conceives a justice such as Sir Thomas Smith describes, consisting of monarch and parliament, courts, council, and the martial power of a commander in the field.<sup>37</sup> His Artegall is a kind of combination of itinerant justice, privy councillor, and lieutenant of the forces, imbued with the spirit of Aristotle. Nor are the peculiar accomplishments of

<sup>36</sup> John Erskine: *The Virtue of Friendship in the Faerie Queene*, P. M. L. A., Dec., 1915.

<sup>37</sup> Sir Thomas Smith: *De Republica Anglorum*.

the sixteenth century courtier illustrated in Ariosto's battles and adventures by field and flood. The *Furioso* is a poem with a minimum of domestic scenes. Both knights and ladies are constantly on horseback or on board ship, either engaged in battles with men or monsters, singly or in troops, or traveling to a battle-field. They do not engage in sports, or music, or in much conversation; even love-making is done in the saddle, or in brief interviews snatched by the wayside, as the riders pause for refreshment in the shade of a grove, beside some fountain. The evil custom of Blandina's castle is the only incident in Book VI that corresponds at all closely to anything in Ariosto. Spenser, who makes malice, evil speech, his symbol of discourtesy, can find little in Ariosto to supply him with incident or character. There is little deceit or slander in Ariosto, though much fierce contention.

Whether Spenser was definitely indebted to the interpretations of Fornari and Toscanella, it is impossible to assert dogmatically. He agrees closely enough with Fornari on the points both touch to suggest that he had read either the *Spositione* or else the notes in Porro's edition of 1584. The correspondences between his use of Ariosto and Toscanella's interpretation are fewer, but they are rather striking, the reference to Orlando in his letter to Raleigh, in particular, seeming to indicate at least a cursory acquaintance with the *Bellezze*. On the other hand, we must remember that one of these works was published forty, the other fifteen years before the appearance of the first installment of the *Faerie Queen*, that both were widely read in literary circles, and that it would therefore have been possible for Spenser to assimilate their ideas without reading either book. It is worth noting, however, that Harington knew his Fornari well. Although he claims to have consulted various learned Italians in the preparation of his translation, he does not mention Toscanella. The points in which his comments on the *Furioso* resemble Spenser's use of the poem, and his only, apparently indicate that he has been influenced by the recently published portion of Spenser's book. We must suppose that, even if Spenser knew Harington, and joined in the discussions which according to that author's claim preceded his annotations of his translation, he hardly could, and probably would not, have altered his poem, which, it is likely, he brought to London ready for the press, while Harington could easily make any additions to or alterations in his notes he might wish, in the months that intervened between the publication of Spenser's work and that of his own. But if Harington knew his Fornari so well, is it likely that Spenser, who had been studying the great Italian poet even more earnestly, was ignorant of the famous comment? I hardly think so.

At all events, he accepts his Ariosto as allegory. He studies carefully the allegory of temperance in sensual delights, and in the same spirit, he studies what he conceives to be the allegory of chastity or chaste love, adopting many of the chief characters, situations, and themes, but reworking them into a more consistent, a purer, and at times a radically different form. To these adaptations, he of course makes large additions, both from his abundant reading in other authors, and from his own rich imagination. In the books of Holiness, Friend-

ship, Justice, and Courtesy, he uses Ariosto less, because there is less in the *Furioso* that can be used for his main purpose. There are many incidental reminiscences, however, throughout the whole book, which, while they contribute little to our understanding of Spenser's moral point of view, testify to his familiarity with the Italian poet, and to that delighted re-reading which Professor Dodge remarks.

ARIOSTO AS A KEY TO SPENSER'S POLITICAL ALLEGORY

There is another use of the Angelica-Orlando plot in Spenser of which I have not spoken. As Orlando, throughout the earlier cantos of Ariosto's poem goes searching for Angelica whom he never finds, so Arthur pursues a quest for Gloriana, seen only in dreams. The exploits of Arthur apparently are not derived from those of Orlando, though there are details of the fight with Pynchles and Cymochles that recall Orlando's great battle on the island of Lampedusa, while adumbrations of the aid rendered to Isabella and to Olympia hover over Arthur's intervention in the affairs of Amyas and his championship of Belgae; but there is a general similarity in the place occupied by the two heroes. Orlando casts a glamour over the readers of Ariosto, less by what he does in succoring Olympia, Isabella, and Zerbino, than by the magnanimity of his spirit, the universal honor in which he is held, his compassion for suffering, his loyalty to his friends. Arthur, like Orlando, is the magnanimous champion of others in distress; he never fights for his own hand. Orlando has his friend and shadow, Brandimart, his companion in arms, and Timias occupies somewhat the same place in Arthur's affections, though he is squire, not knight. Like Orlando, notwithstanding the occasional, even accidental character of his entrances upon the scene, Arthur lacks little of what Spenser meant him to be, the hero of the piece.

His Angelica is, we know Gloriana, Elizabeth. And this brings me to a question: Did Spenser, besides using Ariosto's poem as a source for moral allegory, also use some of the characters and their fortunes as a kind of key or clue by which his readers might trace his fine footing in some of the historical parts of his work?

There is no doubt that the fanciful employment of romances for complimentary and uncomplimentary allusion was not infrequent in Elizabeth's day. We know, of course, that animal nicknames, some of them heraldic, were applied to Leicester, Hatton, and others, and that pastoral eclogues and sonnets supplied classical pseudonyms for Queen and courtiers. The same fancy seems to have led to the use of allusions to romantic fiction. It has often been remarked that when Leicester went to the Low Countries, one, at least, of the pageants with which he was entertained represented King Arthur, apparently a compliment identifying him with the British hero; the same device had been used earlier in his own entertainment of the Queen at Kenilworth.<sup>38</sup> In 1569, the grave statesmen of the Queen's Council were busy considering a letter written by the Spanish ambassador, Guerau d'Espes, which contains this curious sentence: "If you hear that I am detained here you need not be surprised since the enchantments of Amadis still exist in this island, and Arche-

<sup>38</sup> Gascoigne: *The Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle*, in *Works*, Vol. II, p. 92, Cambridge University Press, 1910.

laus is still alive. Nevertheless here I am safe and sound, a prisoner of Queen Oriana, and I have no doubt, even without the aid of Urgandae or other great effort, this all will end in a comedy." The Council reprehends this allusion to the Amadis romance as "fantastic and unworthy a person holding his office."<sup>39</sup> Mary Stuart is in prison at this time, the air is thick with plots and rumors of plots, negotiations are on foot concerning the seizure of Spanish ships on their way to the Netherlands with money for Alva's troops: hence this slighting reference to the queen of the fairies is most unpalatable. There are also other offenses in the letter. But d'Espes replies that he is astonished that the Council should so misunderstand his intentions; he will send them "one to whom the Spanish tongue is natural," for if they understood how these things were used in Spain, they would see a compliment in his remark. One suspects, however, that these things were only too well known in England. In 1592, Sir Walter Raleigh, being in disgrace, sees from his window in the Tower this same matchless Oriana, with her court, passing in barges on the river, whereupon he desires to follow her, offers to slay his keeper, Sir George Carew, and Sir Arthur Gorges, who parts the fray, writes to Sir Robert Cecil, "Sir Walter Ralegh will shortly grow to be Orlando Furioso, if the bright Angelica persevere against him a little longer." Twenty years lie between these incidents, but is it wholly accidental that courtiers and councillors on these widely separate occasions see the Queen under the name of a heroine of romance?<sup>40</sup>

So in Spenser, Angelica becomes Gloriana, Elizabeth, and Orlando becomes Arthur, probably Leicester; at other times Angelica is Belpheobe, and Orlando, now Furoiso, is Timias, Raleigh. This we have long known. But what then of Florimel, who is also Angelica, and that other, the Snowy Florimel, the counterfeit and coquette? These four shadows of the Cathayan princess never occupy the stage at the same time. Moreover, Arthur, who is pursuing Gloriana, at one moment turns aside to follow Florimel, whom he mistakes for his dream lady, and Snowy Florimel so resembles the true Beauty that only when the two are confronted can they be distinguished.

Would Spenser, then, dare to present so unfavorable a portrait as Snowy Florimel, and have it known for the Queen? But is it unfavorable? This enchanted lady is created in the very image of Beauty to deceive the lazy, loordish son of the witch. From him she is snatched by Braggadocchio, who in turn loses her to Ferrau, from whom she is reft by Blandamour, journeying in company with Paridell. After the tournament she gives herself first to Britomart, and then on her refusal, to Braggadocchio again, with whom she remains until just before his disgrace, when she vanishes quite away. Braggadocchio has long been held to be the Duc d'Alençon. Through all the years from her accession until the death of this prince in 1584, Elizabeth was constantly engaged in what we

<sup>39</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1569-71; Spanish, 1568-70.*

<sup>40</sup> Gorges' letter is quoted in *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by E. Edwards, Vol. I, p. 141, Macmillan, London, 1868.

may call diplomatic flirtations with most of the eligible princes of Europe. It is not at all likely that she ever seriously intended to marry, but as a maiden queen, with a rich kingdom and no near heirs, she was no mean prize, and she knew it! The juggling, the shifts, the chicanery by which, in the guise of courtship, she kept Europe guessing for twenty years, until England was strong enough to stand alone, may be set down to vanity, but no less to shrewd political insight. It is to be noted that this juggling ended with Alençon's death in 1584. He was the last of her suitors. The affair with this prince began in 1570, when he was substituted by Catherine de' Medici and Charles IX for Henry, Duc d'Anjou, afterwards Henry III, who had been pushed forward against his own will as a candidate for Elizabeth's hand. Henry was at this time under the influence of the Guises and stubbornly refused to make the necessary concessions in religion. The Alençon negotiations which followed continued, with one break of about three years, until his death. Now the character of the witch's lazy, loutish son would be quite acceptable to English pride and to Elizabeth's vanity, as a picture of the stubborn and recalcitrant Henry, nor would Catherine be unsuitable for the role of witch in the current estimation. If we have Alençon as Braggadocchio—who we know was unpopular with the Leicester faction, nor indeed genuinely popular with any of the greater nobles—it remains to identify Ferrau, Blandamour, and Paridell. Now Ferrau is a character from Ariosto, where he plays a minor part in the love story, but as a fierce and valiant warrior is important in the battles. The significant fact is that he is the son to the brother of the king of Spain. In his essay *On the Political Allegory in the Faerie Queene*,<sup>41</sup> Professor Buck identifies this character with the Archduke Charles of Austria, who was, to be sure, nephew to the king of Spain, but I doubt whether Englishmen would have regarded him as a Spanish prince, and at all events, he had no shining reputation as a soldier, and in the interval when the Alençon match was in abeyance, was already married to a Bavarian princess. At this precise point, however, Elizabeth was angling for another prince, a Spaniard, and a soldier whose exploits had kindled the imagination of Europe, Don Juan of Austria, the natural brother of Philip II.<sup>42</sup> He died in 1578, and shortly afterward the Alençon match was revived.

But who are Paridell and Blandamour? Probably they are English nobles with whom the Queen flirted in the meantime. I am inclined to accept Professor Buck's identification of Paridell with the Earl of Oxford, chiefly perhaps, in addition to the reasons he assigns, because that erratic young nobleman was at court about 1575, acting as lover to the Queen, to the discomfiture of Hatton, who became intensely jealous. Could Hatton himself be the Blandamour who wins the Snowy Florimel for a brief space? It scarcely seems possible, yet Spenser did not unduly love Hatton—consider his introductory

<sup>41</sup> Philo M. Buck, Jr.: *On the Political Allegory in the Faerie Queen*, in *University Studies*, Lincoln, Nebraska, Vol. XI, Nos. 1-2, 1911.

<sup>42</sup> Hume: *Courtships of Queen Elizabeth*, McClure and Phillips, 1906, p. 185; also Chapter XVII.

sonnet to the Lord Chancellor, and compare it with the one to Burleigh—and Hatton was constantly suspected of favoring the Catholics, although it is difficult to discover any adequate evidence to support this accusation. Blandamour's evanescent attentions to Duessa might represent the contemporary suspicion. But, whoever the two are, they are not in Ariosto's poem, and may be dismissed from the present discussion. Snowy Florimel is rejected by Britomart—did not England cry out against the French match in the voice of Stubbs?—and returns to Braggadocchio as the Queen does to Alençon, and just before his disgrace in the lists, she vanishes quite away, as Elizabeth, shortly before Alençon's disgrace and death in Flanders, abandoned her pretenses at courtship. Is not Spenser in reality here offering the Queen a graceful compliment? We know, he says, that in all these abortive wooings, Her Majesty but assumed a mask to keep these foolish princes in play; she never really meant to marry—the real Queen, the true Florimel was far away, encountering dangers for the nation's sake. Nor is his compliment undeserved; it hits the white as nearly as historians have since been able to do.

If this conjecture is correct, the true Florimel must also be Elizabeth, and the perils she undergoes must, I think, be interpreted as dangers to England, not to the person of the Queen. I have sought for them in the same period covered by the Alençon match, 1570 to 1585. The grisly forester is not definitely characterized, but the fact that Timias, after long pursuit, at length encounters him and his companions, and is victorious, lends color to Professor Buck's identification of him with the rebellion in Ireland, since Raleigh was there sometime about 1578 and had some thrilling adventures near Cork. There were chronic rebellions in Ireland almost every year from 1570 until 1582. The hellish beast sent forth by the witch to interrupt her son's amours looks, to a Protestant mind, wonderfully like the Massacre of St. Bartholemew, 1572, which produced such a profound impression in England that all the court put on mourning. It happened in the very midst of the French marriage schemes. This beast, which eats half of Florimel's horse, perhaps the Huguenot half of the Protestant sect, is not found in Ariosto, where the horse itself takes to the sea. Spenser has substituted for the hermit and the Orc an old sailor and the sea-god, Proteus. These changes seem to imply that he had sea-powers in mind. At this date, the two greatest sea-going nations, the one in its dotage, sinking to ruin, and the other at the zenith of its power, were Portugal and Spain. Now Portugal and England had a variety of relations between 1570 and 1580. In 1573, and again in 1576, treaties of trade and mutual friendship were made between the two countries, each kingdom promising not to harbor or give aid to rebels, traitors, or enemies of the other. But in 1577, there were reports that a fleet was being prepared in Portugal, at the instigation of the Pope, to invade Ireland. It was even rumored that five thousand men had already landed in Ireland. At this juncture the king of Portugal died, and was succeeded by his aged uncle, the insane Cardinal Henry, who bears a tempting resemblance to Spenser's ancient sailor. When this king in turn died in 1580,



Spain annexed the country, for Philip II was the nearest heir. In the same manner, Proteus annexes the old seaman to his chariot wheels and drags him through the waves. Camden says that Philip's campaigns in Portugal, where there was for some years resistance to his claims, prevented for the time any attack on England: "Neither could he be perswaded (being wholly bent upon the Conquest of Portugall) so much as once to think of England."<sup>43</sup>

If Spenser meant to picture the large features of England's foreign complications in Florimel's adventures, her marriage with Marinell of course must represent the bold reliance at last on her own daring sea-dogs, the guardians of the strand and collectors of rich treasure, who had long been straining at the leash. Whether Lord Admiral Howard is meant by Marinell, it is not perhaps here quite in point to discuss. His appointment as Lord High Admiral in 1585, his kinship with the Queen, Spenser's friendly relations with the Howard family, and the promise in the introductory sonnet seem to favor such a view, while on the other hand, the achievements of Drake were more striking, and he experienced a period of disfavor about 1573-4 which might be typified by Marinell's illness.

One wishes that there were some hint of Amoret's identity to be found in Ariosto, but she is a creature from some other world. She may be merely a symbol of love, with no political significance. At all events she is not another reflection of Angelica, and we may perhaps conjecture that she is therefore not Elizabeth. There are difficulties in conceiving Elizabeth as imprisoned by Busirane and then by Ollyphant, and exciting the jealousy of Belpheobe, while the total incompatibility of this character with Duessa seems to exclude Upton's tentative suggestion that she may be Mary of Scotland. Neither is she Elizabeth Throgmorton, for Spenser, who apologizes for praising his own lady in Book VI, would never have dared to elevate Raleigh's mistress to the position of twin sister to the Queen. I suspect that, if Amoret has any political significance, she represents either a member of the Suffolk family, or Arabella Stuart, both of whom were favored for the succession by Spenser's friends at different times.

Is Britomart, then, Elizabeth? There is no question in the minds of most readers that Britomart is Spenser's favorite heroine. In her glittering armor, with her shining veil of golden hair and her invincible ebon spear, she surpasses in beauty, power, and charm all the other ladies and all the other knights of Faeryland. Though all her outward adornments, nearly all her actions, and the main outlines of her character are sketched in her predecessor, Bradamante, yet she is an original, autochthonous growth of Spenser's own poetic soil. He could here have pictured the Queen, but I do not think he did, for, after all, notwithstanding his disposition to idealize, there is an element of shrewd realism in his portraits even of his friends—of Timias, for instance, with his love-sick moanings. Moreover, in the delineations of the Queen

<sup>43</sup> Camden: *Annales*, 1635, p. 203; *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1572-4, 1577-8, 1578-9, 1579-80.*

which we have already considered, in spite of flattery, we still see her characteristic timidity, her shameless coquetries, the essential selfishness of her make-believe love affairs with her courtiers, while in the girl Britomart there is no touch of the real Elizabeth. Rather, Spenser saw in Ariosto's device of a mythical ancestress of the House of Este, an opportunity to combine a delicate compliment to his sovereign with entire freedom to develop a heroine after his own heart, unhampered by the politic necessity of, or the inherent impulse toward, verisimilitude. This opportunity he seized, and if in some vague way the stainless knight is reminiscent of England, yet in the main she represents the allegorical and ideal element in the poem, only.<sup>44</sup>

Would Spenser's contemporaries have recognized the four-fold portrayal of Angelica—would not these allusions woven of threads from Italian poetry and English political complications have proved too intricate for them to unravel? It seems likely that the meaning was patent, at least to the charmed court circle and to the lettered public who read Ariosto with avidity, if not in Italian, then presently in Harington's translation. There are a few curious notes in Harington which may indicate that he himself has recognized and accepted some of Spenser's interpretations of Ariosto. I have already mentioned his addition to Fornari's discussion of Logostilla and her two sisters as the three religions of the Mediterranean world, and his curious interpretation of Logostilla's realm as the human body, with the citadel remaining to her, as the head. A third even more remarkable addition is the following statement in the notes to Canto XIX, the canto in which Ariosto sums up the history of his flirtatious heroine: "Angelica is taken for honor which brave men hunt after by blood and battels; but a good servant with faith and gratefulness to his Lord gets it." This is totally different from anything in the Italian commentators. No one of them so much as hints that Angelica is a symbol for honor, nor is there anything in Ariosto to warrant the interpretation. On the other hand, in Spenser Angelica becomes Gloriana, the very honor "which brave men hunt after by blood and battels," and how well the description of Medoro as a true servant fits Timias!

Moreover, have we not another hint of this ready recognition of Spenser's meaning in another poet, his admirer and imitator, Richard Barnfield? *The Shepherds Content*, written in 1594, contains this stanza:

By thee great Collin lost his libertie,  
 By thee sweet Astrophel forwent his joy;  
 By thee Amyntas wept incessantly,  
 By thee good Rowland liv'd in great annoy;  
 O cruell, peevish, vylde, blind-seeing Boy;

How canst thou hit their hearts and yet not see?  
 (If thou be blinde, as thou art faind to bee).

We know Colin, Amyntas, and Astrophel—they are Spenser, Watson and

<sup>44</sup> The name Britomart, from Britomartis, the Cretan Diana, is against this view, however.

Sidney—but who is Rowland? It may seem like proving one guess by another, but who should he be but Raleigh, Timias or Orlando Furioso, who in Spenser's poem "liv'd in great annoy"? The very names Rawley, Rowland, could not fail to strike the ear of that rhyming, punning age. The next year Barnfield repeats the allusion to Colin and Rowland in a sonnet, the twentieth in *Cynthia, with Certain Sonnets*.<sup>45</sup> We seem to recognize Raleigh by the company he keeps. It is altogether probable that these two of Spenser's readers were not alone in penetrating his intentions.

If, then, we read our Ariosto once more, not this time in the sunshine of an Italian garden, but by the fireside of the Castle of Kilcolman, through long winter afternoons—read it with studious attention to the allegory "which is the soul," and with a poet-scholar's curiosity concerning the comments of the learned Italian editor, we shall find, not only all the old delight, but hidden away in the magic pages of the Italian poet, one of the keys to unlock the thought of his great English rival and admirer.

<sup>45</sup> Barnfield: *Poems*, Arber Reprint, 1895.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alzog (J.), *Manual of Universal Church History*, translated by Pabisch and Byrne, 4 vols., M. H. Gill and Sons, Dublin, 1907.
- Ariosto (Ludovico), *Orlando Furioso*, 3 vols., G. Barbèra, Florence, 1901.
- Arnold (E. Vernon), *Roman Stoicism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1911.
- Ascham (Roger), *The Scholemaster*, in *English Works*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1904.
- Barnfield (Richard), *Poems*, edited by Edward Arber, A. Constable, Westminster, 1895.
- Bréhier (Emile), *Philo Judaeus*, in *Catholic Cyclopaedia*, Vol. XII, pp. 23-25, Encyclopaedia Press, N. Y., 1913.
- Bryce (James), *The Holy Roman Empire*, Macmillan and Co., N. Y., 1913.
- Buck (Philo Jr.), *On the Political Allegory in the Faerie Queen*, in *University Studies*, Vol. XI, Nos. 1-2, pp. 159-192, Lincoln, Nebraska, Jan.-April, 1911.
- Calendar of State Papers—Foreign, 1569-71, 1572-74, 1577-78, 1578-79, 1579-80, and Spanish, 1568-70.*
- Camden (William), *Annales or History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth*, Benjamin Fisher, London, 1635.
- Carducci (Giosue), *Su l'Orlando Furioso*, in *Opere*, Vol. 15, 20 vols., Nicola Zanichelli, Bologna, 1885.
- Caro, *Apologia dei Academici dei Banchi contra Castelvetro*, Rome, 1555.
- Chapman (George), *Iliads of Homer*, edited by Hooper, 2 vols., Gibbings and Co., London, 1897.
- Chapman (George), *Odysseys of Homer*, edited by Hooper, 2 vols., Gibbings and Co., London, 1897.
- Comparetti (Domenico), *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, translated by E. F. M. Benecke, Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., London, 1895.
- Cory (H. E.), *Edmund Spenser, a Critical Study*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. V, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1917.
- Courthope (W. J.), *A History of English Poetry*, Vol. II, pp. 234-288, 6 Vols., Macmillan and Co., London, 1904.
- Courthope (W. J.), *The Poetry of Spenser*, in *Cambridge History of English*

*Literature*, Vol. III, Chapter XI, pp. 239-280, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1909.

Dodge (R. E. Neil), *Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XII, pp. 151-204, 1897.

Dodge (R. E. Neil), *Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto—Addenda*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 91-92, 1920.

Edwards (Edward), *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 2 vols., Macmillan and Co., London, 1868.

Erskine (John), *The Virtue of Friendship in the Faerie Queene*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XXX, pp. 831-850, Dec., 1915.

Fornari (Simon), *La Spositione di M. Simon Fornari da Rheggio sopra L'Orlando Furioso di M. Ludovico Ariosto*, 2 vols., Lorenzo Torrentino, Florence, 1549.

Gascoigne (George), *Works*: Vol. I, *The Posies*, Vol. II, *The Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle, Certayne Notes of Instruction in English Verse*, 2 vols., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1910.

Gilbert (Allan H.), *Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto: Supplementary*, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 225-232, 1919.

Gosson (Stephen), *The Schoole of Abuse*, edited by Edward Arber, A. Constable, Westminster, 1895.

Harington (Sir John), *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse*, G. Miller, London, 1634.

Hume (Martin), *Courtships of Queen Elizabeth*, McClure, Phillips and Co., N. Y., 1906.

Latimer (Hugh), *Sermons*, *Publications of the Parker Society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1844.

Lodge (Thomas), *A Reply to Stephen Gosson's Schoole of Abuse, in Defense of Poetry, Musick, and Stage Plays*, *Publications of the Shakespeare Society*, Vol. 20, Skeffington, London, 1853.

Paul, Epistle to the Hebrews.

Porcacchi (Tomaso), *Orlando Furioso di M. Lodovico Ariosto, Le Nuove Allegorie e Annotationi di M. Tomas Porcacchi*, Domenico Imbert, Venice, 1612.

Puttenham (George), *The Arte of English Poesie*, edited by Edward Arber, A. Constable, Westminster, 1895.

Saintsbury (George), *A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe*, 3 vols., Wm. Blackwood and Sons, London, 1902.

Sandys (Edward), *Sermons, Publications of the Parker Society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1841.

Sandys (J. E.), *A History of Classical Scholarship*, 3 vols., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1903

Schoembs (Jakob), *Ariosts Orlando Furioso in der englischen Litteratur des Zeitalters der Elizabeth*, Doctor's Thesis, Strassburg, Soden a. T., 1898.

Sidney (Sir Philip), *Apologie for Poetrie*, edited by Edward Arber, A. Constable, Westminster, 1901.

Smith (Sir Thomas), *De Republica Anglorum*, edited by L. Alston, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1906.

Spenser (Edmund), *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, edited by R. Morris, Macmillan and Co., London, 1899.

*Faerie Queene*, new edition with a Glossary and notes explanatory and critical by John Upton, 2 vols., J. and R. Tonson, London, 1758.

Spingarn (J. E.), *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, Columbia University Press, N. Y., 1912.

Stanyhurst (Richard), *Translation of the First Four Books of the Aeneis of P. Vergilius Maro*, edited by Edward Arber, A. Constable, Westminster, 1895.

Stewart (John, of Baldynneis), *An Abridgement of Roland Furiosus*, Scottish Text Society, Vol. V, Part 2, Wm. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, 1913.

Tasso (Torquato), *Jerusalem Delivered*, translated by Edward Fairfax, edited by John Morley, Routledge and Co., London, 1890.

Toscanella (Oratio), *Bellezze del Furioso di M. Lodovico Ariosto*, Pietro dei Franceschi and Nepoti, Venice, 1574.

Warton (Thomas), *Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser*, 2 vols., C. Stower, London, 1807.

Webbe (William), *A Discourse on English Poetrie*, edited by Edward Arber, A. Constable, Westminster, 1895.

Whitgift (John), *Works, Publications of the Parker Society*, 3 vols., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1853.

Wilson (Thomas), *Arte of Rhetorique*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1909.

Wyclif (John), *Select English Works*, edited by Thomas Arnold, 3 vols., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1869.

## INDEX

- Academy of Florence, 9  
 Acrasia, 28  
 Achilles, 17  
 Aemylia, 40  
 Aeneas, 17, 23  
 Aesop, 17, 18  
 Agamemnon, 23  
 Agramante, 35  
 Alcina, 32; island of, 12, 14, 24, 27; lovers,  
     24, 28; sisters, 26  
 Alençon, 44, 45, 46  
 Alma, 27, 28  
 Alva, Duke of, 44  
 Amadis de Gaul, 17, 43  
 Amavia, 25  
 Amoret, 33, 36, 40, 47  
 Amyas, 40, 43  
 Amyntas, 48  
 Angelica, 22, 31, 32, 36-38, 38-40, 43, 44,  
     47,  
 Anjou, (Henry III) 45  
 Arabella (Stuart), 47  
 Archelaus, 43  
 Archimago, 31  
 Ariodante and Ginevra, 22, 27  
 Ariosto, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 23, 24,  
     25, 28, 40, 41  
 Aristotle 13, 14, 18, 20, 23, 25, 26, 40  
 Artegall, 35, 36, 40  
 Arthur, 23, 28, 30, 38, 39, 40, 43  
 Astolfo, 12, 22, 24, 29  
 Astrophel, 48, 49  
 Ate, 40  
 Atlante, 31 note, 32, 34, 36, 37  
 Avarice, 29  
 Aveugle, 26  
 Barnfield, 48, 49  
 Bayardo, 25  
 Belgae, 43  
 Belphoebe, 36, 39, 47  
 Bembo, 11  
 Blandamour, 39, 44, 45, 46  
 Blandina, 30, 41  
 Boccaccio, 11  
 Bradamante, 24, 25, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 47  
 Brandimart, 40, 43  
 Braggadocchio, 25, 39, 40, 44, 45, 46  
 Brigadore, 25  
 Brigadoro, 25  
 Britomart, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 44, 46, 47, 48  
 Buck, Professor Philo M., 45, 46  
 Bunyan, 12  
 Busirane, 34  
 Cabbala, 8, 10  
 Caligorant, 29  
 Calvinism, 10  
 Cambell, 40  
 Camden, 47  
 Carducci, 12  
 Carew, Sir George, 44  
 Castiglione, 11  
 Catherine de' Medici, 45  
 Cecil, Sir Robert, 44  
 Chapman, 19  
 Charles, Emperor, 40  
 Charles IX, of France, 45  
 Charles, Archduke of Austria, 45  
 Chaucer, 7, 11, 19,  
 Clement VII, 11  
 Colet, 9  
 Colin, 48, 49  
 Cory, H. E., 22, 38  
 Counter Reformation, 10  
 Courthope, W. J., 31 note  
 Cymochles, 27, 43  
*Cynthia, with Certain Sonnets*, 49  
 Dante, 8, 13  
 Del Virgilio, 8  
 Dodge, R. E. Neil, 14, 22, 32, 42  
 Dolon, 35  
 Don Juan, 45  
 Drake, Sir Francis, 47  
 Duessa, 28, 46, 47  
 Ebuda, 37  
 Elizabeth, 39, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48  
 Erasmus, 9  
 Eriphile, 24  
 d'Espes, 43, 44  
 Euryalus, 17  
 Fata Morgana, 26  
 Ferrau, 37, 39, 44, 45  
 Ficino, 9, 10  
 Fiordilige, 11, 40  
 Fiordispina, 32, 36  
 Florimel, 34, 36, 38, 39, 44, 46, 47  
 Fornari, 14, 15, 19, 20, 26, 28, 31, 32, 33,  
     36, 38, 39, 41, 48  
 Gabrinia, 12, 40  
 Gascoigne, 17, 22  
*Gavaine and the Green Knight*, 12  
 Gloriana, 43, 48  
 Ginevra, see Ariodante  
 Gorges, Sir Arthur, 44  
 Gosson, 17,  
 Gower, 7  
*Gulliver's Travels*, 13  
 Guyon, 25, 28, 32, 38  
 Harington, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28,  
     31, 33, 38, 41, 48  
 Hatton, 43, 45  
 Hawes, 7  
 Hebrews, Epistle to, 8  
 Hellenore, 33  
 Hermit, 37  
 Hippogriff, 24, 25, 34  
 Homer, 8, 12, 15, 17, 19, 20 note, 22, 23  
 Horn, 29, 30  
 Horace, 13  
 Howard, Charles, Lord High Admiral, 47  
 Inquisition, 10  
 Ireland, rebellions in, 46  
 Isabella, 35, 40, 43  
 James VI, 22  
 Jesuits, 10

- Jewish sect, 26  
 Julius II, 11  
 Kenilworth, 43  
 Laiazzo, 29, 36  
 Lampedusa, 43  
 Lance of gold, 35  
 Landino, 9  
 Langland, 7  
 Latimer, 9  
 Leicester, Robert Dudley, Earl of, 43  
 Leo, 35, 40  
 Leo X, 11  
 Lodge, Thomas, 17  
 Logostilla, 12, 14, 24, 48  
 Lucrecia, 18  
 Lurcanio, 27  
 Lydgate, 7  
 Machiavelli, 11  
 Malbecco, 33  
 Malecasta, 32  
 Malengin, 29 note  
 Malory, 23, 29  
 Marfisa, 36  
 Marinell, 32, 47  
 Mary Stuart, 44, 47  
 Maxentius Tyrius, 17  
 Medoro, 22, 37, 38, 39, 48  
 Medina, 26, 28  
 Melissa, 24  
 Merlin, 32  
 Milton, 28  
 Mordaunt, 25  
 Morpheus, 29  
 Mystics, 8  
 Namo, Duke, 36  
 Neoplatonism, 8, 9, 15, 40  
 New Testament, 7  
 Nisus, 17  
 Old Testament, 7, 8  
 Ollyphant, 32, 47  
 Olympia, 43  
 Orc, 12, 37, 38, 46  
 Oriana, 44  
 Origen, 8, 9  
 Orlando, 12, 15, 17, 22, 23, 37, 38, 39, 43, 44  
 Ovid, 8, 13, 19  
 Oxford, Earl of, 45  
 Palmer, 28  
 Paridell, 44, 45  
 Paul, 8  
 Phaedria, 27  
 Phaon, 27  
 Pharisees, 8  
 Philip II, 47  
 Philo Judaeus, 8, 10  
 Philotime, 27  
 Pico, 9, 10  
 Pinnabello, 12, 30, 34  
 Plato, 8, 13, 14, 18  
 Pollente, 35, 40  
 Porcacchi, 15, 16, 28, 33  
 Porphyry, 8, 9  
 Portugal, 46, 47  
 Proserpine, 27  
 Protéus, 37, 38, 46, 47  
 Puttenham, 17, 18, 19  
 Pyrochles, 27, 43  
 Radigund, 35, 36  
 Raleigh, 21, 22, 44, 46, 47  
 Reformation, 9  
 Ricciardetto, 32  
 Rinaldo, 37, 38  
 Ring of Reason, 29  
 Rodomonte, 35, 40  
 Rowland, 48, 49  
 Ruggiero, 12, 14, 24, 25, 30, 32, 35, 36, 37  
 Sacripant, 32, 37  
 Saint Bartholemew, Massacre of, 46  
 Saint George, 31  
 Saint John, 22  
 Saintsbury, 14  
 Savanarola, 10  
 Schoembs, 16, 22  
 Scudamour, 34, 40  
 Senapo, 29  
 Seymour, Lord Admiral, 21  
 Shield of Arthur and Ruggiero, 30  
 Sidney, 17, 18, 19, 20, 49  
 Skelton, 8  
 Smith, Sir Thomas, 40  
 Snowy Florimel, 36, 39, 44, 46  
 Spain, 46, 47  
 Spenser, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 36, 38-9, 40, 41, 48, 49  
 Spingarn, 14  
 Stewart, John of Baldynneis, 22  
 Stoics, 8  
 Stuart, see Arabella, Mary  
 Stubbs, 46  
 Suffolk, House of, 47  
 Talus, 35  
 Tasso, 14, 16, 23  
 Timias, 39, 44, 46, 47, 48  
 Toscanella, 14, 15, 16, 27, 29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 41  
 Triamond, 40  
 Tristram's Tower, 33  
 Turpine, 30  
 Ulysses, 17, 23, 28  
 Urgandae, 44  
 Virgil, 8, 13, 15, 18, 19, 23  
*Vision of Mirza*, 13  
 Warton, 7, 12, 14, 29  
 Watson, 48  
 Webbe, 17, 18  
 Wyclif, 9  
 Zerbino, 40, 43



UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PUBLICATIONS  
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 55-112

July, 1924

# Thomas Dekker: A Study In Economic and Social Backgrounds

KATE L. GREGG, Ph. D.

A Thesis Submitted in Candidacy for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy



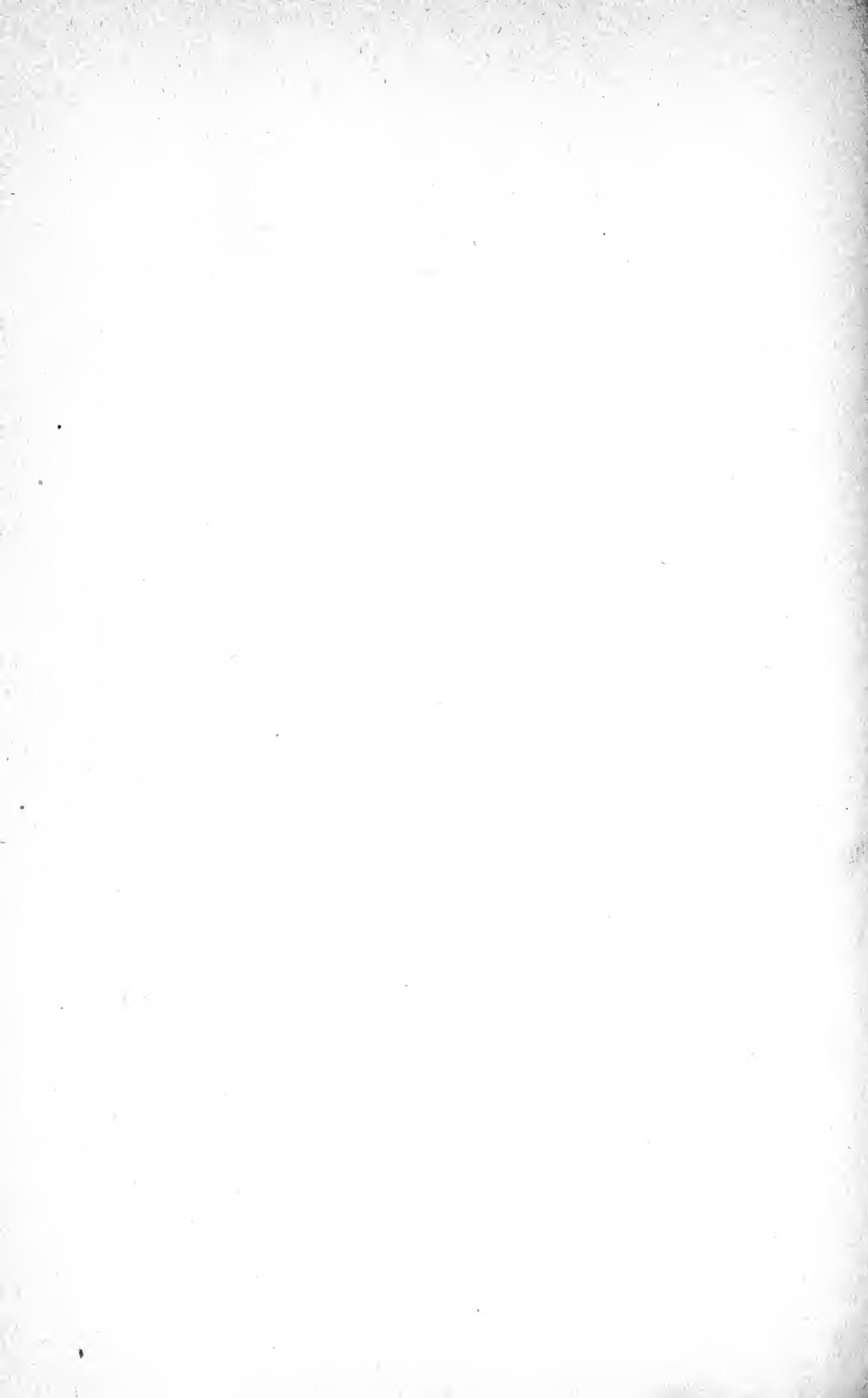
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS  
SEATTLE

55



## CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. Economic Interpretation of Elizabethan Literature . . . . .	61
II. How Dekker Reflects the Economic Problems of His Time . . . . .	70
III. Dekker and the Land Problem I . . . . .	74
IV. Dekker and the Land Problem II . . . . .	85
V. Dekker and Religion . . . . .	92
VI. Dekker and the Government . . . . .	97
Appendix . . . . .	105
Bibliography . . . . .	111



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Acknowledgments are due first of all to Achille Loria whose *Economic Foundations of Society* turned my attention definitely to this interpretation of the Elizabethan period, and to Professor J. E. Thorold Rogers and Professor A. E. Seligman who have emphasized for me the importance of economic factors.

I am deeply indebted to previous students in the Dekker field, especially to Dr. Mary Leland Hunt, whose thesis so ably gathered up all available material on the life and works of Dekker. To R. H. Tawney and Professor E. F. Gay, I am under obligation for their studies of the agrarian problem of the 16th and 17th centuries and to Miss Leonard for her masterly study of English Poor Relief.

I wish again to thank my friends and teachers at the University of Washington, Dean Frederick M. Padelford, Professor Vernon L. Parrington, and Professor Allen R. Benham, for guidance and encouragement. Whatever merits the thesis may have should be ascribed to their helpful suggestions; whatever faults of shallowness or exaggeration should be attributed to the author alone.

To Dr. Lane Cooper of Cornell University and to Mr. E. R. B. Willis of the Cornell library, I owe thanks for graciously putting libraries at my disposal in the revision of this work.

KATE L. GREGG.

Linderwood College,  
St. Charles, Missouri,  
July 1, 1924.



# THOMAS DEKKER: A STUDY IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS

## I.

### ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE

This study is an attempt to apply the economic theory of history to literary criticism. It is based upon the assumption that economic and social forces have a direct bearing upon literature, and that, whether one is considering the work of an individual writer or of an age, the literary historian must take these forces into account. Within a generation, the study of economic and social forces has revolutionized the writing of history, and it bids fair to play a part almost as revolutionary in the interpretation of literature. In so far as a literature is deep and vital, it must take account of the social currents that shape the life of an age. Indeed, to a large extent any literature is itself shaped by these underlying forces and is the result of their complex interaction. Literature, like any other art, is not an inert and passive thing, a mirror hung within the room; rather it is as alive as life itself, taking form and color not only from what falls within its magic scope, but as well from what is excluded therefrom.

This study, then, is deductive. It starts with the hypothesis that the Elizabethan age had conflicting economic and social interests, and that Thomas Dekker, who was a singularly faithful mirror of much of the age, reflected those interests and was shaped by them. That any man of letters of the Elizabethan period was profoundly influenced by conflicting economic and social currents runs directly counter to the great body of criticism, which assumes that such factors do not enter materially into the interpretation of literature, or that if they do, the Elizabethan period was a glorious time when, for a season, ordinary laws were suspended, and mankind lived again in the radiance of the golden age.

As we glance over the history of English scholarship, such an attitude becomes, if not reasonable, at least intelligible. For the most part this scholarship has been so deeply concerned with matters of text, authorship, and source, that quite naturally it has often overlooked the living spirit of the people. Content with the establishment of the text, it has not passed to the further question, of what is this text an expression. Happy in the determination of an authorship, it has not sufficiently concerned itself with the author's relationship to the total society of which he was an expression. In tracing parallelisms in thought and form, it has not taken the one step further in seeking reasons for such similarities in the life of the people. Such neglect of fundamental factors has perhaps resulted necessarily from the deep devotion with which scholars have given themselves to the laborious problems of text, authorship, and source, and we who come in a later day to build on their foundation would indeed be lack-

ing in gratitude were we to reflect in any derogatory way upon their singleness of aim. We should nevertheless realize that a very great part of the scholarship in the Elizabethan field has been of this kind.

But the second group who have failed to see economic and social forces at work in the Elizabethan period cannot be excused on the ground of over-devotion to detail. Their "error hath proceeded from too great a reverence". Led astray by the literature of the age, and disregarding of the social discontent preceding the era and the revolutions succeeding it, these critics have become the authors and adherents of what, for want of a better term, may be called the *glory* theory of Elizabethan life and letters. This epoch was, they tell us, an age of social calm, a glorious period when the snarl of contending classes died away and the nation gave itself over entirely to the fruits of peace—growing industry and the tremendous wealth of increasing trade—, an age when the ugly commonplaces of class struggle were lost in an unprecedented prosperity, swallowed up in a wonderful and spontaneous enthusiasm. Then, if ever, the color and beauty of a new life belongs to every individual; then, if ever, a whole people sang. "Life no longer shut within the heavy masonry of the feudal castle ran glittering in the open sunshine".

"In the sixteenth century", writes Ten Brink, "England still fully deserved the name of merry England. Puritan austerity of manner had not yet begun to scorn the gay, lighthearted festivals of the people, nor silence their merry songs. Old customs and ceremonies were observed with particular faithfulness in the country; at stated times of the year processions, games, dances, were organized, many of which had their origin in the dim, hoary past, some echoing the spirit of the Teutonic myths".<sup>1</sup>

So also Professor Hales:

"Things had settled down in a wonderful way. The immediate future was no longer wholly obscure and to be mistrusted. Men saw the way before them, at least for a little distance; no longer *ibant sub luce maligna*. And they were resolved to go triumphantly on the way they saw before them. They were conscious of their high destiny and set themselves to fulfil it. They woke from a broken slumber of restlessness and anarchy to find themselves a strong and united people; for indeed the sectaries were comparatively a slight and insignificant element. It was a supreme era in English history—a golden time—a time of exultation and joy".<sup>2</sup>

Indeed when the literary historians write of the Elizabethan period they lavishly shower their pages with such epithets as *splendid*, *glorious*, *spacious*, *illustrious*, *ne plus ultra*, and sentences whose dizzy climaxes leave us breathless. These are truths, but only half truths, and they give a distorted picture of the age. Having one of its sources no doubt in the Celtic temperament of Taine, such criticism flows in a never-ending stream, and inundates the histor-

<sup>1</sup> *Five Lectures on Shakespeare* (tr. by J. Franklin, New York, 1895) 25.

<sup>2</sup> J. W. Hales, in the introduction to T. Seccombe and J. W. Allen, *The Age of Shakespeare* (London, 1904) XVII.



ians of literature. Only a few of the critics, notably Jusserand and Sidney Lee, have escaped the spell of words that the Elizabethans themselves wove.

What the masters of literature themselves said of the period, we have accepted at its face value, never questioning their sincerity or their motives. Thus Bacon assures us that it was an age of social calm and unprecedented prosperity:

"As for her government, I assure myself, I shall not exceed, if I do affirm, that this part of the island never had forty-five years of better times; and yet not through the calmness of the season, but through the wisdom of her regiment. . . .

"For if there be considered on the one side, the truth of religion established; the constant peace and security; the good administration of justice; the temperate use of the prerogative, not slackened, nor much strained; the flourishing state of learning, suitable to so excellent a patroness; the convenient estate of wealth and means, both of Crown and subject; the habit of obedience, and the moderation of discontents; and there be considered on the other side the differences of religion; the troubles of neighbor countries; the ambition of Spain, and opposition of Rome; and then, that she was solitary and of herself; these things, I say, considered, as I could not have chosen an instance so recent and so proper, so I suppose I could not have chosen one more remarkable or eminent to the purpose now in hand, which is concerning the conjunction of learning in the prince with felicity in the people".<sup>3</sup>

Shakespeare witnesses to the same content:

Good grows with her:

In her days every man shall eat in safety,  
Under his own vine, what he plants, and sing  
The merry song of peace to all his neighbors:  
God shall be truly known; and those about her  
From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,  
And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.<sup>4</sup>

*Euphues and His England* is so full of praise of the time that it is scarcely necessary to do more than mention its name:

"Infinite were the ensamples that might be alledged, and almost incredible, whereby shee hath shewed hir selfe a Lambe in meekenesse, when she had cause to be a Lion in might, proued a Doue in fauour, when she was prouoked to be an Eagle in fiercenesse, requiting iniuries with benefits, reuenging grudges with gifts, in highest maiestie bearing the lowest minde, forgiuing all that sued for mercie, and forgetting all that deserued iustice. . . .

"This peace hath the Lorde continued with great and vnspeakable goodnesse amonge his chosen people of *England*. How much is that nation bounde to such a Prince, by whome they enioye all benefits of peace, hauing their barnes full, when others famish, their cofers stuffed with gold, when others

<sup>3</sup> *Advancement of Learning, Everyman's Library* 45-46.

<sup>4</sup> *Henry VIII* 5. 5. 50-56.

haue no siluer, their wiues without daunger, when others are defamed, their daughters chast, when others are defloured, theyr houses furnished, when others are fired, where they haue all thinges for superfluitie, others nothing to sustaine their neede. This peace hath God giuen for hir vertues, pittie, moderation, virginitie, which peace, the same God of peace continue for his names sake."<sup>5</sup>

These passages are by no means unique. Indeed, those familiar with the literature of the time recognize that they are but typical of a praise and flattery that knew no satiety in either speaker or hearer. †The Elizabethan prose and poetry with which we are usually familiar are full of the breathless glory of the time,—merry, prosperous England and the generous, virtuous queen. †The tyrannical sovereigns who rode rough-shod over English liberties were Richards and Henrys of another day; the Machiavellian princes were Tamburlaines and Barabases who carried out their ruthless plans in far off Persia or Malta. The liberties of Englishmen were won in other times at cost of life and blood; now they were granted in generosity by a protecting and thoughtful queen. And unless we had indeed been disarmed of our critical panoply by the rare quality of the literature,<sup>6</sup> we would have noticed that praise of government, queen, and ruling class was accompanied by corresponding disesteem of all other classes. The Jack Cades who appeared on the English stage were lawless rebels, "the filth and scum of Kent". The rabble mob, now of one mind now of another, toss their sweaty nightcaps up and run hither and thither led now by caprice, and now by cupidity. These "base mechanicals" by their clownishness, their drunken steps and ribald songs, are in striking contrast to the godlike aspect of the gentlemen at whose hands the drama had its support and encouragement. Nor does the middle class fare much better. Rustic bumpkins appear on the stage to be gulled in poetic justice by the middle class men of the city,—the usurer, the merchant, and the goldsmith, or more humorously yet by the parasites even lower in the social scale, those who having been gulled, have sunk into the company of rogues and vagabonds. The middle class men of the town are made more contemptible still by the ease with which their foolish and frivolous wives become the legitimate prey of the gallants of the court. And Puritanism, the middle class religion, caricatured in silly Malvolio and Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, becomes in the eyes of the aristocratic *litterateur*, a menace that would pull down heaven and confound hell.

‡ From literature such as this, most critics have concluded that there was no discontent in the Elizabethan period. A few, however, mindful that economic unrest usually manifests itself against religious and political institutions, cannot forget that this literature, so redolent of calm and prosperity, was produced under a censorship that ruled such problems out of press and stage with increasing severity. And they conclude that the notes of social content, far from being indicative of calm in the economic state, are, by their very self-consciousness, a sure index of a steadily increasing discontent, and that the Elizabethan

<sup>5</sup> Lyly, *Complete Works* (ed. by R. W. Bond, Oxford, 1902) 2. 208-211.

<sup>6</sup> Felix E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama* (Boston, 1908) XL.

literature, very far from being the instrument of political and religious progressiveness, was the fullest expression of the forces that were striving to beat it back. )

What these forces were, we must now inquire. The censorship of Elizabeth was the final expression of a policy begun by her father, Henry VIII. He set his face against the future in the censorship proclamation of 1542, important to students of the later literature because it not only recognizes the oneness of interest between the church and state, but also the necessity that press and stage be subservient to them. All books of the Old and New Testament in English, of Tyndal's false translation, or comprising any matter of Christian doctrine, articles of the faith or holy scripture contrary to the doctrines set down sithence Anno. Dom. 1540, or to be set forth by the King, were to be abolished. No printer or bookseller was to set forth any of the aforesaid books. No person was to play in interlude, sing, or rime, contrary to the said doctrine. No person was to retain any English books or writing against the holy and blessed sacrament of the altar, or for the maintenance of anabaptists, or other books abolished by the King's proclamation. The Bible was not to be read in English in any church. No women, or artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men of the degree of yeomen or under, husbandmen or laborers were to read the new Testament in English. Nothing was to be taught or maintained contrary to the King's instructions. And if any one did so teach contrary to the King's will, he should for his first offense recant; for his second, abjure and bear a fagot; and for his third, be judged an heretick and be burned and lose all his goods and chattels.<sup>7</sup>

The Parliament of Edward VI repealed the above drastic law, but when the reaction set in after the fall of Somerset, the King's Privy Council issued in 1549 an order that subjected any English book to censorship:

"An Ordre was taken that from hensforth no prenter sholde prente or putt to vente any Englisshe booke butt suche as sholde first be examined by Mr. Secretary Peter, Mr. Secretary Smith, and Mr. Cicill, or the one of them, and allowed by the same, undre payne," etc.<sup>8</sup>

A great step in advance toward effective censorship was the incorporation of the Stationers' Company in 1556. Centralization of all printing in the hands of one company entirely dependent on royal favor, lessened further the likelihood of undesirable criticism by making it a matter of good business policy for the master and wardens of the favored company to hunt down and destroy whatever illicit presses might come into existence.)

<sup>7</sup> *Statutes of the Realm* 3. 894-7; 34 and 35 Henry VIII, cap. 1. Compare also Proclamation of Henry VIII in 1552, a command for all English printers to put their names to their work, and present a first copy of all work to the mayor of the town, and further a prohibition to sell or publish any English books printed beyond the sea upon the subject of religion, without a license from the king, in Jeremy Collier, *Ecclesiastical History*, (London, 1852) 5. 59.

<sup>8</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council, 1547-1558*, 312. Cf. the two proclamations of Edward VI quoted in W. C. Hazlitt, *The English Stage and Drama: Documents and Treatises, Roxburghe Library* (London, 1868-1870) 8-14.

The Queen's Injunction of 1559 defined more explicitly yet the power of the censorship:

"The Queen's Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person shall print any manner of book or paper, except the same be first licenced by her Majesty by express words in writing, or by six of her Privy Council, or be perused and licenced by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, the Chancellors of both Universities, the bishop being ordinary, and the archdeacon also of the place where any such shall be printed, or by two of them, whereof the Ordinary of the place to be always one. And because many pamphlets, plays, and ballads, be often times printed, her Majesty likewise commandeth that no manner of person shall enterprise to print any such, except the same be to him licenced by suche her Majesty's commissioners or three of them, as be appointed in the city of London to hear and determine divers causes ecclesiastical, tending to the execution of certain statutes made last parliament for uniformity of order in religion."<sup>9</sup>

The Star Chamber Ordinances of 1568 tightened the censorship yet more. Every printer had to register an account of his press and materials with the master and wardens of the Company of Stationers. No press was to be allowed outside the city of London except one each in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, all to be in places subject to the free inspection by the wardens of the Company of Stationers. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the High Commissioner in Cases Ecclesiastical should regulate the number of presses and printers. With certain privileged exceptions, nothing should be printed without a license from the above or one of them. The wardens of the Company of Stationers should be the authorized agents to enforce regulations, bringing the offender before the High Commission in Cases Ecclesiastical for examination and punishment. And last of all, the printers' apprentices should be strictly limited.<sup>10</sup>

These censorship proclamations and laws are an unmistakable indication that however much the literature might prate of calm and social content, the government felt quite sure that society was in unstable equilibrium, and it must, in the words of judicious Hooker, "Consider not so much how small the spark is that flieth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire". A play, a pamphlet, a ballad, might be the flash that would start a wholesale conflagration. /

Supplementary to the increasing control of the press, there were frequent proclamations concerning matters that eluded the censorship.

For example, the laws on the statute books were not sufficient to cope with the Famous Admonition of 1572. Archbishop Parker acknowledged in a letter to Burleigh, "Sir, For all the devices that we can make to the contrary, yet some good fellows still labour to print out the vain 'Admonition to the parliament'. Since the first printing it hath been twice printed, and now with additions, whereof I send your honour one of them. We wrote letters to the mayor and some aldermen of London to lay in wait for the charects, printer,

<sup>9</sup> Cf. G. W. Prothero, *Select Statutes and Documents* (Oxford, 1894) 188.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 169; cf. also John Strype, *Life and Acts of Whigifit* 3. 160-165.

and corrector, but I fear they deceive us. They are not willing to disclose this matter".<sup>11</sup> A proclamation from the Queen at this juncture for everyone to deliver up whatever copies he had, seems to have had little result, for the Bishop of London confessed to Burleigh, "The whole Ceittie of London, where no dowt is greate plentie, hath not brought one to my handes".<sup>12</sup> The later development of this controversy brought forth other commands. One of 1589 ordered that all persons who should have in their custody any libels against the order and government of the church of England, or the rites and ceremonies used in it, should deliver the same with convenient speed to their ordinary.<sup>13</sup>

¶ The government took great care that the stage should do its part in fostering the illusion of social calm. As early as May, 1559, there was the familiar proclamation concerning interludes: "the Quenes Maiestie doth straightly forbyd al maner Interludes to be playde, eyther openly, or priuately, except the same be noted before hande, and licenced within any citie or town corporate by the Maior or other chiefe officers of the same, and within any shyre by suche as shal be Lieutenants for the Quenes Maiestie in the same shyre, or by two of the Justices of Peax inhabyting within that part of the shyre where any shalbe played".<sup>14</sup>

The instruction to the censors in the same proclamation makes it perfectly plain that a higher morality was not the sole object of the intended regulation: "And for instruction to euery of the sayde officers, her majestie doth likewise charge euery of them as they will aunswere: that they permyt non to be played wherein either matters of religion or of the governance of the estate of the commonweal shalbe handled, or treated; beyng no meete matters to be wrytten or treated vpon, but by menne of authoritie, learning and wisdom, nor to be handled before any audience but of graue and discreete persons".<sup>15</sup>

¶ The later laws of 1571 and 1596 requiring all fencers, bearwards, common players of interludes and minstrels wandering abroad, on pain of prosecution as vagabonds to secure the patronage of some member of the nobility, changed the attitude of the stage from one of passive obedience to one of active adherence. "These laws", says C. F. Tucker Brooke, "together with the increasing opposition of the London corporation, greatly enhanced the value to the privileged companies of their relation to their noble patrons, and for a very considerable period caused them to regard the satisfaction of popular audiences as a matter altogether subsidiary to their continuance in favor and reputation before the courtly circle".<sup>16</sup>

¶ In stage censorship, as in that of the press, there was the same movement toward centralized power,—control by many merged into control by one. Power of the nobles over the stage passed to an increasing control by the Master of

<sup>11</sup> *Correspondence of Archbishop Parker, Parker Society* (Cambridge, 1853) 397.

<sup>12</sup> E. Arber, *Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy, English Scholars Library* (Westminster, 1895) 23.

<sup>13</sup> *Life of Whitgift* 3. 216.

<sup>14</sup> *The English Stage and Drama* 19.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 19.

<sup>16</sup> C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The English Drama* (New York, 1911) 426.

the Revels, directly and absolutely dependent on the will of the sovereign, with the result that however much the discontent might increase, the chances for it to find expression grew correspondingly less.

| Moreover, those who believe in the freedom of the Elizabethan period from economic distress must forget the increasing social discontent that preceded this era, and the tide that mounted to a deluge within thirty years after James assumed sovereignty. They must conceive the "wretched beggary and miserable poverty", the "great wantonness, importunate superfluitie, and excessive riot" of Sir Thomas More's time metamorphosed into peace and contentment. | They must believe that the spider and fly economics described by John Heywood had been abandoned:

But spiders letting farms, and flies holding farms,  
Th' one letting farms high, th' other selling victuals dear;  
And of all ware sellers each shifteth from harms  
By raising his ware, as other wares appear.  
But all that on their pensions (or peace) live mere  
In windows, without land to let or ware to sell,  
Wherever they dwell may think they dwell in hell.<sup>17</sup>

They must believe that the antagonistic interests represented by the merchant, the knight, and the ploughman of *Gentleness and Nobilitie*, had been reconciled, as likewise those of the knight, doctor, capper, and husbandman in *The Comweal of this Realm of England*. | Then there was universal dearth in the midst of plenty, a woeful lack of money, a steady increase in conversion of arable land to pasture, a decay of towns, townships, and villages, and an increasing diversity and division in religious opinions and beliefs. | We find it hard to believe that the above, along with Simon Fish, Robert Crowley, John Hale, and Bishop Latimer, were inveighing against conditions that would in so short a time end miraculously in unprecedented calm.

| As a matter of fact, Elizabeth inherited the accumulated woes of the four previous reigns and all the troubles that such long-standing evils bring in their train. And far from her having "enough to do without handling economic problems",<sup>18</sup> examination of the laws and proclamations of the time proves without a doubt that these were her first concern. And as from long range we contemplate the part that Elizabeth played in the long historical drama that culminated in the Puritan Revolution and the Revolution of 1688, we understand how exceedingly urgent were these problems of economic and social import. The shifting of power from the land classes to the trade interests of the nation left many an economic grievance in its wake, and a government whose balance of power grew increasingly small was bound by its hope of existence to minimize social discontent to the very limit of its ability. Mighty forces were these, however, that were swinging the English nation, and surface legislation had little or no permanent effect. Elizabeth could put the coinage on a firm basis,

<sup>17</sup> Heywood, *The Spider and the Flye* (ed. by John S. Farmer, London, 1908) 197.

<sup>18</sup> Vida Scudder, *Social Ideals in English Literature* (Boston, 1898) 80.

but she could not restore to homes and prosperity the thousands ruined by the previous financial policy of her father and her brother. Indeed the rise in prices only widened the discrepancy between wages and prices, and the poor continued to get poorer. She could make poor laws, establish hospitals and houses of correction, legislate for rogues and vagabonds, and fix wages—but all to little avail.<sup>19</sup> Posterity decides that her best efforts, well meaning as they were, availed little to check the growing enslavement of the English workman.<sup>20</sup> Legislation against enclosures was of little use. High prices and superior profits in wool inevitably routed the peasant farmer from his little holding and made him a member of the brotherhood of thieves and vagabonds. As the slow returns from land had to compete with the quick returns from trade, the movement of the people from land to trade was irresistible, and the many laws aimed to turn or stem the tide were but making the flood more powerful against the day when it should finally break through the walls. Elizabeth's endeavor throughout her long reign was to pour oil on the troubled water.†

<sup>19</sup> Cf. R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* 193: "The brilliant age which begins with Elizabeth gleams against a background of social misery and squalor."

<sup>20</sup> J. E. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages: The History of English Labor* (London, 1884) 2. 125.

## II

### HOW DEKKER REFLECTS THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF HIS TIME.

The plays and pamphlets of Thomas Dekker are peculiarly suited for a study of the economic and social issues that underlay the social tension in Elizabethan England. London, the center of the clash between the interests of trade and of land, church, and government, was his birthplace.<sup>21</sup> So far as we can discover, he was of the middle class, and so far as we may judge, he had all of its sympathies and limitations. The din of the class conflict was about his ears from his earliest infancy. The year 1572, the probable year of his birth,<sup>22</sup> saw the light of the famous admonition. In this same year Burleigh and the bishop were searching about London—Dekker calls it "my cradle"—for "the charects, the printers, and the corrector". In Dekker's childhood days, London must have followed fervently the replies and counter-replies of the Whitgift-Cartwright controversy; as he grew into his teens, the echoes of the Martin Marprelate quarrel were about his ears; and in his early manhood, he may well have heard Richard Hooker and Walter Travers, as morning and afternoon they debated the issues of church government in the Temple.

| By 1572 the social and economic policies of Elizabeth were well established. The royal supremacy over church and religion had been affirmed, the prayer book had been revised and the thirty-nine articles ratified; the censorship over stage and press had been established, with the discussion of religion and government ruled out of both; the statute of apprentices had been passed; a system of taxation had been instituted for the support of the poor; paupers and vagabonds had been differentiated; houses of correction had been established, and rogue and vagabond statutes passed; the adjustment of wages had been delegated to the justices of the peace; and the coinage had been restored. Such legislation is not indicative of complete calm and total prosperity; it hints of possible discord, misery, and suffering. To determine the viewpoint of Dekker grown to manhood, at the time when the prosperity and the discontent were at their highest and lowest, is the objective of this paper.

| That Dekker was brought up in a Puritan section of the middle class is evident from his range of interest, and his emphasis on Puritan virtues, all set forth in writing so distinguished for its scriptural tone that one is forced to believe that he knew the Bible better than he knew any other book. The Elizabethan world he gives us is quite different from the one we come to know from the pages of Shakespeare. In Dekker, the middle and lower class citizens are not introduced for comic relief, nor for contrast with the proper heroes and heroines of the noble and royal world. Here they are themselves the protagonists and we follow their fortunes with the interest that inheres in them as

<sup>21</sup> Mary Leland Hunt, *Thomas Dekker* (Columbia University Press, 1911) 11.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 12.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. A. F. Lange's critical essay on Dekker in C. M. Gayley, *Representative English Comedies* (New York, 1914) 3. 12.



members of the fraternity of man. On this account some critics have called Dekker the best democrat of his age.<sup>24</sup> As for his emphasis on Puritan virtues, let me refer the reader to the chapter that follows on Dekker's relation to the church and religion.

[Oriental figures of speech, dignified diction, beautiful simplicity—outstanding qualities of Biblical style—characterize the prose style of almost any passage from Dekker that may be selected.] Writing such as this speaks for itself: "More did I behold thus Sleeping, then euer I could before, when my eies were wide open. I climbed to the tops of all the trees in Paradise, and eate sweeter Apples than *Adam* euer tasted, I went into the Star-Chamber of Heauen, where Kings and Princes were set to Barre, and when the Court arose, I fed upon *manna* at a table with Angels. *Ierusalem* was the Pallace I liued in, and Mount *Sion* the hil, from whose top, I was dazled with glories brighter then Sun-beames."<sup>25</sup> As with Bunyan, Ruskin, and Carlyle, the simplicity and beauty of Biblical language seems to have been wrought into Dekker's style by early and long acquaintance.

Since it cannot be proved that Dekker attended either university, and as his writing shows little likelihood of his having done so, we are led to conclude that the Puritan tone of mercantile London was about him most of his life. The argument that he must have known a soldier's life in the Netherlands because he speaks often of the Lowlands, pities poor soldiers, and is adept at Dutch jargon in his plays, is rather negated when we remember that all dramatists of the period speak of broken soldiers and the Netherlands, and that London at the time was full of Flemish refugees turned out of their homes by the Spanish wars. This argument is no more conclusive than the familiar observation that Shakespeare must have been worsted by the law because he speaks so bitterly in regard to the justice of the time. Poor soldiers broken in the Netherlands and the prevailing injustice were stock in trade for all Elizabethan writers. They were merely manifestations of an economic distress that confronted the people daily.

[This middle class Londoner was yet better suited to mirror the social and economic conditions because he seems to have been little interested in ideas for their own sake. He was not theoretical or doctrinaire.<sup>26</sup> For that reason, his writings as they stand may be taken to reflect the characteristic thought of the time rather than the extemporizing of one man. He seems to have been a sensitive barometer of public opinion.]

[Because Dekker was thus a man of little intellectuality in the severer sense of the term, any student who essays to admire him *in toto* must find himself repeatedly disappointed. The dominant element in intellect—power to see relationships and draw conclusions—is one that we look for in vain. Lack of structure, inconsistency, unfinished work, endless collaboration, repeated re-

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Dekker His Dreame*, in *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (ed. by Alexander B. Grosart, London, 1884) 3. 11-12.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Lange's critical essay, 12: "Original in assimilating, but scantily endowed with the reactive power that converted London into an illuminating symbol for Shakespeare."

working of the same vein, page after page of wholesale plagiarism—these the student finds all too often. Plays and prose alike show lamentable lack of structure.<sup>27</sup> Scenes introduced for the sake of racy dialogue; episodes that too frequently find their sole interest in the Elizabethan appreciation of the unusual and the unhealthy—grotesque scenes in houses of correction, prisons, insane asylums, and bawdy houses; lack of development of main themes and unreasonable devotion to minor interests;—these are all too familiar in the make-up of the Dekker plays.† Often the vein is worked after all the gold is extracted; sometimes as in *The Worke for Armourours*, the finish is too abrupt; and frequently the reader feels that the writer was driven to his task with little joy or purpose in him. So many of the plays and prose pamphlets have this deficiency in sound structure that critics are wont to apply hard names to Dekker. One calls him “a hackwriter and a slave”, another “a hack without ideas”, whose work was made still less dignified by a “total lack of the brooding faculty, the austere enthusiasm of a great artist for his art”.

The general agreement among critics that Dekker's carelessness was due in part at least to the conditions under which he wrote, but serves to recommend his writings the more strongly for a study of social conditions. Dekker, says Jusserand, is “another of those authors whose biography can be summed up in the words: poverty, talent, Henslowe quarrels, prison”.<sup>28</sup> Whipple applies to him the words of Johnson, “Toil, envy, want, the patron, and the jail”.<sup>29</sup> R. B. McKerrow says, “In all probability a hard, hand-to-mouth sort of existence, whose only incident was an occasional visit to the debtor's prison.”<sup>30</sup> Ward remarks that he had more than his share of the difficulties that beset the playwright's profession;<sup>31</sup> Grosart sees behind all of his work the dinner demanding urgency;<sup>32</sup> and Lange observes, “Nor is the serenity of perfect mastery ever likely to be his who stands in daily fear of the Counter”.<sup>33</sup> Miss Hunt alone feels that too much has been made of Dekker's poverty.<sup>34</sup> She finds in all his early work an independence and buoyancy quite incompatible with dread of sordid specters, and urges that inasmuch as casual imprisonment in the Counter was the usual thing for men of his class and profession, we must not make too much of it. She cannot, however, escape the notes of distress that are heard in his later work, and frankly recognizes therein the constant fear of poverty and the shade of the prison. To my notion, the sagest comment on Dekker's poverty is in Fleay's *Chronicle*, where he refers to Dekker as the “saddest story in all this book”.<sup>35</sup>

The strongest evidence that Dekker felt driven in his work is his pitiful dependence on public favor. A numbing fear that the nice souls will loath his

<sup>27</sup> A. C. Swinburne, *The Age of Shakespeare* (London, 1908) 62.

<sup>28</sup> J. J. Jusserand, *Literary History of the English People* (New York, 1895.) 2. 548.

<sup>29</sup> *Literature of the Age of Elizabeth* (Boston, 1878) 132.

<sup>30</sup> Introduction to *The Guls Horne Booke* (London, 1904).

<sup>31</sup> *History of English Dramatic Literature* (Oxford, 1899) 2. 454.

<sup>32</sup> 5. 237.

<sup>33</sup> Critical essay, 18.

<sup>34</sup> P. 80.

<sup>35</sup> F. G. Fleay, *Chronicle of the English Drama* (London, 1891) 1. 120.

lowly notes confounds him before he begins.<sup>36</sup> "To come to the presse is more dangerous, then to bee prest to death, for the payne of those Tortures, lasts but a few minutes, but he that lyes vpon the rack in print, hath his flesh torne off by the teeth of *Enuy*, and *Calumny*, euen when he meanes no body any hurt in his graue. . . . Take heed of *Criticks*, they bite (like fish) at any thing, especially at bookes".<sup>37</sup> "Go to one and offer a cobby, if it be merrie, the man likes no light Stuffe, if sad, it will not sell. Another meddles with nothing but what fits the time. I would haue his shop stufte with nothing but proclamations, because he lyes i' the winde only for the change of weather".<sup>38</sup> "A thousand palats must bee pleased with a thousand sawces; and one hundred lines must content fivie hundred dispositions. . . . He is tyed to a stake like a Beare to be baited that comes into Paules Church-yard to bee read".<sup>39</sup>

How often do we hear notes like the following in his work,—plaintive, pitiful notes! "If my manner of Fight doe get out applause, the Belman shall shortly bid you to another Prize".<sup>40</sup> "Beare with the error: and the rather, because it is not wilfully committed".<sup>41</sup> Nothing that is set downe is tedious, because I had a care of thy memorie. Nothing is done twice, because thou mayst take delight in them. If thou art yong, here is pleasure for thee; if old, here is comfort; if thou art poore, here is riches; if thou hast enough, here is more".<sup>42</sup> All of these words have the solicitation of the man anxious to please; under compulsion indeed to find out the fickle pleasure of the public, and if possible come within the range of its favor.

† The study of Dekker is significant from the economic standpoint for still another reason. Besides being of the middle class with its sympathies and limitations, besides being a sensitive mirror to his age, rather than an intellectual interpreter of it,—a mirror rendered the more sensitive by necessity as the years went by—, besides all this he becomes a clearer exponent of the economic clash because he early allied himself with the stage, quite completely under government control. By birth and environment he had the ethics and beliefs of the Puritan middle class; by alliance with the stage, he assumed allegiance to ethics, principles, and a program of life more or less opposed thereto. The gentle soul of Dekker became the battleground where the growing tendency toward democracy, expressed on the one hand by aristocratic Presbyterianism, and on the other by democratic Congregationalism, came into conflict with monarchical Anglicanism. Belief in increasing delegation of power to the people contended with belief in increasing delegation of power to the sovereign; the ethics of the land forces contended with the ethics of the market and trade. Reformation asceticism struggled with Renaissance joy of living.]

<sup>36</sup> *Old Fortunatus*, Pearson 2. 1.

<sup>37</sup> *Newes from Hell*, Grosart 2. 89.

<sup>38</sup> *Iests to Make You Merrie*, Grosart 2. 89.

<sup>39</sup> *A Strange Horse Race*, Grosart 3. 311.

<sup>40</sup> *The Belman of London*, Grosart 3. 67.

<sup>41</sup> *The Wonderful Year*, Grosart 1. 82.

<sup>42</sup> *The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke*, Grosart 5. 8.

### III

#### DEKKER AND THE LAND PROBLEM

##### PART I.

How completely Dekker expressed the economic problems of his age may be seen by comparing the index pages of the Statutes of the Realm with the pictures of the time that we find in his pages. Through the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, the statutes divide rather equally into three classes: (1) statutes having to do with religion; (2) statutes having to do with enclosures,—how to prevent enclosures, how to increase tillage and the grain supply, and how to take care of the beggars, rogues and vagabonds resulting from enclosures; and (3) statutes having to do with encouragement of control of trades. Elizabeth, however, early settled upon her religious policy, and less and less were matters of religion permitted to come to the consideration of Parliament. Once the general policy had been determined, religious questions were, for the safety of the state, deemed proper subject for injunction and proclamation, archbishop, high commission, and privy council. Accordingly, the statutes fell more and more into two parts, those that took care of enclosures with their attendant evils, and those that took care of increased trade.

The enclosure evils of the Elizabethan age stagger the imagination. To be sure, we have our own agrarian tragedy. Our farmers sell below cost, and are forced out of their holdings. Helpless and full of despair,—the prey of railroads and markets and money lenders,—they become tenants where formerly they were owners. Yet their agrarian misery comes not near the dweller in the city, who hears little of it and is able to ignore it. † But the enclosure evils of the age of Elizabeth were great enough to force themselves upon Parliament after Parliament. They became the chief concern of queen, star-chamber, and commission upon commission. In the opinion of the queen and her councillors, the very safety of the state rested upon their ability to palliate or check these evils. How much the agrarian situation claimed the attention of the public may be gathered from the fact that Dekker, London born and London bred, cried out upon its attendant miseries in pamphlet after pamphlet and in play after play.‡

Upon the analysis of the constituents that entered into the general cause of the enclosure movement, whole volumes have been written. The decrease in labor supply on account of the Black Death, the breakdown of custom and tradition as the new nobles of the Tudors and Stuarts came into possession of the soil, the advance in the price of wool for various causes—war in the Netherlands, loss of the Spanish wool supply, immigration of Flemish weavers to England, increase of manufacture—, the debased coinage of Henry VIII and Edward VI, the restored coinage of Elizabeth, the influx of silver from the new world, the increase of wheat-growing in the Baltic regions, the export duties on corn at home, the imitation of countries older in economic develop-

ment,—these enter into fascinating relationships whose beginning is hard to discover and whose course is difficult to trace. For this study, however, the causes of the movement are less important than its effects.

Indeed, whatever the real causes of the enclosure movement may have been, every Parliament that met in the two reigns preceding Elizabeth had to wrestle with its effects. How to increase tillage and the grain supply, how to prevent the decay of houses and towns, how to keep down agrarian riots, how to take care of the impotent poor, and how to punish beggars, thieves and vagabonds—these were the problems that gave the legislators many bad hours. Some of the most important of the statutes having to do with the land problem alone are the following: 1 of Edward VI, cap. 4, on enclosures; 2 and 3 of Edward VI, cap. 12, assurance to tenants; 3 and 4 of Edward VI, cap. 3, concerning commons and waste ground; 5 and 6 of Edward VI, cap. 5, for maintenance of tillage and increase of corn; and 2 and 3 of Phillip and Marie, cap. 2, concerning decayed tillage. The year 1549 seems to have been an unusually stirring one for agrarian troubles. May 22 of that year brought forth a proclamation from the Lord Protector for stay of the people's attempts to break down enclosures,<sup>43</sup> and in June and July of the same year, as the Calendar of State Papers records, Somerset requested Henry, Marquis of Dorset, and Francis, Earl of Huntington, to publish the proclamations against the assembling of lewd persons to throw down enclosures, and to hold themselves in readiness to suppress insurrections.<sup>44</sup> In the following July the Calendar mentions Somerset's letters<sup>45</sup> to the Commissioners for redress of unlawful enclosures, and instructions for the execution of the Statutes of 4 of Henry VII and 7 and 27 of Henry VIII relative thereto. The same month brings letters from Sir Thomas Darcy and Sir John Gates to Cecil, complaining of the insufficiency of the commission concerning the decay of houses of husbandry, enclosures, and the like, and showing the need of further powers in several specified points.<sup>46</sup>

The great share of attention that enclosures received in the statutes of the realm and in the office of the Lord Protector was more than matched by the outpouring of complaint in ballad, sermon, and pamphlet. The sheep that Sir Thomas More had written of in the preceding reign, grown so great devourers and so wild that they ate up and swallowed down the very men themselves, had grown no tamer. The noblemen and gentlemen and abbots continued to enclose all in pastures. They still threw down houses, plucked down towns, and turned the churches into sheep folds. And the husbandmen, poor, silly, wretched souls, continued to be thrust out of doors and wandered forth till they had spent what little they had, and then had nothing to do but steal and be hanged, or turn vagabonds and be cast into prison. A characteristic tract is that entitled, "Certayne causes gathered together wherein is showed the decay

<sup>43</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-1580*, 16.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 18.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* 20.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 20.

of England only by the great multitude of shepe,"<sup>47</sup> valuable, notwithstanding possible inaccuracies, for the estimate it gives of the amount of destitution resulting from enclosures. Nor can one fail to mention the eloquent indignation of Robert Crowley's *Way to Wealth*: "Cormerauntes, gredye gulle; yea, men that would eate vp menne, women, & childryn, are the causes of Seditiō! They take our houses ouer our headdes, they bye our growndes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leaue great (yea vnreasonable) fines, they enclose oure commons! No custome, no lawe or statute can kepe them from oppressing vs in such sorte that we knowe not whyche waye to turn us to lyve."<sup>48</sup>

Of the sermons against enclosures, those of Bishop Latimer are probably best known: "We have good statutes", he says, "made for the commonwealth, as touching commoners and enclosers; many meetings and sessions; but in the end of the matter there cometh forth nothing.<sup>49</sup> . . . Furthermore, if the king's honour, as some men say, standeth in the great multitude of people; then these graziers, inclosers, and rent-rearers, are hinderers of the King's honour. For where as have been a great many householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog."<sup>50</sup>

Simon Fish, John Hale, and John Heywood, along with many a writer whose name has been lost to us,—W. S., for example, of *The Common Weal of this Realm of England*—, poured forth continual protest against forces that they saw changing their Merrie England into a sorry abode for thieves, beggars and vagabonds.

Nor, contrary to popular literary opinion, was there any cessation of the enclosure movement with the accession of Elizabeth. From 1562 on, there is a constant succession of statutes against enclosures and for increase of tillage, —a succession that rises to a crescendo in 1597, the year of the great famine. 5 of Elizabeth, cap. 2 provided for increase of tillage; 8 of Elizabeth, cap. 5, (P.A.) for enclosure of Plumstead Marsh; and 13 of Elizabeth, cap. 13, for increase of tillage. 14 of Elizabeth, cap. 11 re-enacted the previous statute; 14 of Elizabeth, cap. 1 (P. A.) concerned Plumstead Marsh again; and 23 of Elizabeth, cap. 13 concerned enclosure of Earith as well as Plumstead. The same year offers a succession of private acts for rebuilding of towns, denization, rent charges, and increase of copy holdings. 27 of Elizabeth, cap. 4 is against fraudulent conveyances; cap. 27 of the same concerns Plumstead Marsh; 29 of Elizabeth, cap. 5, sect. VIII concerns increase of tillage; and 31 of Elizabeth, cap. 7 provides that no house shall be built in the country unless with four acres of ground attached. 35 of Elizabeth, cap. 6 is directed against enclosure of commons or waste ground in Westminster or London. 35 of Elizabeth, cap. 7 re-enacts previous tillage laws with partial repeal of 5 of Elizabeth, cap. 2 and 39 of Elizabeth, cap. 1.

The Parliament of 1597, in the thirty-ninth year of Elizabeth's reign, was

<sup>47</sup> *Four Supplications, Early English Text Society, extra series* 13. XVIII.

<sup>48</sup> *E. E. T. S., e. s.* 15. 132.

<sup>49</sup> *Sermons, Parker Society Publications* (ed. by G. E. Corrie, Cambridge, 1844) 101.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* 100.

given over entirely to the consideration of enclosures and their attendant evils. When the Parliament met in October, Sir Francis Bacon pointed out "that the overflowing of the people here, makes a shrinking and abate elsewhere. . . . And though it may be thought ill and very prejudicial to Lords that have enclosed great grounds, and pulled down even whole towns, and converted them to sheep pastures; yet considering the increase of people and the benefit of the commonwealth, I doubt not but that every man will deem the revival of former moth-eaten laws in this point a praise-worthy thing. For in matters of policy ill is not to be thought ill, which bringeth forth good. For inclosure of grounds brings depopulation, which brings first, idleness, secondly decay of Tillage, thirdly subversion of Houses, and decay of Charity, and charges to the Poor, fourthly impoverishing the state of the Realm".<sup>51</sup>

"In the end of which said speech", D'Ewes records, "the said Mr. Bacon did move the House that a commission might be appointed to consider of the said matter touching inclosures".<sup>52</sup> The findings of the committee resulted in two statutes, 39 of Elizabeth, cap. 1, versus decay of houses and husbandry, and 39 of Elizabeth, cap. 2, for maintenance of husbandry. The second is interesting for the backward glance it throws over the whole matter of tillage and enclosures: "Whereas from the XXVII yeare of Kinge Henry the Eighte of famous memory untill the five and thirtieth yeare of Her Majesties moste happy Reigne, there was allwayes in force some Lawe whiche did ordeyne a conversion and continuance of a certayne quantitie and proporcion of Lande in Tillage not to be altered; and that in the laste Parliamente helde in the said five and thirtieth yeare of Her Majesties Reigne, partlie by reason of the greate plentie & cheapness of Graine at that tyme within this Realme, and partely by reason of the imperfection and obscuritie of the Lawe made in that case, the same was discontinued; since whiche time there have growen manie more depopulacions, by turning Tillage into Pasture, then at anie time for the like number of yeares heretofore; Be yt enacted . . ." <sup>53</sup> and the bill goes on to provide that all fields converted to pasture since the 17th of November in the first year of Her Majesty's reign, the same fields having been in tillage for twelve years before the conversion, shall be returned to the former state, and all persons transgressing the law shall pay a penalty of twenty shillings a year for each acre involved. That this law was "too weak for the disease" is evident from the Commission Report of 1607. "It is", says Professor Gay, "probably under rather than over the truth to say that in the century and a half before 1607 something over half a million acres of cultivated ground was taken out of the hands of the tillers of the soil and enclosed for sheep pasture".<sup>54</sup>

When the tillage statutes of 39 of Elizabeth came up for repeal in 1601, "Mr. Secretary Cecill said, I do not dwell in the Country, I am not acquainted with the Plough: But I think that whoever doth not maintain the Plough,

<sup>51</sup> D'Ewes, *Journal of Parliaments of Elizabeth* (London, 1862) 551.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 4, pt. 2, pp. 893-4.

<sup>54</sup> *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 17. 587.

destroys this Kingdom. . . . Undo this Statute and you endanger many thousands".<sup>55</sup>

The *Calendar of State Papers* corroborates the governmental interest in enclosures disclosed by examination of the *Statutes of the Realm*. The Queen who came forth like a bird of Paradise, ruffled, befurbeled, and jeweled, striking terror and admiration alike to the hearts of kneeling courtiers, was the queen of fairyland. Never a suspicion in look, action, or appearance that she had come from a session where she had had to be a queen of realities,—where she had had to pore over the draft of a bill for increase of tillage,<sup>56</sup> and run her eye over the lords' committees for the same;<sup>57</sup> where she had had to make notes on the inconveniences that arise from engrossers, forestallers, and regrators, and meditate on the bill for confirmation of 5 of Edward VI against them;<sup>58</sup> where she had had perhaps to scrutinize the list of forty prisoners indicted for offense against the statutes of 1 of Marie, condemning to death for felony two score or more of persons who meet tumultuously to overthrow enclosures.<sup>59</sup> Perhaps she had just written her instructions to the president and the council, ordering among other things that "They shall look after and redress all wrongful taking of commons, decay of husbandry, and oppression of the poor; and if they find any malefactor of great wealth, cause the extremity of law to be publicly executed against him, for example's sake, yet so that the common people do not violently redress themselves, but wait the redress of law".<sup>60</sup> She could have found the basis for her recommendations in memorials sent to her six years earlier, counselling:

"That letters be written to certain discreet gentlemen in every county, to inquire secretly of the unlawful taking in of commons, and decay of houses in parts near to them, . . .

"That letters be written to the Lord Wardens, justices, and other principal gentlemen of the Borders, to enquire as to the decay of houses and tillage, and how the same may be helped, and not to permit further decay.

"That like commission be sent to inquire what is done by virtue of former commissions toward executing the Statute of Queen Mary for enclosings upon the frontiers, and why the whole orders taken by the Commissioners are not put in execution".<sup>61</sup>

As we read, on the one hand, the state papers and statutes of the time with their emphasis on the pressing need of prompt action to stave off disaster to the state, and then meditate on the picture of English society presented in most Elizabethan literature, we find warranty indeed for Shakespeare's remark that "all the world's a stage". In his *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*, H. O. Taylor advances the theory that the Elizabethans were carried

<sup>55</sup> *D'Ewes* 67A.

<sup>56</sup> *C. of P. S., Dom. 1547-1580*, 222, 412, 492.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 412.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 463, 518.

<sup>59</sup> *C. of S. P., Dom., Addenda, 1566-1579*, 83.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* 465.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 65.



out of reality by their new-found power of expression; that the fine imaginings they proclaimed so loudly they came themselves to believe.<sup>62</sup> Whatever the psychological possibilities may be of coming to believe whatever is proclaimed and reiterated, especially with governmental authority to back it, one can see that economically and politically the literature of calm and content was, for a government in hard straits indeed, what a biologist might call protective coloration. |

| On the land problem and its attendant evils, the best Dekker that we know speaks forth. The lofty euphuistic tone and the high sounding phrases that pervade his prose when he is merely posing, are abandoned, and the elaborate metaphorical language of the intellect yields to the simple and direct expression of the emotions. Sometimes he speaks in a poignant minor, full of grief and sorrow, acutely sensitive to the misery and woe that follow the steps of covetousness; sometimes he is sharp and biting in his satire, full of a class consciousness whose bitterness cannot be doubted; sometimes he drops his pointed speech in mocking raillery, and in jesting lightness strikes forth the telling figure of speech, the phrase whose sting cannot cease to rankle. |

The Belman of London looks out with piercing eyes into the country, and remarks:

"I began to hate it wore than (before) I loued it. I fell to dispraise it faster than euer I did commend it. For I found it full of care, and full of craft; full of labour and yet full of penury; I saw the poore husbandman made a slaue to the rich farmour; the farmour racked by his landlord; I saw that couetousnesse made deere yeares when she had fullest barnes; and to curse plentie for being liberal of her blessings. I had heard of no sinne in the Cittie, but I met it in the village; nor any *Vice* in the tradesman, which was not in the ploughman".<sup>63</sup>

The undercurrent of pain that characterizes such writing as this changes in the *Worke for Armorours* to a rather bitter class consciousness. Written presumably in 1609, the year after the *Belman of London*, it echoes the conditions that called forth the Enclosure Commission of 1607. The aphorism,

God helpe the Poore,  
The rich can shift,<sup>64</sup>

strikes the keynote of the pamphlet on the title page. The plague "a purple whip of vengeance", having closed all London playhouses, and turned the comedies to tragedies and the tragedies to nocturnals, the poet for amusement ferried over the Hellespont to the bear garden to see the company of the bears play their tragi-comedies. But no sooner was he entered than the very noise of the place put him in mind of hell: "The beare (dragd to the stake) shewed like a black rugged soule, that was Damned, and newly committed to the infernall *Churle*, the *Dogges* like so many *Diuils* inflicting torments upon it".

<sup>62</sup> 2. 183-184.

<sup>63</sup> *The Belman of London*, Grosart 3. 112.

<sup>64</sup> *Worke for Armorours*, Grosart 4. 87.

Then did he see as the dogs fought with the bears a lusty representation of poor men contending with rich men at law. The dogs might now and then pinch the great ones, and perhaps vex them a little by drawing a few drops of blood from them, but in the end they commonly were crushed, and either were carried away with ribs broken, or their skins torn and hanging about their ears, or else (how great soever their hearts were at the first encounter) they stood at the last, whining at their strong adversaries, when they durst not, or could not beat them. In the whipping of the blind bear having seen a representation of poor starved wretches dragged to the whipping post, and in the antics of the ape in his coat of changeable colors, the unfortunate condition of old soldiers and old servitors, compelled by the vileness of the time to follow the heels of asses with trappings, ignore their vices, and flatter their greatness, he betook himself to an enjoyment of history, there in lively imagination to find the physic that would cure the sick in mind. But as he dwelt in contemplation, a gloomy darkness crept upon the brightness of the morning: "On a suddaine all the aire was filled with noise, as if heauen had bin angry, and chid the earth for her Villanies; people rush headlong together, like torrents running into the sea, full of fury in shew, but loosing the effect of doing violence, because they know not how to do it; their rage and madnesse burning in them like fire in wet straw, it made a great stinking smoake, but had no flame".

As the poet made serious inquiry into the uproar, he found that the quarrel was old, the enmity mortal, and the enemies puissant and fierce. Money, swelling up her bosom with pride, covetousness, and ambition because of the golden mines of the West and East Indies, had begun to despise of late the ranks of Poverty and had "labored by all possible courses not onely to driue the subjects of *Poverty* from hauing commerce in any of her rich & so populous cities, but also wrought (by the cruelty of her own ministers, and those about her) to roote the name, not onely of that infortunate and delected Princessesse from the earth, but euen to banish all her people to wander into desarts, & to perish, she cared not how or where".

"Herevpon strict proclamation went thundering vp and downe her dominions, charging her wealthy subiects, not to negotiate any longer with those beggers that flocke dayly to her kingdome, strong guards were planted at euery gate, to barre their entrance into Cities; whipping-postes and other terrible engines were aduanced in every street to send them home bleeding new, if they were taken wandering, (like sheep broken out of leane pastures into fat) out of their owne liberties".

Thereupon the army of Poverty grew desperate and vowed to take a stand; from their Cades they took brave fire of resolution and said that "*they would dy like men though they were but poore knaues*, and counted the stinkards and scum of the world". Infinite multitudes were soon gathered together and their councillors, Discontent, Hunger, Sloth, Industry, Despair, Carelessness, Repining, Beggary, and Misery began to plan the campaign. Nor was Money idle. With her wise councillors, Covetousness, Providence, Parsimonie, Deceit, Mono-

poly, Violence, and Usury, she entered into the city of which Hardheartedness had been given the keys to keep, and sent forth a proclamation:

“To all and Singular our Shires, Countries, Cities, Corporations, Townes, Villages, Hamblets, etc., by what title or name soeuer, to whose these presents shall come, and to all you our obedient Subjects, Slaves, and Vassailes, commonly stiled by the names of Moneymongers, viz. rich farmers, young Landlords, Engrossers, Graziers, Forestallers, Hucksters, Haglers, etc. . . . greeting”.

After directions to rich farmers to advance, raise and heighten prices, and hoard up corn until the scurvy of worse diseases may run through the army of Poverty, Money next directs the young landlords with all their might and main to stretch the rents until the heart strings of renters be ready to break asunder. She directs them to racke their poor neighbors, call in the old leases and turn out old tenants—those their fathers suffered quietly to enjoy their livings—, change their copy, cancel their old evidence, erase out all works of charity, undo them in a minute that have stood the storms of many an age, make the least of such poor snakes. She told them when they let their land to carry many eyes in their heads, look into every acre, into every bush, every turf, every blade of grass to the full, that those who take the land may make nothing by it, no, not so much as shall keep a blackbird or a sparrow; turn forty pence an acre into forty shillings and laugh at the dead gaffers for not knowing how to make profits as their sons do.

The proclamation of Money brought in its train all the evils with which England was familiar:

“The Farmers clapt their hands, Graziers went vp and downe shrugging their shoulders, Land-lords set all the Scriueners in the country to worke to draw leases, conueiances, defeisances, and I know not what: in three market daies, dearth was made clearke of the market, the rich Curmudgeons made as though they were sorry; but the poor Husbandman looked heauily, his wife wrang her hands, his children pined, his hyndes grumbled, his lean ouer-wrought Jades bit on the bridle”.

Now this description of the land situation is valuable not only for its detailed account of how an Elizabethan thought that enclosures came about, but also for the attention it gives as to why they came about. In spite of the fact that Dekker's mind was not of the constructive bent, in this pamphlet he comes close at least to seeing the vicious circle in which the causes moved. He was undoubtedly right in recognizing a close relation between the influx of wealth from the East and West Indies and the growth of all the evils enumerated above. Whether the wealth came in the form of bullion or in the form of trading profits, the result was the same so far as profits from land were concerned. High prices compelled enclosures, and enclosures compelled high prices.

So far had government and society departed from its theoretical stability that Dekker rather keenly enjoyed anything that tended to upset it still more. There was a chance of a shift that would result in greater justice. As the

plague swept the country there was for him a certain humor in the anxiety of the landlord lest some villain would become his heir, a certain rejoicing in the impartiality of death:

villaines their hopes do honey,  
 And rich men looke as pale as their white money:  
 . . . . .  
 Now each wise-acred Landlord did dispaire,  
 Fearing some villaine should become his heire,  
 . . . . .  
 And each vast Landlord dyes lyke a poore slaue.  
 Their thousand acres makes them but a graue.<sup>65</sup>

The "rich cubs" lurk in shamble smelling rooms amid loathsome prospect, while ruffians ransack their fine houses. What fear drives the coward rich man "being told that the selfe-same bodie of his, which is now so pampered with superfluous fare, so perfumed and bathed in odoriferous waters, and so gaily apparelled in varietie of fashions, must one day be throwne . . . into a rank and rotten grave"! What dismay fills his heart when having gotten safely out of the city of calamity with his gold, plate, jewels and heir, to the parks and palaces of the country, he hears a voice say, "But open thine eyes, thou Foole, and behold that darling of thine eye (thy sonne) turned suddainly into a lumpe of clay: the pestilence hath smote him euen vnder thy wing"! Not content with this heaping up of woe on the poor rich man, Dekker goes on to find a certain satisfaction in the refusal of the sweaty hind to bear forth the burden of sorrow: "That weather-beaten sun-burnt drudge, that not a month since fawned vpon thy Worship like a Spaniell, and like a bond-slave, would haue stoopt lower than thy feete, does now stoppe his nose at they presence, and is ready to set his Mastiue as hye as thy throate, to drive thee from his doore; all thy gold and siluer cannot hire one of those (whom before thou didst scorne) to carry the dead body to his last home".<sup>66</sup>

Nor had Dekker disposed of the oppressors of the poor when he almost gleefully had taken them off in a righteous plague. He found a pleasure in recognizing them in Hell, the landlords who ate men alive in the country,<sup>67</sup> the courtiers who wore whole families in their shoestrings. The relentlessness of Hell begins at the crossing of Acheron, "for there's no regard of age, of sex, of beauty, of riches, of valor, of learning, of greatness, or of birth: He that coves in first, sits no better than the last". "Kings and Clownes, Soldiers and Cowards, Churchmen and Sextons, Aldermen and Cobblers, are all alike to Charon". Courtiers with whole trunks of apparell and grants of monopolies, lawyers laden with leases, clergymen pursy and windless with bearing of three or four church livings, merchants laden with bags of gold stolen from the customs—Charon strips them all of their riches and reduces them to a state of

<sup>65</sup> *The Wonderfull Year, Grosart* 1. 90-91.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* 108.

<sup>67</sup> *Newes from Hell, Grosart* 2. 127.

Irish beggary. There is more justice in the return of the indictments. "Some are arraigned for ambition in the court, some for corruption in the church, some for cruelties in the camp, some for hollowheartedness in the city, some for eating men alive in the country". And then imagination given free rein, Dekker in good journalistic style plunges into description of the tortures suitable for such crimes, description quite worthy the pen of Daniel Defoe or Jonathan Edwards.

Rich men in hell they are welcom.  
 . . . . .  
 Throwe him head-long into our boyling Lake,  
 Where molten Golde runnes.  
 . . . . .  
 His thirst it cannot slake,  
 Seas could not quench his dropsie: Golde to get  
 Hee would hang a Citie, starue a Countrey.<sup>68</sup>

The seven years in prison from 1613 to 1620 did not modify Dekker's opinion of the part that hell should play in the distribution of social justice. As he traveled in his *Dream* through the abodes of woe, he found in the regions of "insufferable inexpressible cold", the same classes that had engaged his attention in previous journeys:

Here I beheld Kennels of fat-paunch'd Dogges,  
 From one to one howling in Dialogues  
 Of Hellish Language, cursing that they sat  
 At prow'd Voluptuous Tables, yet forgat  
 Numm'd Charity, when at their gawdy gates  
 She begg'd but Scraps of their worst Delicates  
 Yet staru'd for want. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 O Diuine Vengeance! how most Iust thou art!  
 What they Stung others with, is Now their smart.<sup>69</sup>

But, on the other hand, Dekker was no less exact in his distribution of justice to those who had suffered the oppression. For him as for all good Calvinists, it lay in the main with the great Exchequer above. In Heaven, land titles were permanent; no wiles of attorney or scarlet awe of corrupt judges ever could wrest them from the rightful owner; they were more strongly founded than descents lineal by which realms were bounded.<sup>70</sup> Justice in the world beyond is, however, an underlying principle of Puritanism, and as such will be discussed at some length in subsequent chapters on church, religion, and government.

<sup>68</sup> *If This be Not a Good Play*, Pearson 3. 357-358.  
<sup>69</sup> *Dekker His Dreame*, Grosart 3. 44.  
<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* 3. 22, 28.

In the preceding pages I have tried to show that the old social evil of enclosures, great in the two preceding reigns, did not abate under the rule of Elizabeth; and secondly, I have pointed out that they were great enough to challenge the attention of Dekker, by birth and environment rather removed from their immediate influence in the country. Dekker's condemnation of the rich men who brought about enclosures is inevitably bound up with his condemnation of all rich men who oppress the poor, and it would therefore be a mistake to regard the evil of enclosures as unrelated to other evils.<sup>11</sup> "The cruelties of these later devouring times" cannot in purport be separated from the more exact statement, "In yonder village, some farmers are now grinding the jawbones of the poor". How closely the evils of the time are linked together is all too evident from such a metaphor as that used by Orlando in describing the danger that threatens his daughter's honor: "My poor Mistris has a waste piece of ground, which is her owne by inheritance, and left to her by her mother; There's a Lord now that goes about, not to take it clean from her, but to enclose it to himself".<sup>12</sup> Middleton, far below Dekker in poetical power, could see the relation between enclosures and the growth of prostitution, but for Dekker the only element connecting the two was identity of the actors, rich and poor in the one case, rich and poor in the other. In this never-failing residuum of class consciousness lurks, I believe, the fundamental note of Dekkerism. This it is which actuates his political satire, his social criticism, and his religious contemplation.<sup>12/</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *The Honest Whore*, Pearson 2. 126.

<sup>12</sup> References to enclosures in Dekker's works (eds. of Pearson and Grosart): *Westward Ho* 2. 45, 299; *The Honest Whore* 2. 45, 79, 126; *The Witch of Edmonton* 4. 401; *The 'Seauen Deadly Sinnes of London* 2. 27, 72; *Newes from Hell* 2. 116, 127; *The Guls Horne-Booke* 2. 236, 245; *The Wonderfull Yeare* 1. 90, 91, 113; *Lanthorne and Candle-light* 3. 208; *The Deade Terme* 4. 35; *Worke for Armourours* 4. 98, 102, 103, 110, 141, 147, 150; *The Ravens Almanac* 4. 187; *The Rearing Girl* 3. 190; *The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke* 2. 53, 76, 189; *Old Fortunatus* 1. 100, 142; *Wonders of a Kingdom* 4. 235; *If This Be not a Good Play* 3. 274, 317, 324, 357, 358; *Dekker His Dreame* 3. 28.

## IV

### DEKKER AND THE LAND PROBLEM

#### PART II

In the foregoing discussion of Dekker and the land problem, I have kept out of view as much as possible the phase of it that touched him most intimately,—the miserable wretches turned out of their holdings and driven off their commons who wandered forth they knew not where; sometimes, when corn was high and enclosures had been more frequent and violent than usual, gathering in riotous mobs to overthrow, burn, and pillage, and if they survived the governmental redress meted out in shootings and hangings, gravitating at last to the cities where they were variously classified as deserving poor, licensed beggars, or rogues and vagabonds. | The social tension that resulted from turning loose in the country thousands of persons of the lowest class gave a tremendous interest to everything that could be learned about them, their haunts, their language, their vices and virtues, their organization, their punishments, the precariousness of their lives, their miserable finish in ditch or on the scaffold. The very great attention of the government to this phase of the enclosure problem is paralleled in the writings of Dekker, not only in the casual figure of speech that gives us a glimpse of the dark Elizabethan background, but often in the pamphlet entirely devoted to the subject and written to take advantage of a particular public interest. |

As was indicated in the foregoing pages, control of the effects of the enclosures vied with enclosures themselves for place in the governmental statutes. | There is this noticeable difference, however, that while both reach their highest peak with the year 1597, a proportionately greater number of statutes are increasingly devoted to the effects of enclosures,—relief of the poor, provision for beggars, and punishment of rogues and vagabonds. |

Relief of the poor, was one of the first subjects that engaged the attention of Elizabeth's government. In the first year of her reign, Parliament re-enacted 2 and 3 of Philip and Mary, cap. 5. licensing beggars, and arranging for collection and distribution of alms. A significant part of the statute provided that if any parish had more poor than it could support, the justices of the peace might equip such indigent persons with begging licenses for a limited territory, but if such beggar should exceed his limits, he should become known as a valiant beggar and be punished accordingly with imprisonment in the stocks. Further provision for orderly charity was made by the law of 1562, cap. 3. Besides arranging for the appointment of alms collectors, the law provided that any one refusing to give for the relief of the poor might be assessed and taxed by the justice of the peace, and for failure to pay, might be sent to jail until he became tractable. This was a notable advance over the previous laws which had collected alms by moral suasion of the parson and bishop.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>73</sup> 5 and 6 Ed. VI. cap. 2, and 7 Ed. VI. cap. 11.

But in 1572, the whole policy of poor relief was changed. "Whereas all the partes of this Realme of England and Wales be presentlye with Roges, vacabondes and Sturdy Beggars exceedinglye pestred, by meanes wherof daylye happeneth in the same Realme horryble Murders, Theftes and other greate Outrages, to the highe displeasure of Almightye God, & to the greate annoye of the Common Weale",<sup>74</sup> Parliament repealed all legislation that permitted licenses to beg and fixed penalties on both beggars and relievers of beggars. A person taken begging should be sent to jail until the next sessions, and if then convicted should be whipped and burnt through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about; for a second offense he should suffer as a felon; and for a third, he should be adjudged to suffer death and loss of land and goods without benefit of clergy or sanctuary.

The fifth clause of the statute defined vagabonds as follows: All persons using subtle crafty and unlawful games and plays, and some feigning to have knowledge of physiognomy, palmistry, or other abused sciences; all persons whole and mighty in body and able to labor, not having land or master, or using lawful merchandise, craft or mystery; all fencers, bearwards, common players in interludes and minstrels, not belonging to any baron of this realm or other person of greater degree; all jugglers, peddlers, tinkers and petty chapmen; common laborers who refuse to work for the customary wages; all scholars unauthorized by Oxford or Cambridge to beg; all shipmen pretending losses at sea; and all persons delivered out of prison who beg for their fines.

The next two clauses provide for overseers of the poor, a definite fund for poor relief, and the parish settlement of all paupers. Any poor found outside his native parish shall be passed from constable to constable until he comes to where he belongs; for refusal to be so bestowed, he shall suffer as a rogue and vagabond the penalties set forth in the first clause. If any aged or impotent person able to work refuses, he shall, for his first offense, be whipt and stocked; for his second, suffer as a rogue and vagabond. The justices of the peace shall moreover provide work for all able to labor.

The law of 1576 added houses of correction, material for work, and governors of the poor. This statute and the foregoing remained the basis for poor relief and punishment of rogues and vagabonds until 1597, when on account of the famine and the high price of corn Parliament had to spend almost its entire session in overhauling the whole subject. Out of a large committee devoted for weeks to the task of sifting the merits of twelve different bills, the statute known as 39 of Elizabeth, cap. 3 emerged. Overseers of the poor were to have power to levy a compulsory poor rate, applicable to four purposes, employment of children of paupers, employment of all others able to work, provision of working materials for the poor, and necessary relief of the lame, blind, old, impotent, and others unable to work. Provision was made for erection of hospitals and work houses, and rich parishes might be rated to help others not so fortunate. Beggars not begging in their own parishes for food,

<sup>74</sup> *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 590; 14 Eliz. cap. 5.



and soldiers and sailors not regularly licensed, were declared rogues and vagabonds, liable to punishment as such. Another statute of the same year<sup>75</sup> provided the punishment. Vagabonds were now to be whipped and returned to the jail or house of correction in their own parish. Dangerous rogues were to be banished, and on return were to suffer death.

The laws of 1597 with their attention to every angle of the subject,—relief of poor, punishment of sturdy rogues, erection of hospitals and work houses, punishment for thieves, lewd and wandering persons calling themselves soldiers and sailors,—still proved to be inadequate. Accordingly in 1601 Parliament modified the laws in some respects to give them the form they kept in England until 1835.

The Parliaments of James found themselves considering the same old questions. "Whereas heretofore divers good and necessarie Lawes and Statutes have beene made and provided for the ereccion of Houses of Correccion, for the suppressing and punishing of Rogues, Vacabondes and other idle vagrant and disorderly persons, which Lawes have not wrought soe good effect as was expected, aswell for that the said Houses of Correccion have not beene buylte according as was intended, as alsoe for that the said Statutes have not beene duly and severely putt in execucion",<sup>76</sup> thus the statue opens, and it proceeds to provide a house of correction in every county, the justices to be fined if they are not built by a certain time, the justices to meet twice a year or oftener in their respective districts, a search having been made previous to the meeting, for the discovery and apprehension of all rogues and idle persons for incarceration in the houses of correction. This statute also provides that men who leave their families on the parish shall suffer as incorrigible rogues. Punishment was to be no light matter, for 1 of James I, cap. 7 provides that the offender shall be branded on the left shoulder with a great Roman R, the mark to be a perpetual sign upon such person through the whole of his or her life, and for a second offense to suffer as a felon with no benefit of clergy.

How closely Dekker followed the humorous tides of his age, as in the dedication to *The Strange Horse Race* he tells us that he loved to do, is more than evident from the way in which the statutory life described above appears in his pages. For some reason he came to know more of miserable beggars, rogues, and vagabonds than any other man of his day, and in describing them produced some of his best writings. In common with half a dozen other men of letters, he gives descriptions of their lairs in barns and hovels, detailed technique of each peculiar roguery, and dictionaries of their canting slang. The intimacy with which he knew the underworld was not a thing to be garnered out of Harmon's *Caveat* or Audeley's *Fraternitie*, though it must be confessed that he was not averse, when public demand ran high, to taking whole pages wherever he could find them. Beggar life was common in London. Any Elizabethan could see it; no Elizabethan could escape it. This man, however, saw it with

<sup>75</sup> 39 Elizabeth, cap. 4.

<sup>76</sup> *Statutes of the Realm* vol. 4, pt. 2, p. 1159; 7 and 8 James I, cap. 4.

a difference. The beggars in their tattered coats, the hungry paupers dragged to the whipping post, the sturdy rogues led to their hangings, entered into him and became a part of him. Sensitive by nature, and the more sensitive to poverty because daily he stood in danger of being swallowed up by it, his imagination made him one with the outcasts and scum of the earth, and he came through their eyes to invest poverty and misery with a certain universality. Shortly after Shakespeare had concluded that all the world was a stage, Dekker was saying that all the world's a prison:

"Doe we not allcome into the world like arrant *Beggers*, without a rag vpon us? doe we not all goe out of the world like *Beggers*, sauing onely an old sheete to couer vs? and shall we not walke vp & downe in the world like *Beggers*, with old blankets pind about vs?"<sup>77</sup> |

The serpent in Eden was Man's Master-thief who robbed him of all;<sup>78</sup> the Manger-Cradled Babe was beggar born.<sup>79</sup> "Who complains of want? of woundes? of cares? of great mens oppressions? of captiuitie? whilst he sleepeth? *Beggers* in their beds take as much pleasure as *Kings*".<sup>80</sup> And the prisoner prays:

"My feete (O my Sauour) are in the snares of the hunter, and like a beast in the Wildernesse haue my enemies pursued mee: I am now entangled in the chaines of captiuitie; yet (O my God) bestow thou vpon mee the freedome of my soule: Soften thou the flintie hearts of those men, that haue cast me into this house of mourning and heauinesse: and as thou didst to *Daniel* in the Lions denne, defend and keepe mee from the iawes of miserie, that are stretched wide open to swallow me vp aliuē. It is for my sinne that I am thus round beset with pouerty, shame, and dishonour. . . . Put into my bosome Good and Charitable thoughts, that I may pray for them that persecute and trouble mee; and that I may vndergoe and passe ouer all their oppressions and bearings of mee downe, with a setled, constant, and suffering spirit. Let this imprisonment (O LORD) bee alwaiēs vnto mee a Booke wherein I may reade, first, the knowledge of thee (which hitherto I haue not studied) and secondly, the knowledge of mysele. . . . And albeit thou hast in thy iudgement and to expresse thy glorie, appointed mee to bee an outcast amongst men, and to be the scum of the world, yet, O Lord, cast mee not out of thy presence, but for thy deare Sons sake, whose blood bought the begger as well as the Prince, make me a free-denizen in the citie of Heauen, So be it."<sup>81</sup>

The punishments to be meted out according to governmental statutes appear in Dekker's pages with the concrete vividness of an eye witness,—the thief that dies at Tyburne for a robbery,<sup>82</sup> the "Beadels of Hell that whip soules in Lucifer's Bridewell",<sup>83</sup> the ragged soldiers whose doom was the halter and

<sup>77</sup> *The Belman of London*, Grosart 3. 89.

<sup>78</sup> *Dekker His Dreame*, Grosart 3. 55.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* 24.

<sup>80</sup> *The Guls Horne-Booke*, Grosart 2. 217.

<sup>81</sup> *The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke*, Grosart 5. 35-36.

<sup>82</sup> *The Seauen Deadly Sinnes of London*, Grosart 2. 27

<sup>83</sup> *Newes from Hell*, Grosart 2. 27.

whipping post,<sup>84</sup> the prisoner that stood upon his coming forth and was put back until he had paid his fees to the keepers,<sup>85</sup> malefactors tortured on the German wheel,<sup>86</sup> Poverty banished to the suburbs to die—sunken eyed wretches, under the walls of the city,<sup>87</sup>—miserable men who have stolen into a debt of ten pounds and are led straightway to execution.<sup>88</sup>

Some of Dekker's rogue pamphlets published between 1607 and 1609 were undoubtedly written to take advantage of the heightened interest in the subject that grew out of the agrarian riots in the middle counties in 1607. Stowe describes them as follows:

"About the middle of this month of May, 1607, a great number of common persons, sodainly assembled themselves in Northamptonshire, and then others of like nature assembled themselves in Warwickshire, and some in Leicestershire, they violently cut and broke downe hedges, filled up ditches, and laid open all such enclosures of commons, and other grounds as they found enclosed, which of auncient time had beene open, and imployed to tillage, these tumultuous persons in Northampton, Warwicke, and Leicestershire grew very strong, being in some places of men, women, and children, a thousand together, and at Hill Posten in Warwickshire there were three thousand, and at Cottesbich there assembled of men, women, and children to the number of full five thousand; these riotous persons bent all their strength to leavell and lay open inclosures, without exercising any manner of theft, or violence upon any man's person, goods, or cattell, and wheresoever they came, they were generally relieved by the neere inhabitants, who sent them not only many carts laden with victuall but also good store of Spades, and Shovells, for speedy performance of their present enterprise, who untill then, some of them were faine to use Bills, Pykes, and such like tools in stead of Mattocks and Spades.

"The twenty seaventh of this month, there were severall Proclamations made, straightly charging them to surcease their disorder, yet neverthesse they ceased not, but rather persisted more eagerly and thereupon the Sheriffs and Justices, had authority given them to suppress them by force, by vertue whereof they raised an Army and scattered them, using all possible means to avoide bloudshed."<sup>89</sup>

With this introduction Stow proceeds to tell how they were led by one John Reynolds, called Captain Pouch from a large wallet he carried. † A Cromwellian figure he seems to have been, deriving his authority he said from the Lord of Heaven, and suffering no swearing or violence in his army, urging them rather to ply their business and make fair work. At the finish, however, he among others suffered death by hanging. Some were indicted for treason, some for felony, and some for riot and unlawful assembly. †

<sup>84</sup> Dekker *His Dreame*, Grosart 3. 45.

<sup>85</sup> *Iests to Make You Merrie*, Grosart 2. 290.

<sup>86</sup> *The Dead Terme*, Grosart 4. 11.

<sup>87</sup> *Worke for Armourours*, Grosart 4. 140.

<sup>88</sup> *Old Fortunatus*, Pearson 1. 100.

<sup>89</sup> Stow, *Annales* 890-891. Cf. the three proclamations of James I which appear in the Appendix.

The stir that these riots made in London may be judged from letters exchanged between the Earl of Shrewsbury in the council and the Earl of Kent in Bedfordshire. If any loose or bad people arise in Bedfordshire, Shrewsbury advises a sound and sharp course to be taken with them at the beginning, "neyther to vse any perswation at all till you have 40 or 50 horses well apoynted, which will run over and cutt in peeces a thousand of such naked rogues as thos are".<sup>90</sup> And Kent replying tells that even before receiving the letter he had sent, and was now sending afresh, letters and warrants to high and petie constables, and to all captains of horse and foot to be ready upon an hour's notice, as well as directions to towns where the country's arms were kept, and to all the armourers to provide all in readiness.<sup>91</sup>

*The Belman of London*, published in 1608, bristles with this imminence of armed conflict. The dedication, "To all those that either by office are sworne to punish, or in their owne loue to vertue, wish to haue the disorders of a State amended", urges the necessity of men "armed with iustice, and well furnished in all points with a desire to conquer these Sauages".<sup>92</sup> And then the Belman, instead of describing the disorders of London, proceeds into the country, sorry to hear that in those places where Innocence and Simplicity should be borne, so much and such ugly villanies should be nourished, and yet glad, too, because only in the airing of such wounds is there any curing of them. In the center of a beautiful grove, he comes upon a homely cottage, where, hidden in the loft by an old beldame, he can hear and see the Ragged Regiment that gather to feast, Villians by birth, Varlets by education, Knaves by profession, Beggars by Statute, and Rogues by Act of Parliament. He hears them devising curses upon Justices of the Peace, Headboroughes, and Constables, "grinding their teeth so hard together for anger, that the grating of a saw in a stone-cutters yard, when it fyles in sunder the ribs of Marble makes not a more horrible noyse". Finally, before turning to investigate the sins of London, he concludes in effect: Considering the greatness of the army, the devilish commanders, what forces they bring to the field, how full of cunning, how politick are the Ring leaders, how resolute are the troops, what strange armour have they to encounter and set upon their opposites, what artillery to batter downe *Order, Law, Custom*, plain dealing, and all the goode guardes and defences of government, "What remaineth therefore, (in an assault so dangerous to a Common wealth, and so hotly and daily prosecuted,) but that Iustice her selfe must come into the field, leading with her all her forces".<sup>93</sup>

*Lanthorne and Candle-light*, published in the next year and dedicated "To my owne Nation", keeps the figure of the armed conflict, and speaks at the very beginning of "new forces . . . to bee leauied against certaine Wilde and Barbarous Rebels, that were vp in open arms against the Tranquilitie of the Weale publique".<sup>94</sup> In view of the post that Shrewsbury and Kent kept ready

<sup>90</sup> E. F. Gay, *The Midland Revolt*, *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 2 ser. vol. 18, p. 241.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* 242.

<sup>92</sup> *The Belman of London*, Grosart 3. 65.

<sup>93</sup> Grosart 3. 168.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* 181.

for instant service, how aptly Dekker writes of the light horsemen that come in at every hour with news of where the mutineers lie intrenched, who are their leaders, how they go armed, and the number of their horse and foot!<sup>95</sup>

The title of the tract *Worke for Armourours* may possibly have been suggested by the letter which the Earl of Kent wrote to his brother, the Earl of Shrewsbury, a member of the privy council, under date of June 6, 1607, for in this letter he speaks of having given "speciall direccons to those Townes where the Countrys Armes are kept and to all the Armourers to provide for the readiness and safetie of the Armes".<sup>96</sup> Indeed, the agrarian riots in the middle counties aside, I cannot discover any occasion which might have furnished work for armourers between 1607 and 1609. The proclamation of Money, banishing all that were like to be of Poverty's company for fear they should revolt in time of need,<sup>97</sup> seems to be a blend of the royal proclamation of September 3, 1603—"dangerous rogues to be banished so appointed by the Lords of the Councill, and confirmed by the King",<sup>98</sup> and the sharp orders of the council to various counties in 1607 to take a firm stand against inclosure riots.<sup>99</sup> The resolve of the army of Poverty that "they would dy like men though they were but poor knaues"<sup>100</sup> tallies with the resolution of the "poore Delters and Daylabourers for ye good of ye Comonwealth till death",<sup>101</sup> which Professor Gay assigns to the same period. It is better to die manfully, this resolution declares, than "to be pined to death for want of it which those devouring encroachers do serve theyr fatt hogges and sheep withall".<sup>102</sup> The second proclamation of Money when she had entered into the city of which Hardheartedness had been given the keys to keep, is reminiscent of the royal proclamation of April, 1603, touching prices of victuals,<sup>103</sup> and in its beginning "To all and Singular our Shires, Counties", might ape many a proclamation in that Reign of Proclamations. There is, furthermore, considerable similarity between the army of Captain Pouch which did no violence and the army of Poverty where discontent smoldered like fire in wet straw: They did nothing because they knew not what to do. The finish of the *Worke for Armourours* in which, despite the great stir, nothing much happened, may be a reflection on the uselessness of the work of the commission which James appointed to investigate, for the report was ruled out because of some technicality and enclosures went on as before.

¶ The social conflict that characterizes these rogue pamphlets of 1608-9 is in very great part, I believe, a reflection of the agrarian troubles that mounted to armed conflict in the summer of 1607, and Dekker used its machinery, not only because it gave greater dramatic interest to the pamphlets, and hence better sale, but also because he himself emotionally and intellectually saw life in terms of social conflict. ¶

<sup>95</sup> Gay 238-244.

<sup>96</sup> Gay 242.

<sup>97</sup> Grosart 4. 140.

<sup>98</sup> Stow 828.

<sup>99</sup> Gay 216.

<sup>100</sup> Grosart 4. 110.

<sup>101</sup> Gay 214, note.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.* 214, note.

<sup>103</sup> *C. of S. P. 1603-1610*, 66.

## V

## DEKKER AND RELIGION

Dekker's attitude toward church and religion is quite consistent with his attitude toward the land problem. Just as he extolled the protection offered to the lower classes by the nobility, so he praised the whole polity of the church of England, and just as he zealously attacked the forces that were changing the equilibrium in governmental affairs, so he assailed whatever forces might be interfering with the supremacy of the Anglican church.

It was therefore with considerable gusto that he gave himself to expressions of hate against Catholics when the Gun-Powder Plot had made that particular hatred exceedingly popular. *The Double PP*, published in 1606, is no less pronounced in antipathy to Papists than in devotion to Anglican church and government. Opposed to the Papist bearing ten shields, each symbolical of a class of supporting Catholics, stood the Protestant likewise armed with his band of supporting loyalists. The Jesuit who marshalled the way for the Catholic contingent was the quintessence of horrors and terrors, and manifested his wickedness even in his physical appearance:

A *Harpye* face; a *Foxes* head:  
 (In *Lamb-Skins* closely couered)  
 A *Mandrakes* voice, whose tunes are cries,  
 So peircing that the *Hearer* dies.

Mouth'd like an *Ape*, his innate spite  
 Being to mock *Those* hee cannot bite:  
 Neckt like a *Crane*, hee chawes a *Crowne*,  
 But choakes before hee gets it downe.<sup>104</sup>

Then this Jesuit is depicted as undergoing strange transformations. Sometimes the garments that he wears are the turned skins of wolves and bears, sometimes the feathers of the dove, sometimes those of the peacock. He creeps into rooks' and martins' nests, he climbs up to the eaves of the bishop's palace, he turns into a butterfly, and beats his wings against the anointed head of the ruler.

Sometimes hee's neither beast, nor man,  
 Nor Bird, nor a *Leuiathan*,  
 But an *Essentiall* diuell. . . .<sup>105</sup>

He is, in brief, the emblem of hypocrisy, the enemy and scourge of all the nations.

<sup>104</sup> *The Double PP*, Grosart 2. 162.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.* 164.

The first type of Papist is the "fawning couchant" Papist; the second, the "secret passant one who goes to church often enough to stay out of the clutches of the law"; the third, the "Passant gardent" Papist who spends his time scenting out secrets of state to carry to Rheims or Rome; the fourth, the "Papist Variet", appearing as Puritan, Protestant, and Catholic in turn:

When *Mary* rules, he blows the *martirs* fire,  
 And when her Sister, gainst the *Masse* hee railes.  
 But when your *Royall selfe* was to aspire  
 To that which was your owne, hee flagd his Soule,  
 Watching what wind turnd next, to which he vailes,  
 His Surly top. But playing many parts,  
 Hee cannot but haue many dangerous hearts.<sup>106</sup>

The fifth is the "Papist Volant", who flees the realm on account of conscience, whose essence is gross treason; the sixth, the "Papist Seminant", closely related to the Jesuit and successful in sowing rank disloyalty by cavilling over questions of allegiance; the seventh, the "Papist Salliant", representative of a spiteful class gone over to Rome because dissatisfied with governmental policy; the eighth, the "Papist Rampant", who runs

To dambd Conspiracies, In which are spun  
*Kings, Queenes, & Princes* deaths; & (as with Thunder)  
 Whole *Empires* at one blow they riue in sunder.

The ninth is the "Papist Umbreant", who in dark cellars and vaults carries out the infamous schemes conjured up by his master, the "Furious Beast". Last of the retinue is the Hanger-on, too harmless to be included in any of the foregoing classes and too numerous to be disregarded.

Delineation of these uncomplimentary portraits did not exhaust the subject for Dekker. In 1612 he carried Papists into the infernal regions by making Guy Faux a character in *If This be not a Good Play, the Devil is in it*. The last scene pictures Ravellae and Faux enduring hellish torment that in poetic retribution for crimes committed is Dantesque. Above the horror of pandemonium, its cries of pain and the ravings of the damned for merciful drink, rise the frantic yells of Faux: "Towers, towers, towers, pinnacles and towers, . . . When the barrel tops are fired, I shall be grinded into dust." . . . "It falls, I am mad". And the demons echo, "I am mad, I am mad, Ha, ha, ha, ho, ho".<sup>107</sup>

‡ But as much as he hated the Papists who made war on the church from without, he feared equally the heresy, schism, and faction that weakened it from within. †"Driue all foxes, and rauening wolues out of this thy Temple", he prayed, "and admit none but Lambes (clothed in puritie & innocencie of life) with thy chosen flocke to feede there. . . . O Lord, weed this great and universal garden of thine from al thornes and briers, that seeke to choake the good

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.* 174.

<sup>107</sup> *If This Be not a Good Play*, Pearson 3. 349.

seed; plant in it none but grafts of thine owne nurcerie, so shalt thou bee sure they will bring fourth fruite, faire for shew, sweet for taste, wholesome for vse, and such as shall bud out in due season".<sup>108</sup> In the horrors of the last day amidst treason, slavery, and civil strife, Religion with Error and Schism at her side, will increase the confusion by opinion, faction, and heresy.<sup>109</sup> And if you penetrate to the infernal regions themselves, there in the midst you will see Satan issuing orders to "Those churchmen that bind themselues together in schismes";<sup>110</sup> and if you linger a while, you may see them hauled willy-nilly to the fearful judgment.<sup>111</sup>

[Dekker's antipathy to Puritans as the chief of heretics shines forth in almost every play and pamphlet. Sometimes it is evident in the figure of speech that takes a fling at Puritan aversion to plays, Maypoles, dancing, or swearing; sometimes in satire of their nasal twang and soberness of dress or manner. More often, however, in sterner spirit he takes them to task for dishonesty and hypocrisy. Nothing that he wrote of them is more scathing than the genealogy worked out in *The Divels Last Will and Testament*. Hypocrisy, child of Satan, was put forth to be nursed by an Anabaptist of Amsterdam, while Ingratitude, his twin brother, was brought up at home. The first when grown ready for a master was bound to a Puritan tailor and learned to make cloaks of religion of a thousand colors. At one time he lived with a vizard-maker and learned to wear two faces under one hood. Afterward, "hee trauelled into *Italy*, and there learned to embrace with one arme, and stabbe with another; to smile in your face, yet to wish a ponyard in your bosome: to protest, and yet lye: to sweare loue, yet hate mortally".<sup>112</sup> From Italy he returned to the Low Countries, and thence came to England. "Hee hath a winning and bewitching presence, a sweete breath, a musicall voyce, and a warme soft hand. But it is dangerous to keepe company with him, because he can alter himselfe into sundry shapes. In the City hee is a Dogge, and will fawne vpon you: In the fields hee is a Lyons Whelpe, and will play with you: In the Sea, hee is a Mer-mayd, and will sing to you. But that fawning is but to reach at your throat: that playing is to get you into his pawes, and that singing is nothing else but to sink and confound you for euer".<sup>113</sup>

The Puritan is pictured as the embodiment of destruction. Content not even with the chaos of Bedlam, he was never happy until he pulled down the steeple, and hanged himself in the bell-rope.<sup>114</sup> In the realm of Pluto, he exclaimed, when apologizing for his distorted body,

Alacke!

How can I choose but halt, goe lame and crooked!  
When I pulled a whole church downe upon my backe.

<sup>108</sup> *Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke*, Grosart 5. 47.

<sup>109</sup> *Dekker His Dreame*, Grosart 3. 15.

<sup>110</sup> *Newes from Hell*, Grosart 2. 134.

<sup>111</sup> *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, Grosart 3. 208.

<sup>112</sup> *The Divels Last Will and Testament*, Grosart 3. 358.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.* 3. 359.

<sup>114</sup> *The Honest Whore*, Pearson 2. 79.



And Minos, sensitive to the dangers threatening the infernal regions, shouted out,  
Hence with him, he will pull all hell downe, too.<sup>115</sup>

But because Dekker laughed at Puritans for their grotesque oddities and satirized them roundly for their efforts at democratization of church government, we are not to assume that Dekker was blind to the fact that the practise of the English Church fell far short of its theory. Dekker fully accorded with the demand of the reform party for an industrious clergy. "A *Pastor*, that hauing a Flocke to feede, suffers them to breake into strange fields, lets them stray he cares not how; be dragged away by the Wolfe, he regards not whither: seeth them sicke and diseased, and will not cure them: hee is a *Catch-poll*".<sup>116</sup> Such a pastor is a fat retainer for sloth when he rides abroad in his litter, and as such to be classed with anglers, players, wenches, gamsters, panders, and fiddlers.<sup>117</sup> Under another figure, Dekker asks, "If the pilot sleep, what shall prevent the whole venture from being lost on the dangerous rocks"? And in the *Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke*, he prays, "Suffer not, O Lord, the vnprofitable weede (of sloth) to grow vp amongst the Ministers of thy word: let no standing waters be in thy Church, but giue swiftnesse to them that they may all bee running streames, so shall thy pastures bee watered and bring foorth increase: so shall thy flockes be well tended, when the sheepheards bee watchful".<sup>118</sup>

But as hurtful to the church at the slothful pastors, the dumb ministers, were those who neglected the flock by possession of pluralities. One ran so "horrible fast after foure Benefices all at one time" that "hee caught such an incurable cold (by reason of his pursinesse,) that hee lost his voyce," so that he never spoke after to any great purpose.<sup>119</sup> This preacher was of the group reported in *Newes from Hell*, who had grown so fat and pury from bearing three or four livings that they could scarcely speak when hauled to the judgment bar.

The explanation for the discrepancy between theory and practice in the church and in the government, Dekker, as most men of the time, found in the dictrine of Calvinism. The curse of Adam, it was, that made landlords rack-rent poor tenants, turn out to roguery and vagabondage the classes they were bound in honor to protect; this it was that made men live basely, content to "feede upon the bread that the sweat of other mens browes" did earn; this it was that made them abase their consciences in monopolies, briberies, simonies, brokerage fees, and usury, barter away their souls for the sake of filthy money; this, on the other hand, it was that made poor men often lazy, dishonest, and shiftless; in brief, this it was that accounted for all the failure of the theory of divine harmony in universe, state, and church, to organize and make intelligible the life that the Elizabethans lived.

<sup>115</sup> *If This Be not a Good Play*, Pearson 3. 359.

<sup>116</sup> *The Catch-Pols Masque*, Grosart 3. 367.

<sup>117</sup> *The Seauen Deadly Sinnes of London*, Grosart 2. 56.

<sup>118</sup> *The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke*, Grosart 5. 75.

<sup>119</sup> *A Strange Horse-Race*, Grosart 3. 342.

! But though the earth was given over to depraved man,—God's greatest enemy—,<sup>120</sup> the justice, righteousness, and wisdom of the Most High could not be questioned. Just beyond corruption, merciful beyond our deserving, and mighty above our comprehension,<sup>121</sup> it was a part of His glory to make us, and a greater part of His glory to save us from the consequences of our sinful natures.<sup>122</sup> By affliction, personal and social, he tries to divert us to paths of righteousness, but we, led away by desires of the flesh (money-getting, chiefly) disregard all warning notes and rush heedlessly on to destruction. It is for our sin that we are beset with poverty, shame, and dishonor; it is for our sin that famine, war, and pestilence fall upon the people. This intimate relationship between personal sin and national calamity had a first place in all of Dekker's muck-raking pamphlets, and probably had a considerable part in making him one of the popular writers of his day. Such a blending of religion and patriotism was highly acceptable to a nation headed straight toward theocratic ideals.

The best evidence for the Calvinistic beliefs of Dekker is to be found in the prayers that make up *The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke*. Acknowledgment of the absolute sovereignty of God, the depravity of man, the necessity of prayer and repentance, the vanity of this world and the desirability of the one to come, find a place on every page. "So mortify my affections", Dekker prays, "that every day, casting behinde my backe the comfort, the care, the vanities, the vileness, the pleasures, and the sorrows of this bewitching world, I may continually haue this cry aloud in my mouth,—'I desire to be dissolved and to be with thee'."<sup>123</sup>

When Dekker thought of religion in connection with the state, he was a staunch Anglican; when he considered abuse in the church, he was a Puritan; when he considered the relations between man, God, and the universe, he was a Calvinist, and as a Calvinist emphasized the omnipotence of God, the depravity of man, the need for repentance, the marvels of God's grace, the danger of the world, the flesh, and the devil, as stoutly as the most extreme Puritan.

<sup>120</sup> *If This Be not a Good Play*, Pearson 3. 319.

<sup>121</sup> *The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke*, Grosart 5. 27.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.* 26.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.* 22.

## VI

### DEKKER AND THE GOVERNMENT

The Dekker of the preceding chapter, torn between traditional devotion to the land classes and pity and sorrow for the misery that their land enclosures brought upon the helpless peasants, meets us again as we analyze his attitude toward the government as a whole. Political theory inherited from medieval philosophers failed to square with Elizabethan practice, and Dekker, savage and sad by turns, gropingly reached out to the new ideals of the future. Critics who emphasize his modern tendencies toward democracy by ignoring his adherence to the hierarchical political system, achieve consistency at too great a price, for Dekker bound to support the government as it was, is no less real than Dekker looking forward vaguely to democratic equality. A consideration of the political theory he espoused and his dissatisfaction with its actual working sheds light not only upon Dekker, but upon the whole middle class movement, dominated more or less vaguely by democratic ideals.

Students who emphatically urge the democracy of Dekker do so by casting aside as sorry bread-winning pamphlets the very prose that shows him to be as thorough-going a conservative as Spenser, Shakespeare, Bacon, or Jonson. In an age when the government felt its power slipping, when already the impending revolutions were casting their shadows over the land, the greatest evil the conservative could imagine was change; the greatest good a maintenance of the *status quo*! Shakespeare phrased the theory quite completely in these words:

Degree being vizarded,  
The unworthiest shows as fairly in the mask.  
The heavens themselves, the planets and the centre,  
Observe degree, priority and place,  
Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,  
Office and custom in all line of order:  
And therefore is the glorious planet Sol  
In noble eminence enthroned and sphered  
Amidst the other; whose medicinable eye  
Corrects the ill aspects of planets evil,  
And posts like the commandment of a king,  
Sans check to good and bad: but when the planets  
In evil mixture to disorder wander,  
What plagues and what portents, what mutiny,  
What raging of the sea, shaking of earth,  
Commotion in the winds, frights, changes, horrors,  
Divert and crack, rend and deracinate  
The unity and married calm of states  
Quite from their fixture! O, when degree is shaken,  
Which is the ladder to all high designs,

The enterprise is sick! How could communities,  
 Degrees in schools and brotherhoods in cities,  
 Peaceful commerce from dividable shores,  
 The primogenitive and due of birth,  
 Prerogative of age, crowns, scepters, laurels,  
 But by degree, stand in authentic place?  
 Take but degree away, untune that string,  
 And, hark, what discord follows!<sup>124</sup>

{The social system according to this theory is a harmonious whole linked inevitably with the larger harmony of the crystal spheres, and any slightest change in the order of the smallest part, plunges the world into universal chaos. Justice is an expression of the perfect balance, and depends absolutely on the maintenance of the primeval concord in relation of part to part, and part to whole; once transgression of the pre-established harmony comes to pass in form of fault, crime, or inordinate passion, the injustice is manifest immediately in menacing heavens and tempests dropping fire.

This too is the philosophy of Bacon. "For the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be in the notions of the planets under *primum mobile*, according to the old opinion, which is that every one of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion. And therefore when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, . . . it is a sign the orbs are out of frame".<sup>125</sup> John Heywood, in *The Spider and the Fly*, phrased the same philosophy in these words:

The God hath placed us all to live out of strife,  
 Spiders, flies, and ants, each sort in their degree.  
 Spiders, in head parts of windows, the heads be;  
 Flies in the midst; the body as it were;  
 Ants at the low part, the feet accounted there.

. . . . .  
 And when all three sorts keep quietly their place,  
 All live together in quiet wealthy case.<sup>126</sup>

This theory of a divinely instituted harmony set forth by the foregoing is exactly what I find in a good part of Dekker's work. It differs from the above only in being less philosophical, and more given to detailed description of just the part each estate is to play in the governmental harmony.

The conception of a universe moving in pre-established concord, and that of a state government moving in subordinate tuneful unity, can readily enough be seen in the dedication of *The Double PP* to all the nobility, clergy, and gentry of Great Britain, that

like the sollid wheelles of *Fate*,  
 Giue sweete or troubled *Motion* to a *State*.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>124</sup> *Troilus and Cressida* 1. 3. 83-110.

<sup>125</sup> *Essays: Seditions and Troubles*.

<sup>126</sup> Farmer's Edition 346.

<sup>127</sup> *The Double PP, Grosart* 2. 159.

The sin of the Papist is his attempt to disturb the divinely revealed order in an effort to climb above archbishops, bishops, councillors, dukes, earls, and the like, trample on the necks of king and queen, and eventually bring about an utter chaos in religion, state, and truth; while the virtue of the Protestant is his submission to the established harmony and his willingness to fight for its perpetuity.

In setting forth the intimacy of relationship between the different parts of the governmental system, Dekker, like St. Paul and Aristotle, and more especially the medieval philosophers, Nicholas Cusanus and John of Salisbury, is fond of metaphors that liken it to a living organism. The nobleman is a graft so wrought into the royal stem that alike they suffer together; he is the soul of the kingdom's life, and if they are separated a star drops out of heaven. The councillor is the ear and voice of the state, no man sleeps, speaks, or eats, but by the judge and the law; the scholar is honor's beauty and the state's honor; the soldier is the strength of the nation; the artificer, the nervous strings that fortify the heart; the king, indeed, may be all of these, like Agamemnon,

nerve and bone of Greece,  
Heart of our numbers, soul, and only spirit,  
In whom the temper, and the minds of all  
Should be shut up,

or, in the words of both Bacon and Dekker, may be in fact a very god.

But when we put together all the passages that relate to the function of each succeeding class in the governmental system, the attitude of Dekker becomes still more apparent. If we wish to see the theory in its wildest extravagance, we should turn to the *Kings Entertainment*, arranged to capture the approval and admiration of James when he made his triumphant passage through the city in March, 1603. Through various pageants and devices that figure forth the power of majesty, we come to the end of Soperlane where one of the choristers of Paul's explains that after Elizabeth died, Destruction and Oblivion prevailed until the sacred Phoenix James brought all happiness to the land. The finest statement of the woes that follow upon loss of majesty and the blessings that ensue upon its restoration, is in the speech made at the Arch over the Conduit in Fleet Street. At the funeral pile of Elizabeth's dead majesty, he tells us, the populous globe of the English Isle seemed to move backward. All states from nobles down to meaner fates moved opposite to nature and to peace, as if they had been the Antipodes, but at the virtue of a regal eye again, the globe resumed its wonted line, and the elements moved in peaceful motion. Envy turned her own poisonous snakes against her own maw, and Justice, Fortitude, Temperance, and Prudence came to dwell in sovereignty.<sup>128</sup>

One might, on Dekker's authority, ascribe this to Middleton if its spirit and language did not agree with Dekker's own sentiments in many another passage. In the same year of 1603, the plague pamphlet called *The Wonderful Yeare* appeared. To the nation, he says, that in her reign never understood

<sup>128</sup> *Kings Entertainment*, Pearson 1. 319-320.

what that strange outlandish word *Change* might signify, the news of her death brought fear and astonishment: "O what an Earthquake is the alteration of a State! Looke from the Chamber of Presence, to the Farmers cottage, and you shall finde nothing but distraction: the whole Kingdome seemes a wildernes, and the people in it are transformed to wild men".<sup>129</sup> But as soon as James, the "*omne bonum* from the holesome North", ascended the English throne and swept his regal eye over the troubled rout, confusion fled away, and men resumed their trades and occupations in peace.

The sovereign indeed is a colossus who supports the whole land,<sup>130</sup> the first and capital column whose point reaches to the stars,<sup>131</sup> the sun that dispenses heat, light, and life;<sup>132</sup> he rules by divine right in majesty equal to Jove,<sup>133</sup> and must needs be deified.<sup>134</sup>

The councillor in the realm is the king's auxiliary. Lest the nation be shaken by tempests, lest the ship of state run upon rocks of inevitable danger, the prayer for the council entreats:

"Appoint Prouidence, to dwell vpon their browes, that they may fore see thine and our enemies: bid watchfulness to sit on their eye-lids, to meete the stroake when it is coming, and courage to buckle armour to their brests, that they may valiantly beare it off without shrinking: let zeale & integritie go on either side of them, to make them walk vpriight, whilst concord holdes them hand in hand to preserue them from factions. . . . As they are one body in Counsell, so let all their counsels bee to the safety of one head".<sup>135</sup>

The noble, as pointed out in the previous chapter, is so much one with the king that injured they suffer together, and in the relation of protector to the classes below him, so much a connecting link between the highest and the lowest that he may well be called the life of the nation, indeed, its very soul.

The church is the school where the divine order is revealed, the meeting place, as it were, of the universal and the temporal, and for that reason the various orders of the clergy take on a grave importance. If the council is the compass, the church is the blue-printed chart, and the clergy the pilots that marshal soul, state, and universe safely on its destined way. They are "Stewards over the Kings house of heaven, and lye heere as Embassadors about the greatest State matters in the world". The bishop carries Christ's standard, Peter's sword, and Peter's word, and tunes his voice so sweetly in the councils of heaven that he is sent to be speaker in God's Parliament. He is the gardener of the land, and goes about plucking out the weeds of heresy and schism. The lower clergy intimately and more concretely carry out the program of their superiors by rooting out discord wherever they find it. They specifically point out the iniquity of rebellion, and the blessedness of submission.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>129</sup> *The Wonderfull Yeare, Grosart* 1. 87-88.

<sup>130</sup> *If This Be not a Good Play, Pearson* 3. 354.

<sup>131</sup> *The Dead Terme, Grosart* 4. 23.

<sup>132</sup> *The Suns Darling, Pearson* 4. 335.

<sup>133</sup> *The Dead Terme, Grosart* 4. 23.

<sup>134</sup> *The Suns Darling, Pearson* 4. 336.

<sup>135</sup> *The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke, Grosart* 5. 45.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.* 47-48.

The place of law, judges, and lawyers in the temporal hierarchy depends, of course, on the Dekker conception of justice and that, as we have seen, is the belief that it is a maintenance of the perfect equilibrium in society. The social balance having been revealed, the object of law is to maintain it. Therefore, the honest Dekker can write, "The law is vnto us, as the heauens are ouer our heads. . . . But if they bee troubled by brablings and vnruely mindes, and be put from their owne smooth and euen byas, then doe they plague the world with stormes: Then doth Thunder shake the Rich mans building, lightning burnes up the poore mans Corne, Haile-stones beat downe the fruites of the earth, and all Creatures that are within reach of their fury, tremble and hide their heads at the horrour"<sup>137</sup> The temporal law, however, is once removed from divine initiative inasmuch as it is the product of human reason doing its part to perpetuate the symphony. Judges, nevertheless, are deputies of God, and if by chance they should be overthrown,

No man durst be *good*,  
Nor could be safe being *bad*: Confusion  
Would be held *order*: and (as in the *Flood*  
The world was couerd) so would all in blood  
If *Iustices* eies were closde.<sup>138</sup>

Academicos, or the scholar, is also highly esteemed in Dekker's eye, for learning, arms, and traffic are as triple walls to fortify the kingdom. And learning in the hands of the spiritual singers delivers such divine oracles that out of them mortals find means to climb up to eternity.<sup>139</sup> Through its concern with divine science, learning connects with the church in its supporting function, and through its concern with human science, it touches immediately on the temporal law, each in its way divided to maintain the *status quo*.

Since each succeeding lower class has on its shoulders a heavier weight from above, and in the nature of things, less intellectual ability to appreciate properly the philosophical beauty of the divine harmony, the task of the lower classes,—agricultural laborers and servants of various sorts—, becomes mainly one of patient submission. The maid servant prays that, as the Lord has laid upon her the condition of a servant, her mind may be subjected to the state in which she was placed, and the serving man consoles himself in the thought that in the service of the Lord, he has a promotion greater than that due to kings.<sup>140</sup> That all live by the sweat of the ploughman's brow and that he is fellow with the ox in lowly patience, is according to divine pleasure, and therefore proper and beautiful. As spheres revolve in tuneful concord, one within another, so each class in harmonious relation to every other, has its own function within the state, and lends support and mutual aid without encroaching upon another's rightful orbit. They are as members of one body,

<sup>137</sup> *The Dead Terme, Grosart* 4. 30.

<sup>138</sup> *The Double PP, Grosart* 2. 185-186.

<sup>139</sup> *The Dead Terme, Grosart* 4. 34-35.

<sup>140</sup> *The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke, Grosart* 5. 23-24.

each necessary, each having its own task, each according to its position and ability fulfilling the promise of the body as a whole. Each is honorable in its place and useful in no other. Such is the political philosophy that Dekker held in common with every conservative of his day.

But Dekker was not *properly intellectual*, and as he looked out with sensitive glance on the workings of the divinely ordered system, its discords rather than its harmonies impressed themselves upon his emotions. *What was* contended with *what had been* and *ought to be*; society as it wandered from the primordial channels grew daily worse and worse. The old interdependence of classes was passing,—the landlords formerly dependent for prestige on the number of prosperous peasants at their command, turned adrift in the world the class they had formerly protected; nobles, formerly a buffer between tyranny and the people, became themselves pretty much the creatures of the imperial power; and the law, ideally the legal expression of the just balance, became the instrument of oppression; church, erstwhile the connection between the temporal and the universal, centered its attention upon the worldly, and as the noble had left the commoner without material provision, so the church left him without spiritual sustenance. Government, nobility, church, and law, representing the interests of the rich, ranged themselves as one man against the defenceless poor. {

Why the sovereign head of the powerful array escaped the criticism of Dekker is deducible not only from the nature of the censorship, and the dependence of the theatre on the favor of the court, but also from the shrewdness of Elizabeth's policy. Whatever act of the queen would tend to arouse the enthusiasm of the people was advertised unstintedly; whatever might bring forth adverse criticism was carefully attributed to council or to bishops and archbishops. Nor can certain other considerations be ignored. The crown felt the advisability of tempering the wind to the shorn lambs, to prevent the outcry that would be attendant on oppression too ruthless. Often, indeed, when the limit had been passed, the queen was just the one to offer redress; her Council of the Star Chamber became the poor man's only friend. The government could not lose sight of the fact that the soldiery which might be necessary at any time was recruited from the peasant class then being so thoroughly disintegrated. Prudence would counsel caution, a course somewhat short of extremes. These, I take it, are some of the reasons why Dekker may have found in Elizabeth close approximation to the ideal monarch.

In less evident admiration for James, Dekker accorded with the general temper of his age. The finesse that could accurately estimate what would kindle protest was lacking in the ungainly Scot. He had no tact in covering up his design and proclaimed at the top of his voice the divine rights that Elizabeth let others proclaim for her. As time went on and the spirit of revolt increased, the censorship more and more failed to cope with it, and disloyalty such as Elizabeth had never known, was voiced increasingly. Not because of difference in policy so much as because of difference in personal equation, James aroused an outcry of rage where Elizabeth had quietly gone her way.



And though Thomas Dekker gave James the customary flattery, his heart was not in it, as when he sang the praises of the gracious queen. Multiplication of carpet knights and monopolies were evils that Dekker steadfastly opposed, and scorn thereof speaks in passages too numerous to quote. Elizabeth, when compelled by Parliament, had renounced her monopoly rights, and wept dramatically because she had not sooner realized the injury such a privilege might work in the nation; but James, disregarding of both Parliament and people, reaped a money harvest where Elizabeth had bestowed favors. The increase of knights that at one time would have meant additional protection for the lower classes, in the growing wickedness of man—so Dekker phrased the economic change—wantonly augmented the power of oppression.

But because government as well as church was protected to a very great degree by rigid censorship, Dekker's protest against the working of the governmental system concentrated itself pretty much in an attack on law and lawyers. The authority of law, he felt sure, should protect London from the influx of social misfits. The guardians of the city were the pruning knives that should lop off unprofitable and detrimental branches. The beams of their authority should purge the air of infection, scatter the foggy vapors, and drive them out of the gates as chaff tossed by the wind.

And yet, even as he pleaded the need of more law, no one realized better than he the futility of law-making as such. In the war between money and poverty the truce that guaranteed equal work and equal favor was of no avail whatever; no sooner were the armies dispersed and the siege raised, than life was back in the same old groove:—"The rich men feast one another (as they were wont) and the poore were kept poore still in pollicy, because they should doe no more hurte".<sup>141</sup> As in the days of Sir Thomas More, Englishmen who made the laws found it hard to legislate against themselves, and harder still to carry out impartially their own sentences. That acts against enclosures, monopolies, and bribery, were dead letters in practise is evident from their repeated passage in Parliament, as well as by the continual stream of protest against the evils they were supposed to abate. The eye of Dekker was caught especially by disregard of law in the city. Thieving, cheating, bawdry, too often seemed to be under the protection of the men who were sworn to root them out. Constables, church wardens, bailiffs, beadles and other officers were pillars to all these villainies. "Are they not parcell-Bawdes", he asked, "to winck at such damned abuses, considering they haue whippes in their owne handes, and may draw bloud if they please"?<sup>142</sup> That villainies may be eradicated, let the judges lock up their ears and eyes from pity, let the inferior ministers of justice be vigilant, faithful, and severe, let not the hangman lie lazing and complaining for want of work.<sup>143</sup> Law too often merely threatens, or if it does strike, comes down with the back of the sword of justice.<sup>144</sup> Such, however, is not the case in Hell:

<sup>141</sup> *Worke for Armourours, Grosart* 4. 16.

<sup>142</sup> *Lanthorne and Candle-light, Grosart* 3. 266.

<sup>143</sup> *The Belman of London, Grosart* 3. 169.

<sup>144</sup> *The Dead Terme, Grosart* 4. 58.

"No Acts of Parliament that haue passed the Vpper-house can be broken, but here the breach is punished, and that seuerely, and that suddenly: For here they stand vpon no *demurres*; no *Audita-Queraela* can heere be gotten, no writs of *Errors* to *Reuerse Judgement*: heere is no flying to a *Court of Chancery* for releef, yet euerie one that comes heather is serued with a *Sub-Poena*. No, they deale altogether in this Court vpon the *Habeas Corpus*, vpon the *Capios*, vpon the *Ne exeat Regneum*, vpon *Rebellion*, vpon heauie *Fines* (but no *Recoueries*), vpon writers of *Out-lary* to attache the body for euer & last of all vpon *Executions*, after *Judgement*, which being serud vpon a man is his euerlasting *undoing*".<sup>145</sup>

But as bad as the legal chicanery that resulted in the non-enforcement of law, was the wickedness that absolutely distorted its fair intent. By "crannies, crevices, windings, wrestlings, rackings, circumgirations, and circumventions", Violence reads law as men read Hebrew (backward) and never makes one law but it breaks two. In the hands of such lawyers, "*Pens* are forkes of yron, upon which poore Clients are tossed from one to another, till they bleede to death: yea the nebs of them are like the *Beakes* of *Vultures*, who (so they may glutte their appetite with flesh) care not from whose backes they teare it".<sup>146</sup> Since the benefit of law is open only to the highest bidder, lawyers fight only on the side of money. Their deceit and hypocrisy, their lack of conscience, their attentiveness only to the claims of Mammon are themes upon which Dekker rings a thousand changes.

But however deep-seated and prevalent the wickedness of lawyers might be upon the earth, God was not mocked. To meet the claims of divine justice, Dekker took infinite satisfaction in smiting such sinners with the plague, and afterward watching them writhe in the torments of hell. To see tongue-traveling lawyers lie speechless at last with not a word to say was proof that God was still in his heaven,<sup>147</sup> to see ten thousand packs of such villains basely thrown into a warehouse of damnation,

Where Fire their food was, Adders galls their Drinke  
And their Tobacco a strong Brimstone stinke,—

argued ultimate triumph of the divine principle.

Nor need we, as we come to the end of this chapter and retrospectively consider the illogical attitude of Dekker, necessarily condemn him for praising a system that according to his own testimony failed to work at so many points. The criss-cross policy that his condition and time laid upon him, seems historically to have been the truly English method of procedure. Out of admiration for the theory of the past and contempt for the manner in which it works, has sprung the compromise which underlies every English institution. Dekker's hedging between extremes seems to be typically English.

<sup>145</sup> *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, Grosart 3. 209.

<sup>146</sup> *The Dead Terme*, Grosart 4. 35.

<sup>147</sup> *Dekker His Dreame*, Grosart 3. 52.

## APPENDIX

Readers may wish to refer to the three proclamations of James I, as of May 30, June 28, and July 24, 1607, which are not readily available, and consequently reproduced herewith.

## ROYAL PROCLAMATION OF MAY 30, 1607

By the King.

Whereas some of the meaner sort of our people did of late assemble themselves in riotious and tumultuous maner within our Countie of Northampton, sometimes in the night, and sometimes in the day, under pretense of laying open enclosed grounds of late yeeres taken in, to their dammage, as they say; The repressing whereof we did first referre only to the due course of Justice, and the ordinary proceedings of the Commissioners of the Peace, and other our Ministers in such cases: Forasmuch as Wee haue perceived since, that lenitie hath bred in them, rather encouragement then obedience, and that they haue presumed to gather themselves in greater multitudes, as well in that Countie, as in some others adioyning, We find it now very necessary to use sharper remedies.

Wherefore, We will and command all Lieutenants, deputy Lieutenants, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Maiors, Bailiffes, Headboroughs, Constables, and all other our Officers and Ministers to whom it may appertaine, if the said persons shall continue so assembled, after Proclamation made, or any such new Assemblies bee gathered in those, or any other parts of our Realme, immediately to suppress them by whatsoever meanes they may, be it by force of Armes, if admonitions and other lawfull meanes doe not serue to reduce them to their duties. For Wee cannot but be justly moued to such seueritie against those, who uniuistly throw a slander upon our Gouvernement, by taking that pretence for their disobedience: Seeing it is manifest by Acte of Parliament, passed since our comming to this Crowne, that we haue been careful to preuent such Enclosures, and Depopulations, & that it hath been an ordinary charge giuen by Us to our Justices of Assisses, when they went to their Circuits, to enquire of all unlawfull Depopulations and Enclosures, and to take order to remedie the same, and to punish the Offenders therein according to the due course of Lawe. And it is well knowne to many, that We were now also in hand with some course to bee taken by aduise of our Counsell for the performance thereof: From which our good purpose and intent, this their presumptuous and undutifull proceeding, might rather giue Us cause to desist, then increase in Us any affection to relieue such disordered persons, so farre attempting against our Crowne and Dignitie, who chuse rather to trust to their owne pride and rashnes, then to the care and prouidence of their Souereigne. Willing and commanding all our said Lieutenants, Deputie Lieutenants, Shiriffes, and other our Officers and Ministers aboue mentioned, to attend diligently to the execu-

tion of this our pleasure, and all other our louing Subjects to be obedient to them in the performance thereof, as they will answere the contrarie at their perill.

Giuen at our Palace of Westminster the thirtieth day of May, in the fifth yeere of our Reigne of Great Britaine, France and Ireland.

*God sawe the King.*

ROYAL PROCLAMATION OF JUNE 28, 1607

By the King.

It is a thing notorious that many of the meanest sort of our people in diuers parts of our kingdome, either by secret combination, wrought by some wicked instruments, or by ill example of the first beginners, haue presumed lately to assemble themselues riotously in multitudes, and being armed with sundry weapons, haue layed open in forcible maner a great quantitie of seuerall mens possessions, some newly enclosed, and others of longer continuance, making their pretence that some townes haue been depopulated, and diuers families undone by meanes of such Enclosures. In which seditious courses they haue persisted not onely after many prohibitions by our Ministers in the seuerall Counties, but after particular Proclamations published by our Royal Authoritie, & which is more, when so many meanes of lenitie and gentleness were offered to reclaime them, as no Prince would haue used, but such a one as was both confident in the loyall affections of his Subiects in generall, and compassionate towards the simplicitie of such Offenders: many of them stood out most obstinately, and in open fields rebelliously resisted such forces as in Our name, and by Our authoritie came to repress them, whereupon insued by necessitie in the end that some blood was drawn as well by martiall Execution, as by civil Justice.

Upon this accident it seemeth good unto Us to declare to the world, and specially to Our louing Subjects, as well that which concerneth Our affections (which upon seueral respects are diuided betweene comfort and grieffe) as that which concerneth also Our Princely intentions, which likewise are bent upon the contrary obiects and courses of Grace and Justice. For first of all We finde cause of comfort in our selues in regard of the clearness of Our conscience (to whome God hath committed the care and supreme Government of Our people) from giuing cause or colour of such complaint; the matter whereof is such, as Wee take Our selues more interested therein then any our Subiects can bee; For as Wee cannot but know, that the glorie and strength of all Kings consisteth in the multitude of Subiects, so may Wee not forget that it is a speciall and peculiar preheminance of those Countreyes, ouer which God hath placed Us, that they do excell in breeding and nourishing of able and seruiceable people, both for Warre and Peace, which Wee doe iustly esteeme aboue all Treasure and Commodities, which our said dominions do otherwise so plentifully yeeld unto Us. Neither in this particular case of depopulation, can any

man make doubt but it must bee farre from our inclination to suffer any tolleration of that which may bee any occasion to decay or diminish our people, if Wee did consider nothing else, but that use and application which wee may make (as other Princes do) both of the bodies of our people to carrie armes for defence of our Crown, and of their goods and substance to supply our wants upon all iust & resonable occasions, so as we may by many reasons sufficiently iustifie our care herein towards God & the world (forasmuch as apperteineth to our Kingly Office) seeing the said Inclosures (lawfull or unlawfull) were all or the most part made before we had taken the Scepter of this Government into our Possession. Whereunto we may adde (as wholly cleansing and washing our hands from the tolleration of these grieuances) the continuall and strict charges and commandements giuen by us to our Judges and Justices, for the care and reformation of those things which may bee in any wise grieuous to our people in their seuerall Countreyes, although in this point there is some defence alledged by our subordinate Ministers, and specially by the Justices of Assise, that our people haue beene wanting to themselues in the due and ordinary meanes which they ought to take, by presentment of such as are or haue beene guilty of these oppressions. But as wee take comfort that the causes of these complaints haue not proceeded from our Gouernment, hauing contrariwise (before these seditious courses first brake forth) taken into our Princely consideration this matter of depopulating and decaying of Townes and Families (whereof we are more sensible, then any other) with resolution to sure whatsoever is amisse, by iust and orderly remedies: So are Wee grieved to behold what the disloyalty and obstinacy of this rebellious people hath forced us into, who being naturally inclined to spare shedding of blood, could haue wished that the humble and voluntary submission and repentance of all those Offenders, might bath haue preuented the losse of the life of any one of them, and the example of Justice upon some might haue preuented the losse of more. And seeing it was of such necessity, that some in regard of their intollerable obstinacy in so pernicious Treason should perish, rather then the sparkes of such a fire in our Kingdome should be left unquenched, that it may yet serue to put others in mind of their duetie, and saue them from the like ruine and destruction, for such and so Traiterous attemps hereafter: In all which considerations, for that which may concerne our own Royall intention, as wee would haue all men know and conceiue, that neither the pretence of any wrongs receiued, nor our great mislike of depopulation in generall, can in any wise stay us any longer, from a seuer and iust prosecution of such as shall take upon them to be their owne iudges and reformers, either in this or any other pretended grieuance: So on the other side, we are not minded that the offences of a few (though iustly prouoking our Royall indignation) shall alter our Gracious disposition to giue reliefe in this case, where it appertaineth, were it for none other cause, then in respect of so many others our good and louing Subiects, which might haue alledged like causes of grieffe, and neuerthelesse haue contained themselues in their due obedience.

And therefore Wee doe first declare and publish our Princely resolution, That if any of our Subjects shall hereafter upon pretences of the same or like grieuances, either persist in the unlawfull and rebellious Act already begun, or renewe and breake forth into the like, in any parts of our Kingdome; We will prefer the safetie, quiet, and protection of our Subjects in generall, and of the body of our State, before the compassion of any such Offenders, bee they more or lesse, and howsoever misled: and must forget our natural clemency by pursuing them with all seuerity for their so hainous Treasons, as well by our Armes as Lawes, knowing well, that We are bound (as the head of the politike body of uor Realme) to follow the course which the best Phisitians use in dangerous diseases, which is, by a sharpe remedy applyed to a small and infected part, to saue the whole from dissolution and destruction. To which ende Wee doe accordingly charge and command all our Lieutenants, Deputie Lieutenants, Sheriffes, Justices of Peace, and all other Magistrates of Justice under Us, and all other our louing Subjects to whom it shall any wayes appertaine, to doe and imploy their uttermost indeauours and forces for the keeping of our Subjects in peace and obedience, for preuention of all such riotous and rebellious Assemblies, and destroying them, (if any doe remaine, or shall happen to arise) by force of Armes, and by execution (euen to present death) of such as shall make resistance.

On the other side Wee doe notifie and declare to all our louing Subjects, That We are resolued, not out of any apprehension or regard of these tumults and disorders (which Wee know well to be only dangerous to those that attempt them, and which experience may teach them, that they are in a moment to be dispersed) nor to satisfie disobedient people, be they rich or poore: But meerely out of loue of Justice, Christian compassion of other of our Subjects, who being likewise touched with this griefe, auoyded the like offences, As also out of our Princely care and prouidence to preserue our people from decay or diminution, To cause the abuses of Depopulations and unlawfull Inclosures to be further looked into, and by peacable and orderly meanes to establish such a reformation thereof, as shall bee needfull for the iust reliefe of those that haue iust cause to complaine, and therein neglect no remedy, which either the lawes of our Realme doe prescribe, or our owne Royall Authority, with the aduice of our Councell can supply.

For which purpose wee haue already assembled our Judges, and giuen them in charge straightly, to make it one of their principall cares aswell to discover the said offences, as to consider how farre they may be touched in law, and in what course, and accordingly to proceede against them with all seueritie. And yet because the execution thereof requireth some time, though no more then must of necessitie bee employed therein, if any turbulent or seditious spirits by their impatience, or through their desire to satisfie their owne wicked humors, by moouing common troubles shall seeke, to preuent the course of Justice by any such unlawfull attempts, as haue beene lately used, and abusing our gracious disposition shall take the presumption to be Re-

formers of the said inconuience by any force, because they perceiue hereby how much we mislike of it: Wee doe once againe denounce unto them the same seuer punishment, which belongeth to Rebels in the highest degree, And doe require all and euery our Magistrates, Officers and Ministers of Justice (according to their place of authoritie) and all our loyall Subiects according to their duety of assistance (laying aside all slackenes or fond pittie) to see it duely put in execution: As on the other side we doe promise, and are resolued graciously to lend our eares to humble and iust complaints, and to affoord our people Justice and fauour both in this and all occasions fit for a King to doe for his good Subiects in generall and in particular.

Giuen at our Mannour of Greenwich the xxiiij. day of Iune  
in the fifth yeere of our Reigne of Great Britaine,  
France and Ireland.

*God saue the King.*

ROYAL PROCLAMATION OF JULY 24, 1607

By the King.

In calling to our Princely remembrance, that in the late Rebellion upon pretence of Depopulation and unlawful Inclosures, the greatest number of the offenders haue not been proceeded with according to Justice and their traitorous deseriings, no nor so much as apprehended or touched for the same, although they bee in no better case or degree, then those few which haue suffered or beene called in question: There want not some reasons and circumstances which (if wee would consult onely with policie or passion) mought induce us to further seueritie, and a more generall execution of the Law upon the same offenders. For wee are not ignorant, that of all other seditions and rebellions, none doth bring such infinite waste and desolation upon a Kingdome or State, as these popular Insurrections, which though they doe seldome shake or indanger a Crowne, yet they doe bring a heape of calamities upon multitudes of innocent Subiects, and chiefly upon the Authors and Actors themselues.

And againe, Wee do obserue, that there was not so much as any necessitie of famine or dearth of corne, or any other extraordinary accident, that might stirre or prouoke them in that maner to offend; but that it may be thought to proceede of a kind of insolencie and contempt of our milde and gracious Government, which mought (in some Prince) turne the same into more heavy wrath and displeasure. But We neuerthelesse hauing at the very entrance of our Raigne, in the highest treasons against our owne Persen, intermingled Mercie with iustice, are much more inclined in this case, which concerneth a number of poore & simple people, to extend our naturall clemencie towards them. Whereupon we haue resolued to set wide open the gate of our Mercie unto them, and to bestowe upon them our free Grace and Pardon, without further Suite or Supplication.

And therefore we doe hereby take and receiue all the sayd Offenders, and eury of them, to our Mercie, and of our Grace and meere motion, freely pardon unto them their sayd Offences, and all paines of Death or other punishment due for the same, and promise unto them, in the word of their naturall Liege Lord and King, that they shall not be in any wise molested or impeached, in Life, Member, Lands or Goods for their sayd Offences, or any of them. So as neuerthelesse, that before Michaelmass next they doe submit themselues, and acknowledge their sayd Offences before our Lieutenant, Deputie Lieutenant, or Sheriffe in the Countie where they shall remaine, whereof Wee will command a Note of Entrie to be made and kept.

And We are further graciously pleased, that if any of them seuerally or jointly that desire for their better assurance, to haue our Pardon under our great Seale, that our Chancellor shal make the same unto them without further warrant in that behalfe. Not intending neutherlesse to preiudice any our Subjects priuate Suite or Action, but so much as in Us is, absolutely to acquire & discharge them against Us, our Heires & Successors.

Giuen at our Castle of Windsor the 24. day of Iuly, in the fifth yeere of our Reine of Great Britaine, France and Ireland.

*God saue the King.*



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

*Acts of the Privy Council, New Series* (ed by J. R. Dasent), London, 1890-1921.

Bland (A. E.), Brown (P. A.), and Tawney (R. H.), *English Economic History: Select Documents*, second edition, London, 1915.

*Calendar of State Papers: Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic: 1509-1528* (ed. by J. S. Brewer), 1529-1538 (ed. by James Gairdner), 1539-1546 (ed. by James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie); *Domestic: 1547-1590* (ed. by Robert Lemon), 1591-1618 (ed. by Marry Anne Everett Green); *Additional Domestic: 1547-1625* (ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green).

Camden (William), *Annales*, third edition, London, 1635.

Collier (H. P.), *History of English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage*, London, 1831.

D'Ewes (Sir Simonds), *Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1682.

Dekker (Thomas), *Dramatic Works*, 4 vols., J. Pearson, London, 1873; *The Non-Dramatic Works* (ed. by A. B. Grosart), 5 vols., London, 1884-1886.

Fleay (Frederick G.), *Chronicle of the English Drama*, London, 1891.

Gay (Edwin F.), *The Midland Revolt and the Inquisitions of Depopulation of 1607*, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2 series, vol. 18, pp. 195-244.

Hazlitt (William Carew), *The English Stage and Drama: Documents and Treatises*, Roxburghe Club, London.

Prothero (G. W.), *Select Statutes and other Documents, illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I*, second edition, Oxford, 1894.

Rapin de Thoyras (Paul de), *The History of England* (translated and continued by N. Tindal), second edition, London, 1732-1751.

*The Statutes of the Realm* (ed. by A. Luders, T. E. Tomlins, J. Raithby), 11 vols., London, 1810-1828.

Stow (John), *Annales* (augmented by Edmund Howe), London, 1631.

Strype (John), *Annals of the Reformation*, Oxford, 1824; *Life and Acts of John Whitgift*, Oxford, 1822; *Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, Oxford, 1821.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

Ashley (W. J.), *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, London, New York, 1894; *The Economic Organization of England*, New York, 1914.

Cheyney (Edward P.), *An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*, New York, 1901; *Social Changes in England in the Sixteenth Century as Reflected in Contemporary Literature*, University of Pennsylvania, 195.

Cunningham (William), *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, Cambridge, 1896-1903.

Davenport (Frances Gardiner), *A Classified List of Printed Original Materials for English Manorial and Agrarian History during the Middle Ages*, Radcliffe College Monograph, No. 6, Ginn, Boston, 1894.

Dunning (William Archibald), *A History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu*, London, 1905.

Gierke (Otto Freidrich von), *Political Theories of the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1900.

Hunt (Mary Leland), *Thomas Dekker: A Study*, Columbia University Studies in English, New York, 1911.

Judwine (John Wynne), *Foundations of Society and the Land*, London, 1918.

Johnson (Arthur H.), *The Disappearance of the Small Landowner*, Oxford, 1909.

Leonard (E. M.), *Early History of English Poor Relief*, Cambridge, 1900.

Loria (Achille), *The Economic Foundations of Society* (translated by L. M. Keasling), London, 1899.

Rogers (J. E. Thorold), *The Economic Interpretation of History*, London, 1888; *Six Centuries of Work and Wages: the History of English Labour*, London, 1884; *History of Agriculture and Prices*, Oxford, 1866.

Seligman (Edwin R. A.), *Economic Interpretation of History*, New York, 1903.

Tawney (Richard Henry), *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1912.

I have omitted from the above bibliography, material on enclosures to be found in the publications of the Early English Text Society, the Percy Society, the Spenser Society, the New Shakespeare Society, and in *The English Scholar's Library*, *The English Garner*, and *English Reprints*. Those interested in such a list of titles will find it in Miss Davenport's *Classified List of Printed Original Materials*. A helpful bibliography will also be found in Cheyney's *Social Changes in England*.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PUBLICATIONS  
IN  
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 113-274

February, 1928

# A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE

With Special Reference to the History of  
English Culture

by

LENA LUCILE TUCKER  
AND  
ALLEN ROGERS BENHAM



UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS  
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON  
1928

IN MEMORIAM

ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK  
Professor of English Language and Literature  
Yale University, 1889-1927

## PREFACE

Though Professor John E. Wells has announced a fifteenth-century supplement to his invaluable work *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, it has seemed worth while to publish the present volume. The reasons for this decision are that this book was started before Mr. Wells made his announcement and that its scope is somewhat different from that of Mr. Wells'. The latter includes digests and bibliographical data for only such books as originated in the fifteenth century; the present includes as well books about the fifteenth century.

The effort here has been to bring together in usable form the material on fifteenth century England, which would be available in a university library or in any research library. No attempt has been made to list manuscript, first or rare editions. The general bibliography section and that on the bibliography of individual writers will supply such references.

Every effort has been made to include in the body of the work only material relating definitely to the fifteenth century. To this there is but one controversial exception; namely, the references to the liturgical plays, traditionally known as miracle and mystery plays. In this region, most of the manuscripts belong to the fifteenth century—hence, the inclusion of the titles here; though the separate items are seldom so definitely dated as to preclude overlapping into the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In the Appendix are included some references on figures transitional to the sixteenth century.

Of the "Arthur" legends only work relating to Malory has been included. Any one wishing to go further afield in romance should consult Anna Hunet Billings' bibliography (see *post*, p. 76), or that of Henry D. Blackwell (*A Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances: the Cycle of Antiquity, and the Romances of Adventure*; still in manuscript in Yale University Library).

Since so much of the English literature of the fifteenth century is merely translation or adaptation from French or Latin sources, the form of entry for the items has often proved a difficult problem. When the authorship is definitely established and fairly well-known, the items are entered under the name of the original author, but are grouped with the work of the translator. Where the authorship is uncertain or obscure the items are entered under the name of the translator or under the title. References from serial publications which include both text and discussion have been entered under the name of the person contributing the article.

Since the fifteenth century is still laboring under the weight of the epithet, "the darkest period in the history of English literature," and since publication of fifteenth century material is going ahead rapidly, it is hardly to be expected that all the items that should be included have been noted. We invite cooperation from all interested in the matter of making our list of such complete.

L. L. T.

A. R. B.

Seattle, January 23, 1928.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	9
II. POLITICAL BACKGROUND .....	12
III. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND.....	32
IV. CULTURAL BACKGROUND .....	53
V. LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND .....	63
VI. LITERATURE .....	68
1. General Texts .....	68
2. General Discussion .....	75
3. Drama .....	83
a. General Discussion and General Texts.....	83
b. Individual Plays and Cycles.....	89
4. Authors .....	99
5. Anonymous Works .....	132
VII. APPENDIX: .....	147
Some References on the Beginning of the New Century.....	147

SERIALS STUDIED WITH ABBREVIATIONS USED

- Acad. Academy. London: Academy Press.
- AJP American Journal of Philology. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.  
Anglia. Halle: M. Niemeyer.  
Anglia Beiblatt. Halle: M. Niemeyer.
- AF Anglistische Forschungen. Heidelberg: C. Winter.
- Arch. Archaeologia. London: Society of Antiquaries.
- Arch. C Archaeologia Cantiana. London: Printed for the Kent Archaeological Society.
- ASNS Archiv für das Studium der Neuren Sprachen und Literaturen.  
Braunschweig und Berlin: G. Westermann.
- AtM Atlantic Monthly. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press.
- Athen. Athenaeum. London: Athenaeum Press.
- BB Bonner Beiträge. Bonn: P. Hanstein.  
Camden Society Publications. London: Printed for the Camden Society.
- CR Contemporary Review. London: A Strahan.  
Drama. London: The Athenian Society.
- EETS Early English Text Society. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.  
for the Society.
- ES Englische Studien. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland.
- EHR English Historical Review. London: Longmans, Green and Co.
- EBEP Erlanger Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie. Erlangen: F. Junge.
- HSCL Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature. Boston: The University.
- HSP Harvard Studies in Philology. Boston: Ginn and Co.
- IQ International Quarterly. New York: Fox, Duffield and Co.
- JsbGP Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie. Berlin: Walther de Gruyter.
- JEGP Journal of English and Germanic Philology. Urbana: University of Illinois.  
The Library: A Quarterly Review of Bibliography. London: H. Milford.
- LF Literarhistorische Forschungen (Schick und Waldberg) Berlin: E. Felber.
- LGRP Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland.
- MLN Modern Language Notes. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press.
- MLR Modern Language Review. Cambridge, Eng.: University Press.
- MP Modern Philology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- MBREP Münchener Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie. Erlangen: A. Deichert.
- NQ Notes and Queries. London: Bell.
- Pal Palaestra. Leipzig: Mayer und Müller.  
Percy Society. London: Printed for the Society.



- PQ Philological Quarterly. Iowa City: University of Iowa.
- PMLA Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.  
Menasha, Wis.: The Association.
- QF Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach und Cultur-Geschichte. Strass-  
burg: K. J. Trübner.
- RES Review of English Studies: A Quarterly Journal of English Litera-  
ture and English Language. London: Sidgwick and Jackson.
- RevPF Revue de Philologie Francais et de Litterature. Paris: Champion.
- RPF Revue de Philologie Francaise et Provencale. Paris: E Bouillon.  
Rolls Series. London: Published by the authority of the Lords  
Commissioners of H.M. treasury under the direction of the  
Master of the Rolls.
- RR Romanic Review. New York: Columbia University Press.  
Roxburghe Club Publications. London: J. B. Nichols and Sons.  
Selden Society Publications. London: The Society.
- SHR Scottish Historical Review. Glasgow: J. Maclehose and Sons.
- STS Scottish Text Society. Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons for the  
Society.  
Surtees Society. Durham, Eng.: Published for the Society by An-  
drews and Son.
- TAPA Transactions of the American Philological Association. Middletown,  
Conn.: The Association.
- TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. London: Offices of  
the Society.
- MSLL University of Minnesota Studies in Language and Literature. Minne-  
apolis: The University.
- NCSP University of North Carolina Studies in Philology. Chapel Hill:  
University of North Carolina Press.
- WBEP Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie. Wien und Leipzig: W.  
Braumüller.
- WSLL Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature. Madison: The Uni-  
versity.
- YSE Yale Studies in English. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- ZRP Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie. Halle: M. Niemeyer.
- ZVL Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Litteratur-Geschichte. Berlin: E. Felber.

#### OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

- Ann. indicates "Announced for publication."
- B.M. indicates "British Museum."
- comp. indicates "compiler."
- e.s. indicates "extra series."
- n.s. indicates "new series."
- o.s. indicates "original series."
- ed. indicates "editor" or "edition."

- rev. indicates "reviewed" or "revised."  
ser. indicates "series."  
tr. indicates "translator or "translated."  
c used before the date in the imprint indicates that the copyright date was used.  
DNB Dictionary of National Biography. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1885-1901.

# A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE

## I.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbott (T. K.), *Catalogue of 15th Century books in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and in Marsh's Library, Dublin.* London: Longmans, Green, 1905?
- Baugh (A. C.), *American Bibliography of English Language and Literature.* PMLA 37—date (1922-1927). Bibliography for 1921 to date. Material very scattered.
- Bibliographical Society of America. *Census of Fifteenth Century Books Owned in America.* New York Public Library, 1919.
- Blades (William), comp., *A Catalogue of Books Printed by (or Ascribed to the Press of) William Caxton in which is Included the Press-mark of every Copy Contained in the Library of the British Museum.* London, 1865.
- Brown (Carleton), *A Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic verse.* Oxford University Press, 1920.
- Cambridge History of English Literature.* New York. Putnam's, 1909. v. 2 with bibliography. Especially good bibliography of mss.
- Cannon (H. L.), *Reading References for English History.* Boston: Ginn, 1910. Sections 31-38, pp. 256-279 give references, 1399-1485.
- Collier (J. P.), *A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language.* London: Lilly, 1865. 2 vols. A few by Lydgate. Not of great value because so few 15th century books recorded.
- Duff (E. G.), *Fifteenth Century English Books.* A bibliography of books and documents printed in England and of books for the English market printed abroad. Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1917.

- Edinburgh Bibliographical Society. List of the Fifteenth Century Books in Edinburgh Libraries. The Society, 1913. Rev. by J. C. Ewing SHR 11 (1913/14). 297-298.
- Esdaile (A. J. K.), A List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed before 1740. London: Bibliographical Society, 1912. Part I, 1475-1642. Books printed by Caxton & Wynkyn de Worde; Malory, 96-98.
- Geddie (William), A Bibliography of Middle-Scots Poets. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1912. STS 48 (1912). Bibliography both of works and criticism. Includes Huchown, James I, Blind Harry, Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas, Holland.
- Gross (Charles), The Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485. 2nd ed. New York: Longmans, Green, 1915. 15th Century Bibliography, 489-494.
- Hammond (E. P.), Ashmole 59 and other Shirley Manuscripts. Anglia, 30 (1907). 320-348. Describes various mss, many of which contain 15th century work.
- Hazlitt (W. C.), ed. A Catalogue of Early English Miscellanies formerly in the Harleian Library. Printed for the Camden Society, 1862. Camden Society Publications 87. Bibliography of books printed by Caxton, pp. 10-11. Other scattered entries of interest.
- Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. Catalogue of Books Given to the University by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. (In *Munimenta Academica* ed. by Henry Anstey. London: Longmans, Green, 1868. Rolls series 50, pt. 2, 758-772).
- Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen der germanischen Philologie. Berlin: Walther de Gruyter, 1878—date. Section "Mittelenglisch," 1879-1918.
- Kennedy (Arthur G.), Bibliography of Writings in the English Language, etc. Cambridge and New Haven: Harvard and Yale University Presses, 1927.
- Klein (David), A Contribution to a Bibliography of the Medieval Drama. MLN 20 (1905). 202-205. A supplement to Chambers' list. Bibliography of Miracle and Mystery plays. All languages, not exclusively English.

- Lipson (E.), *The Sources Available for the Study of Mediaeval Economic History*. TRHS 3rd ser. 10 (1916). 115-158.
- Lowndes (W. T.), *Bibliographer's Manual* comp. by H. G. Bohn. London: Bell & Daldy, 1865. 10 v. and Appendix. Appendix volume contains lists of Society publications, Roxburghe, Bannatyne, Percy, Shakespeare; also lists of special presses.
- Modern Humanities Research Association. *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature*. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1920—date.
- Moore (Samuel), *Caxton Reproductions: a Bibliography*. MLN 25 (1910). 165-167. Good list giving both publisher and date.
- Northup (C. S.), *A Register of Bibliographies of the English Language and Literature*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.
- Patch (H. R.), *Bibliography of Middle-English Dialects*. NCSP 20 (1923). 479-495.
- Peddie (R. A.), *Fifteenth Century Books; a Guide to Their Identification*. London: Grafton, 1913. Interesting in this connection rather than directly valuable. Only a very small number of English books listed.
- Photogravure Facsimiles [list] of rare fifteenth century books in the University library, printed in England. (In *Reference Catalogue of Current Literature*. London: Whitaker, 1924. Section, Cambridge University Press, pp. 11-12.) List of facsimiles of Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde books found in Cambridge University library.
- Ritson (Joseph), *Bibliographia Poetica: a catalogue of English poets of the 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16th centuries with a short account of their works*. London: Nicol, 1802.
- Stoddard (F. H.), *References for Students of Miracle Plays and Mysteries*. Berkeley: University of California, 1887. University of California Library Bulletin 8.

## II. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Adam, of Usk. *Chronicon Adae de Usk A.D. 1377-1421*, ed. with a translation and notes by E. M. Thompson. 2nd ed. London: Frowde, 1904. Text with good biographical introduction.

Amyot (Thomas), *An Inquiry Concerning the Death of Richard the Second*. Arch. 20 (1824). 424-442.

Anderson (R. C.), *The Grace de Dieu, of 1446-86*. EHR 34 (1919). 584-586. Grace de Dieu was Edward IV's ship.

Andreas (Bernard), *Historia Regis Henrici Septimi a Barnardo Andrea*. Ed. by James Gairdner. London: Longmans, 1858. Rolls series 10. Contains also fragments on history of the time of Henry VII by other contemporary writers.

Andreas (Bernard), *Historia Regis Henrici Septimi* tr. by L. A. Borah. M.A. thesis University of Washington, 1924. Ms. in University of Washington Library.

Andrew, of Wyntoun. *De Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*. Notes, glossary, etc. by David MacPherson. London: Bensley, 1795.

Andrew, of Wyntoun. *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun Printed on Parallel Pages from the Cottonian & Wemyss mss.* . . . Ed. by F. J. Amours. 6 vols. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1914. STS 39-44.

Archbold (W. A. J.), *Sir William Stanley and Perkin Warbeck*. EHR 14 (1899). 529-534. Copy of original document (Latin) with very brief discussion.

Bacon (Francis), *History of the Reign of Henry VII with notes* by J. R. Lumby. Cambridge University Press, 1902. (Pitt Press Series) Political history from early seventeenth century point of view.

Bale (John), *A Breve Chronycle Concerning the Examination and Death of Sir Johan Oldcastell*. (In *Harleian Miscellany*. London: Dutton, 1808. 1 246-286.)

- Bale (John), *Chronicle of Sir John Oldcastle*. London: Davis, 1729. Ed. by John Blackbourne.
- Bale (John), *Chronicle of the Examination and Death of Lord Cobham*. (In Bale, John. *Select works*. 1 1-60) Cambridge: University Press, 1849.
- Balfour-Melville (E. W. M.), *The Captivity of James I (of Scotland)* SHR 21 (1923/24). 45-53.
- Balfour-Melville (E. W. M.), *The Later Captivity and Release of James I (of Scotland)* SHR 21 (1923/24). 89-100.
- Balfour-Melville (E. W. M.), *Five Letters of James I (of Scotland)* SHR 20 (1922/23). 28-33. Discussion of letters, their importance and results.
- Baskerville (G.), *A London Chronicle of 1460*. EHR 28 (1913). 124-127. A transcription of a fragment of a Latin chronicle.
- Battle of Agincourt. (In Hazlitt, W. C. *Early popular Poetry of England*. London: Smith, 1866. 4 vols. v. 2, pp. 88-108.)
- Bayley (John), *Copy of a Singular Petition to King Henry VI Preserved in Records of Tower of London*. Arch. 21 (1827). 24.
- Beckington (Thomas), *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, Sec'y to King Henry VI*. London: Longman, 1872. 2 vols. Rolls series 56.
- Benham (A. R.), *Henry V and the Renewal of the Hundred Years' War*. Forthcoming in July or October number of the *Philological Quarterly*, 1927.
- Bradley (A. G.), *Glyndwr (Owen) and the Last Struggle for Welsh Independence*. New York: Putnam's, 1927. Reprint of his earlier work in *Heroes of the Nations* series?
- Bruce (John), *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England and the Finall Recouerye of his Kingdomes from Henry VI A. D. 1471*. Ed by John Bruce. London: Nichols, 1838. Camden Society Publications 1.

- The Brut; or, The Chronicles of England. Ed. from ms. Rawl. B. 171, Bodleian Library by F. W. D. Brie. London: Paul Trench Trübner, 1908. EETS o.s. 136 (pt. 2), Pages 335-604 give history from Richard II to Henry VI.
- Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain Preserved in the Archives at Simancas and elsewhere, 1845-1509. London: Longman, Green, 1862. Lists the records and summarizes briefly.
- Campbell (William), ed. Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII from Original Documents. London: Longman, 1877. 2 vols. Rolls series 60.
- Capgrave (John), The Chronicle of England. Ed. by the Rev. Francis Charles Hingeston. London: Longman, 1858. Roll series 1. Bibliography of Capgrave, pp. xxi-xxix.
- Capgrave (John), Liber de Illustribus Henricis. Ed. by F. C. Hingeston. London: Longman, 1858. Rolls series 7 98-141. Henry IV-Henry VI.
- Caulfield (James), Portraits, Memoirs and Characters of Remarkable Persons from the Reign of Edward III to the Revolution. London: Caulfield, 1794-95. 2 vols.
- Ceremonial of the Burial of King Edward IV. From a ms. of the late Mr. Anstes now in the possession of Thomas Astle. Arch. 1 (1779). 350-357.
- Champion (P. H.), Vie de Charles d'Orleans 1394-1465. Paris: Champion, 1911. Rev. RPF 25 (1911). 239-240.
- Chandler (Richard), The Life of William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, etc. London: White and Cochrane, 1811.
- Cheyney (E. P.), Readings in English History Drawn from Original Sources. Boston: Ginn, 1908. (New ed. 1922) pp. 279-330 give 15th century documents.
- Christie (M. E.), Henry VI. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922. Bibliography, 394-397.



- Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire, 1470. Ed. by J. G. Nichols. London: Printed for the Camden Society, 1847. Camden Society Publications 39.
- Churchill (G. B.), *Richard the Third up to Shakespeare*. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1900. *Palaestra* v. 10. Long historical account with references to literary work in which Richard plays a part.
- Clarke (M. C.), *World-noted Women*. New York: Appleton, 1867. Margaret of Anjou, pp. 205-234.
- Cole (C. A.), ed. *Memorials of Henry the Fifth*. London: Longman, 1858. Rolls series 11.
- Combe (Taylor), ed. *Copy of an Indenture, made in 1469, between King Edward IV and William, Lord Hastings, Master of the Mint*. Arch. 15 (1806). 164-178. Agreements on coinage and coining.
- Complete History of England*. London: Printed for B. Aylmer, 1706. 3 vols. v. 1, pts. 3-7 give history of the 15th century.
- Cooper (W. D.), *John Cade's Followers in Kent*. Arch. C. 7 (1868). 233-271. Brief account of the uprising with lists of names from pardon rolls in Patent rolls.
- Creighton (Louise), *Some Famous Women*. London: Longmans, Green, 1909. Margaret Beaufort, pp. 56-70. Brief, in popular style.
- Cussans (J. E.), *Notes on the Perkin Warbeck Insurrection*. TRHS 1 (1875). 62-77. Contains reprint of Warbeck's abjuration.
- Durham (F. H.), comp. *English History Illustrated from Original Sources. 1399-1485*. London: Black, 1902. Short extracts largely from mss. and contemporary chronicles.
- Ellis (Henry), ed. *Enumeration and Explanation of Devices formerly borne as Badges of Cognizance by the House of York*. From Digby ms., Bodleian Library, Oxford. Arch. 17 (1814). 226-227. Badges ascribed to Richard, Duke of York, father of Edward IV.

Ellis (Henry), ed. *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*. London: Harding Triphook, and Lepard, 1825. 3 vols. Second series, London: Harding and Lepard, 1827. 4 vols. Third series, London: Bentley, 1846. 4 vols. v. 1 of each series contains letters by 15th century English kings and others.

Ellis (Henry), ed. *Transcript of Original Letter from King Edward the Fourth, when Earl of March, and his Brother, Earl of Rutland to their Father, Duke of York*. From Cotton ms. B.M. Arch. 17 (1814). 224-225. Merely personal letter.

Emmerig (Oskar), *The Bataile of Agyncourt im lichte geschichtlicher quellenwerke*. Münchener diss. Nürnberg, 1906. *JsbGP* 29 (1907). pt. 2, 47. Rev. by F. Brie. *ES* 38 (1907). 82.

An *English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI*, written before the year 1471. Ed. by John Silvester Davies. London: Printed for the Camden Society, 1856. Camden Society Publications 64.

Fabyan (Robert), *The New Chronicles of England and France*. . . Reprinted from Pynson's ed. of 1516. . . with a biographical and literary preface and index by Henry Ellis. London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1811.

Fearenside (C. S.), *Earlier History of England to 1485 with Biographies, Maps and Plans*. London: University Tutorial Press, 1914.

Fenn (Sir John), *Original Letters Written During the Reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV and Richard III by Various Persons of Rank and Consequence*. London: Robinson, 1787-1823. 5 vols.

*First Battle of St. Albans*, from a contemporary ms. Arch. 20 (1824). 519-523. Reprint of the ms.

*First English Life of Henry V*, written in 1513 by an anonymous author known commonly as the translator of Livius. Ed. by C. L. Kingsford. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.

Flemming (J. H.), *England under the Lancastrians*. New York: Longmans, Green, 1921. University of London Intermediate Source Books of History, no. 3.

- Flenley (Ralph), ed. *Six Town Chronicles of England*. Ed. from mss. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Contains discussion of the 15th century Chronicles of London, Bale's Chronicles and others.
- Flood (F. S.), *Prince Henry of Monmouth, His Letters and Dispatches during the War in Wales, 1402-1405*. TRHS n.s. 4 (1889). 125-141.
- Flood (F. S.), *The Story of Prince Henry of Monmouth and Chief Justice Gascoign*. TRHS n.s. 3 (1886). 47-152. Also published London: Longmans, 1886.
- Franks (A. W.), *Notes on Edward Grimston, Ambassador to the Duchess of Burgundy*. Arch. 40 (1866). 455-470.
- Gairdner (James), *Battle of Bosworth*. Acad. 50 (1896). 97. Editorial comment on article by Gairdner in Arch. 97 (1896/97). 159-178.
- Gairdner (James), *The Battle of Bosworth*. Arch. 55 (1896/97). 159-178. (n.s. v. 5) Complete description of movements of troops with map of field.
- Gairdner (James), *Did Henry VII Murder the Princes?* EHR 6 (1891). 444-464.
- Gairdner (James), *Edward IV*. Athen. May 1889. p. 567. Note on Warwick's policy in regard to Edward's marriage.
- Gairdner (James), *Edward IV and his "benevolences."* Athen. Oct. 1900, p. 481.
- Gairdner (James), *Henry the Seventh*. London: Macmillan, 1920.
- Gairdner (James), ed. *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*. London: Camden Society, 1876. Camden Society Publications. n.s. v. 17.
- Gairdner (James), *History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third to which is added the Story of Perkin Warbeck*. New rev. ed. Cambridge University Press, 1898. Attempt to show Richard as he was. Conclusion that More and Shakespeare give a true picture.

- Gairdner (James), *The Houses of Lancaster and York with the Conquest and Loss of France*. Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1891. *Epochs of Modern History*.
- Gairdner (James), ed. *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*. London: Longman, 1861. 2 vols. *Rolls series 24*.
- Gairdner (James), *Who was Perkin Warbeck*. CR 11 (1869). 534-560.
- Gilson (J. P.), ed. *A Defense of the Proscription of the Yorkists in 1459*. EHR 26 (1911). 512-525. Reprint of a political tract of the time with brief historical introduction.
- Gordon (M. G.), ed. *Verses on the Battle of Towton, 29 March, 1461*. Arch. 29 (1872). 343-347.
- Grafton (Richard), *A Chronicle at Large and Meere History of the Affairs of Englande*. [n.p.] 1569. 15th Century pp. 407-951.
- Grants of King Edward V. ed. John Gough Nichols. Camden Society, 60.
- Great Britain. Grants etc. *Grants from the Crown during the Reign of Edward the Fifth, from the Original Docket Book (Ms. Harl. 433) and Two Speeches for the Opening of Parliament by John Russell*. Historical introduction J. G. Nichols. Printed for the Camden Society, 1854. Camden Society Publications 60.
- Great Britain. Public record office. *Calender of the Patent Rolls*. London: H.M. stationery office, 1905-1916. 16 vols. 1401-1509. Henry IV to Henry VII. Gives a brief summary of each record.
- Great Britain. Public record office. *Syllabus (in English) of the Documents Relating to England and other Kingdoms Contained in the Collection known as Rymer's Foedera*. Ed. by T. D. Hardy. London: Longman, 1869-1895. 3 vols. v. 2, pp. 535-741, Henry IV to Henry VII.
- Gregory (William), *Chronicle of London*. (In *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*. Ed. by James Gairdner. London: Camden Society, 1876. Camden Society Publications n.s. 17)

- Hall (Edward), *Chronicle; Containing the History of England, During the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth. Collated with the editions of 1548 and 1550.* London: Johnson, 1809. Pp. 1-505 Henry IV to Henry VII.
- Halliwell-Phillipps (J. O.), *Observations Upon the History of Certain Events in England During the Reign of King Edward the Fourth.* Arch. 29 (1841-42). 127-138.
- Harding (John), *The Chronicle of John Hardyng . . . Together with the Continuation by Richard Grafton.* London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1812. Biographical and literary preface. Collated with mss.
- Hayward (John), *The First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie IV.* London: Wolfe, 1599.
- Henry V, *Letter written at the time of his invasion of France.* Acad. 12 (1877). 593-594. Copy of letter with original spelling. Correction by J. Gairdner. Acad. 13 (1878). 35.
- Hingeston-Randolph (F. C.), ed. *Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry the Fourth.* Ed. by F. C. Hingeston. London: Longman, 1869. Rolls series 18. Reprints of original documents.
- Holinshed (Raphael), *Chronicles.* London: Johnson, 1807-08. 6 vols. v. 3, 15th century England.
- Hookham (M. A.), *The Life and Times of Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England and France.* London: Tinsley, 1872. 2 vols.
- Hope (W. H.), *The Discovery of the Remains of King Henry VI in St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle.* Arch. 62 (1910-1911). 533-542. (2nd ser. v. 12) Not especially valuable.
- Hope (W. H.), *The Funeral Monument and Chantry Chapel of King Henry the Fifth.* Arch 65 (1914). 129-183. (2nd ser. v. 15)
- Hope (W. H.), *On a Grant of Arms under the Great Seal of Edward IV to Louis de Bruges . . . with some remarks on the arms of English Earldoms.* Arch 56 (1898-99). 27-38. (n.s. v. 6) Facsim. of writ. Discussion and historical setting.

- Hume (David), *History of England*. New ed. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1858. 10 vols. 2 326-526; 3 1-77.
- Hunter (Henry), *History of London and its Environs*. London: Stockdale, 1811. 2 vols.
- Jerningham (Edward), ed. *Account of King Edward IV Second Invasion of England, in 1471, drawn up by one of his followers*. Tr. from a French ms. in the library at Ghent. Arch. 21 (1827). 11-23. Gives history with copies of four illuminated miniatures from ms.
- Jesse (J. H.), *Memoirs of Richard III and Some of His Contemporaries*. London: Bentley, 1861. Rev. *Edinburgh Review* 115 (1862). 293-322.
- Jones (W. G.), comp. *York and Lancaster, 1399-1485*. London: Bell, 1914. (Bell's English History Source Books.)
- Jusserand (J. J.), *Saint Treigney on Pais de Gales*. (In his *The School for Ambassadors*. London: Unwin, 1924. pp. 111-119.) Incident of the journey of the French ambassadors sent to fetch Princess Margaret of Scotland, 1435.
- Kabel (Paul), *Die Sage von Heinrich V bis zu Shakespeare*. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1908. Pal. v. 69. Discusses briefly works concerning Henry V from contemporary times to Shakespeare.
- Kendall (E. K.), *A Source Book of English History*. New York: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. 112-128.
- Kingsford (C. L.), *The Birth Year of Henry V*. Athen. June 1906, p. 733; Aug. 1906, p. 159. Discussion of probable date.
- Kingsford (C. L.), ed. *Chronicles of London*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905. *History of London, 1423-1428*.
- Kingsford (C. L.), *The Earl of Warwick at Calais in 1460*. EHR 37 (1922). 544-546. Copy of letter with comment on it.
- Kingsford (C. L.), *Early Biographies of Henry V*. EHR 25 (1910). 58-92. Much the same material in his *English Historical Literature*. Henry V, bibliography.

- Kingsford (C. L.), *English Historical Literature of the Fifteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.
- Kingsford (C. L.), *The First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle*. EHR 27 (1912), 462-482. Good biographical sketch with account of the chronicle.
- Kingsford (C. L.), *Henry V, the Typical Mediaeval Hero*. New York: Putnam's, 1903.
- Kingsford (C. L.), *An Historical Collection of the 15th Century*. EHR 29 (1914). 505-515. Account of the mss. at Hatfield. List of contents. Two extracts on London reprinted.
- Kingsford (C. L.), *Lancaster and York*. London: Bell, 1913. *English History in Contemporary Poetry* v. 2. Running discussion of the history as shown in poetry with extracts to illustrate.
- Kingsford (C. L.), *A Legend of Sigismund's Visit to England*. EHR 26 (1911). 750-751.
- Kingsford (C. L.), *Proceedings in the Court of the Star Chamber. Stonor vs. Dormer & others, 1491*. EHR 35 (1920). 421-432. Reprint of record of the case with brief historical discussion.
- Lee (G. C.), *Source Book of English History*. New York: Holt, 1900. Pt. 4, pp. 209-223 gives material on 15th century.
- Levi (Eugenia), *Edward IV—a letter concerning*. Athen. Oct. 1900, p. 444.
- Lindesay (Robert), *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*. Ed. by A. J. G. Mackay. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1899. 2 vols. STS 27-28. Vol. 1, pp. 1-278 begin with the death of James I—continue through reign of James IV. Political history from contemporary sources.
- Luders (Alexander), *An Essay on the Character of Henry V, when Prince of Wales*. London: Cadell & Davies, 1813.
- Lysons (Samuel), ed. *Copy of a Letter Missive from King Edward IV to Thomas Stoner*. Arch. 16 (1809). 1-2. Brief letter requesting military aid.

- Lysons (Samuel), ed. Copy of an Indenture of Retainer, Relating to the Expedition against France in the 19th Year of King Henry VI. Arch. 17 (1814). 214-217. Itemized account of feudal service demanded with arms to be furnished, etc.
- Lysons (Samuel), ed. An Inventory of Certain Articles Delivered out of the Armory at the Tower: contained in the Schedule to a Writ of Privy Seal Anno 33 Henry VI. Arch. 16 (1809). 123-126. Copy. Mostly account of arms and armour for king's troops and others.
- MacCracken (H. N.), An English Friend of Charles of Orleans. PMLA 26 (1911). 142-182. Argument that this friend was Duke of Suffolk. Text of poems. History of situation. For note on this see MLN 27 (1912). 126.
- MacCracken (H. N.), King Henry's Triumphal Entry into London, Lydgate's poems and Carpenter's letter. ASNS 126 (1911). 75-102. Shows parallel between poem and letter, quoting from both.
- Madden (Frederic), ed. Documents Relating to Perkin Warbeck with Remarks on his History. Arch. 27 (1837-38). 153-210. Original documents (copies) with discussion of history of period.
- Madden (Frederic), ed. A Letter Containing Intelligence of the Proceedings of the Court and Nobility at the Commencement of the Year 1454. Arch. 29 (1841-42). 305-317. Copy of letter with notes and comments.
- Madden (Frederic), ed. Narratives of the Arrival of Louis De Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, in England and of his Creation as Earl of Winchester, 1472.. Arch. 26 (1835-36). 265-286.
- Malden (H. E.), Ancestral Tendencies of Richard III. Athen. Aug. 1885, p. 271.
- Markham (C. R.), Richard III, a Doubtful Verdict Reviewed. EHR 6 (1891). 250-283. Attempt to prove that Richard could not have been guilty of all the crimes with which he is charged—especially of the murder of the young princes.
- Miller (Rev. Dr.), Illustration of an Unpublished Seal of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Arch. 7 (1785). 69-73. Plate showing seal with brief discussion. Richard III.



- Miller (Rev. Dr.), *Observations on the Wardrobe Account for the Year 1483, wherein are Contained Deliveries made for the Coronation of King Richard III.* Arch 1 (1779). 363-387. Partial discussion of old theme "Did Richard kill the princes?"
- Monro (Cecil), ed. *Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou and Bishop Beekington and Others Written in the Reigns of Henry V and Henry VI. From a ms. found at Emral in Flintshire.* Ed. by Cecil Monro. Printed for the Camden Society 1843. Camden Society Publications 86.
- Monstrelet (Enguerrand de), *Chronicles* tr. by Thomas Johnes. London: Smith, 1840. 2 vols. Vol. 1 gives the 15th century English wars from the French point of view. Also London: Henderson, 1809. 4 vols. See v. 2 of this ed.
- More (Sir Thomas), *History of King Richard III* ed. by J. R. Lumby. . . . with conclusion [from] Harding's chronicle, London: 1543. Cambridge University Press, 1883. Text from folio of 1557.
- Mowat (R. B.), *Henry V.* London: Constable, 1919. Bibliography pp. 325-330.
- Neilson (George), *Monzievaird Conflict of 1490.* SHR 1 (1903/04). 218-219. Brief note on Scottish clan war.
- Newhall (R. A.), *The English Conquest of Normandy, 1416-1424, a Study in 15th Century Warfare.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924.
- Newhall (R. A.), *The War Finances of Henry V and the Duke of Bedford.* EHR 36 (1921). 172-198.
- Nichols (J. G.), ed. *An Original Appointment of Sir John Fastolfe to be Keeper of the Bastille of St. Anthony at Paris in 1421.* Arch 44 (1873). 113-122. Text with translation and historical discussion.
- Nicolas (Sir Harris), *History of the Battle of Agincourt and of the Expedition of Henry the Fifth into France in 1415.* 2nd ed. London: Johnson, 1832.
- Noble (Mark), *Some Observations on the Life of Cecily, Duchess of York.* Arch. 13 (1800). 7-19.

- Old (W. W.), Historical Notices of the Cradle of Henry V. TRHS 4 (1876). 231-259.
- Oliphant (T. L. K.), Was the Old English Aristocracy Destroyed by the Wars of the Roses? TRHS 1 (1875). 437-443.
- Oman (C. W. C.), The History of England from the Accession of Richard II to the Death of Richard III. (1377-1485) London: Longmans, Green, 1906. Hunt and Poole Political History of England 4.
- Oman (C. W. C.), Warwick, the Kingmaker. London: Macmillan, 1899.
- Ord (Craven), ed. Account of the Entertainment of King Henry the Sixth at the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. Arch. 15 (1806). 65-71. Copy from monastery records.
- Otterbourne (Thomas), Duo Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veteres, viz. Thomas Otterbourne et Johannes Whethamstede ab origine gentis Britannicae usque ad Edwardum IV. Ed. Tho. Hearnus. Oxford: Theatro Sheldaniano, 1732.
- Owen (L. V. D.), England and the Low Countries, 1405-1413. EHR 28 (1913). 13-33. Political relations, commercial also slightly discussed.
- Page (John), Old English poem on the Siege of Rouen, A. D. 1418. Ed. by Frederic Madden. Arch. 22 (1829). 350-398.
- Page (John), Poem on the Siege of Rouen. (In Historical Collections of a Citizen of London. Ed. by Jas. Gairdner. London: Camden Society, 1872) Camden Society Publications n.s. 17.
- Pancoast (H. S.), Notes on John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester. PMLA 11 (1896). vii-ix. Very brief resume of his career.
- Particulars Relating to John Harding and the Records he Recovered from Scotland. Arch. 1 (1779), 87-90. Text of grant of pension; other items—No particularly new material.
- Perceval (C. S.), On Certain Inaccuracies in the Ordinary Accounts of the Early Years of the Reign of King Edward IV. Arch. 47 (1882-83). 265-294.

- Perceval (C. S.), Remarks on an Admiralty Seal of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Arch. 46 (1881). 366-370.
- Perry (G. G.), Bishop Beckington and King Henry VI. EHR 9 (1894). 261-274. Discussion of the life and character of Beckington.
- A Petition of the Citizens of Winchester (1450) to King Henry VI Concerning the Ruinous State of their City. Arch. 1 (1779). 91-95. Text reprinted.
- Phillipps (Thomas), ed. Account of the Ceremonial of the Marriage of the Princess Margaret, sister of King Edward the Fourth, to Charles, Duke of Burgundy, in 1468. Arch. 31 (1845-46). 326-338. Copy of contemporary ms.
- Powell (M. D.), See Williams, Benjamin, ed.
- Ramsay (J. H.), The Bishop of Winchester at Perpignan in September, 1415. Acad. 47 (1895). 546.
- Ramsay (J. H.), Lancaster and York, 1399-1485. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892. 2 vols.
- Ramsay (J. H.), York and Lancaster. Acad. 44 (1893). 297. Notes on disputed dates 1440-1463.
- Ransome (Cyril), The Battle of Towton, 1461. (with map) EHR 4 (1889). 460-466.
- Rastell (John), The Pastime of People. London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1811. Pp. 241-299 Henry IV to Henry VI. Reprinted from ed. of 1529.
- Redmayne (Robert), Henri Quinti, illustrissimi Anglorum regis historia. (In Cole, C. A., ed. Memorials of Henry the Fifth, pp. 1-59. Rolls series 11).
- A Relation or Rather a True Account of the Island of England with Sundry Particulars of the Customs of These People and of the Royal Revenues Under King Henry VII About the Year 1500. Tr. from the Italian with notes by Charlotte Augusta Sneyd. London: Camden Society, 1847. Camden Society Publication 37.

- Riley (H. T.), *Memorials of London in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries*. London: Longmans, 1868.
- Routh (E. M. G.), *Lady Margaret, a Memoir of Lady Margaret Beaufort, Mother of Henry VII*. London: Oxford University Press, 1924.
- Rowe (B. J. H.), *A Contemporary Account of the Hundred Years' War from 1415-1429*. EHR 41 (1926). 504-513. Discussion of Chronicles of Hall and Basset.
- Rutland (J. H. M.), *Device for the Coronation of King Henry VII*. In Rutland papers, pp. 1-24. Camden Society Publication 21. London: Nicols, 1842.
- Rye (W. B.), *Visits to Rochester and Chatham made by Distinguished Personages from 1300-1783*. Arch. C. 6 (1866). 48. Henry VII 1492-1498. Extracts from records. Brief note.
- Schellenberg (Otto), *Wer war Andrew Ols?* ES 46 (1912). 197-205. Diplomat and friend of Henry VI, at least so Schellenberg believes.
- Scofield (C. L.), *The Capture of Lord Rivers and Sir Anthony Woodville, 19 Jan. 1460*. EHR 37 (1922). 253-255. Copy of original Latin document with comment upon it.
- Scofield (C. L.), *Early Life of John De Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford*. EHR 29 (1914). 228-245. Political history, reign of Edward IV.
- Scofield (C. L.), *Elizabeth Wydevile in the Sanctuary of Westminster, 1470*. EHR 24 (1909). 90-91. Brief account of attitude of Warwick toward queen of Edward IV when Henry VI was restored to throne, 1470.
- Scofield (C. L.), *An Engagement of Service to Warwick the Kingmaker, 1462*. EHR 29 (1914). 719-720. Copy of indenture—brief discussion of political situation.
- Scofield (C. L.), *Five Indentures between Edward IV and Warwick the Kingmaker*. EHR 36 (1921). 67-70.

- Scofield (C. L.), Henry, Duke of Somerset, and Edward IV. EHR 31 (1906). 300-302. Reprint of two letters, one from Edward IV, one from Duchess of Somerset concerning annuity granted.
- Scofield (C. L.), Jean Malet, Seigneur de Graille and Edward IV, 1475. EHR 25 (1910). 547-550. Historical note on imprisonment of Jean Malet after French wars.
- Scofield (C. L.), *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*. London: Longmans, Green, 1923. 2 vols. Bibliographies pp. 483-494.
- Scofield (C. L.), Movements of the Earl of Warwick in the Summer of 1464. EHR 21 (1906). 732-737. Relationship of Earl of Warwick to marriage affairs of Edward IV with original document (copy).
- Scofield (C. L.), Sir John Fortescue in Feb. 1461. EHR 27 (1912). 321-323. Extract from Close Roll 20, Edward IV to determine when Fortescue joined Queen Margaret.
- Scofield (C. L.), A Voluntary Subsidy Levied by Edward IV in the Province of Canterbury, 1462. EHR 23 (1908). 85-87. Account of financial difficulties of Edward IV.
- Scott (J. R.), Letters Respecting Fauconberge's Kentish Rising in 1471. Arch. C. 11 (1877). 359-364.
- Seton (Bruce), The Provocation of James Douglas of Balveny. SHR 23 (1925/26). 116-118. Relations of Douglas family and James I, of Scotland.
- Smith (G. G.), ed. *The Days of James IV, 1488-1513*; extracts from royal letters . . . state papers etc. London: Nutt, 1890. Dated extracts—many short—giving historical and social background.
- Spry (J. H.), Tomb of Henry IV in Canterbury Cathedral. Arch. C. 8 (1872). 294-299. Account of opening of tomb. Proof of falsity of story that king's body was thrown into Thames.
- Stanley (A. P.), On the Depositions of the Remains of Katharine de Valois, Queen of Henry V, in Westminster Abbey. Arch. 46 (1881). 281-296. Account of finding of remains with final disposition.

- Steele (R. R.), *Kings' Letters: from the Days of Alfred to the Accession of the Tudors*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1907, Kings classics. 1 112 seq., covers period Henry IV to Richard III.
- Stevenson (Joseph), ed. *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth*. London: Longman, Green, 1861. 2 vols. in 3. Rolls series 22. Reprint of original documents.
- Stevenson (Joseph), ed. *Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy*. London: Longman, Green, 1863. Rolls series 32. Contents: Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniae. Le recouvrement de Normandie, par Berry, Herault du roy. (English translation for this.)
- Stockley (W. F. P.), *King Henry the Fifth's Poet Historical*. London: Cranton, 1925. Henry V as he appears in history and in Shakespeare.
- Stow (John), *Annales of England*. London: Bishop, 1605, pp. 524-814. Henry IV to Henry VII.
- Strickland (Agnes), *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest*. London: Bell, 1911. Rev. ed. 6 vols. Margaret of Anjou 1 534-640.
- Tait (James), *Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury*. DNB 40 283-296. New York: Macmillan, 1894. Good brief account with bibliography.
- Temperley (Gladys), *Henry VII*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1914. Bibliography, pp. 431-435.
- Thompson (Edith), ed. *The Wars of York and Lancaster 1450-1485*. London: Nutt, 1892. English history from contemporary writers in short dated extracts.
- Thoms (W. J.), *Instructions given by King Henry VI to Edward Grimston and others, his Ambassadors to the Duchess of Burgundy 1449*. Arch. 40 (1866). 451-482.

- Thornley (I. D.), *England under the Yorkists, 1460-1485*. Illustrated from contemporary sources. New York: Longmans, Green, 1920. University of London Intermediate Source Books of History 2.
- Turner (Sharon), *The History of England during the Middle-Ages*. 3rd ed. London: Longman, 1830. 5 vols. 15th century. 2 348-end, 3, 4 1-112.
- Vergilius (Polydorus), *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History Comprising the Reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV, and Richard III, from an early translation*. Ed. by Henry Ellis. London: Nichols, 1844. Camden Society Publication 29.
- The Vespasiano Memoirs now first translated into English by W. G. & Emily Waters*. London: Routledge, 1926. Account of Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester.
- Vickers (K. H.), *England in the Later Middle Ages*. New York: Putnam, 1914. (Oman, *History of England*, v. 3).
- Vickers (K. H.), *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, a Biography*. London: Constable, 1907. Standard biography of a very important figure in political and cultural life.
- Walford (W. S.), *Remarks on Four Deeds, of the Time of Henry VI, with Seals appended; and a memoir of Sir William Oldhalle, knight*. Arch. 37 (1857). 335-350.
- Walpole, Horace, 4th Earl of Orford. *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third*. London: Dodsley, 1768. Rev. by Robt. Masters. Arch. 2 (1773). 198-215.
- Walsingham (Thomas), *Historia Anglicana*, ed. by H. T. Riley. London: Longman, Green, 1864. England in 15th century. Rolls series 28. Pt. 1, sec. 2 244-end of vol.
- Warkworth (John), *A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth . . .* Ed. from ms. by J. O. Halliwell. London: Nichols, 1839. Camden Society Publication 10.
- Waugh (W. T.), *Sir John Oldcastle*. EHR 20 (1905). 434-456 and 637-658. Study of his life and character.

- Waurin (Jehan de), *A Collection of the Chronicles and Ancient Histories of Great Britain, now called England*. Tr. by William Hardy. London: Longman, Green, 1864. Rolls series 40. English translation, pts. 2-3 give history 1399-1431.
- Waurin (Jehan de), *Recueil des Croniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretagne, a present nomme Engleterre*. Ed. by William Hardy. London: Longman, Green, 1864. Rolls series 39. Pts. 2-5 (4 v.) give history from 1399-1471 as seen by French contemporary writer.
- Webb (John), ed. and tr. *Translation of a French Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard the Second, written by a contemporary*. Arch. 20 (1824). 1-442.
- Webster (Wentworth), *An Unknown Treaty between Edward IV and Louis XI*. EHR 12 (1897). 521-523. Text of record with brief discussion.
- Williams (Benjamin), ed. *Henrici Quinti, Angliae regis. Gesta*. London: English Historical Society, 1850. Translation by Mary D. Powell in progress at University of Washington under supervision of A. R. Benham.
- Wilson (M. U. M.), *Henry V of England in France, 1415-1422*. SHR 20 (1922/23). 34-48. Discusses causes of Henry's success.
- Worcester (William), *Annales Rerum Anglicarum*. Ed. by Thos. Hearne. Oxonii, 1728. Another ed. 1774. History of Wars of Roses.
- Wright (Thomas), ed. *Alliterative Poem on the Deposition of King Richard II*. London: Camden Society, 1838. Camden Society Publications 3.
- Wright (Thomas), ed. *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History, composed during the period from the accession of Edward III to that of Richard III*. London: Longman, Green, 1861. Rolls series 14 pt. 2.
- Wylie (J. H.), *The Birth Year of Henry V*. Athen. May, 1906, p. 640; July, 1906, p. 104; Aug., 1906, p. 188.
- Wylie (J. H.), *Decembri's Version of the Vita Henrici Quinti by Tito Livio*. EHR 24 (1909). 84-85. One of the problems of authorship with extracts from book.



- Wylie (J. H.), Dispensation by John XXIII for a Son of Henry IV 'propter defectum natalium,' 15 Jan. 1412. EHR 19 (1904). 96-97. Copy of document (Latin) with brief history of circumstances from which it originated.
- Wylie (J. H.), History of England under Henry the Fourth. London: Longmans, Green, 1884-98. 4 vols. Bibliography in each volume.
- Wylie (J. H.), Memorandum Concerning a Proposed Marriage between Henry V and Catherine of France in 1414. EHR 29 (1914). 322-323. Copy of document with short paragraph on its history.
- Wylie (J. H.), Notes on the Agincourt Roll. TRHS 3rd ser. 5 (1911). 105-140. Discussion of the size and make up of Henry's forces. Extracts from documents to prove points.
- Wylie (J. H.), The Reign of Henry the Fifth. Cambridge University Press, 1914-1919. 2 vols. Bibliographical footnotes.

### III.

#### SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Abram (Annie), *English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages*. New York: Dutton, 1913.

Abram (Annie), *Social England in the Fifteenth Century*. London: Routledge, 1909.

Almack (Richard), *Remarks on the Authenticity of the Paston Letters*. Arch. 41 (1867). 33-37.

Amyot (Thomas), ed. *Transcript of Two Rolls Containing an Inventory of Effects Formerly Belonging to Sir John Fastolfe*. Arch. 21 (1827). 232-280.

Arnold (G. M.), *Ancient Timber-framed House at Shorne next Gravesend*. Arch. C. 27 (1905). 193-197. Supposed to be late 15th or early 16th century. Description and drawings.

Arnold (Richard), *The Customs of London; otherwise called Arnold's Chronicle*. London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1811.

Arthur (Harold), Viscount Dillon. *On a Ms. Collection of Ordinances of Chivalry of the Fifteenth Century, Belonging to Lord Hastings*. Arch. 57 (1900-01). 29-70. (2nd ser. 7) Largely description of customs of tournaments with description of arms, oaths, etc.

Austin (Thomas), ed. *Two Fifteenth Century Cookery-Books*. London: Trübner, 1888. EETS o.s. 91.

Aveling (S. T.), *Rochester Inns*. Arch. C. 21 (1895). 315-326. The first few pages give economic documents of 15th century relating to various inns.

*The Babees' Book: Medieval Manners for the Young: done into modern English from Dr. Furnivall's texts by Edith Rickert*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1908.

- Baildon (W. P.), Three inventories: The Earl of Huntingdon, 1377; Brother John Randolf, 1419; Sir John De Boys, 1426. Arch. 61 (1908-09). 163-176. (2nd ser. 11)
- Baldwin (F. E.), Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England. Baltimore, 1926. Johns Hopkins thesis, 1923. Pp. 73-119; Lancaster and York. Especially good on costume.
- Baldwin (J. F.), Antiquities of the King's Council. EHR 21 (1906). 1-20. Discussion of oath, salary of members and make up of council in 14th and 15th centuries.
- Barnard (F. P.), Companion to English history (Middle Ages). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902. Discussion of houses, costume, town and country life, etc. Each discussion is carried through 15th century.
- Barnard (F. P.), Mediaeval England, a new ed. of Barnard's Companion to English History. Ed. by H. W. C. Davis. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Each section includes description of 15th century. Rev. by E. F. Jacob. RES 1 (1925). 111-114.
- Barrington (Daines), Observations on the Practice of Archery in England. Arch 7 (1785). 46-68. Covers the 15th century in course of discussion of whole history. Itemizes laws, etc.
- Baskervill (C. R.), Dramatic Aspects of Medieval Folk Festivals in England. NCSP 17 (1920). 19-87.
- Bateson (Mary), Borough Customs. Ed. for the Selden Society. London: Quaritch, 1904-06. 2 vols. Publications of the Selden Society v. 18, 21. Original documents with brief comment. Arranged by subjects. Considerable scattered 15th century legal matter.
- Bateson (Mary), The English and the Latin Versions of a Peterborough Court Leet, 1461. EHR 19 (1904). 526-528.
- Benham (A. R.), Shakespeare's Henry IV and the Spirit of the Fifteenth Century in England. PQ 2 (1923). 224-228.
- Bennett (H. S.), The Pastons and their England. Cambridge University Press, 1922. Systematized review of the Paston letters.

- Bland (A. E.), *English Economic History: select documents*, comp. and ed. by A. E. Bland . . . P. A. Brown . . . R. H. Tawney. London: Bell, 1915. 2nd ed. Pt. 1, pp. 5-220 contains documents 1000-1485. Documents bound together with running commentary. Contains bibliographies.
- Boisonade (P.), *Life and Work in Medieval Europe (from the 5th to the 15th century)*, tr. by Eileen Power with an introduction (*History of Civilization Series*). Knopf, 1927. Book III, Bibliography.
- The *Book of Curtesye* printed at Westminster by William Caxton about the year 1477. Cambridge University Press, 1907. Facsimile without notes or introduction.
- Book of Quinte Essence, or, The Fifth Being*. Ed. from the Sloane ms. 73 about 1460-70 by F. J. Furnivall. London: Trübner, 1865. (Rev. 1889) EETS o.s. 16. Common beliefs of the 15th Century in regard to chemistry and medicine.
- The *Book of the Ordre of Chivalry*, tr. and printed by Wm. Caxton from a French version of Ramon Lull. With Loutfut's Scotch version. Ed. by A. T. P. Byles. London: Milford, 1926. EETS o.s. 168. Text of both versions with introduction and notes.
- Bristol, England. *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, by Robert Ricart. Town Clerk of Bristol, 18 Edward IV. Ed. by Lucy Toulmin Smith. Printed for the Camden Society, 1872. Camden Society Publications n.s. 5, pp. 1-49, 15th century.
- British Museum. Manuscripts. Pageant of the birth, life and death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K. G. 1389-1439. Ed. by Viscount Dillon and W. H. St. John Hope. London: Longmans, Green, 1914. Photoengraved. 15th century drawings. Especially good on costume.
- Bruce (John), *The Authenticity of the Paston letters*. Arch. 41 (1867). 15-32.
- Caley (John), ed. Extract from the "Liber Memorandorum" concerning jewels pledged in the 17th of Henry VI to Cardinal Beaufort. Arch. 21 (1827). 34-38.

- Canterbury, England. Prerogative court. The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, 1387-1439, priest's will 1454. London: Trübner, 1882. EETS o.s. 78. Rev. by L. Morsbach, *Anglia Anzeiger* 6 (1883). 77-80.
- Cave-Browne (J.), Knights of the Shire for Kent. 1400-1500. *Arch C.* 21 (1895). 218-225. List with brief note on each.
- Cecily, Duchess of York, 1495. [Will of] (In Wills from Doctors' Commons. London: Camden Society, 1843.) Camden Society Publication 83 1-8.
- Chartier (Alain), The Curial made by Maystere Alain Charretier. Tr. thus in English by William Caxton 1484. Ed. by F. J. Furnivall. London: Trübner, 1888. EETS e.s. 54.
- Cheney (E. P.), Disappearance of English Serfdom. *EHR* 15 (1900). 20-37. Traces it through 14th, 15th and 16th centuries.
- Colby (C. W.), ed. Selections from the Sources of English History. New York: Longmans, Green, 1905. Pt. 4, pp. 109-135.
- A Commonplace Book of the Fifteenth Century, containing a religious play and poetry, legal forms, and local accounts. Printed from the original ms. at Brome Hall, Suffolk, by Lady Caroline Kerrison. Ed. by L. T. Smith. London: Trübner, Norwich: Goose, 1886. Rev. by E. Kölbing. *ES* 9 (1886). 453-455.
- Cooper (C. H.), Memoir of Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby. Cambridge: Deighton, 1874. Also published by University Press.
- Cordwainers of the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity, Helston. *Acad.* 16 (1879). 301. Very brief note on rules and customs. Date of document, middle of 15th century.
- Corner (G. R.), Observations on Four Illuminations Representing the Courts of Chancery, King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, at Westminster, from a ms. of the time of King Henry VI. *Arch.* 39 (1863). 357-372. Reproduction of illuminations with explanation of each.

- Coulton (G. G.), comp. *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation*. Cambridge University Press, 1919. Social life illustrated by short extracts from contemporary writers. Rev. by A. H. Thompson. *MLR* 13 (1918). 339-343.
- The Coventry Leet Book: or, Mayor's Register A. D. 1420-1555. Transcribed and ed. by Mary Dormer Harris. London: Paul, Tranch, Trübner, 1907-1913. *EETS* o.s. 134, 135, 138, 136.
- Cowper (J. M.), ed. *Accounts of the Church Wardens of St. Dunstan's, Canterbury (1484-1514)*. *Arch. C.* 16 (1886). 289-321.
- Cowper (J. M.), ed. *Inventory (1485) of Vestments at St. Andrews, Canterbury*. *Arch. C.* 17 (1887). 149-152.
- Cramond (William), ed. *Sir Walter Ogilvy's Castle of Findlater*. (Charter granted by James II, of Scotland.) *SHR* 2 (1904/05). 101-102. Reprint of charter in Latin and English.
- Cutts (E. L.), *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*. 6th ed. London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1926. Covers whole period but has scattered material on 15th century. Particularly good on costume. Pictures from contemporary sources.
- Davenport (F. G.), *The decay of Villeinage in East Anglia*. *TRHS* n.s. 14 (1900). 123-142. Follows the history of a certain estate from 13th to 16th centuries.
- Davey (Samuel), *The Paston Letters with Special Reference to the Social Life of the 14th and 15th Centuries*. In *Chaucer Memorial Lectures*. Ed. by P. W. Ames. London: Royal Historical Society, 1900.
- Davies (Robert), *Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York of the Fifteenth Century*. London: Nichols, 1843.
- Davies (R. T.), *Documents Illustrating the History of Civilization in England 1066-1500*. London: Methuen, 1926. Pp. 311-404 contain 15th century material.
- Davis (H. W. C.), See Barnard, F. P.

- Denton (William), *England in the Fifteenth Century*. London: Bell, 1888.
- Dickenmann (J. J.), *Das Nahrungswesen in England vom 12-15 Jahrhundert* (with bibliography) *Anglia* 27 (1904). 453-515.
- Douce (Francis), *On the Peaceable Justs, or Tiltings of the Middle Ages*. *Arch.* 17 (1814). 290-296. Describes them as given in 15th century under Edward IV.
- Duff (E. G.), *Early Chancery Proceedings Concerning Members of the Book Trade*. *The Library* n.s. 8 (1907). 408-420.
- Dugdale (Sir William), *Warwickshire*. Coventry: Aston, 1817. History and genealogy of Warwickshire. Life of Warwick.
- Duncan (L. L.), ed. *Will of Cardinal Bouchier, Abp. of Canterbury, 1486*. *Arch. C.* 24 (1900). 244-252. Text (Latin) with English summary.
- Dunlop (O. J.), *Some Aspects of Early English Apprenticeship*. *TRHS* 3rd ser. 5 (1911). 193-208. Covers three centuries (14-16) in short article, hence part on 15th century very brief. A few points, however.
- Edward, second Duke of York. *Master of Game: the oldest English book on hunting*. Ed. by W. A. and F. Baillie-Grohman, with foreword by Theodore Roosevelt. London: Chatto & Windus, 1909.
- Edwards (John), *The Hospitallers in Scotland in the 15th Century*. *SHS* 9 (1911/12). 52-68. Largely on the economic and financial administration of the order.
- Elliot (M. M.), See Hartley, Dorothy.
- Ellis (Henry), ed. *Account of the Register of Persons who Sought Sanctuary at St. John of Beverley in Yorkshire*. (Edward IV to Henry VIII) *Arch.* 17 (1814). 198-200. Gives oath required of those who sought sanctuary.
- Ellis (Henry), ed. *Copy of an Historical Document Printed by Maclinia, Dated in 1475*. *Arch.* 32 (1847). 325-331. Agreements between Louis XI of France and Edward IV, England, largely about marriage of Elizabeth, Edward's daughter.

- An English Register of Godstow Nunnery, near Oxford, written about 1450. Ed. with an introduction by Andrew Clark. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1906. 3 vols. EETS o.s. 129, 130, 142. Charters of land grants with rents and values thereof.
- The English Register of Oseney Abbey, by Oxford. Written about 1460. Ed. with introduction by Andrew Clark. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1907-1913. 2 vols. EETS o.s. 133, 144.
- A Fifteenth Century Courtesy Book ed. from the ms. by R. W. Chambers . . . and Two Fifteenth Century Franciscan Rules ed. from the ms. by W. W. Seton. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1914. EETS o.s. 148. Rev. Anglia B 31 (1920). 146.
- Firth (C. B.), Benefit of Clergy in the Time of Edward IV. EHR 32 (1917). 175-191. Discusses holding of courts and differences between the clergy and civil authorities.
- Flasdieck (Hermann), Mittelenglische Original-urkunden (1405-1430). Heidelberg: Winter, 1926. Rev. by J. H. G. Grattan. RES 2 (1926). 488-490.
- Flenley (Ralph), London and Foreign Merchants in the Reign of Henry VI. EHR 25 (1910). 644-655. Discussion of the antipathy toward them with examples from history and account of laws and taxes imposed.
- Fortescue (Sir John), De Laudibus Legum Angliae tr. by Mr. Selden. 2nd ed. London: Browne, 1741. Text, historical preface, notes. Latin with English translation.
- Fortescue (Sir John), De Laudibus Legum Angliae. Tr. by Francis Gregor. Cincinnati: Clarke, 1874.
- Fortescue (Sir John), The Governance of England. Ed. by C. Plummer. Oxford University Press, 1885. Text, introduction, notes. Very important book. First book on theory of limited monarchy in English. Little use of Aristotle; based on author's own experience and observation.
- Fortescue (Sir John), Sir John Fortescue's Commendation of the Laws of England tr. by Francis Grigor. London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1917.



- Fortescue (Sir John), *The Works of Sir John Fortescue, Knight* . . . Now first collected and arranged by Thomas (Fortescue) Lord Clermont. London: Privately printed, 1869.
- Foss (Edward), *Judges of England with Sketches of their Lives*. London: Longman, 1851. 9 vols. V. 4, reigns of Henry IV to Richard III. Fortescue, pp. 308-315.
- Fowler (R. C.), *Legal Proofs of Age*. EHR 22 (1907). 101-103. Little value. Characters mentioned—through 15th century—are all obscure.
- Furnivall (F. J.), *Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrimage* . . . being the expenses of the Aragonese Ambassadors for 58 days in England, 21 of July to 26 of September, 1415. London: Chaucer Society, 1903. Chaucer Society Publications, 2nd ser. 36.
- Furnivall (F. J.), ed. *Early English Meals and Manners—John Russell's Boke of Nurture, Wynken de Worde's Boke of Keruyng, The Boke of Curtayse* . . . London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1868. EETS o.s. 32.
- Gairdner (James), *The Paston letters*. Athen. Apr. 1896. pp. 544-545. Note on original mss.
- Gee (Henry), Hardy (W. J.), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History, comp. from Original Sources*. London: Macmillan, 1896. Pp. 126-144 give documents of 15th century.
- George (M. D.), *Verses on the Exchequer in the Fifteenth Century*. EHR 36 (1921). 58-68.
- Giraud (F. F.), ed. *Faversham: Regulations for the Town Porters, 1448*. Arch. C. 20 (1893). 219-221. Copy of the old regulations from town records.
- Green (Mrs. J. R.), *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*. New York: Macmillan, 1907. 2 vols. in 1. Rev. AtM 74 (1894). 547-553.
- Greenstreet (James), ed. *Early Kentish Wills (1442-1467)*. Arch. C. 11 (1877). 370-387. Transcription of wills.

- Guisseppi (M. S.), *Alien Merchants in England in the Fifteenth Century*. TRHS n.s. 9 (1895). 75-98. Account of laws and regulations enforced upon such merchants.
- Gurney (Hudson), ed. *Extracts from a Ms. Containing Portions of the Proceedings of the Corporation of Lynn Regis in Norfolk from 1430-1731 Taken from the Hall Books*. Arch. 24 (1832). 317-327. Six pages of 15th century entries. Gives method of selection of members of parliament, salary, etc.
- Hadley (William), *The Fifteenth Century*. London: Dent, 1926. Englishman Series ed. by A. T. Quiller-Couch. Excellent short summary of political and social life.
- Hamilton-Grierson (P. J.), *Judicial Committees of the Scottish Parliament, 1369/70-1544*. SHR 22 (1924/25). 1-13.
- Hannay (R. K.), *A Fifteenth-Century Eviction*. SHR 22 (1924/25). 193-198. Shows process of law through definite case of second half of century. Case in itself not important.
- Harcourt (L. W. V.), *The two Sir John Fastolfs*. TRHS 3rd ser. 4 (1910). 47-62.
- Hardy (W. J.), See Gee, Henry.
- Harris (George), *Domestic Every-day Life and Manners and Customs in this Country . . . (Pt. 4 14th and 15th centuries)* TRHS 8 (1880). 36-63.
- Harris (M. D.), *Laurence Saunders, Citizen of Coventry*. EHR 9 (1894). 633-651. Shows trouble brought about by enclosures.
- Harrod (H. D.), *A Defence of the Liberties of Chester, 1450*. Arch. 57 (1900/01). 71-86 (2nd ser. 7) Account of petition presented to the king and of various men prominent in Chester.
- Harrod (H. D.), *On the Mantle and Ring of Widowhood*. Arch. 40 (1866). 307-310.

- Hartley (Dorothy), Elliot (M. M.), *Life and Work of the People of England. A pictorial record from contemporary sources.* London: Botsford, 1926. *The Fifteenth Century* (first volume in the ser.).
- Harvey (C. C.), *Murehede or Durisdere.* SHR 14 (1916/17). 69-70. A bit of Scotch genealogy concerning Andrew, Bishop of Glasgow, 1455-1473.
- Haward (W. I.), *Economic Aspects of the Wars of the Roses in East Engla.* EHR 41 (1926). 170-189.
- Heales (Alfred), *Easter Sepulchres; their origin, nature, and history.* Arch. 42 (1869). 263-308.
- Hearnshaw (F. J. C.), *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers of the Renaissance and Reformation.* London: Harrap, 1925. Sir John Fortescue, pp. 61-86 with bibliography.
- Heath (Sidney), *Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages.* London: Fisher Unwin, 1911. Scattered material on the fifteenth century.
- Higgins (Alfred), *On an Illuminated Copy of the Statutes from Edward III to Henry VI, Illustrating the Genealogy of the Family of Fitzwilliam.* Arch. 57 (1900/01). 1-10 (2nd ser. 7) On family history. Not of great value. Some points on "coats of arms" of the period.
- Hope (W. H. S.), *On the Early Stall-Plates of the Knights of the Garter.* Arch 51 (1888). 399-418 (2nd ser. 1) Description and discussion of dates and characteristics. Many from 15th century.
- Hope (W. H. S.), *On the English Medieval Drinking Bowls called Mazers.* Arch. 50 (1887). 129-193.
- Howard (J. J.), *Observations on a Grant of an Advowson of a Chantry to a Guild in 34 Henry VI.* Arch. 38 (1860). 135-148.
- Howard (J. J.), *Some Observations Relating to Four Deeds from the Muni-ment Room at Maxstoke Castle.* Arch. 38 (1860). 272-279. Two from 15th century; John, Baron Clinton 1438, Henry, Second Duke of Buckingham 1481.

- Hugo (Thomas), Notes on a Collection of Pilgrims' Signs of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries, Found in the Thames. Arch. 38 (1860). 128-134.
- Hunter (Joseph), A Few Notices Respecting William Lynwode, Judge of the Arches, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Bishop of St. Davids. Arch. 34 (1852). 403-405. Account of his public service under Henry VI.
- Hunter (Joseph), Remarks upon Two Original Deeds Relating to Sir Thomas Swinford, the Son of Catherine Swinford who afterwards Became the Wife of John of Gaunt. Arch. 36 (1855). 267-269.
- Jarrett (Bede), Bequests to the Black Friars of London during the Fifteenth Century. EHR 25 (1910). 309-314. Copies of selections from records.
- Jarrett (Bede), Social Theories of the Middle Ages, 1200-1500. London: Benn, 1926. Some material in each section on 15th century.
- Johnston (C. E.), Sir William Oldhall. EHR 25 (1910). 715-722. Follows career of a Yorkist from 1421-1459.
- Kingsford (C. L.), Prejudice and Promise in XV Century England. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. (Ford lectures 1923-24)
- Kingsford (C. L.), Robert Bale, the London Chronicler. EHR 31 (1916). 126-128. Traces one branch of Bale family through 15th century.
- Kingsford (C. L.), ed. The Stonor Letters and Papers 1290-1483. London: Camden Society, 1919. 2 vols. Camden Society Publication. 3rd ser. 29-30.
- Kingsford (C. L.), ed. Supplementary Stonor Letters and Papers (1314-1482) London: Camden Society, 1923. Camden Society Publication. 3rd ser. 34. Camden Miscellany 13.
- Kingsford (C. L.), Two Forfeitures of the Year of Agincourt. Arch. 20 (1920). 71-100. Texts with historical introduction.
- Kramer (Stella), Amalgamation of the English Mercantile Crafts. EHR 23 (1908). 15-34, 236-251. Reviews history from 14th to 16th century.

- Kramer (Stella), *Progress and Decline of the English Craft Gilds*. Announced by Columbia University Press.
- Lapsley (T. G.), *The Account Roll of a 15th Century Iron Master*. EHR 14 (1899). 509-529. Gives not only accounts (in Latin) but also discussion of methods of work.
- La Tour-Landry (Geoffrey de), *Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, Compiled for the Instruction of his Daughters*. Tr. from the French in the Reign of Henry VI. Ed. from ms. by Thomas Wright. London: Trübner, 1868. EETS o.s. 33.
- La Tour-Landry (Geoffrey de), *The Book of Thenseygnementes and Tychynge that the Knight of the Towre made to his Daughters*. Ed. by G. B. Rawlings. London: Newnes, 1902. Text of Caxton's translation with Caxton's preface, notes, and glossary.
- Leadam (I. S.), *Polydore Vergil in the English Law Courts*. TRHS n.s. 19 (1905). 279-294. Discussion of commerce, rate of exchange, laws. Some original documents (extracts) in proof.
- Leadam (I. S.), *The Security of Copyholders in the 15th and 16th Centuries*. EHR 8 (1893). 684-696. Discussion of the use and effectiveness of the courts in 15th and 16th centuries.
- Leveson-Gower (Granville), *Notes on Waystrode, or Wood's Farm*. Arch C. 21 (1895). 105-108. Notes on house supposed to belong to end of 15th or beginning of 16th century.
- Libel of English Policie. 2nd ed. rev. and annotated by Allen R. Benham. Seattle: University of Washington Bookstore, 1926.
- Libelle of Englysche Polycye 1436. Ed. by Sir George Warner. Oxford University Press, 1926.
- Liebermann (F.), *Stadtische karnevals Aufzüge und, Politische Reimerei 1433*. ASNS 126 (1911). 185.
- Littleton (Sir Thomas), *Littleton's Tenures in English*. Ed. by E. Wambaugh. Washington, D.C.: Byrne, 1903. Complete summary of land law at the time.

Livingston (E. B.), "The House of Douglas." Athen. Aug. 1902, p. 254.  
Notes on some 15th century members of the family.

Lysons (Samuel), ed. Copies of Three Remarkable Petitions to King Henry the Sixth. Arch. 16 (1809). 3-8.

Lysons (Samuel), ed. Copy of an Entry on Close Roll 31 Henry VI Relating to the Bell-Savage Inn. Arch. 18 (1817). 197-198. Very brief—gives sign—origin of name—and grant of rights in inn. Not of great importance.

McArthur (E. A.), A 15th Century Assessment of Wages. EHR 13 (1898). 299-302. Gives copy of the record with schedule of wages and some discussion.

Mace (F. A.), Devonshire Ports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. TRHS 4th ser. 8 (1925). 98-126. Alexander Prize Essay, 1925. Frontispiece shows economic map of Devonshire.

Mackay (Charles), ed. A Collection of Songs and Ballads Relative to the London Prentices and Trades and to the Affairs of London generally during the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. London: Percy Society, 1841. Percy Society Publication 1.

Mackintosh (A. M.), The Mackintoshes and Clan Chatham. Edinburgh: Printed for the author, 1903. Rev. by M. Maclean SHR 2 (1904/05). 201-203.

Maitland (F. W.), The History of a Combridgeshire Manor. EHR 9 (1894). 417-439. An economic study made from original documents. Fifteenth century included in history.

Malcolm (C. A.), The Office of Sheriff in Scotland: Its Origin and Early Development. SHR 20 (1922/23). 129-141, 222-237, 290-311.

Malden (H. E.), ed. The Cely Papers, Selections from the Correspondence and Memoranda of the Cely Family, Merchants of the Staple, A.D. 1475-1488. Ed. by H. E. Malden. London: Longmans, Green, 1900. Camden Society Publication. Ser. 3, 1.

Malden (H. E.), An Unedited Cely Letter of 1482. TRHS 3rd ser. 10 (1916). 159-165.

- Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, Illustrated by Original Records. London: Nicol, 1841. Roxburghe Club Publications 57.
- Martin (C. T.), ed. Clerical Life in the Fifteenth Century as Illustrated by Proceedings of the Court of Chancery. Arch. 60 (1906-1907). 353-378. (2nd ser. 10)
- Martin (C. T.), ed. Some Chancery Proceedings of the Fifteenth Century. Arch. 59 (1904). 1-24.
- Martin (M. L.), Legal Proofs of Age. EHR 22 (1907). 526-527. Very little value—is about the 15th century, however.
- Marwick (J. D.), The Municipal Institutions of Scotland: A Historical Survey. SHR 1 (1903/04). 123-135, 274-290.
- Melville (R. D.), The Use and Forms of Judicial Torture in England and Scotland. SHR 2 (1904/05). 225-248. Treats mostly of 16th and 17th centuries but does describe two forms used in the 15th century.
- Metham (John), Treatises on Palmistry and Physiognomy, Prognostications based on the Day of the Week on which Christmas Falls, and the Days of the Moon. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1916. EETS o.s. 132.
- Morgan (R. B.), ed. Readings in English Social History from Contemporary Literature. V. 2, 1272-1485. Cambridge University Press, 1921.
- Morsbach (Lorenz), ed. Mittelenglische Original-Urkunden von der Chaucer-Zeit bis zur Mitte des XV Jahrhunderts. Heidelberg: Winter, 1923. Original documents reprinted.
- Niemeyer (N.), The Piers Plowman Social and Economic Histories. Bk. III (1300-1485) London: Philip, 1921.
- Norfolk (J. H.), Household Books of John, Duke of Norfolk, and Thomas, Earl of Surrey, temp. 1481-1490. Ed. by J. P. Collier. London: Nicol, 1844. Roxburghe Club Publications 61.

Norgate (Fr.), *The Paston Letters*. Athen. Apr. 1896, p. 515. Note on originals.

O'Brien (G. A. T.), *An Essay on Mediaeval Economic Teaching*. London: Longmans, Green, 1920.

*The Order of Chivalry* tr. from the French by W. Caxton. Ed. by F. S. Ellis. Kelmscott Press, 1892.

Owst (G. R.), *Preaching in Medieval England 1350-1450*. Cambridge University Press, 1926.

Packard (L. B.), *The Commercial Revolution: 1400-1776*. New York: Holt, 1927. The first section treats England in the 15th century.

*Paston Letters*. Map of Norfolk and Suffolk to accompany *Paston Letters*. PMLA 27 (1912). 189.

*Paston Letters*. *Paston letters 1422-1509*. Ed. by J. Gairdner. Birmingham, 1872-75. 3 vols. New ed. London: Chatto & Windus, 1904, 6 vols., also *Everyman's Library*, 2 vols. Dent, n.d. (1925?)

*Paston Letters*. *Paston Letters, a Selection Illustrating English Social Life in the Fifteenth Century*. Ed. with introduction and notes by M. D. Jones. Cambridge University Press, 1922.

*Paston Letters*. Report of the Committee on the *Paston Letters*. Arch. 41 (1867). 38-74. A committee from the society collated v. 5 with original ms.

Pecock (Reginald), *Reginald Pecock's Book of Faith*. A Fifteenth Century theological tractate. Ed. from the ms. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, with an introduction by J. L. Morrison. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1909.

Pecock (Reginald), *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*. Ed. by Churchill Babington. London: Longman, Green, 1860. 2 vols. Rolls series 19, pts. 1 and 2. Historical introduction, brief biography, text.



Pennsylvania. University. Dept. of History. Translations and Reprints from Original Sources of European History. Philadelphia: U. of Penn., 1902. (Rev. ed. 1912) V. 2 and 3 have some scattered 15th century documents.

Perceval (C. S.), ed. An Holograph Will of Edward Grimston, Esq. made in 1449. Arch. 45 (1877/80). 124-126. Will made just before he set forth on diplomatic mission to France. Copy of will with historical introduction.

Perceval (C. S.), Notes on a Selection of Ancient Charters, Letters and other Documents from the Muniment Room of Sir John Lawson of Brough Hall. Arch. 47 (1882/83). 179-204. Documents have to do with Burgh family and cover more than 15th century but incidental bits of 15th century history are given.

Pisan (Christine de), The Epistle of Othea to Hector; or, The Boke of Kynghthode tr. from the French by Stephen Scrope with dedication to Sir John Fastolf. Ed. by G. F. Warner. London: Nichols, 1904.

Pisan (Christine de), Moral Prouerbes tr. by Earl Rivers. Reprinted from the original Caxton ed. of 1478. Introduction by Wm. Blades. London: Blades, 1859.

Planché (J. R.), History of British Costume from the Earliest Period to the Close of the Eighteenth Century. London: Bell, 1881. [3rd ed. 1900] Fifteenth Century, pp. 185-251, Reigns, Henry IV to Henry VII inclusive. Illustrated.

Plucknett (T. F. T.), Place of the Council in the Fifteenth Century. TRHS 4th ser. 1 (1918). 157-189. Discusses the work and importance of the king's council.

Plummer (Charles), Fortescue's "The Governance of England." Acad. 29 (1886). 95, 113. Reply to Gairdner's review by editor of new ed.

Plumpton Correspondence, a Series of Letters, Chiefly Domestick Written in the Reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII and Henry VIII. Ed. by Thomas Stapleton. London: Camden Society, 1839. Camden Society Publications 4.

- Powell (C. L.), *English Domestic Relations 1487-1653*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1917. Rev. by C. B. C. Thomas. *MLN* 33 (1918). 47-50.
- Power (E. E.), *Medieval English Nunneries c. 1275-1535*. Cambridge University Press, 1922. Appendix contains: Fifteenth Century Saxon visitations by Johann Busch.
- Power (E. E.), *Medieval People*. London: Methuen, 1924. Last two chapters; Thomas Betson, a merchant of the Staple in the 15th Century; Thomas Paycocke, an Essex Clothier in the Days of Henry VII. See also Boisonade, P.
- Putnam (B. H.), *Early Treatises on the Practice of Justices of the Peace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Oxford University Press, 1924. *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History* v. 7.
- Raine (James), ed. *A Volume of English Miscellanies Illustrating the History and Language of the Northern Counties of England*. Ed. by Jas. Raine. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1890. Surtees Society Publication, 1890. Copies of legal documents, many from 15th century.
- Receipts and Expenses in the Building of Bodmin Church A. D. 1469-1472*. Ed. by J. J. Wilkinson. Camden Society, 1874. Camden Society Publication n.s. 14.
- Redstone (V. B.), *Social Condition of England during the Wars of the Roses*. *TRHS* n.s. 16 (1902). 159-200. Alexander prize essay, 1901.
- Rees (J. A.), *The Worshipful Company of Grocers*. London: Chapman & Dodd, 1923. Chapters 3 and 4, pp. 41-69 describe conditions of 15th century.
- Renwick (Robert), *Peebles: Burgh and Parish in Early History*. Peebles: Redpath, 1903. Rev. by A. C. Lawrie. *SHR* 1 (1903[04]). 89-90.
- Repton (J. A.), *Observations on Female Head-Dress in England*. *Arch.* 27 (1837-38). 29-76. Includes 15th century with others. Chiefly valuable for plates with dates of varied headdress.

- Rhymer (Thomas), *Foedera*. London: Churchill, 1709. 20 vols. Vols. 8-12 contain documents of the 15th century.
- Roberts (W.), *The Paston Letters*. Athen. April 1896, pp. 447-448. Note concerning original ms.
- Robertson (W. A. S.), *Aythe Churchwarden's Accounts in the Time of Henry IV*. Arch. C. 10 (1876). 242-249.
- Robertson (W. A. S.), *Dalison Documents*. Arch. C. 15 (1883). 386-387. Brief fragment of 15th century rent roll. (1480-1490).
- Rogers (J. E. T.), *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892. 7 vols. V. 3, 1401-1582. Largely tables of prices of agricultural products.
- Rogers (J. E. T.), *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*. New York: Putnam's, [1884?] Chapters 9-11, pp. 243-325 give 15th century conditions.
- Round (J. H.), *John Doreward, Speaker of Parliament, 1399-1413*. EHR 29 (1914). 717-719. Historical note telling of circumstances of his election and suggesting he owed it to religious difficulties of the time.
- Russell (John), *The Boke of Nurture folowyng Englondis gise*. Ed. by F. J. Furnivall. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, EETS o.s. 32.
- Ruud (M. B.), *Thomas Chaucer*. University of Minnesota. Studies in Language and Literature no. 9. Minneapolis: The University, 1926. Rev. by F. Tupper JEGP 26 (1927). 407-410; by C. R. D. Young RES 3 (1927). 80-83.
- Salzmann (L. F.), *English Industries of the Middle Ages*. New ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Also first ed., London: Constable; Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1913. Traces history of each industry in separate chapter.
- Salzman (L. F.), *English Life in the Middle Ages*. Oxford University Press, 1926. Covers the whole period of the Middle Ages. Chiefly valuable for the many pictures of 15th century England.
- Salzman (L. F.), *Mediaeval Byways*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1913. Some scattered material on superstitions and manners and customs.

- Savine (Alexander), Copyhold Cases in Early Chancery Proceedings. *EHR* 17 (1902). 296-303. Legal right in 15th century. Eleven cases cited.
- Scharf (George), Lyttleton Legal Portraits, Thomas, Edward, and Timothy. Athen. Jan. 1893, pp. 125-127. Describes portraits of Sir Thomas. Very little value.
- Scott (J. R.), Receipts and Expenditure of Sir John Scott in the Reign of Edward IV (1463-1466). *Arch. C.* 10 (1876). 250-258.
- Seton (Bruce), The Distaff Side: A Study in Matrimonial Adventure in the 15th and 16th Centuries. *SHR* 17 (1919/20). 272-286. Shows marriage ideas and customs through actual occurrences in a Scotch noble family.
- Sheppard (J. B.), The Canterbury Marching Watch with its Pageant of Saint Thomas. *Arch. C.* 12 (1878). 27-46. The pageant belongs to the 16th century but the first half of the article traces history through 15th century.
- Shillingford (John), Letters and Papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter 1447-50. Ed. by Stuart A. Moore. Printed for the Camden Society, 1871. Camden Society Publication n.s. 2.
- Simpson (W. S.), Two Inventories of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, dated respectively 1245 and 1402. *Arch.* 50 (1887). 439-524.
- Smith (J. T.), ed. English Gilds. The original ordinances of more than one hundred early English gilds . . . from original mss. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. London: Trübner, 1870. *EETS* o.s. 40.
- Snape (R. H.), English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages. Cambridge University Press, 1926. Covers 13th, 14th and 15th centuries.
- Stow (John), The Survey of London. London: Dent, 1912. Everyman ed.
- Stow (John), A Survey of London Reprinted from the Text of 1603. Ed. by C. L. Kingsford. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. 2 vols.
- Strutt (Joseph), Dress and Habits of the People of England. London: Bohn, 1842. 2 vols. V. 2, pt. V, 14th to 17th century. Colored plates of costumes, 15th century with others.

- Stubbs (William), *The Constitutional History of England*. 5th ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903. 3 vols. V. 3, Lancaster and York.
- Thornley (I. D.), *Sanctuary Register of Beverley*. EHR 34 (1919). 393-397. Shows the number of entries by years during the fifteenth century.
- Thornley (I. D.), *Treason by Words in the 15th Century*. EHR 32 (1917). 556-561. Cites instances, quotes authority, reprints two documents, discusses legislation on this point.
- Traherne (J. M.), ed. *Letter of Sir Harry Stradling to his Wife, Written in the Year 1456*. Arch. 31 (1845/46). 425-427.
- Traill (H. D.), ed. *Social England*. New York: Putnam's, 1909. 6 vols. V. 2, section 2 covers 1399-1509.
- Trevelyan Papers Prior to A. D. 1558. Ed. by J. P. Collier. Printed for the Camden Society, 1857. Camden Society Publication 67. Original documents belonging to Trevelyan family. Pp. 17-99 contain 15th century documents.
- Turnbull (W. B.), *Compota Domestica Familiarum de Buckingham et d'Angouleme, 1443, 52, 63*. Edinburgh, 1836. Abbotsford Club Publications.
- Turner (Dawson), ed. *Sketch of the History of Caister Castle, including biographical notices of Sir John Fastolfe and of individuals of the Paston family*. London: Whittaker, 1842.
- Tymms (Samuel), ed. *Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmund's and the Arch-deacon of Sudbury*. Ed. by Samuel Tymms. Printed for the Camden Society, 1850. Camden Society Publication 49. Pp. 5-83 give 15th century wills.
- Vinogradoff (Sir Paul), ed. *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. 8 vols. V. 7, chapters 2 and 3.
- Walford (Cornelius), *An Outline History of the Hanseatic League More Particularly in its Bearings on English Commerce*. TRHS 9 (1881) 82-136. Gives complete history including 15th century. Twenty-one separate events of 15th century are briefly outlined.

- Walker (A. S.), *Illustrations of Mediaeval Commercial Morality*. *History* n.s. 6 (1922). 163-172. *Quarterly Journal of the Historical Association*, London.
- Waller (J. G.), *The Lords of Cobham, their Monuments and the Church*. *Arch. C.* (11 (1877)). 49-112. Traces the entire history of the family from 13th to 16th century. Pp. 87-104, 15th century. Includes Sir John Oldcastle's declaration of faith.
- Walsingham (Thomas), *Ypodigma neustriae*. Ed. by H. T. Riley. London: Longman, 1876. *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani*, pt. 7. Rolls series 28. Dedicated to Henry V.
- Warrack (John), *Domestic Life in Scotland, 1488-1688*. New York: Dutton, [1920?] (Rhind lectures in Archaeology 1919-20). Chapter 1, pp. 1-31, gives description of house furnishing in 15th century Scotland.
- Waterson (Mrs. R. C.), *Woman's Work in the Middle Ages*. *AtM* 18 (1886). 274-288. A little material on 15th century England. More about France and Christine de Pisan. Not of any great value.
- Wethamstede (Johannis), *Registrum abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede*. London: Longman, 1872. 2 vols. Rolls series 28, section 6. Pecoek 1 276-288.
- Williams (C. H.), *A Norfolk Parliamentary Election, 1461*. *EHR* 40 (1925). 79-86. Copy of original document.
- Wilson (James), *Original Charters of the Abbey of Cupar, 1219-1448*. *SHR* 10 (1912/13). 272-286. Texts with translation. Two of the charters are 15th century.
- Winston (J. E.), *English Towns in the Wars of the Roses*. Princeton University Press, 1921. Thesis—U. of Penn. Social and Political Background.
- Wright (Thomas), ed. *A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1862. Pt. IV, pp. 359-415, deals with 15th century.

## IV.

### CULTURAL BACKGROUND

- Allen (P. S.), Bishop Shirwood of Durham and His Library. *EHR* 25 (1910). 445-456.
- Allen (P. S.), Early Documents Connected with the Library of Merton College. *The Library*. 4th ser. 4 (1923/24). 249-276.
- Anchorites in Faversham Churchyard. *Arch. C.* 11 (1877). 24-39. Discussion of items from 15th century records showing number, customs, and value of anchorites. Religious conditions.
- Anderson (J. M.), The Beginnings of St. Andrews University, 1410-1418. *SHR* 8 (1910/11). 225-248, 333-360.
- Anstey (Henry), ed. *Epistolae Academicae Oxen: a collection of letters illustrative of academic life and studies at Oxford in the 15th century.* Oxford Historical Society, 1898.
- Anstey (Henry), ed. *Munimenta Academia, or Documents Illustrative of Life and Studies at Oxford.* London: Longmans, Green, 1868. 2 vols. Rolls series 50. Most of v. 2 deals with life at Oxford in 15th century.
- Atthill (Wm.), ed. *Documents Relating to the Foundation and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of Middleham, in the County of York.* Ed. by Wm. Atthill. London: Nichols, 1847. Camden Society Publication 38. Most of the documents are 15th century.
- Aurner (N. S.), *Caxton: Mirrour of Fifteenth-Century Letters.* London: Allen, 1926. Caxton bibliography 215-222. Reviews the work which Caxton printed. Discussion of it as mirror of 15th century and as part of English literature.
- Axon (W. E. A.), The Lady Margaret as a Lover of Literature. *The Library* n.s. 8 (1907). 34-41.
- Balfour-Melville (E. W. M.), The Provision and Consecration of Bishop Cameron. *SHR* 23 (1925/26). 191-198.

- Bateson (Mary), ed. Proctors Accounts and Records of Cambridge University, 1488-1511. Cambridge University Press, 1903. Luard Memorial Series 2. Rev. SHR 1 (1903/04). 209-210.
- Beasom (J. P.), See Gascoigne, Thomas.
- Borsa (Mario), Correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester and Pier Candido Decembrio. EHR 19 (1904). 509-526. Brief account of Humphrey's popularity in Italy with copies of letters (all Latin).
- Brie (Friedrich), Deismus und Atheismus in der Englischen Renaissance. Anglia 48 (1924). 54-98, 105-168. Mostly on 16th and 17th century but does in a few brief paragraphs discuss Pecoek as forerunner of spirit.
- Canterbury, England. Christ Church Priory. The Letter Books of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury. Ed. by J. B. Sheppard. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1889. 3 vols. Rolls series 85. V. 3 deals with 15th century events.
- Capes (W. W.), The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. London: Macmillan, 1900.
- Catholicon Anglicum, an English-Latin Word-Book Dated 1843. Ed. by S. G. H. Herrtage. London: Trübner, 1881. EETS o.s. 75. Rev. Anglia-Anzeiger 5 (1882). 26-30.
- Catholicon Anglicum, an English-Latin Word-Book Dated 1483. Ed. from ms. with introduction and notes by Sidney J. H. Herrtage. Preface by H. B. Wheatley. Printed for the Camden Society, 1882. Camden Society Publication n.s. 30.
- Chronicle of the Grey Friars. (In Monumenta Franciscana. v. 2. Ed. by Richard Howlett.) Rolls series 1882, v. 4, pt. 2. 15th century records, among them Pecoek's abjuration, 1457.
- Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia. Documents drawn from the original register of the order. Ed. by Francis A. Gasquet. London: Royal Historical Society, 1904-1906. 3 vols. Camden Society Publication 3rd ser. 6, 10, 12.
- Cooper (James), The Principals of the University of Glasgow before the Reformation. SHR 11 (1913/14). 252-265.



- Cox (J. C.), Benefactions of Thomas Heywood, Dean (1457-1492) to the Cathedral Church of Lichfield. Arch. 52 (1890). 617-646. (2nd series 2)
- Deanesly (Margaret), The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions. Cambridge University Press, 1920. Rev. by E. W. Watson. MLR 16 (1921). 72-74.
- Deanesly (Margaret), Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. MLR 15 (1920). 349-358.
- Dominic, prior of Evesham. Chronica Abbatiae de Evesham ad annum 1418. Ed. by W. D. Macray. London: Longman, 1863. Rolls series 29.
- Dowden (J.), The Bishops of Dunkeld. SHR 1 (1903/04). 421-428. Record of Scottish bishops of 15th century with very brief notes on each.
- Dowden (J.), The Bishops of Glasgow. SHR 5 (1907/08). 203-213, 319-331. Roll of 15th century with brief notes on each.
- Duff (E. G.), Chancery Proceedings Concerning Members of the Book Trade. The Library n.s. 8 (1907). 408-420.
- Duff (E. G.), A Century of the English Book Trade. London: Bibliographical Society, 1905. Short notices of all connected with English book-trade from 1457-1557.
- Duff (E. G.), Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476-1535. Cambridge University Press, 1906. Rev. The Library n.s. 8 (1907). 102-107.
- Dugdale (Sir William), Monasticon Anglicanum. London: March, 1849. 8 vols.
- Edwards (John), Greyfriars in Glasgow. SHR 3 (1905/06). 179-193. Tells of the origin of the order in Glasgow, 15th century.
- Fletcher (W. Y.), English Royal Collectors. The Library n.s. 1 (1900). 305-314.

- Fox (John), *Acts and Monuments of Matters most Special and Memorable Happening in the Church*. London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1684. 3 vols. Pecoek and his time 1 805-827. Lord Cobham (Sir John Oldcastle) 1 635-668.
- Fragment from the Pontifical of John (Russell) Bishop of Lincoln. Surtees Society Publications, 1875. 61 235-249. Blessing of bishop 1480?1495.
- Fueter (Eduard), *Religion und Kirche in England im 15. Jahrhundert*. Züricher habilitationsschrift, 1904. Tübingen: Mohr, 1904.
- Gage (John), ed. *Letters from King Henry VI to the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury and to the Alderman and Bailiffs of the Town for the Suppression of the Lollards*. Arch. 23 (1830). 339-343. Copies of two letters.
- Gairdner (James), *Archbishop Martin and St. Albans*. EHR 24 (1909). 91-96. Religious conditions, especially moral conditions in the religious houses of the time.
- Gairdner (James), *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*. London: Macmillan, 1908-1913. 4 vols. V. 1, chapter 2, Pecoek.
- Galbraith (V. H.), *A Visitation of Westminster in 1444*. EHR 37 (1922). 83-88. Copy of original document from B. M., with comment.
- Gascoigne (Thomas), *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, passages selected from Gascoigne's *Theological Dictionary* illustrating the condition of church and state, 1403-1458. Ed. by J. E. T. Rogers. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881. A translation by J. P. Beasom is in progress at the University of Washington under supervision of A. R. Benham.
- Gasquet (F. A.), *The Old English Bible*. London: Nimmo, 1897. Contents: 1. The note books of Wm. Worcester. 2. Religious instruction in England in 14th and 15th centuries. 3. A royal Christmas in the 15th century. 4. Canterbury claustral school in the 15th century.
- Graham (Rose), *The English Province of the Order of Cluny in the Fifteenth Century*. TRHS 4th ser. 7 (1924). 98-130.
- Grumbley (Walter), *Provincial Priors and Vicars of the English Dominicans, 1221-1916*. EHR 33 (1918). 243-251. Nine listed from 15th century.

- Hamilton (G. L.), *Theodulus: a Mediaeval Textbook*. MP 7 (1909). 169-185 (Oct. 1909).
- Hannay (R. K.), *James I, of Scotland, Bishop Cameron, and the Papacy*. SHR 15 (1917/18). 190-200.
- Hannay (R. K.), *A Letter to Scotland from the Council of Basel*. SHR 20 (1922/23). 49-57. Discussion of religious situation as regards Scotland and the Papacy in times of James I and II.
- Hardy (C. F.), *On the Music in the Painted Glass Windows of the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick*. Arch. 61 (1908/09). 583-614 (2nd ser. 11) Chapel built ca. 1440-1450.
- Hazlitt (W. C.), *Schools, School-books and School Masters*. New York: Stechert, 1905. Very brief account of John Stanbridge, pp. 53-59. Brief extract from his *Accidence*; another from *Vulgaria*.
- Horae Eboracenses; the Prymer or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, according to the use of the illustrious church of York with other devotions as they were used by the layfolk in the northern province in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. London: Quaritch, 1920. Surtees Society Publications 132.
- Huizinga (J.), *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. London: Arnold, 1924. It deals mainly with France and the Low Countries, but the index reveals English material.
- Hulbert (J. R.), *Some Medieval Advertisements of Rome*. MP 20 (1923). 403-424 (May 1923).
- Irlande (John), *The Meroure of Wysdome Composed for the Use of James IV, King of Scots, A. D. 1490*. Ed. by Charles McPherson. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1926. STS n.s. 19.
- John of Bury. *Extracts from John Bury's answer to Pecoock's Repressor*. (In *Pecoock's Repressor*. Ed. by C. Babington. London: Longmans, 1860) Rolls series 19, pt. 2, 567-613.
- John Rylands Library, Manchester. *Woodcuts of the 15th Century in the John Rylands Library*. Reproduced in facsimile. Introduction by C. Dodgson. New York: Longmans, Green, 1915.

- Kirby (T. F.), On some Fifteenth-Century Drawings of Winchester College, New College, Oxford, etc. Arch. 53 (1892/93). 229-232 (2nd ser. 3). Reproductions of four drawings with explanation and comment.
- Koehler (S. R.), White-line Engraving for Relief Printing in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 1892. U.S. National Museum Report 1890, pp. 385-394.
- Lathrop (H. B.), The First English Printers and Their Patrons. The Library 4th ser. 3 (1922/23). 69-96.
- Leathes (S. M.), Grace Book I, Containing the Proctor's Accounts and Other Records of the University of Cambridge from the Years 1454-1488. Cambridge, 1897. (Luard memorial series)
- Lincoln Diocese Documents 1450-1544. Ed. with notes and indexes by Andrew Clark. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1914. EETS o.s. 149. Wills, inventories, proceedings against Lollards, tithes, etc.
- Lindsay (R. M.), A Literary Relic of Scottish Lollardy. SHR 1 (1903/04). 260-273. Relic is a translation of the New Testament.
- Little (A. G.), Provincial Priors and Vicars of the English Dominicans. EHR 33 (1918). 496-497.
- Littlehales (Henry), ed. The Medieval Records of a London City Church (St. Mary at Hill) 1420-1559. Transcribed & ed. with facsim. and an introduction by Henry Littlehales. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1905. 2 vols. EETS o.s: 125, 128.
- Locke (Clinton), The Age of the Great Western Schism. New York: Christian Literature Co., 1896. The influence, English and continental, of Wiclif. The index reveals many English references.
- London, St. Paul's cathedral. Visitatio Ecclesiarum per Willelum Say Decanum A. D. 1458. (In Visitations of churches belonging to St. Pauls cathedral, ed. by W. Sparrow Simpson. Camden Society, 1895, pp. 65-122) Camden Society Publication n.s. 55.
- McKerrow (R. B.), An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students. Oxford: The University Press, 1927. Means of identifying early books.

- Mallet (C. E.), *A History of the University of Oxford*. New York: Longmans, Green, 1924. 2 vols. V. 1, pp. 308-407, Oxford in the 15th century.
- Mirk (John), *Instructions for Parish Priests*. Ed. from Cotton ms. Claudius A II by Edward Peacock. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1868. (Rev. 1902) EETS o.s. 31.
- Mirk (John), *Mirk's Festial: a Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus* ed. from ms. by Theodor Erbe. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1905. EETS e.s. 96 (Pt. 1 only).
- Moore (Samuel), *General Aspects of Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages*. *The Library* 3rd ser. 4 (1913). 369-392.
- Mullinger (J. B.), *The University of Cambridge (from the Earliest Times to the Royal Injunctions of 1535.)* Cambridge University Press, 1899. V. 1 of his *University of Cambridge*.
- The Myroure of Oure Ladye*, containing a devotional treatise on divine service with a translation of the offices used by the sisters of the Brigiltine monastery of Sion at Isleworth during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. Ed. from original text of 1530 with introduction and notes by J. H. Blunt. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1873. EETS e.s. 19. Ascribed sometimes to Thos. Gascoigne.
- Neilson (George), "The Hede of Sant . . ." *The Earl of Angus's Pilgrimage in 1489*. *SHR* 1 (1903/04). 217-218.
- Netter (Thomas), *Fasciculi Zizaniorum magister Johannis Wyclif cum tritico*. Ascribed to Thomas Netter of Walden, confessor to Henry the V. Ed. by Rev. W. W. Shirley. London: Longman, Brown, 1858. *Rolls series* 5. Ends with year 1428. Deals with Lollardy.
- Newman (W. L.), *Correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Pier Candido Decembrio*. *EHR* 20 (1905). 484-498.
- Ord (Craven), ed. *An Illuminated Letter of Filiation among the Grey Friars*. *Arch.* 11 (1794). 85-87. Copies of two letters dated 1462 and 1420.

- Pageants of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick Reproduced in Facsimile. Oxford: Privately printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1908. Roxburghe Club Publication 150.
- Paston Books. John Paston's Books [list] In Paston Letters. Library ed. Edited by James Gairdner. 6 vols. London: Chatto & Windus, 1904. Vol. 6, pp. 65-67. Also, Birmingham, 1875, 3 vols. Vol. 3, pp. 300-301.
- Pauli (Reinhold), Pictures of Old England, tr. by C. E. Otté. London: Macmillan, 1861. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.
- Petriburg (M.), Some Literary Correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. EHR 10 (1895). 99-104.
- Plomer (H. R.), Bibliographic Notes from the Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry the Seventh. The Library 3rd ser. 4 (1913). 291-305.
- Plomer (H. R.), Wynkyn de Worde and his Contemporaries from the Death of Caxton to 1535. London: Grafton, 1925.
- Plomer (H. R.), Importation of Books into England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. The Library 4th ser. 4 (1923/24). 146-150.
- Pollard (A. W.), Early Illustrated Books: a History of the Decoration and Illustration of Books in the 15th and 16th Centuries. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1893. Pp. 223-249, books in England. Discusses illustrations in books by Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde.
- The Promptorium Parvulorum. The first English-Latin dictionary. Ed. by A. L. Mayhew. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1908. EETS e.s. 102.
- Registrum Curteys, Fifteenth Century Letters. (In Memorials of St. Edmunds Abbey. Ed. by Thomas Arnold. 3 241-279. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1896) Rolls series 96, pt. 3.
- Reid (E. J. B.), Lollards at Colchester in 1414. EHR 29 (1914). 101-104. Copy of an indictment for Lollardy and brief discussion of the situation.
- Robb (James), Student Life in St. Andrews before 1450 A. D. SHR 9 (1911/12). 347-360.

- Rösler (Margarete), *Studenten Leben auf englischen Universitäten im Mittelalter*. ES 52 (1918). 1-71. Discusses life from 12th through 15th century.
- Ruud (Martin B.), *Thomas Chaucer*. Research Publication of the University of Minnesota. *Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 9. Minneapolis, Feb. 1926. Dr. Ruud's thesis is that Thomas Chaucer was the son of Geoffrey Chaucer.
- St. Albans Monastery. *Annales Monasterii S. Albani a Johanne Amundesham (A. D. 1421-1440) Chronicon rerum gestarum in Monasterio Albani (A. D. 1422-1431)* Ed. by H. T. Riley. London: Longmans, Green, 1870. 2 vols. Rolls series 28, pt. 5.
- St. Albans Monastery. *Registra Quorundam Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, qui saeculo XVmo floruerunt*. Ed. by H. T. Riley. London: Longman, 1872. 2 vols. Rolls series 28.
- Sheppard (J. B.), ed. *Christ Church Letters*. A volume of mediaeval letters relating to the Priority of Christ Church Canterbury. Ed. by J. B. Sheppard. Printed by the Camden Society, 1877. Camden Society Publication n.s. 19. Pp. 6-67 contain 15th century letters.
- Singer (D. W.), *Handlist of Scientific Mss. in the British Isles Dating from before the Sixteenth Century*. *The Library* 3rd ser. 10 (1919). 91-100.
- Southwell Cathedral. *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster*, ed. by A. F. Leach. Camden Society, 1891. Camden Society Publications n.s. 48. Pp. 1-70 contain 15th century documents reprinted.
- Steele (Robert), *What Fifteenth Century Books Are About*. *The Library* n.s. 4 (1903). 337-354; n.s. 5 (1904). 337-358; n.s. 6 (1905). 137-155; n.s. 8 (1907). 225-238.
- Steele (Robert), ed. *The Earliest Arithmetics in English*, ed. with an introduction by Robt. Steele. London: Milford, 1922. EETS e.s. 118.
- Stewart (A. F.), *Scotland and the Papacy During the Great Schism*. SHR 4 (1906/07). 144-158.
- Stubbs (William), *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897. Pp. 83-95 contain register of the English bishops of the 15th century.

- Tait (James), Letters of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and Archbishop Neville to the University of Oxford. EHR 35 (1920). 570-574. Reprint of three letters (Latin) preceded by brief comment.
- Thomas, of Elmham. *Historia monasterii S. Augustini Cantuarensis*. Ed. by Charles Hardwick. London: Longman, Brown, 1858. Rolls series 8.
- \*Thompson (A. H.), *The Monasteries of Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century*. (Leicestershire Arch. and Archaeol. Society Trans. 1913-14).
- Van Dyke (Paul), *The Age of the Renascence*. New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897. Wiclif, Lollardy.
- Voynich (Wilfrid), *On the Study of Early Printed Books*. The Library n.s. 4 (1903). 189-199. Very general. Gives method of study which might be applied to books of 15th century England.
- Wey (William), *The Itineraries of William Wey . . . to Jerusalem A. D. 1458 and 1462 and to Saint James of Compostella 1456*. London: Nichols, 1857. Roxburghe Club Publications 76. Early book of travel.
- Wey (William), *Map of the Holy Land Illustrating the Itineraries of William Wey, from original in Bodleian Library (facsim.)* London: Nichols, 1867. Roxburghe Club Publication 88.
- Whitwell (R. J.), *An Ordinance for Syon Library, 1482*. EHR 25 (1910). 121-123.
- Wood (Anthony à), *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. by P. Bliss. London: Rivington, 1813-1820. 4 vols. No great value because so little on 15th century.
- Heywood (Jasper), Wright (Thomas), *The Ancient Laws of the 15th Century for King's College, Cambridge, and for the Public School of Eton College*. London: Longmans, 1850.
- Woodruff (C. E.), *A Monastic Chronicle Lately Discovered at Christ Church, Canterbury*. Arch. C. 29 (1911). 47-84. Text with translation and introduction.



V.

LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

- Aurner (R. R.), Caxton and the English Sentence. *WSLL* 18 (1923). 23-59.
- Babcock (C. F.), A Study of the Metrical Use of the Inflectional e in Middle English with Particular Reference to Chaucer and Lydgate. *PMLA* 29 (1914). 59-92.
- Baldwin (C. S.), The Inflections and Syntax of the *Morte d'Arthur* . . . a study in Fifteenth Century English. Boston: Ginn, 1894. Takes up parts of speech separately. Bibliography: pp. ix-x.
- Baldwin (C. S.), The Verb in the "Morte d'Arthur." *MLN* 10 (1895). (92-94) 46-47.
- Baumann (Ida), Die Sprache der Urkunden aus Yorkshire im 15 Jahrhundert. Heidelberg: Winter, 1902. *AF* hft. 11. An extended study with numerous examples. Rev. by O. Ritter *ES* 34 (1904). 83-84.
- \*Bertram (A.), Essay on the Dialect, Language and Metre of Ratis Raving. 1896. (Program der Realschule zu Sondershausen) *Ann. JsbGP* 18 (1896). 325.
- Brugger (E.), Zur Lautlichen Entwicklung der Englischen Schriftsprache im Anfang des XVI Jahrhunderts. *Anglia* 15 (1893). 261-344.
- Buchtenkirch (E.), Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs in Occlve's *De Regimine Principum*. Jena diss. 1889? Braunschweig, 1889.
- Courmont (André), Studies on Lydgate's Syntax in the Temple of Glas. Paris: Alcan, 1912. Rev. by Eugen Borst *ES* 45 (1912). 77-80.
- Crawford (Mary), English Interjections in the Fifteenth Century. Nebraska University, *University studies* 13 (1913). no. 4. 361-405.
- DeJong (R. R.), On ME Rhymes in end(e) and ent(e). *ES* 21 (1895). 321-325. Includes analysis of rhymes of Guy of Warwick, 15th century version ed. by Zupitza.

- Dibelius (Wilhelm), John Capgrave und die Englischen Schriftsprache. *Anglia* 23 (1901). 153-194, 323-375, 427-472; 24 211-263, 269-308. Discussion of development of language in 15th century.
- Dormer (J.), The Paston Letters and the NED. *NQ ser.* 9 11 (1903). 142, 163-165. Text notes on use of words.
- Dubislav (Georg), Studien zur Mittelenglischen Syntax. *Anglia* 40 (1916). 263-321; 45 (1921). 51-76, 283-296; 46 (1922). 239-256. Some of discussion based on various cycles of mystery plays and Mirk's Festival.
- Einenkel (E.), Der Infinitiv im Mittelenglischen. *Anglia* 13 (1891). 79-104. Gives more than 100 examples of varied usages. Many from Hoccleve, few from Malory.
- Flasdieck (Hermann), Ein Südost Mittelenglischer Lautwandel. *ES* 58 (1924). 1-23.
- \*Fromm (Ch.), Über den Verbalen Wortschatz in Sir Thomas Malory's Roman *Le Morte d'Arthur*. Marburg diss. 1914. Norske, Borna-Leipzig. *Ann. JsbGP* 37 (1915). 75.
- Gaaf (W. van der), The Transition from the Impersonal to the Personal Construction in Middle English. Heidelberg: Winter, 1904. *AF* 14. Treats the whole period but studies several 15th century works.
- Grazebrook (George), "Bannaster" in the Fifteenth Century. Athen. Sept. 1899, p. 388. Note on word.
- Hagedorn (Wilhelm), Ueber die Sprache einiger nördlicher Chaucerschüler. Göttingen: Vandenhoech & Ruprecht, 1892. Diss. Göttingen.
- Hausknecht (Emil), The Middle-English *blanner*. *MLN* 6 (1891). (391) 196. Derivation and use of word.
- Hempl (George), The Verb in the *Morte d'Arthur*. *MLN* 9 (1894). (479-481) 240-241. Lists of verb forms used.
- Heyne (Herbert), Die Sprache in Henry the Minstrel's Wallace. Kiel: Fiencke, 1910. Inaug. Diss. Kiel.

- \*Hingst (Richard), Die Sprache John Lydgate's aus seinen Reimen. Diss. Greifswald. 1908. Ann. JsbGP 30 (1908). pt. 2 3.
- Hoofe (A.), Lautuntersuchungen zu Osbern Bokenam's Legenden. ES 8 (1885). 209-254. Technical discussion of phonetics and wording.
- Howorth (H. H.), The Importance of Caxton in the History of the English Language. Athen. Nov. 1894, pp. 715-716; Mar. 1895, p. 284.
- Hudnall (R. H.), A Presentation of the Grammatical Inflections in Andrew Wyntoun's "Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland." Leipzig: Schmidt, 1898. Inaug. Diss. Leipzig.
- Kellner (L.), Abwechselung und Tautologie: zwei Eigenthumlichkeiten des alt-und-mittelenglischen Stiles. ES 20 (1895). 1-24. More reference to 14th than 15th century work, however a number to Caxton and Malory, one Pecoock.
- Kellner (Leon). Historical Outlines of English Syntax. New York: Macmillan, 1892 and 1905.
- Kennedy (Arthur G.), A Bibliography of Writings on the English Language, etc. Cambridge and New Haven: Harvard and Yale University Presses, 1927.
- Lekebusch (Julius), Die Londoner Urkundensprache von 1430-1500. Halle: Niemeyer, 1906. (Studien zur Englischen philologie 23)
- Luick (Karl), Studien zur Englischen Lautgeschichte. Wein: Braumüller, 1903. WBEP 17.
- Mendenhall (J. C.), Aureate Terms; a Study in the Literary Diction of the Fifteenth Century. Lancaster, Pa.: Wickersham Printing Co., 1919. U. of Penn. thesis.
- Murray (J. A. H.), "Daw" in Malory's Morte d'Arthur. Acad. 44 (1893). 464. Use of word.
- Neumann (G. K.), Die Orthographie der Paston Letters. Marburg: Elwert, 1904. Marburger studien zur englischen philologie 7. Rev. by Erik Björkman. ES 38 (1907). 72-74.

- Pound (Louise), *The Comparison of Adjectives in English in the XV and XVI Century*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1901. AF 7.
- Ramsay (J. H.), "Ragman," "Ragman Roll." *Acad.* 37 (1890). 47, 65, 445. Discussion of the use of words.
- Reismüller (Georg), *Romanische Lehnwörter (erstbelege) bei Lydgate, ein Beitrag zur Lexicographie des Englischen in XV Jahrhundert*. Leipzig: Deichert, 1911. MBREP 48.
- Reul (P. de), *The Language of Caxton's "Reynard the Fox"—a Study in Historical Syntax*. London: Sonnenschein, 1901. Also, Gand: Librairie Vuilsteke, 1901. Univ. de Gand.
- Römstedt (Hermann), *Die Englische Schriftsprache bei Caxton*. Göttingen, Diss. 1890. Leipzig: Fock, 1891.
- Ross (C. H.), *Absolute Participle in Middle and Modern English*. *PMLA* 8 (1893). 245-302. Discussion of use with examples from Fortescue, Hoccleve, Paston, Pecoek.
- Royster (J. F.), *The "Do" Auxiliary—1400-1450*. *MP* 12 (1915). 449-456. Largely a discussion of Lydgate's use of it.
- Royster (J. F.), *A Note on French-English Word Pairs in Middle-English*. *MP* 16 (1919). 501-502. (Jan. 1919) Discussion on the reason for their use.
- \*Schmidt (F.), *Studies in the Language of Pecoek*. Upsala, 1900.
- Serjeantson (M. S.), *The Dialects of the West Midlands in Middle English*. *RES* 3 (1927). 57-67, 186-201.
- Slettengren (H. O. F.), *Ai and Ei before S T D in Middle English*. *ES* 49 (1915). 1-17. More 14th century work than 15th reviewed.
- Spies (Heinrich), *Studien zur Geschichte des Englischen Pronomens im XV und XVI Jahrhundert (flexionslehre und syntax.)* Halle: Niemeyer, 1897. Rev. by W. Franz. *ES* 25 (1898). 427-429. (Auch in *Studien zur englischen philologie* 1)

- Süssbier (K.), *Die Sprache der Cely-papers*. Berlin: Ebering, 1905.
- Sykes (F. H.), *French Elements in Middle English*. Oxford: Hart, 1899.  
Diss. Johns Hopkins. Romance influence on the phrasal power.
- Toynbee (Paget), English "bannaster" in the Fifteenth Century. *Athen. Aug.* 1899, pp. 226-227. Use and meaning of word.
- Vollmer (Erich), *Sprache und Reime des Londoners Hoccleve*. *Anglia* 21 (1899). 201-221.
- Wyld (H. C.), *The Treatment of OE y in Middle English*. *ES* 47 (1913). 1-58, 145-166. Based largely on place names from various sections. Gives examples and tables beside discussion.
- Zachrisson (R. E.), *A Contribution to the History of the Early New English Pronunciation (especially in the 15th century)*. *ES* 52 (1918). 299-326.
- Zachrisson (R. E.), *The Pronunciation of English Vowels, 1400-1700*. Goteberg, Wettergren och Kerber, 1914. Rev. by A. Mawer *MLR* 13 (1918). 109-111.

## VI.

### LITERATURE

#### 1. GENERAL TEXTS

- Amours (F. J.), ed. *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, ed. with introduction, notes, appendix, glossary. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1897. STS 21.
- Arber (Edward), ed. *The Dunbar Anthology, 1401-1508 A. D.* London: Frowde, 1901. Fifteenth century poets English and Scotch. Very little Lydgate and Occleve material.
- Arber (Edward), ed. *An English Garner; In-gatherings from our History and Literature.* Westminster: Constable, 1880-1897. 12 vols. If 1st ed., 15th century material scattered throughout; if later, all in v. 12.
- Arber (Edward), ed. *An English Garner.* London: Constable, 1909. Penschurst ed. vol. 12. Anthology with historical introduction. Lydgate, Hoccleve, Bible, Caxton, Robin Hood, Malory.
- Barnett (Annie), Dale (Lucy), *An Anthology of English Prose (1332-1740).* London: Longmans, Green, 1912. Contains selections from Malory and Caxton.
- Blakiston (H. E. D.), *Two More Medieval Ghost Stories.* EHR 38 (1923). 85-87. Blakiston suggests that they were from a book used by preachers who introduced local color. Clearly 15th century Latin work.
- Bolle (Wilhelm), *Zur Lyrik der Rawlinson Hs. C813.* Anglia 34 (1911). 273-307. Bolle finds some of the work very similar to Lydgate's and characteristic of the 15th century.
- Bronson (W. C.), ed. *English Poems.* Chicago: Univ of Chicago Press, 1910. 4 vols. Old English and Middle English periods; pp. 165-194, v. 1, give one extract each from Lydgate, Hoccleve, James I, Dunbar, Douglas, Henryson.
- Brunner (Karl), *Hs B. M. Additional 31042. (Late 15th century)* ASNS 132 (1914). 316-327. Description of ms. and extracts from contents.

- Bülbring (K. D.), *Über die Handschrift nr. 491 der Lambeth-Bibliothek.* ASNS 86 (1891). 381-392. Most of ms. in late 15th century hand. Contents: A Chronicle of England; Four Manere Bestes of Venerly, Juliana Berners; Sege of Jerusalem; A Tretys of the Thre Kynge of Cologne.
- Chaucer (Geoffrey), *The works of Geoffrey Chaucer and others.* Facsimile of 1532 ed. Ed. by W. W. Skeat. London: Oxford University Press, [n.d.] Contains eight poems by Lydgate, two by Hoccleve, one by Henryson, one by Usk.
- Child (F. J.), *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1882. (5 v. in 10) Text of many early ballads, 5 pt. 2 397-565. Index of ballads. Index of sources. Bibliography of ballad literature. (Very complete.)
- Child (F. J.), *English and Scottish Ballads.* 8 v. in 4. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1885. Bibliography of ballad collections, pp. xvii-xxxvii. (Good) Text of ballads also. So arranged that no definite pages can be given.
- A Collection of Songs and Madrigals by English Composers of the Close of the Fifteenth Century. Prepared for members of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society. London: Quaritch, 1891.
- Collier (J. P.), ed. *Old Ballads from Early Printed Copies.* London: Percy Society, 1840. Percy Society Publication 1.
- Cook (A. S.), ed. *A Literary Middle-English Reader.* Boston: Ginn, 1915. Anthology. Mostly 14th century work but contains selections from Malory and Mirk beside 15th century lyrics and other poems.
- Cords (Rose), ed. *Fünf ME Gedichte aus den Hss Rawlinson, Poetry 36 und Rawlinson C. 86.* ASNS 135 (1916). 292-302. Texts with discussion.
- Craik (Henry), ed. *English Prose, Selections with Critical Introductions.* New York: Macmillan, 1905. 5 vols. V. 1 gives Pecoock, Fortescue, Malory, Fisher, Fabyan, Capgrave, Caxton, More.
- Dale (Lucy), See Barnett, Annie.

- D'Evelyn (Charlotte), *The Middle-English Metrical Version of Methodius with a Study of the Influence of Methodius in Middle-English Writing*. PMLA 33 (1918). 135-203. Corrections for text PMLA 34 (1919). 112-113. Text with discussion of influence. Only indirectly related to 15th century. Influence on Capgrave cited.
- Fehr (Bernhard), *Die Lieder des Fairfax ms.* ASNS 106 (1901). 49-70. Text with history of ms. Probably earliest part songs. Last of 15th or beginning of 16th century.
- Fehr (Bernhard), *Die Lieder der Hs Sloane 2593.* ASNS 109 (1902). 33-72. Text of songs (English) with brief historical introduction and study of the language.
- Fehr (Bernhard), *Die Lieder der Hs. Add. 5665.* ASNS 106 (1901). 262-285. Early songs in English and Latin. Texts with brief history.
- Fehr (Bernhard), *Weitere Beiträge zur Englischen Lyrik des 15th und 16th Jahrhunderts.* ASNS 107 (1901). 48-61.
- Fischer (Erna), *Ein Nordenglisches Moralisches religiöses Versfragment aus dem 15th Jahrhundert.* ES 60 (1926). 252-261. Text with brief historical and critical introduction.
- Förster (Max), *Kleine Mitteilungen zur Mittelenglischen Lehrdichtungen.* ASNS 104 (1900). 293-309. Notes on various little known works of 15th century. For corrections see v. 106, p. 145.
- Förster (Max), *Kleinere Mittelenglische Texts.* Anglia 42 (1918). 143-224. Contains following 15th century work (texts) Mariengebete; Lydgate's Dietary; "Testament Christi"; Sprichwörter; Rätsel und Verwandtes; Himmels Schutzbrief.
- Förster (Max), *Zu den "Kleineren ME Texten."* Anglia 43 (1919). 191-194. Corrections for some of the work ed. in 42 143-224.
- Fricke (Richard), *Die Robin-Hood Balladen.* ASNS 69 (1883). 241-344. Discussion of whole cycle including 15th century portions. Bibliography including mss. sources.



- Fuller-Maitland (J. A.), Rockstro (W. S.), *English Carols of the Fifteenth Century*. London: Leadenhall Press, 1892. Songs with music, ed. by Rockstro and historical introduction to whole.
- Furnivall (F. J.), ed. *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ, The Parliament of Devils and other religious poems from Lambeth ms. no. 853 (about 1430)* London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1867. EETS o.s. 24.
- Furnivall (F. J.), ed. *Political, Religious, and Love Poems (Some by Lydgate, Sir Richard Røs, H. Baradoun, Wm. Huchen)* . . . London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1866. EETS o.s. 15.
- Furnivall (F. J.), ed. *Three Middle English Poems (texts) ES 23 (1897)*. 439-445. Texts of two 15th century and one 14th century poem.
- Garrett (R. M.), *Middle English Rimed Medical Treatise*. *Anglia* 34 (1911). 163-193. Usually dated, 1272-1327. Garrett thought it much later, "One hundred and fifty years" he says.
- Halliwell-Phillipps (J. O.), ed. *Early English Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, Selected from an Inedited ms. of the Fifteenth Century (Porkington ms.) (Warton Club 2) 1855*. London: Warton Club, 1855. Poems, Treatise on planting. Brief notes.
- Halliwell-Phillipps (J. O.), ed. *The Thornton Romances. The early English metrical romances of Perceval, Isumbras, Eglamour and Degrevant*. Ed. by J. O. Halliwell. London: Camden Solyeti. Camden Society Publication 30. From the Thornton ms. 1440.
- Hammond (E. P.), ed. *English verse between Chaucer and Surrey*. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1927. Anthology with introductions and notes. Bibliographical references for John Walton, Hoccleve, Lydgate, Benedict Burgh, John Shirley, John Hardyng, George Ripley, Stephen Hawes, William Nevill, Robert Copland, Alexander Barclay, John Skelton, George Cavendish, Henry Lord Morley. There is no treatment of the Popular Ballad and none of the Scotch poets.
- Hartshorne (C. H.), ed. *Ancient Metrical Tales: Printed Chiefly from Original Sources*. London: Pickering, 1829. Texts with very brief introduction. Contents: King Athelstone, 14th century, King Edward and the Shepherd, 15th century ms., Florice and Blanche flour. Ms. beginning 15th century, other fragments.

- Hazlitt (W. C.), ed. *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*. London: Smith, 1866. 4 vols.
- Holthausen (Ferd.), *Englische Weihnachtslieder*. *Anglia* 17 (1895). 443-444. Text corrections for *Weihnachtslieder*. Ed. by E. Flügel from Oxford Balliol ms. Leipzig, 1894.
- Holthausen (Ferd.), *Zu den Mittelenglischen Medizinischen Gedichten*. *Anglia* 44 (1920). 357-372. Corrections for text (in part) as ed. by Max Garrett. *Anglia* 34.
- Horstmann (Carl), ed. *Prosalegenden* (ms. Douce 114) *Anglia* 8 (1885). 102-196. Ms. is written in 15th century hand. Text of works with brief historical introduction. Contents.—S. Elizabeth of Spalbeck.—S. Christina mirabilis.—S. Mary of Oegines.—S. Katerina of Senis.
- Horstmann (Carl), *Prosalegenden*. *Anglia* 3 (1880). 293-360. Texts of legends from a 15th century ms. Brief introduction. First, "Caxton's ausgabe der H. Wenefreda."
- Horstmann (Carl), *Prosalegenden* (V. S. Antonius) *Anglia* 4 (1881). 109-138. Gives text from a 15th century ms.
- Hulme (W. H.), *A Valuable ME. Manuscript*. *MP* 4 (1906). 67-73 (July 1906) Describes 15th century ms. containing (among other things) ME version of tales of Peter Alfons. Not of great value.
- James (M. R.) and Macaulay (G. C.), *Fifteenth Century Carols and Other Pieces*. *MLR* 8 (1913). 68-87.
- James (M. R.), *Twelve Medieval Ghost-Stories*. *EHR* 37 (1922). 413-422. All the stories are in early 15th century Latin, written probably by a Monk of Byland.
- Jordan (Richard), *Kleinere-Dichtungen der Handschrift Harley 3810*. *ES* 41 (1910). 251-266. Text of four short poems with discussion. Date uncertain. Have characteristics of both 14th and 15th century work.
- Kail (J.), ed. *Twenty-six Political and Other Poems* (including "Petty Job") from the Oxford Mss. Digby 102 and Douce 322. Ed. with introduction

- and glossarial index. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1904. EETS o.s. 124 (pt. 1).
- Laing (David), ed. *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Paterson, 1884. Begins with Rauf Coilyear. A number of other 15th century poems.
- MacCracken (H. N.), *Unprinted Texts from the Ms. Trinity College, Cambridge R. 3. 21. ASNS 130 (1913). 286-311. Text of poems with brief account. Time of Edward IV. Six poems—four religious, "Song on the Battle of Barnet" and "The Birds Matins."*
- Mackay (Charles), ed. *A Collection of Songs and Ballads Relative to London Prentices and Trades and to the Affairs of London generally during the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centuries*. London: Percy Society, 1841. Percy Society Publications 1.
- Madden (Frederic), ed. *Political Poems of the Reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV*. Arch. 29 (1841/42). 318-347.
- Manly (J. M.), *English Poetry (1170-1892)* Boston: Ginn, 1907. Pp. 47-79 contain extracts from 15th century authors. (Anthology)
- Morris (Richard), ed. *Legends of the Holy Rood; Symbols of the Passion and Cross-poems in the Old English of the Eleventh, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries*. London: Trübner, 1871. EETS o.s. 46.
- Neilson (W. A.), and Webster (K. G. T.), *Chief British Poets of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1916, pp. 199-422. Texts with biographical notes and glossary.
- Newbolt (Sir H. J.), *An English Anthology of Prose and Poetry Showing the Main Stream of English Literature through Six Centuries (14th-19th century)* New York: Dutton, 1921.
- Padelford (F. M.), *English Songs in ms. Selden B 26. Anglia 36 (1912). 79-115. Text with discussion of date, ca. 1453 in Dr. Padelford's opinion.*
- Peacock (W.), comp. *English Prose from Mandeville to Ruskin*. London: Frowde, 1905. 5 vols. V. 1, Caxton and Malory.

- Peacock (W.), comp. *English Prose*. London: Oxford University Press, 1921. (*The World's Classics*) V. 1—15th century.
- Percy (Thomas), *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. New York: Crowell, n.d. 2 vols. Each poem preceded by short historical introduction. Work scattered through volumes. (Ballads especially)
- Perry (G. G.), ed. *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse*. Ed. from the Thornton ms. (Cir. 1440) London: Trübner, 1867. EETS o.s. 26. Rev. ed. Trübner, 1889; 3rd ed. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1914.
- Pollard (A. W.), ed. *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*. Westminster: Constable, 1903. *Arber's English Garner* v. 1 rearranged and reclassified by Thomas Seccombe.
- Rickert (Edith), ed. *Ancient English Christmas Carols 1400 to 1700*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1914.
- Ritson (Joseph), comp. *Ancient Songs and Ballads from the Reign of Henry II to the Revolution*. 3rd ed. London: Reeves and Turner, 1877. First ed. London, 1790; Rev. ed. London: Payne & Foss, 1829. Class II, Reigns of Henry IV, V, VI, pp. 71-146; Class III, Edward IV to Henry VIII. Texts with mss. sources.
- Root (R. K.), *Poems from the Garrett Ms.* ES 41 (1910). 360-379. Text with brief discussion of other mss. in which poems appear. This ms. is an early 15th century version.
- Skeat (W. W.), *Specimens of English Literature, 1394-1579*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892. 5th ed. Text with biographical paragraph. Pp. 13-154, extracts from Hoccleve, Lydgate, Pecoock, Henry the Minstrel, James I, Malory, Dunbar, Skelton, ballads.
- Thien (Hermann), *Über die Englischen Marienklagen*. Kiel: Fiencke, 1906. (Inaug. Diss. Christian-Albrechts U.) Discussion with fragments of text. Bibliography.
- Ward (T. H.), ed. *The English Poets*. Selections with critical introductions. New York: Macmillan, 1920. V. 1, pp. 114-247—15th century. Lydgate, Hoccleve, James I, Douglas, Dunbar, Hawes.

Webster (K. G. T.), See Neilson, W. A.

Williams (Benjamin), ed. *Satirical Rhymes on the Defeat of the Flemings before Calais in 1436; from a Ms. in the Archbishopal Library at Lambeth.* Arch. 33 (1849). 129-132.

Wright (Thomas), ed. *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History Composed during the Period from the Accession of Edward II to that of Richard III.* London: Longman, Green, 1861. Rolls series 14 pt. 2.

Wright (Thomas), ed. *Reliquiae Antiquae. Scraps from ancient manuscripts illustrating chiefly early English literature and the English language.* Ed. by Thomas Wright and James O. Halliwell. London: Smith, 1845. 2 vols.

Wright (Thomas), ed. *Songs and Carols from a Manuscript in the British Museum, of the Fifteenth Century.* London: Richards, 1856. Warton Club Publications IV.

Wright (Thomas), ed. *Songs and Carols now First Printed from a Manuscript of the Fifteenth Century.* London: Percy Society, 1847. Ms. Bedleian Eng. Poet E. 1. Percy Society Publications 23.

Wright (Thomas), ed. *Specimens of Old Christmas Carols Selected from Manuscripts and Printed Books.* London: Percy Society, 1841. Percy Society Publication 4.

## 2. GENERAL DISCUSSION

Aust (Julius), *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mittelenglischen Lyrik.* ASNS 70 (1883). 253-290. Discussion of whole period but much applies to 15th century religious lyrics.

Baeske (Wilhelm), *Oldcastle-Falstaff in der Englischen Literatur bis zu Shakespeare.* Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1905. Pal. 50. Complete history, tracing literary references in contemporary and later work.

Baldwin (C. S.), *Introduction to English Mediaeval Literature.* New York: Longmans, Green, 1914. Malory, pp. 161-169.

- Becker (E. J.), *A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell with Special Reference to Middle-English Versions*. Baltimore: Murphy, 1899. Johns Hopkins Diss. Rev. by F. Holthausen. ES 28 (1900). 433-434.
- Berdan (J. M.), *Early Tudor Poetry, 1485-1547*. New York, Macmillan, 1920. About first half of book (150 pp.) devoted to tendencies of the end of the 15th century.
- Berdan (J. M.), *The Influence of Medieval Latin Rhetoric on the English Writers of the Early Renaissance*. RR 7 (1916). 288-313. Discusses influence in metre and rhyme.
- Billings (A. H.), *A Guide to Middle-English Metrical Romances dealing with English and Germanic Legends*. New York: Holt, 1901. YSE 9. Rev. by H. D. Blackwell MLN 18 (1903). 55-58. Malory Morte d'Arthur, pp. 200-208. Rauf Coilyear p. 79-84.
- Brussendorf (Aage), *The Chaucer Tradition*. London: Milford, 1925. Not always accurate. Rev. by M. Praz. MLR 22 (April 1927) 201-208; by C. R. D. Young RES 3 (1927). 80-83.
- Cambridge History of English Literature*. New York: Putnam's, 1909, 14 vols. V. 2 text and bibliography. Bibliography of mss. especially valuable.
- Cazamian (Louis), See Legouis, Emile.
- Chamber's Encyclopedia of English Literature*. New ed. London: Chambers, 1906, 3 vols. V. 1, pp. 76-120 deals with 15th century literature.
- Champion (P. H.), *Historie Poetique du Quinzième Siècle*. Paris: Champion, 1923.
- Chaytor (H. J.), *The Troubadours and England*. Cambridge University Press, 1923. Chapter III Troubadour influence upon the English lyric, pp. 98-160, discusses (among others) influence upon Lydgate.
- Cook (A. S.), *A Literary Motive Common to Old, Middle and Modern English*. MLN 7 (1892). (268-273) 134-137. Address of Christ to individual sinner. Relates it to mystery plays.

- Courthorpe (W. J.), *History of English Poetry*. London: Macmillan, 1895, 6 vols. V. 1 has brief summary of 15th century tendencies and chief writers.
- Cox (E. G.), *The Medieval Popular Ballad*. Tr. from the Danish of Johannes C. H. R. Steenstrup. Boston: Ginn, 1914.
- Curry (W. C.), *The ME Ideal of Personal Beauty as Found in Metrical Romances, Chronicles and Legends of the XIII, XIV, and XV Centuries*. Baltimore: Furst, 1916. Stanford thesis Ph.D. 1915. Lydgate and anonymous work included in study.
- Emmerig (Oskar), *Dariusbrief und Tennisballgeschichte*. ES 39 (1908). 362-401. Relates incident to Alexander legends.
- Everett (Dorothy), *The Middle English Prose Psalter of Richard Rolle of Hampole (containing Lollard interpolations)* MLR 18 (1923). 381-393.
- Finsterbusch (Franz), *Der Versbau der Mittelenglischen Dichtungen Sir Percival of Gales und Sir Degrevant*. Wein: Braumüller, 1918. WBEP 49 (1918). Sir Perceval, pp. 1-73; Sir Degrevant, pp. 74-181. (Thornton ms. text)
- Flood (W. H. G.), *Three Fifteenth Century Songs*. RES 2 (1926). 460-461. Brief note giving titles and date.
- Flügel (Ewald), *A Middle English Anecdote*. TAPA 34 (1902). pp. xciv-xcv. Date 1445. Tr. of Latin poem with additions. Dedicated to Richard of York.
- Flügel (Ewald), *Zur Chronologie der Englischen Balladen*. Anglia 21 (1899). 312-358. Partially a review of Child's English and Scottish Popular Ballads. Chronology of 15th century ballads, pp. 318-319.
- Garnett (R.), and Gosse (E.), *History of English Literature*. London: Heinemann, 1903, 4 vols. Also New York: Grossett & Dunlap, 1903, 4 vols. V. 1, p. 185 to end.
- Gummere (F. B.), *The Popular Ballad*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1907. Rev. by G. L. Kittredge, AtM 101 (1908). 276-278; by G. M. Miller ES

40 (1909). 121-129; *Journal of American Folklore* 21 (1908). 349-361; *JEGP* 8 (1909). 114-127.

Hammond (E. P.), *The Nine-syllabled Pentameter Line in Some Post-Chaucerian Manuscripts*. *MP* 23 (1925). 129-152. (Nov. 1925) *Studies from Chaucer, Hoccleve, and Lydgate*.

Hein (Dr. J.), *Über die bildliche Verneigung in der Mittlenglischen Poesie*. *Anglia* 15 (1893). 41-186; 396-472. Complete discussion mostly from examples which begin with Chaucer, extend through the 15th to early 16th century.

Heuser (Wilhelm), *Die Mittlenglische Stabzeile im 15th und 16th Jahrhundert*. *BB* 12 (1902). 103-182.

Holtzknecht (K. J.), *Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: U. of Penn., 1923. *Rev. MLR* 20 (1925). 478-479. Discusses patronage of Lydgate, Hoccleve, Dunbar.

Hulme (W. H.), *A Middle English Addition to the Wagner Cycle*. *MLN* 24 (1909). 218-222. Version of Peter Anfonse's "Disciplina Clericalis" in Worcester ms.

Jusserand (J. J.), *A Literary History of the English People*. Third edition. New York: Putnam's, 1926. Chapters VI and V in Book III treat the 15th century.

Kingsford (C. L.), *English Historical Literature of the Fifteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.

Kingsford (C. L.), *Lancaster and York (English History in Contemporary Poetry 2)*. London: Bell, 1913. Running discussion of history as shown in poetry. Extracts to illustrate.

Knowlton (E. C.), *Nature in Middle-English*. *JEGP* 20 (1921). 186-207. Includes Lydgate and Holland in discussion.

\*Krahl, Ernst), *Untersuchungen über vier Versionen der M. E. Margaretenlegenden*. Berlin Diss. 1889. Last is 15th century version. *Ann. JsbGP* 11 (1889). 299.



- Krapp (G. P.), *The Rise of English Literary Prose*. Oxford University Press, 1915. Traces history from fourteenth century through sixteenth. In 15th century work gives longest discussion to Pecoek and Caxton. Others briefly mentioned. Rev. by T. S. Omond. *MLR* 17 (1917). 85-86.
- Lane-Poole (Reginald), Gascoigne's "Liber veritatis." *Acad.* 19 (1881). 475 (no. 477). Discussion of ms. extract from book.
- \*Langlois (E.), *Nouvelles Francaises Inédites du XV Siècle*. Paris: Champion, 1908. Rev. *PF* 24 (1910). 74-75.
- Lathrop (H. B.), *The Translations of John Tiptoft*. *MLN* 41 (1926). 496-501. Discussion of work which can definitely be proved to be his.
- Legouis (Emile), and Cazamian (Louis), *History of English Literature*. New York: Macmillan, 1926, 2 vols. V. 1, pp. 99-126, 15th century. Brief summary of entire period. One-sided point of view. See review by Kemp Malone, *JEJP*, XXVI, 3 (July, 1927).
- Liebermann (F.), *Several Notes on ME Sources*. *ASNS* 104 (1900). 360-361. Note on Lydgate ms., note on municipal history, note on religious history.
- Luick (Karl), *Die Englische Stabreimzeile im XIV, XV und XVI Jahrhundert*. *Anglia* 11 (1889). 392-443, 553-618.
- Luick (Karl), *Zur Metrik der Mittelenglischen Reimendalliterierenden Dichtung*. *Anglia* 12 (1889). 437-453.
- MacCracken (H. N.), *The Lydgate Canon*. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1908. Appendix to *Philological Society Transactions 1907-09*, London.
- Mentzel (E.), *Die Sieben Treffige Langzeile nach Orm bis in das 15. Jahrhundert*. *Anglia* 10 (1888). 105-119.
- Miller (R. D.), *Secondary Accent in Modern English Verse (Chaucer to Dryden)*. Baltimore: Furst, 1904.
- Moore (Samuel), *Patrons of Letters in Norfolk & Suffolk c1450*. *PMLA* 27 (1912/13). 188-207; 28 79-105.

- Moorman (F. W.), *The Interpretation of Nature in English Poetry from Beowulf to Shakespeare*. Strassburg: Trübner, 1905. QF 95. Chapter 9, pp. 120-134, poets of 15th century. Also other scattered parts of the discussion.
- Morley (Henry), *English Writers*. London: Cassell, 1887-1895, 11 vols. V. 6-7, 15th century writers.
- Patch (H. R.), *Desiderata in Middle-English Research*. MP 22 (1924). 27-34. A plea for more extended and careful dialect studies.
- Patterson (F. A.), *The Middle English Penitential Lyric*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1911. (Columbia University Studies in English.)
- Plomer (H. R.), *An Examination of Some of the Existing Copies of Hayward's Life and Raigue of King Henry IV*. *The Library* n.s. 3 (1902). 13-23.
- Pompen (A. C. G.), *English Versions of the "Ship of Fools."* A contribution to the history of the early French Renaissance in England. London: Longmans, Green, 1925.
- Pound (Louise), *The English Ballads and the Church*. PMLA 35 (1920). 161-168. Includes a number of 15th century ballads in discussion.
- Pound (Louise), *Poetic Origins and the Ballad*. New York: Macmillan, 1921. Rev. by E. G. Cox, *Pacific Review* 2 (1921). 171-174.
- Rollins (H. E.), *The Troilus-Cressida Story from Chaucer to Shakespeare*. PMLA 25 (1917). 383-429. Use of story by Lydgate, Skelton, Henryson included.
- Saintsbury (George), *A History of English Prosody from the 12th Century to the Present Day*. London: Macmillan, 1906, 2 vols. Book III—The 15th century 1 201-301.
- Sandison (H. E.), *The Chanson d'Aventure in Middle English*. Bryn Mawr, Penn.: The College, 1913. Bryn Mawr Monographs 12.

- Schipper (Jakob), *The Alliterative Line in its Conservative Form during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. (In his *History of English Versification*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910, pp. 85-117.)
- Schipper (Jakob), *Englische Alexiuslegenden aus dem XIV und XV Jahrhundert*. Strassburg: Trübner, 1877. QF 20. Complete study with text. Linguistic point of view.
- Schipper (Jakob), *Grundriss der Englischen Metrick*. Wien: Braumüller, 1895. WBEP 2.
- Schipper (Jakob), *A History of English Versification*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. General history—15th century period is included.
- Schmidt (Karl), *Margareta von Anjou vor und bei Shakespeare*. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1906. Pal. 54. Traces history and use of character in chronicles and other work from Warkworth (1461) to Shakespeare. Rev. by R. K. Root ES 40 (1909). 112-114.
- Schofield (W. H.), *Chivalry in English Literature*. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1912. HSCL 2. Malory, pp. 73-123.
- Sibbald (James), *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry from the Thirteenth Century to the Union of the Two Crowns*. Edinburgh: Sibbald, Longman, 1902.
- Smith (G. G.), *The Transition Period*. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1900. (*Periods of European Literature* ed. by Saintsbury 4). Discussion of trends of 15th century literature. Traces foreign influences and development also.
- Snively (G. E.), *Jehan de Vignay and his Influence on Early English Literature*. RR 2 (1911). 323-330.
- Snell (F. J.), *Age of Transition, 1400-1580*. London: Bell, 1905. 2 vols. Discussion of writers and literary tendencies in period between Chaucer and Spenser. V. 1 Poets. V. 2 Prose. Not always accurate.
- Sommer (H. O.), *Proposed Emendations in Harl. ms. 2252*. Acad. 38 (1890). 450-451. Note on a ms. of *Le Morte Arthur*.

- Spurgeon (C. F. E.), *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*. Cambridge University Press, 1925, 3 vols. V. 1 contains discussion and allusion from 15th century followers of Chaucer. Rev. by J. M. Manly *MLN* 42 (June 1927): 401-404; by A. W. Reed *RES* 2 (1926). 232-235.
- Steadman (J. M.), *The Authorship of Wynnere and Wastoure and The Parlement of the Three Ages: a Study in Methods of Determining the Common Authorship of ME poems*. *MP* 21 (1923). 7-13. Aug. 1923. Valuable for *method only*. Work 14th century.
- Sternberg (R.), *Ueber eine Versificirte Mittelenglische Chronik*. *ES* 18 (1893). 1-23. Collation (partial) of several ms. Among them one from 15th century.
- Studies in English and Comparative Literature Presented to Agnes Irwin, Dean of Radcliffe College*. Boston, 1910. Contents (15th century).— Comparison of the Brome and Chester plays of Abraham and Isaac by Carrie A. Harper. The Alliterative Poem "Death and Life" by Edith Scamman.
- Taylor (G. C.), *The English "Planctus Mariae."* *MP* 4 (1906-1907). 605-637. (Jan. 1907) Discusses all the various versions. Bibliography in footnotes.
- Ten Brink (Bernhard), *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur*. Strassburg: Trübner, 1912, 2 vols. V. 2, book 5, Lancaster and York; book 6, sections 1-3, history of English literature during the 15th century, pp. 215-485.
- Trautmann (Moritz), *Zur Kenntniss und Geschichte der Mittelenglischen Stabzeile*. *Anglia* 18 (1896). 83-100.
- Tryon (R. W.), *Miracles of Our Lady in Middle-English Verse*. *PMLA* 38 (1923). 308-388. Section III, pp. 340-373, gives text and brief discussion of collection preserved in Phillipps ms. 9803 (first half of 15th century).
- Tucker (T. G.), *The Foreign Debt of English Literature*. London: Bell, 1907. Very little with direct reference to 15th century.
- Tupper (Frederick), *Types of Society in Medieval Literature*. New York: Holt, 1926. Colver Lectures, 1926.

Warton (Thomas), *History of English Poetry*. London: Murray, 1870. Pp. 335-562 deal with 15th century.

Wylie (J. H.), *Book of Hours: Archbishop Scrope*. Athen. Nov. 1887, pp. 604-605. Discussion of ms. belonging to Bodleian Library.

### 3. DRAMA: GENERAL DISCUSSION AND GENERAL TEXTS

Adams (J. Q.), comp. *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1924. Texts of early cycle plays, also *Everyman*, *Castle of Perseverance*.

Bahlmann (Paul), *Die Erneuerer des Antiken Dramas und ihre Ersten Dramatischen Versuche: 1314-1478*. Eine bio-bibliographische darstellung der angänge der modernen dramen dichtung. Münster: Regensbergsche Buchhandlung, 1896.

Bang (W.), *Materielen zur kunde des älteren Englischen dramas*. Louvain and London; Uystpruyst and Nutt, 1902-14.

Baskervill (C. R.), *Dramatic Aspects of Medieval Folk Festivals in England*. NCSP 17 (1920). 19-87.

Bates (K. L.), *The English Religious Drama*. New York: Macmillan, 1893. Discussion and brief extracts from texts. Bibliography. Rev. by Chas. Davidson MLN 9 (1894). 114-116 (228-231).

Baugh (A. C.), *The Mak Story*. MP 15 (1918). 729-734. (April, 1918).

Bonnell (J. K.), *The Source in Art of the so-called Prophets Play in the Hegge Collection*. PMLA 20 (1914). 327-340. Comment on Halliwell ed. of *Ludus Coventriae*.

Brandl (Alois), *Quellen des Weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*. Strassburg: Trübner, 1898. Contains *Pride of Life*, *Mankind*, *Nature*, with notes for each. QF 80.

Brotanek (Rudolf), *Die Englischen Maskenspiele*. Wien: Braumüller, 1902. Pp. 7-17 discuss 15th century origins—largely Lydgate's *Mumming*. WBEP 15.

Brown (Carleton), *The Cursor Mundi and the "Southern Passion."* MLN 26 (1911). 15-18. Concerning 15th century interpolations in ms.

- Cady (F. W.), *The Maker of Mak*. In *University of California Chronicle*, July 1927. Also published separately as reprint.
- Calderhead (I. G.), *Morality Fragments from Norfolk*. MP 14 (1916). 1-9. Texts with discussion.
- Campbell (E. M.), *Satire in the Early English Drama*. Columbus, Ohio: Heer, 1914. Pp. 1-74, *Satire in Miracle plays and early Moralities*.
- Chambers (E. K.), *The Mediaeval Stage*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903, 2 vols. Bibliography of presentation of plays, v. 2, Appendix W; bibliography of texts, v. 2, Appendix X.
- Child (C. G.), ed. *The Second Shepherd's Play; Everyman, and Other Early Plays*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1910. Contains also the Brome "Abraham and Isaac," "Robin Hood" plays, one dated before 1475. Each has historical introduction.
- Clarke (S. W.), *The Miracle Play in England*. London: Andrews, 1897.
- Coffman (G. R.), *The Miracle Play in England—Nomenclature*. PMLA 31 (1916). 448-465. Survey of the use of term "Miracle Play."
- Coffman (G. R.), *The Miracle Play in England*. NCSP 16 (1919). 56-66. Quotes records of dates of performance of plays from 12th to 16th centuries.
- Coffman (G. R.), *A New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play*. Menasha, Wis.: G. Banta, 1914. Thesis, Chicago. Good on origins. Little directly on 15th century work.
- Coit (Davida), *Poetic Elements in the Mediaeval Drama*. AtM 56 (1885). 407-415. Contains brief poetic extracts from Chester and Towneley cycles with discussion of them.
- Craig (Hardin), *The Corpus Christi Procession and the Corpus Christi Play*. JEGP 13 (1913). 589-602. Discussion of customs. Dates are incidentally given.
- Craig (Hardin), *The Lincoln Cordwainer's Pageant*. PMLA 32 (1917). 605-615. Gives methods of presentation and expense accounts.

- Craig (Hardin), *The Origin of the Old Testament Plays*. MP 10 (1913). 473-487 (April, 1913).
- Cushman (L. W.), *The Devil and the Vice in the English Dramatic Literature before Shakespeare*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1900. Bibliography, pp. 146-148. *Studien zur englischen Philologie* VI.
- Davidson (Charles), *Concerning English Mystery Plays*. MLN 7 (1892). 170-172. Discusses interrelationship of cycles.
- Davidson (Charles), *English Mystery Plays*. New Haven, Transactions Connecticut Academy, IX, Part 1, 1892. Thesis, Yale, 1892. Traces origin in France, Germany, Italy. Discusses history and metre including 15th century work.
- Dustoor (P. E.), *Some Textual Notes on the English Mystery Plays*. MLR 21 (1926). 427-431.
- Eckhardt (Eduard), *Die Lustige Person im Alteren Englischen Drama (bis 1642)*. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1902. Pal. 17. Discussion with bibliography. Includes much later work but studies 15th century also.
- English Mystery and Miracle Plays*. (In *Drama*. 4 (1903/04). 39-110). Brief summary.
- Farmer (J. S.), ed. "Lost" Tudor Plays. London: Privately printed, 1907. Early English Drama Society publication. Contains *Mankind*, and *Medwall's Nature*.
- Farnham (Willard), *Scogan's Quem Quaeritis*. MLN 37 (1922). 289-292. Extract to prove existence of English Easter play of early 15th century.
- Foster (F. A.), *The Mystery Plays and the "Northern Passion."* MLN 26 (1911). 169-171. Sources of Mystery plays.
- Frank (Grace), *Revisions in the English Mystery Plays*. MP 15 (1918). 565-572. (Jan. 1918). Discussion of when revisions may have taken place.
- Gaaf (W. van der), *Notes on Easter Sepulchres*. ES 37 (1907). 461. Brief Note on methods of presentation of Miracle plays.

- Gayley (C. M.), *The Earlier Miracle Plays of England*. IQ 10 (1904/05). 108-129.
- Gayley (C. M.), *The Later Miracle Plays of England*. IQ 12 (1905/06). 67-88.
- Gayley (C. M.), *Plays of our Forefathers*. New York: Duffield, 1907. Complete discussion of origins and plays through period of Miracle, Mystery and Morality plays.
- Gayley (C. M.), ed. *Representative English Comedies*. New York: Macmillan, 1907, 3 vols. An historical view of the beginning of English comedy. Introduction v. 1, pp. xiii-lxiv, Miracle, Mystery and Morality plays in relation to comedy. Main text discusses later work.
- Greg (W. W.), *Bibliographical and Textual Problems of the English Miracle Cycles*. London: Moring, 1914. Also published in *The Library* 3rd ser. 5 (1914). 1, 168, 280, 365.
- Heales (Alfred), *Easter Sepulchres; their Origin, Nature, and History*. Arch. 42 (1869). 263-308.
- Hemingway (S. B.), ed. *English Nativity Plays*. New York: Holt, 1909, Thesis, Yale. YSE 38. Nativity plays from Chester, Coventry, York and Townley cycles. Introduction and notes.
- Hohlfeld (A. R.), *Die Altenglische Kollektivmysterien unter Besonderer Berücksichtigung der York- und Townleyspiele*. Anglia 11 (1889). 219-310. Discusses and compares the various cycles.
- Holthausen (Ferd.), *The Play of the Sacrament*. Anglia 15 (1893). 198-200. Also ES 16 (1892). 150-151. Text corrections for edition by W. Stokes, Berlin, 1862.
- Holthausen (Ferd.), *Zu Alt- und Mittelenglischen Dichtungen*. Anglia 21 (1899). 441-452. Text notes on "Abrahamspiel" and York plays.
- Hone (William), *Ancient Mysteries Described, especially the English Miracle Plays*. London: Reeves, 1823. Description with text extracts and notes. Plays of New Testament origin, "Joseph and Mary," "The Descent into Hell," pageants, carols.



- Jenney (A. M.), *A Further Word on the Origin of the Old Testament Plays.* MP 13 (1915). 59-64 (May 1915). Arguments in support of Hardin Craig's contention.
- Kretzmann (P. E.), *A Few Notes on "The Harrowing of Hell."* MP 13 (1915). 49-51 (May 1915). Added notes for other articles on plays.
- Kretzmann (P. E.), *The Liturgical Element in the Earliest Forms of the Medieval Drama with special reference to the English and German plays.* Minneapolis: U. of Minnesota, 1916. MSLL, 4.
- Lawrence (W. J.), *Early French Players in England.* Anglia 32 (1909). 60-89. First part suggests players and a play of 15th century.
- Mackenzie (W. R.), *The English Moralities from the Point of View of Allegory.* Boston: Ginn, 1914. (Harvard Studies in English 2). Includes discussion of all the important moralities of the 15th century as well as many plays from cycles.
- Mackenzie (W. R.), *The Origin of the English Morality.* St. Louis: Washington University, 1915. Washington University Studies, series 4, v. 2. General discussion of origin. Includes "Mankind" and "Nature."
- Marriott (William), comp. *A Collection of English Miracle-plays or Mysteries Containing Ten Dramas from the Chester, Coventry and Towneley Series with Two of Later Date.* Basel: Schweighauser, 1838. Historical introduction and texts.
- Miller (F. H.), *The Northern Passion and the Mysteries.* MLN 34 (1919). 88-92. Sources of the Mystery plays.
- Moore (J. R.), *The Tradition of Angelic Singing in English Drama.* JEGP 22 (1923). 89-99.
- Müller (H. F.), *Prehistory of the Mediaeval Drama.* ZRP 44 (1924). 544-575. Goes back to the very beginning, 9th century interpolations in liturgy.
- Norris (Edward), *Ancient Cornish Drama.* Oxford: Parker, 1859, 2 vols.
- Pollard (A. W.), *English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes.* Ed. with notes, introduction and glossary. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Ex-

tracts from York, Coventry, Chester, Towneley, Castle of Perseverance, Everyman, Magnyfycence.

Reed (A. W.), *Early Tudor Drama*. London: Methuen, 1926. Medwall, chapter 4, pp. 94-117; appendix, pp. 239-240.

Roberts (Morris), *A Note on the Sources of the English Morality Play*. Madison, Wis., 1923. WSSL, 18 100-117.

Robertson (W. A. S.), *The Passion Play and Interludes at New Romney*. Arch. C. 13 (1880). 216-226. Discusses dates of presentation with expenses and preparations.

Schelling (F. E.), *English Drama*. London: Dent, 1914. Pp. 14-33 give brief summary of drama in mediaeval England.

*The Skryveners' Play, The Incredulity of St. Thomas*. Ed. by J. P. Collier. London: Camden Society, 1859. Camden Society Publication 73. Text with brief introduction and notes.

Sorg (Edward), *Miracles and Mysteries in South-east Yorkshire*. ES 37 (1907). 172-173. Disagrees with W. van der Gaaf on use of tombs in mystery plays.

Spencer (M. L.), *Corpus Christi Pageants*. New York: Baker & Taylor, 1911. Rev. by A. Brandl ASNS 128 (1912). 450-451. Chicago thesis: Bibliography.

Taylor (G. C.), *The Relation of the English Corpus Christi Play to the ME Religious Lyric*. MP 5 (1907). 1-38. (July 1907). Shows relationship by quoting parallel texts.

Thompson (E. N. S.), *The English Moral Plays*. New Haven, 1910. (Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. Transactions 14 291-414 (Mar. 1910). Rev. by E. K. Chambers MLR 8 (1913). 121. Supplements Mackenzie's work. Mackenzie is mainly interested in defining the morality play as a form and classifying the extant morality plays. Thompson gives the main sources of the materials in the plays.

Traver (Hope), *The Relation of Musical Terms in the Woodkirk Shepherds*

Plays to the Dates of their Composition. *MLN* 20 (1905), 1-5. By a study of musical terms and history of their development dates plays ca. 1400.

Ward (A. W.), *History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne*. Rev. ed. New York: Macmillan, 1899, 3 vols. V. 1, pp. 54-157 covers 15th century drama.

Waterhouse (Osborne), ed. *The Non-cycle Mystery Plays, together with the Croxton Play of the Sacrament and the Pride of Life*. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1909. EETS e.s. 104. Contains also Shrewsbury fragments, a Norwich play, a Newcastle play.

Withington (Robert), *English Pageantry; an Historical Outline*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918, 2 vols. Chapter III 1 132-166, 15th century. Much other scattered material.

Young (Karl), *Observations on the Origin of the Medieval Passion-Play*. *PMLA* 25 (1910). 309-354. Derives dialogue from liturgy.

Zupitza (Julius), *Iak and his Step Dame*. *ASNS* 90 (1893). 57-82. Text, discussion of source and other versions, notes. This version is late 15th century.

## DRAMA: INDIVIDUAL PLAYS AND CYCLES

### Abraham Plays:

Abraham und Isaac. *The old English miracle Play*: London: De La More Press, 1907. De La More Booklets.

Brotanek (Rudolf), *Abraham und Isaak ein Mittelenglisches Misterium aus einer Dubliner Handschrift*. *Anglia* 21 (1899). 21-55. Text with critical discussion of date and history.

Harper (C. A.), *Comparison of the Brome and Chester Plays of Abraham and Isaac*. In *Studies in English and Comparative Literature Presented to Agnes Irwin*. Boston, 1910.

Hohlfeld (A. R.), *Two Old English Mystery Plays on the Subject of Abraham's Sacrifice*. *MLN* 5 (1890). 111-119. Text of Chester play and one from Brome ms.

Hugienin (Julian), An Interpolation in the Towneley Abraham Play. MLN 14 (1899). 128. Discusses an interpolation of a monologue of "Deus" and its source.

Smith (L. T.), Abraham and Isaac, a Mystery Play; from a private ms. of the 15th century. Anglia 7 (1884). 316-337. Text with discussion.

#### Chester Plays:

The Chester Plays. Ed. by Thomas Wright. London: Shakespeare Society, 1843-47. 2 v. in 1. (Supplement to Dodsley's Old Plays 1). Texts with notes and historical introduction.

The Chester Plays. Ed. by H. Deimling. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1893. EETS e.s. 62.

Markland (J. H.), ed. Chester Mysteries. De Deluvio Noe. De Occisione Innocentium. London: Bensley, 1818. Roxburghe Club Publication.

Ungemach (Heinrich), Die Quellen der fünf Chester Plays. Erlangen: Diechert, 1890. MBREP 1.

#### Coventry Plays:

Ludus Coventriae, ed. by J. O. Halliwell. London: Shakespeare Society, 1841. (Supplement to Dodsley, Old Plays 2).

Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays: The Shearman and Taylor's Pageant and The Weaver's Pageant. Ed. by Hardin Craig. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1902. EETS e.s. 87. Texts with historical introduction. Extracts from Leet book referring to plays.

Block (K. S.), ed. Ludus Coventriae. London: Milford, 1922. EETS e.s. 120. Text with historical and critical introduction.

Block (K. S.), Some notes on the problem of the Ludus Coventriae. MLR 10 (1915). 47-57.

Davidson (Charles), The Play of the Weavers of Coventry. MLN 7 (1892). 92-93. Origin of plot of play.

Dodds (M. H.), *The Problem of the Ludus Coventriae*. *MLR* 9 (1914). 79-91. Indicates contents and order of plays. Compares with other mystery plays.

Greg (W. W.), ed. *The Assumption of the Virgin: a Miracle Play from the N-Town Cycle*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915. Rev. by E. K. Chambers *MLR* 11 (1916). 465-466.

Hartman (Herbert), *The Home of the Ludus Coventriae*. *MLN* 41 (1926). 496-501. Supports Craig's argument that plays had an early home at Lincoln.

Hohlfeld (A. R.), *The Play of the Weavers of Coventry*. *MLN* 7 (1892). 154-155. Further notes on origin of plot.

Holthausen (Ferd.), ed. *Das Spiel der Weber von Coventry*. *Anglia* 25 (1902). 209-250. Text from "Sharp" with brief introduction. Possibly early 16th century version.

Patch (H. R.), *The Ludus Coventriae and the Digby Massacre*. *PMLA* 35 (1920). 324-343. Discusses relationship of the two.

Sharp (Thomas), *On the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently Performed at Coventry*. Coventry: Harding, 1825.

Swenson (E. L.), *An Inquiry into the Composition and Structure of Ludus Coventriae*. Minneapolis: University of Minn., 1914. *MSLL* 1. Rev. by W. W. Greg *The Library* 4th ser. 1 (1920/21). 182-184.

Thompson (E. N. S.), *The Ludus Coventriae*. *MLN* 21 (1906). 18-20. Discussion of methods of presentation.

Digby Plays:

*The Digby Mysteries*. Ed. from the mss. by F. J. Furnivall. London: Trübner, 1882. *EETS* e.s. 70. Also published by New Shakespeare Society, 1882. Series 7, no. 1. Contains: *The Killing of the Children*, *The Conversion of St. Paul*, *Mary Magdalene*, *Christ's Burial and Resurrection*.

Schmid (Karl), *Die Digbyspiele*. *Anglia* 8 (1885). 371-404. Review and discussion of *Maria Magdalena—Moralität* *Wisdom—The Burial and Resurrection of Christ*.

Zupitza (Julius), *The Digby Mysteries*. Acad. 22 (1882). 281, 297. Correction of one word in reading of Furnivall ed.

Elckerlyck; a Fifteenth Century Dutch Morality (presumably by Petrus Dorlandus) and *Everyman* a Nearly Contemporary Translation. Ed. by Henri Longeman. Gand: Clemm, 1892. Rev. by J. Bolte ASNS 88 (1892). 413-415.

Everyman:

*Everyman*; reprinted by W. W. Greg from the ed. by John Skot preserved at Bretwell court. London: Nutt, 1904. Text with brief introduction. *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas* 4.

*Everyman: a Morality Play* ed. with introd., and notes by M. J. Moses. New York: Taylor, 1903. Text and bibliography.

*Everyman: a Morality* (In Hawkins, Thomas. *Origin of the English Drama*. Oxford, 1773. 1 [27]-68) From black letter ed.

"*Everyman*" with other Interludes, including Eight Miracle Plays. London: Dent, 1909. *Everyman's library*.

*Everyman*, London: Issued for the subscribers by the editor of the Tudor Facsimile Texts, 1912. *Tudor Facsimile Texts*.

*Everyman: a Moral Play*. In Dodsley, Robert, *Select Collection of Old English Plays*. 4th ed. London, 1874-76. 1 93-142.

*Everyman: a Moral Play*. New York: Fox, Duffield, 1903. Text from "Dodsley."

*Everyman*, In *Drama* 4 (1903-04). 319-344. London: Smart and Stanley, c1903. Somewhat modernized in form.

*Everyman: a Moral Play*. New York: Duffield, 1907. Text with very brief preface. Text in modernized spelling.

*Everyman: a Morality Play*; ed. with an introd., notes and bibliography by M. J. Moses. New York: Kennerley, 1908. Thirteen pages of bibliography.

Bang (W.), *Zu Everyman*. ES 35 (1905). 444-449. Attempt to date the play by comparison.

Dodsley (Robert), *A Select Collection of Old English Plays*. 4th ed. Chronologically arranged by W. C. Hazett. London: Reeves & Turner, 1874. V. 1, pp. 93-142, *Everyman*.

Holthausen (Ferd.) and Kölbing (E.), *Zu Everyman*. ES 21 (1895). 449-450. Notes on text readings of various versions.

Holthausen (Ferd.), *Zu Everyman*. *Anglia Beiblatt* 32 (1921). 212-215. Text notes.

Holthausen (Ferd.), *Zu Everyman*. ASNS 92 (1894). 411-412. Text notes.

Macro Plays:

Furnivall (F. J.), ed. *The Macro plays*. *Mankind* (ab. 1475) *Wisdom* (ab. 1460) *The Castle of Perseverance* (ab. 1425) Ed. by F. J. Furnivall and A. W. Pollard. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1904. EETS e.s. 91. Text, introduction, notes.

*Castle of Perseverance*. Amersham, Eng. Issued for subscribers by John S. Farmer, 1914. *Students' Facsimile Edition*.

*Castle of Perseverance*. London: Jack, 1908. *Tudor Facsimile Texts*. *Macro Plays* 3.

Allison (T. E.), *On the Body and Soul Legend*. MLN 42 (Feb. 1927). 102-106. Discusses theme as used in *Castle of Perseverance*.

Smart (W. K.), *The Castle of Perseverance: Place, Date, and Source*. *Manly Anniversary Studies*. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1923, pp. 42-53.

*Mankind*. *The Macro plays* no. 1. London: Jack, 1907. *Tudor Facsimile Texts*.

*Mankind*. Amersham, Eng., Issued for subscribers by J. S. Farmer, 1914. *Students Facsimile Edition*.

- Mankind. In Brandl (Alois), ed. *Quellen der weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*. Strassburg: Trübner, 1898. QF 80 39-72. Text with historical introduction.
- Keiller (M. M.), *Influence of Piers Plowman on the Macro Play of Mankind*. PMLA 26 (1911). 339-355. Contention that the incident of the sowing of the field was suggested by Piers Plowman.
- Mackenzie (W. R.), *A New Source for Mankind*. PMLA 27 (1912). 98-105. Derives play from "Merci Passeth Ritzwisnes." (For text of this see Furnivall, F. J., ed. *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*. EETS o.s. 26 95.)
- Smart (W. K.), *Mankind and Mumming Plays*. MLN 32 (1917). 21-25. Compares Mankind to modern mumming plays.
- Smart (W. K.), *Some Notes on Mankind*. MP 14 (1916). 45-58 (May 1916). Attempt to date the play exactly between Oct. 1470-Apr. 1471.
- Wisdom. Amersham, Eng., Issued for subscribers by John S. Farmer, 1914? Students Facsimile Edition.
- Wisdom; or Mind, Will and Understanding. The Macro plays no. 2. London: Jack, 1907. Tudor Facsimile Texts.
- Medwall, Henry:
- Medwall (Henry), *Fulgens and Lucrez, a Fifteenth Century Secular Play*. Ed. by F. S. Boas and A. W. Reed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. From the Huntington facsimile. Text with introduction. Rev. by R. B. McKerrow RES 3 (1927). 83-85.
- Medwall (Henry), *Fulgens and Lucrez*. Introductory note Seymour De Ricci. New York: Smith, 1920. Henry E. Huntington Facsimile Reprint 1.
- Reed (A. W.), *Sixt Birck and Henry Medwall. De Vera Nobilitate*. RES 2 (1926). 411-415.
- Wright (L. B.), *Notes on Fulgens and Lucrez: New Light on the Interlude*. MLN 41 (1926). 97-100. Review of story. Discussion of play as an interlude.



- Medwall (Henry), *Nature*. London: Jack, 1908. Tudor Facsimile Texts.
- Medwall (Henry), *Nature*. A goodly interlude of Nature copyld by mayster Henry Medwall. Amersham, Eng. Issued for subscribers by J. S. Farmer, 1914? Students Facsimile Edition.
- Medwall (Henry), *Nature*. (In Brandl, Alois, ed. *Quellen der weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*. Strassburg: Trübner, 1898. QF 80 73-158. Text with historical introduction.
- Enterlude of Youth nebst Fragmenten des Playe of Lucrez und von Nature hersg. von W. Bang und R. B. McKerrow. Louvain; Uystpruyst—London: Nutt, 1905. *Materialen zur kunde des älteren Englischen dramas*. 12. Text and discussion of dates and sources, notes.
- Farmer (J. S.), ed. *Medwell's Nature*. In "Lost" Tudor Plays: London: Privately printed for the Early English Drama Society, 1907. *Nature* by John Medwall, pp. 41-133.
- Hecht (Hans), *Henry Medwall's Fulgens and Lucrez*. Pal. 148 83-117.
- Macauley (E. R.), *Notes on the Sources for Medwall's Nature*. MLN 32 (1917). 184-185. Suggests Lydgate's "Reson and Sensuallyte" and "Assembly of the Gods" as sources.
- Mackenzie (W. R.), *A source of Medwall's "Nature."* PMLA 29 (1914). 189-199. Comparison with Lydgate's "Reson and Sensuallyte."
- Mundus et Infans:
- MacCracken (H. N.), *A Source of Mundus et Infans*. PMLA 23 (1908). 486-496. Argument that source is "The Mirror of Man's Life." Text of "Mirror" ed. by Furnivall, see EETS o.s. 26 58.
- Newcastle Plays:
- Das Noahspiel von Newcastle on Tyne. Göteberg: Wettergren & Kerber, 1897. Ed. by F. Holthausen. Rev. by G. Binz LGRP 19 (1898). 223.
- Brotanek (Rudolf), *Noah's Arche, ein Misterium aus Newcastle upon Tyne*. Anglia 21 (1899). 165-200. Text from "Sharp," 1825. Notes, brief discussion of sources.

- Pride of Life. In Brandl, Alois, ed. *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*. Strassburg: Trübner, 1898. QF 80 1-35. Text with historical introduction.
- Brown (Carleton), The "Pride of Life" and the "Twelve Abuses." ASNS 128 (1912). 72-78. Derives certain parts of the "Pride of Life" from old "Abuses."
- Holthausen (Ferd.), The Pride of Life. ASNS 108 (1902). 32-59. Text, notes and discussion.
- The Towneley Plays reedited from the unique ms. by George England with side notes and introduction by A. W. Pollard. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1897. EETS e.s. 71.
- The Towneley Mysteries. London: Nichols, 1836. Surtees Society Publication 3. Text from original ms. (Ms. now in the H. E. Huntington Library).
- Brown (Carleton), The Towneley Play of the Doctors and the Speculum Christiani. MLN 31 (1916). 223-226. Note on sources of play.
- Bunzen (Asmus), Ein Beitrag zur Kritik der Wakefelder Mysterien. Kieler diss. 1903. Kiel: Fiencke, 1903.
- Cady (F. W.), The Couplets and Quatrains in the Towneley Mystery Plays. JEGP 10 (1911). 572-584. Discussion from extracts.
- Cady (F. W.), Liturgical Basis of the Towneley Mysteries. PMLA 24 (1909). 419-469.
- Cady (F. W.), The Wakefield Group in Towneley. JEGP 11 (1912). 244-262. Discussion of differences which distinguish this group.
- Cady (F. W.), The Passion Group in Towneley. MP 10 (1913). 587-600 (April 1913).
- Eaton (H. A.), A Source for the Towneley "Prima Pastorum." MLN 14 (1899). 265-268. Comparison of plot of play with story in "Merry Tales of the Mad-men of Gotham."

- Hamelius (P.), *The Character of Cain in the Towneley Plays*. *Journal of Comparative Literature* 1 (1903). 324-344. Discussion of the humor and tragedy of the character.
- Kölbing (Eugen), *Die Secunda Pastorum der Towneley Plays und Archie Armstrong's Aith*. *ZVL*, n.s. 11 (1897). 137-141. Compares story of play with a much later version of same theme.
- Lyle (M. C.), *The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles*. Minneapolis: U. of Minn., 1919. Thesis Minnesota. U. of Mich. Research Publication v. 8, no. 3; also *MSLL*, 6. Detailed comparison with study of date and bibliography.
- Malone (Kemp), *A Note on the Towneley Secunda Pastorum*. *MLN* 40 (1925). 35-39. Text note.
- Peacock (M. H.), *The Wakefield Mysteries. The Place of Representation*. *Anglia* 24 (1901). 509-524. The contention is that Towneley mysteries should be called Wakefield mysteries.
- Sharpe (Lancelot), *Remarks on the Towneley Mysteries*. *Arch.* 27 (1837/38). 251-256. Very brief. Little value because points covered more fully elsewhere.
- Skeat (W. W.), *The Locality of "The Towneley Plays."* *Athen.* Dec. 1893, p. 779.
- York Plays. *The Plays Performed by the Crafts or Mysteries of York on the Day of Corpus Christi in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries*. Ed. by Lucy Toulmin Smith. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885. Text, discussion of date and origin, notes, music extracts. Rev. by Joseph Hall *ES* 9 (1886). 448-452.
- Coblentz (H. E.), *A Rime-Index to the "Parent Cycle" of the York Mystery Plays and of a Portion of the Woodkirk "Conspiracio et Capito."* *PMLA* 10 (1895). 487-557.
- Coblentz (H. E.), *Some Suggested Rime Emendations to the York Mystery Plays*. *MLN* 10 (1895). 39-41. Suggests rime changes; thinks some of the rough endings due to scribe's errors.

- Davies (Robert), *Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York of the Fifteenth Century*. London: Nichols, 1843. Gives Lists of York Plays.
- Gaaf (W. van der), *Miracles and Mysteries in South-east Yorkshire*. ES 36 (1906). 228-230. Brief note on plays in small villages and churches.
- Hertterich (O.), *Studien zu dem York Plays*. Breslau: Köhler, 1886. Diss. Breslau, 1886.
- Holthausen (Ferd.), *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Textkritik der York Plays*. ASNS 85 (1890). 411-428.
- Holthausen (Ferd.), *Nachtrag zu den Quellen der York Plays*. ASNS 86 (1891). 280-282.
- Holthausen (Ferd.), *Zur Erklärung und Textkritik der York Plays*. ES 41 (1910). 380-384. Text notes.
- Kamann (P. J. G.), *Die Quellen der Yorkspiele*. Anglia 10 (1887). 189-226.
- Kamann (P. J. G.), *Ueber Quellen und Sprache der York Plays*. Halle: Karras, 1887. Leipzig diss.
- Kölbing (Eugen), *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Textkritik der York Plays*. ES 20 (1895). 179-220.
- Luick (Karl), *Zur Textkritik der Spiele von York*. Anglia 22 (1899). 384-391. Study of the rhythm of certain parts.
- Miller (F. H.), *Stanzaic Division in York Play XXXIX*. MLN 35 (1920). 379.
- Skeat (W. W.), *Fragments of Yorkshire Mysteries*. Acad. 37 (1890). 10-11, 27-28. Text of fragments with introduction.

## 4. AUTHORS

- Adam, of Cobsam. *The Wright's Chaste Wife* . . . from a ms. at Lambeth . . . about 1462 A. D. Copied and ed. by F. J. Furnivall. 3rd ed. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1891. EETS o.s. 12. Suppl. in o.s. 84.
- Ashby (George), *Poems* ed. by Mary Bateson. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1899. EETS e.s. 76.
- Förster (Max), *George Ashby's Trost in Gefangenschaft*. *Anglia* 20 (1898). 138-152. Text with brief introduction on the author and the ms.
- Holthausen (Ferd.), *George Ashby's Trost in Gefangenschaft*. *Anglia* 43 (1919). 319-324. Text corrections for poem as edited by Max Förster in *Anglia* 20 (1898). 139-152.
- Holthausen (Ferd.), *Ashby-Studien II und III*. *Anglia* 45 (1921). 77-104. Text of one poem with notes. Corrections for Miss Bateson's ed. of poems.
- Asloan (John), *The Asloan Manuscript, a Miscellany in Prose and Verse Written by John Asloan in the Reign of James the Fifth*. Ed. by W. A. Craigie. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1923-1925. 2 vols. STS n.s. 14, 16. Contains *The Buke of Howlat* and other 15th century work beside early sixteenth.
- Aubert (David), *The Three Kings' Sons*. (English from the French) Ed. from its unique ms. about 1500 A. D., by F. J. Furnivall. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1895. EETS e.s. 67. Text only with glossary.
- Awdelay (John), *John Awdelay's Gedicht "De Tribus Regibus Mortus."* Ed. by W. F. Storck und Richard Jordan. *ES* 43 (1910). 177-188. Text with brief historical introduction.
- Chambers (E. K.), and Sedgwick (F.), *Fifteenth Century Carols* by John Audelay. *MLR* 5 (1910). 473-491; 6 (1911). 68-84. Text and notes with short discussion.

Halliwell-Phillipps (J. O.), ed. *The Poems of John Audelay. A Specimen of the Shropshire Dialect of the Fifteenth Century.* Ed. by J. O. Halliwell. London: Percy Society, 1844. Percy Society Publication 14. Text with discussion of Audelay.

\*Rasmussen (J. K.), *Die Sprache John Audelay's.* Bonn: 1914.

Wülffing (J. E.), *Der Dichter John Audelay und Sein Werk.* Anglia 18 (1896). 175-217. Poems of Douce 302 of Bodleian Library discussed separately with introductory account of author.

Berners (Juliana), *The Boke of St. Albans . . . Containing Treatises on Hawking, Hunting and Cotearmour Printed at St. Albans by the Schoolmaster Printer in 1486.* Facsimile by Wm. Blades. London: Stock, 1881. Reprinted 1905. Facsimile with historical introduction.

Blades (William), *The Kyre "Book of St. Albans."* Athen. (Aug.) 1883, p. 146. Description of this copy.

Duff (E. G.), *Discovery of a St. Albans Book.* Acad. 27 (1885). 44-45. Account of finding of 15th century edition at Wadham College.

Skeat (W. W.), *The Book of Saint Albans.* Acad. 75 (1908). 87-88, 110-111. Argument that there never was such person as Dame Juliana Berners. Explanation of name. Also notes on contents.

Besançon (Etienne de), *An Alphabet of Tales, an English 15th Century Translation of the Alphabetum Narrationum (from ms. in B. M.)* ed. by Mary Macleod Banks. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1904-05. EETS o.s. 126-127. 2 vols. Text only.

Herbert (J. A.), *The Authorship of the "Alphabetum Narrationum."* The Library n.s. 6 (1905). 94-101.

Betson (Thomas), *A Ryght Profytable Treatyse Compendiously Drawn Out of Many and Dyvers Wrytyngs by Thomas Betson.* Printed in Caxton's house by Wynkyn de Worde about 1500. Cambridge University Press, 1905. Fifteenth Century Facsimiles.

- Boccaccio (Giovanni), *Die Mittelenglische Umdichtung von Boccaccios De Claris Mulieribus*, nebst der Lateinischen Vorlage. Ed. by Gustav Schleich. Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1924. Pal. 144. Gives text, discusses origin, authorship, metre.
- Bokenham (Osbern), *The Lyvys of Seyntys tr. into Englys be . . . Osbern Bokenam*. London: Nicol, 1835. Roxburghe Club Publications 50. Text with preface.
- Bokenham (Osbern), *Legenden*, ed. by C. Horstmann. Heilbrönn: Henninger, 1883.
- Hoofe (A.), *Lautuntersuchungen zu Osbern Bokenam's Legenden*. ES 8 (1885). 209-254. Technical discussion of phonetics and wording.
- Horstmann (Carl), *Mappula Angliae, von Osbern Bokenham (Übersetzung aus Higden's Polychronicon)* ES 10 (1887). 1-40. Text with brief historical introduction.
- Liljegren (S. B.), *Four Middle English Versions of the Legend of the Eleven Thousand Virgins*. ES 57 (1923). 85-112. Text from B. M. mss. First by Osberne Bokenham. Text with short bibliographic notice.
- Willenberg (Gotthelf), *Die Quellen von Osbern Bokenham's Legenden*. ES 12 (1889). 1-37. Takes up the legends individually and briefly discusses origins.
- Bradshaw (Henry), *The Holy Life and History of Saynt Werburge*. Ed. by Edward Hawkins. London: Chetham Society, 1848. Reprint of the ed. of 1521. Chetham Society Publication 15. Text with introduction.
- Brampton (Thomas), *A Paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms in English Verse*, supposed to have been written by Thomas Brampton in the year 1414. Notes by W. H. Black. London: Percy Society, 1842. Percy Society Publications 7. Introduction, texts, notes.
- Brereton (Humphrey), *The Most Pleasant Song of Lady Bessy; and How She Married King Henry the Seventh*. Ed. by J. O. Halliwell. London: Percy Society, 1847. Percy Society Publication 20. Text with brief introduction.

- Burgh (Benedict), tr. *Great and Little Cato*. Facsimile reprint of ed. of 1477. Cambridge University Press, 1906. See Church (Daniel).
- Burgh (Benedict), *Maister Benet's Christmas Game*. *Anglia* 14 (1892). 463-466. Text with introductory paragraph.
- Capgrave (John), *The Chronicle of England*. Ed. by the Rev. Francis Charles Hingeston. London: Longman, 1858. Rolls series 1. Bibliography of Capgrave: pp. xxi-xxix.
- Capgrave (John), *John Capgrave's Lives of St. Augustine and St. Gilbert of Sempringham and a Sermon*. Ed. by J. J. Munro. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1910. EETS o.s. 140. Text with historical and critical introduction.
- Capgrave (John), *The Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria*. Ed. by Carl Horstmann. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1893. EETS o.s. 100. Two mss. given in parallel columns. Life of Capgrave in introduction, notes and glossary.
- Capgrave (John), *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes, a Description of Rome, circa A. D. 1450 . . .* Ed. by C. A. Mills. Introductory note by H. M. Bannister. London: Frowde, 1911.
- Caxton (William), tr. *Caxton's Blanchardyn and Eglantine c 1489*. From Lord Spencer's unique imperfect copy, completed by original French and second English version 1595. Ed. by Leon Kellner. London: Trübner, 1890. EETS e.s. 58 Text, long discussion of language and grammar, brief discussion of Caxton's style.
- The Book of Curtesye printed at Westminster by William Caxton about the year 1477*. Cambridge University Press, 1907. Facsimile without notes or introduction.
- Caxton's Book of Curtesye, printed at Westminster, about 1477-8 A. D.* Ed. by F. J. Furnivall. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1868. (Reprinted 1882, 1898) EETS e.s. 3. Text. Very brief introduction on ms. sources.
- Caxton's Eneydos 1490*. Englished from the French *Liure des Eneydes*, 1843. Ed. by W. T. Culley and F. J. Frunivall. London: Trübner, 1890. EETS e.s. 57. Text, historical introduction, collation with French original.



The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon. Englisht from the French by William Caxton and printed by him about 1489. Ed. by Octavia Richardson. London: Trübner, 1885. EETS e.s. 45. Text, historical introduction, glossary.

Caxton Discoveries of Mr. Edward Scott. Acad. 14 (1878). 379-380. Brief note on discoveries in life of Caxton.

A Caxton, Remarkable find of. Athen. Nov. 1906, p. 619. Account of finding of a ms.

Aurner (N. S.), Caxton: Mirroure of Fifteenth Century Letters. London: Allen, 1926. Reviews work which Caxton printed. Discussion of it as mirror of 15th century and as part of English literature. Caxton bibliography, pp. 215-222.

Aurner (R. R.), Caxton and the English Sentence. WSLL 18 (1923). 23-59.

Birch (J. G.), William Caxton's Stay at Cologne. The Library 4th ser. 4 (1923/24). 50-52. Biographical note.

Blades (William), The Biography and Typography of William Caxton. London: Trübner, 1877. Second edition, New York: Scribner, 1882.

Blades (William), Caxton at Westminster. Boston: Old South Meeting House, 1891. Old South leaflets, 9th ser. no. 6. 12 p. Too brief to be valuable.

Blades (William), Caxton's "Four Sons of Aymon." Athen. Aug. 1882, pp. 243-244; Sept. 1882, p. 370.

Blades (William), ed. Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophres. London: Stock, 1877. Facsimile of Caxton ed., 1477.

Blades (William), The Life and Typography of William Caxton . . . with evidence of his typographical connection with Colard Mansion. London: Lilly, 1861-63, 2 vols.

Blades (R. H.), Who Was Caxton? The Library n.s. 4 (1903). 113-143. Brief review of Caxton's life.

- The Book of the Ordre of Chivalry, tr. and printed by Wm. Caxton from a French Version of Ramon Lull. With Loutfut's Scotch Version. Ed. by A. T. P. Byles. London: Milford, 1926. EETS o.s. 168.
- Breul (Karl), The Boke of Curtesy. ES 9 (1886). 51-63. Text (extracts) of poem, with discussion of ms. sources and variations of reading.
- Butler (Pierce), *Legenda Aurea*. A Study of Caxton's Golden Legend with Special Reference to its Relations to the Earlier English Prose Translation. Baltimore: Murphy, 1899. Diss. Johns Hopkins. Bibliography: pp. v-vi.
- Chartier (Alain), The Curial Made by Maystere Alain Charretier. Tr. thus in Englyssh by William Caxton 1484. Ed. by F. J. Furnivall. London: Trübner, 1888. EETS e.s. 54.
- Cunnington (Susan), The Story of William Caxton. London: Harrap, 1917.
- Duff (E. G.), William Caxton. Chicago: Caxton Club, 1905.
- Ernst (Lorenz), Floire und Blantschefur; Studie zur Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft. Strassburg: Trübner, 1912. QF 118. For study of Caxton's version.
- Fifteen O's and Other Prayers. London: Griffith, 1869. Photo-litho of Caxton ed. by S. Ayling.
- Flügel (Ewald), Caxton's Old English Words. MP 1 (1903/04). 343 (Oct. 1903).
- Game and Playe of the Chesse, 1474. A verbatim reprint of the first ed. Introd. by W. E. A. Axon. London: Stock, 1883. Antiquary's Library.
- Graves (R. E.), Caxton's Golden Legend. Acad. 14 (1878). 473-474. Brief note on the original ed.
- Hales (J. W.), Caxton at Westminster. Athen. Mar. 1882, pp. 282-283. Reasons for his choice of location.

- Horstmann (Carl), *The Lyf of Saint Katherin of Senis nach dem Drucke W. Caxtons* (c1493) ASNS 76 (1886). 33-112, 265-314, 353-400. Text only—A few footnotes.
- Howorth (H. H.), *The Importance of Caxton in the History of the English Language*. Athen. Nov. 1894, pp. 715-716; Mar. 1895, p. 284.
- Ingram (J. K.), *Caxton's "Chronicle."* Acad. 17 (1880). 11. Very brief note on ms. copy.
- Jacobus de Varagine. *The Golden Legend*. A reproduction from a copy in the Manchester Free Library. London: Holbein Society, 1878. A partial reproduction of Caxton's first ed. of 1483.
- Jacobus de Varagine. *The Golden Legend, Caxton's translation*. Ed. by F. S. Ellis. London: Kelmscott Press, 1892.
- Jacobus de Varagine. *The Golden Legend; or, The Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*. London: Dent, 1900, 7 vols, Temple classics. Text only.
- Jones (J. W.), *Upon the Discovery of Two Rare Tracts in the Library (of the B. M.) Hitherto Unknown from the Press of William Caxton*. Arch. 31 (1845/46). 412-424. *Meditacions sur les sept Pseaulmes penitenciaulx. Cordiale, sive de quatuor Novissimis*.
- Knight (Charles), *William Caxton, the First English Printer*. London: Knight, 1844. [New ed. London: Clowes, 1877].
- Lancaster (H. C.), *The Sources of the Mediaeval Versions of the Peaceable*. PMLA 22 (1907). 33-52. Includes Caxton's version. Text and discussion.
- Lee (S. L.), *Caxton's "Four Sons of Aymon."* Athen. Aug. 1882, p. 272.
- Lewis (John), *Life of Mayster Wyllam Caxton, of the Weald of Kent*. London, 1737.
- The Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles the Grete tr. from the French by William Caxton, and printed by him 1485*. Ed. with introd.

- notes and glossary, by S. J. H. Herrtage. London: Trübner, 1880-81. EETS e.s. 36-37. Text with notes.
- Madan (Falconer), A Caxton Fragment. Acad. 24 (1883). 29. Brief account of discovery of fragment of "Directorium Sacerdotum."
- The Order of Chivalry, tr. from the French by W. Caxton, ed. by F. S. Ellis. Kelmscott Press, 1892.
- Plomer (H. R.), William Caxton (1424-1491) London: Small, Maynard, 1925. Life of Caxton—Literary conditions of time.
- Pollard (A. W.), Recent Caxtoniana. The Library n.s. 6 (1905). 337-353.
- Prior (O. H.), ed. Caxton's Mirrour of the World. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1913. EETS e.s. 110. Text with introduction on sources.
- Quatuor Sermones. Reprinted from the first edition printed by William Caxton at Westminster. London: Nichols, 1883. Roxburghe Club Publication 111. Text with account of ms. sources.
- Reinhold (J. H.), Les Sources de "Floire de Blanceflor." RevPF 19 (1905). 153-175.
- Reynard the Fox, tr. and printed by William Caxton, June, 1481. Westminster, 1895. Ed. by Edward Arber. Reprint of the original edition. Historical introduction (brief) and bibliography.
- The History of Reynard the Fox, from the edition printed by Caxton in 1481, with notes and an introductory sketch of the literary history of the romance by W. J. Thoms. London: Percy Society, 1844. Percy Society Publication 12.
- Reul (P. de), The Language of Caxton's "Reynard the Fox"—a Study in Historical Syntax. . London: Sonnenschein, 1901. Also, Gand: Librarie Vuilsteke, 1901. Univ. de Gand.
- Romstedt (Hermann), Die Englische Schriftsprache bei Caxton. (Göttingen. Diss. 1890) Leipzig: Foch, 1891.

- Scott (J. L.), Caxton and his Foreman. Athen. Mar. 1899, p. 371. Brief account of old papers relating to Caxton and his foreman.
- Scott (E. J. L.), Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde at Westminster. Athen. Feb. 1900, p. 177. Note on dates.
- Scott (E. J. L.), Caxton at Westminster. Athen. June 1893, p. 734; June 1895, pp. 772-773.
- Scott (E. J. L.), Caxtoniana. Athen. June 1896, p. 779; July 1896, p. 129. Account of finding of Caxton volume.
- Scott (E. J. L.), Caxton's Birthplace. Athen. Apr. 1895, p. 474.
- Scott (E. J. L.), The Caxtons of Kent temp. Edward IV. Athen. July 1901, p. 32.
- Warner (G. F.), Caxton's Device. Athen. Nov. 1883, pp. 670-671. Note on probable origin.
- Wordsworth (C.), Caxton's Sarum Pie. Athen. Aug. 1895, pp. 260, 292-293.
- William, Archbishop of Tyre. Godeffroy of Bologne; or, The Siege and Conquest of Jerusalem. Tr. from the French by William Caxton and Printed by him in 1481. Ed. by from B. M. copy by Mary Noyes Colvin. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1893. EETS e.s. 64 Text. Historical introduction.
- Charles d'Orleans. Poems Written in English by Charles, Duke of Orleans during his captivity in England after the Battle of Agincourt. London: Shakespeare Press, 1827. Ed. by George Watson Taylor. Roxburghe Club Publication 38.
- Bullrich (Georg), Über Charles d'Orleans und die ihm zugeschriebene Englische Übersetzung seiner Gedichte. Berlin: Gaertner, 1893.
- Hammond (E. P.), Charles of Orleans and Anne Molyneux. MP 22 (1924). 215-216 (Nov. 1924) Text of brief lyric with discussion.

Hausknecht (Emil), Vier Gedichte von Charles d'Orleans. *Anglia* 17 (1895). 445-447. Text and brief history of ms.

Chestre (Thomas), *Launfal*, an Ancient Metrical Romance. Ed. by Joseph Ritson. Edinburgh: Goldsmid, 1891.

Kaluza (Max), Thomas Chestre, Verfasser des *Launfal*, *Libeaus Desconus* und *Octovian*. *ES* 18 (1893). 165-190. Text with discussion. Attempt to show that all three cannot belong to Chestre.

Sarrazin (G.), Noch Einmal Thomas Chestre. *ES* 22 (1896). 331-332. Note on origin of name. Who was Thomas Chestre?

Zupitza (Julius), *Zum Sir Launfal*. *ASNS* 88 (1892). 68-70. Text corrections and date (later than usually given).

Kittredge (G. L.), *Launfal* (Rawlinson version late 15th century) *AJP* 10 (1889). 1-33. Text, notes, historical introduction. Notes give bibliography on other versions both in ms. and print.

Church (Daniel), *Parvus Cato: Magnus Cato*. Tr. by Benet Burgh. Printed at Westminster by Wm. Caxton about the year 1477. Cambridge University Press, 1906. Facsimile from original in Cambridge University Library. Without introduction or notes.

Förster (Max), *Die Burghsche Cato-paraphrase*. *ASNS* 115 (1905). 298-323. Text with critical discussion. Bibliography of mss.

Zupitza (Julius), *Zu Burghs Übersetzung der Disticha Catonis*. *ASNS* 90 (1893). 296-297. Notes on text.

Edward, Second Duke of York. *Master of Game: the Oldest English Book on Hunting*. Ed. by W. A. and F. Baillie-Grohman with foreword by Theodore Rossevelt. London: Chatto & Windus, 1909.

Mylo (P.), *Das Verhältnis der Handschriften des Mittelenglischen Jagdbuches "Maistre of Game."* Diss. Würzburg, 1908. *Ann. JsbGP* 31 (1909). pt. 2 63.

Fortescue (Sir John), *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*. Tr. by Francis Gregor. Cincinnati: Clarke, 1874. Biography, text, notes.

- Fortescue (Sir John), *De Laudibus Legum Angliae* tr. by Mr. Selden. 2nd ed. London: Browne, 1741. Text, historical preface, notes. Latin with English translation.
- Fortescue (Sir John), *The Governance of England*. Ed. by C. Plummer. Oxford University Press, 1885. Text, introduction, notes.
- Fortescue (Sir John), *Sir John Fortescue's Commendation of the Laws of England*, tr. by Francis Grigor. London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1917.
- Fortescue (Sir John), *The Works of Sir John Fortescue, Knight* . . . Now first collected and arranged by Thomas (Fortescue) Lord Clermont. London: Privately printed, 1869.
- Plummer (Charles), Fortescue's "The Governance of England." *Acad.* 29 (1886). 95, 113. Reply to Gairdner's review by editor of new ed.
- Hearnshaw (F. J. C.), *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers of the Renaissance and Reformation*. London: Harrap, 1925. Fortescue, pp. 61-86 (with bibliography).
- Skeel (C. A. J.), *The Influence of the Writings of Sir John Fortescue*. *TRHS* 3rd ser. 10 (1916). 77-114. Traces influence especially in Tudor times.
- Gardener (Ion), *A Fifteenth Century Treatise on Gardening by Mayster Ion Gardener*. Ed. by Alicia M. T. Amherst. *Arch.* 54 (1894/95). 157-172. (n.s. 4) Text of poem, account of ms. from which it is taken, explanatory notes. ca. 1440-1450. For note on this see *ASNS* 105 (1900). 88.
- Harding (John), *The Chronicle of John Harding* . . . together with the continuation by Richard Grafton. London: Rivington, 1812.
- Kingsford (C. L.), *The First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle*. *EHR* 27 (1912). 462-482.
- Hay (Sir Gilbert), *Gilbert of the Haye's Prose Manuscript (A. D. 1456)* Ed. with introduction by J. H. Stevenson. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1901-1914. 2 vols. *STS* 31, 49. Contents: v. 1. *The Buke of the Law of Armys; or Buke of Bataillis*; v. 2. *Buke of Knychthede and Buke of the Gavernaunce of Princis*. Oldest Scotch prose.

- Henry the Minstrel (Blind Harry). *The Actis and Deidis of the Illustere and Vailyeand Campioun Schir William Wallace*. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1889. STS 8 Text, biographical and critical introduction, notes and glossary.
- Henry the Minstrel. *Wallace* . . . published from a ms. dated 1488. Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1820.
- Henry the Minstrel. *Life and Heroic Achievements of Sir William Wallace*. Aberdeen: King, 1842.
- Henry the Minstrel. *The Acts and Deeds of the Famous and Valiant Champion Sir William Wallace*. [Edinburgh? 1758]
- Henry the Minstrel. *History of the Life, Adventures and Heroic Actions of the Celebrated Sir William Wallace*. Rev. and improved by William Hamilton. New York: Crawford, 1820.
- Brown (J. T. T.), *The Wallace and the Bruce Restudied*. Bonn: Hanstein, 1900. BB 6.
- \*Childs (F. L.), *Studies in the Wallace*. Ms. dissertation. Harvard University Library.
- Heyne (Herbert), *Die Sprache in Henry the Minstrel's Wallace*. Kiel: Fiencke, 1910. Inaug.-Diss. Kiel.
- Jamieson (John), ed. *The Bruce and Wallace Published from Two Ancient Mss*. Edinburgh: Manners & Miller, 1820, 2 vols. V. 2 *The Wallace by Harry the Minstrel*.
- Neilson (George), *Blind Harry's Wallace*. Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association collected by A. C. Bradley. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. V. 1, no. 4.
- Schofield (W. H.), *Mythical Bards and the Life of William Wallace*. Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1920. HSCL 5. Rev. by H. S. V. Jones JEGP 21 (1922). 169-170. No blind man could have written "Wallace" is the main contention.



- Henryson (Robert), *The Moral Fables of Robert Henryson*. Reprinted from the ed. of Andrew Hart. Edinburgh, 1832. Maitland Club Publications 15.
- Henryson (Robert), *Poems*. Rev. text ed. by W. M. Metcalfe. London: Gardner, 1917.
- Henryson (Robert), *The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson*. Ed. by D. Laing. Edinburgh: Patterson, 1805. Also edited with notes and a memoir of his life. 1865.
- Henryson (Robert), *The Poems of Robert Henryson*, ed. by G. G. Smith. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1906-1914. 3 vols. STS 45-47. Text, introduction, notes.
- Henryson (Robert), *The Testament of Cresseid* edited anew by Bruce Dickins, 1925. Edinburgh: Porpoise Press, 1925.
- Henryson (Robert), *The Testament of Cresseid*. Cambridge University Press, 1926. Cambridge Plain Texts. Text, brief introduction.
- Diebler (A. R.), *Henrisone's Fabeln*. *Anglia* 9 (1886). 337-390. Texts with historical introduction.
- Hill (Richard), *Songs, Carols and Miscellaneous Poems from Richard Hill's Commonplace book*. Ed. by Roman Dyboski. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1907. (Issued 1908) EETS e.s. 101. Texts with introduction and notes.
- Hoccleve (Thomas), *Works*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1892-97. EETS e.s. 61, 72. Texts with Hoccleve's life and brief comment.
- Hoccleve (Thomas), *Hoccleve's Works—The minor poems in the Ashburnham ms.* Ed. by Israel Gollancz. London: Milford, 1925. EETS e.s. 73.
- Hoccleve (Thomas), *De Regimine Principum*. Ed. by Thomas Wright. London: Nichols, 1860. Roxburghe Club Publication 79. Text with brief preface.

- Hoccleve (Thomas), *A New Ploughman's Tale: Thos. Hoccleve's Legend of the Virgin and Her Sleeveless Garment, with a Spurious Link*. (Paralleled with Gollancz's ed.) London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1902. Chaucer Society Publication. Second series 34.
- \*Bock (Franz), *Metrische Studien zur Hoccleve's Werken*. Diss. München, 1900. *Ann. JsbGP* 23 (1901). 223.
- Gollancz (I.), *Three new Chansons of Hoccleve*. *Acad.* 41 (1892). 542. Text of the poems from an Ashburnham ms.
- Hulbert (J. R.), *An Hoccleve Item*. *MLN* 36 (1921). 59. Brief biographical note.
- Kern (J. H.), *Die Datierung von Hoccleve's Dialog*. *Anglia* 40 (1916). 370-373. Dates poem from internal evidence and comparison with movements of Humphrey of Gloucester.
- Kern (J. H.), *Hoccleve's Verszeile*. *Anglia* 40 (1916). 367-369.
- Kern (J. H.), *Der Schreiber Offorde*. *Anglia* 40 (1916). 374. Probably a colleague of Hoccleve's.
- Kern (J. H.), *Zum Texte einiger Dichtungen Thomas Hoccleve's*. *Anglia* 39 (1915/16). 389-494. Extensive notes on texts of various poems.
- Kurtz (B. P.), *The Prose of Occeleve's "Lerne to Dye"*. *MLN* 39 (1924). 56-57.
- Kurtz (B. P.), *The Relation of Occeleve's "Lerne to Dye" to its Source*. *PMLA* 40 (1925). 252-275. Partly a translation of Henry Suso's *Horologium*.
- Kurtz (B. P.), *The Source of Occeleve's Lerne to Dye*. *MLN* 38 (1923). 337-340.
- MacCracken (H. N.), *Another Poem by Hoccleve?* *JEGP* 8 (1909). 260-266. Text with discussion of possible authorship.

Sandison (H. E.), "En Mon Dedit a Moys de May," the original of Hoccleve's "Balade to the Virgin and Christ." *Vassar Medieval Studies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923, pp. 235-243. Brief historical introduction. Parallel texts of two poems.

Skeat (W. W.), Hoccleve's Letter of Cupide. *Acad.* 32 (1887). 253. Note on text reading.

Skeat (W. W.), A Poem by Hoccleve. *Acad.* 33 (1888). 325, 361. Dates one of Hoccleve's poems (1416/17).

Smith (L. T.), Ballad by Thomas Occlve Addressed to Sir John Oldcastle (A. D. 1415) *Anglia* 5 (1882). 9-42. Introduction, text, and notes.

Vollmer (Erich), Sprache und Reime des Londoners Hoccleve. *Anglia* 21 (1899). 201-221.

Holland (Sir Richard), Buke of the Houlate, pub. from the Bannatyne ms. with studies in the plot, age, and structure of the poem by Arthur Diebler. Leipzig: Reiland, 1893. Rev. by J. Schick *LGRP* 15 (1894). 395-397.

Holland (Sir Richard), The Buke of the Howlat. Ed. by David Donaldson. Paisley: Gardner, 1882. Reprint of Laing's ed. issued for the Bannatyne club. Printed for subscribers only.

Holland (Sir Richard), The Buke of the Howlat. Ed. by F. J. Amours. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1897. *STS* 21. (In *Scottish Alliterative Poems*. Ed. by Amours, pp. 47-81) Text with historical introduction and notes.

Holland (Sir Richard), The Houlate from the Bannatyne Ms. 1568. Glasgow: Privately printed, 1881.

Diebler (A. R.), Zu Holland's Buke of the Houlate. *Anglia* 16 (1894). 385-386. Notes on reading and spelling of text.

\*Gutman (Joseph), Untersuchungen über das Mittelenglische Gedicht "The Buke of the Howlat" (*Berliner Beiträge zur Germanischen und Romanischen Philologie*. 1893).

Skeat (W. W.), The Buke of the Howlat; a correction. *Acad.* 45 (1894). 13. Text note.

Irlande (John), *The Meroure of Wysdome Composed for the Use of James IV, King of Scots, A. D. 1490*. Ed. by Charles McPherson. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1926. STS n.s. 19.

James I, King of Scotland. *The Kingis Quair: together with A Ballad of Good Counsel*. Ed. by Walter W. Skeat. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1884. STS 1. Also 2nd ed. rev. STS n.s. 1. Text with introduction and notes.

Brown (J. T. T.), *The Authorship of the King's Quair. A new criticism*. Glasgow: MacLehose, 1896. Rev. Athen. July 1896, pp. 66, 128-129; Aug. 1896, pp. 164-165, 193, 291; MLN 12 (1897). 115-118 (58-59); by Max Kaluza ES 24 (1897). 84-100.

Jusserand (J. J.), *Jacques Ier d'Écosse fut-il poète?* Paris, 1897. Reprint of article in *La Revue Historique* 64 (1897). 1-49. Rev. by W. H. Browne MLN 12 (1897). 417-421 (209-211) Good discussion with historical notes in proof.

Jusserand (J. J.), *Kingis Quair*. Athen. Aug. 1896, pp. 225-227. Discussion of authorship.

Jusserand (J. J.), *Le Roman d'un Roi d'Écosse*. Paris: Hachette, 1895.

Jusserand (J. J.), *The Romance of a King's Life*. Tr. from the French by M. R. London: Unwin, 1896.

Lawson (Alexander), ed. *The Kingis Quair and The Quare of Jelusy*. London: Black, 1910. Rev. by M. Gray SHR 8 (1910). 305-307.

MacCracken (H. N.), *King James' Claim to Rhyme Royal*. MLN 24 (1909). 31-32. Discussion of use of term. Examples 15th century work.

Millar (A. H.), *The Scribe of the "Kingis Quair."* Athen. Dec. 1899, p. 898. Notes on ms.

Neilson (George), *The Scribe of the "Kingis Quair."* Athen. Dec. 1899, pp. 835-836. Notes on ms.

Rogers (Charles), *The Poetical Remains of King James the First of Scotland with a Memoir, and an Introduction to his Poetry*. TRHS 2 (1873). 297-392.

- Skeat (W. W.), "The King's Quair" and "The Romaunt of the Rose." Athen. July 1899, pp. 66-67, 129-130. Discussion of parallel passages.
- \*Wischmann (W.), Untersuchungen über das Kingis Quair Jakobs I von Schottland. 1887. Berlin Diss. Rev. O. Glöde LGRP 9 (1888). 20-21.
- Wood (Henry), Chaucer's Influence upon King James I of Scotland as Poet. *Anglia* 3 (1880). 223-265. (Also published as Leipzig diss., Halle, 1879).
- Wylie (J. H.), The King's Quair. Athen. Nov. 1897, p. 674-675. Discussion of dates of events in James I's life.
- John of Bury. [Extracts from John of Bury's Answer to Pecoock's Repressor] (In Pecoock's Repressor, ed. by C. Babington. London: Longmans, 1860) Rolls series 19 pt. 2, 567-613.
- John of Hildesheim. The Three Kings of Cologne. An early English translation of the *Historia Trium Regum* . . . ed. by C. Horstmann. London: Trübner, 1886. EETS o.s. 85. Text with brief historical introduction.
- MacCracken (H. N.), The Three Kings of Cologne. ASNS 129 (1912). 50-68. Text with brief account of this version. Date ca. 1433.
- Juliana, of Norwich. Revelations of Divine Love Recorded by Juliana, Anchoress at Norwich. 5th ed. London: Methuen, 1914. Ed. by Grace Warrack. Modernized spelling. Introduction gives account of mss. and of Juliana.
- Juliana of Norwich. Sixteen Revelations of Divine Love shewed to Mother Juliana of Norwich, 1373. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1902.
- Inge (W. R.), Studies of English Mystics. London: Murray, 1906.
- Kennedy (Walter), Poems; edited with introduction, various readings and notes by J. Schipper. Wien: Holder, 1901. Also K. Ak. der Wissenschaften Wien. Philologische-historische classe. Denkschrift bd. 48, hft. 1.

- Holthausen (Ferd.), *Kennedy-studien*. ASNS 110 (1903). 359-387. Corrections for Shipper's ed. of Kennedy's poems.
- La Tour-Landry (Geoffrey de), *The Book of Thenseygnementes and Tychynge that the Knight of the Towre Made to his Daughters*. Ed. by G. B. Rawlings. London: Newnes, 1902. Text of Caxton's translation with Caxton's preface, also notes and glossary.
- La Tour-Landry (Geoffrey de), *Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, comp. for the Instruction of his Daughters. Tr. from the French in the reign of Henry VI. Ed. from ms. by Thomas Wright. London: Trübner, 1868. EETS o.s. 33.
- Lichfield (William).
- Borgström (Edv.), ed. *The Complaint of God to Sinful Man and the Answer of Man*, by William Lichfield. *Anglia* 34 (1911). 498-525. Text, historical and critical introduction.
- Brown (Carleton), *Manuscripts of William Lichfield's Complaint of God*. ES 47 (1913). 317. Lists mss. in which poem is found.
- Lovelich (Herry), *The History of the Holy Graal*. Ed. from the ms. by F. J. Furnivall. London: Nichols, 1861-63. 2 vols. Roxburghe Club Publications 80. Text with long historical and critical introduction and other versions.
- Lovelich (Herry), *The Legend of the Holy Grail, its Source, Character and Development*. Herry Lovelich's verse version. Ed. by Dorothy Kempe. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1905. Text ed. by Furnivall. 5 vols. EETS e.s. 20, 24, 28, 30, 95.
- Lovelich (Herry), *Merlin, a Middle-English Metrical Version of a French Romance by Herry Lovelich, Skinner and Citizen of London (Ab. 1450)*. Ed. by E. A. Kock. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1904-1913. 2 vols. EETS e.s. 93, 112. Text only.
- Furnivall (F. J.), *Henry Lovelich, Skinner*. Athen. Jan. 1903, p. 51. Extracts from old documents which concern him.
- Lydgate (John), *Aesopübersetzung (Text only)*. Ed. by P. Sauerstein. *Anglia* 9 (1887). 1-24.

- Lydgate (John), *The Assemle of Goddes*. Printed at Westminster by Wynken de Worde about the year 1500. Cambridge University Press, 1906. Facsimile without notes.
- Lydgate (John), *The Assembly of Gods*. Ed. from the mss. by Oscar Lovell Triggs. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1895. (English studies 1) Also published for EETS e.s. 69. Rev. by F. Klaeber MLN 12 (1897). 232-237 (116-119) Text with introduction discussing authorship, date, rhythm, language.
- Lydgate (John), *Chichevache and Bycorne*. (In Dodsley, Robt. *Select Collection of Old Plays*. London, 1825-27. v. 12 297-304.)
- Lydgate (John), *The Childe of Bristow*. Ed. from the ms. in the B. M. by Clarence Hopper. London: Camden Society, 1859. Camden Society Publications 73.
- Lydgate (John), tr. *The Chorle and the Birde*. London: Bulmer, 1818. Reprint of Caxton's second ed.
- Lydgate (John), tr. *The Churl and the Bird*, tr. from the French by John Lydgate. Printed by William Caxton about 1478. Cambridge University Press, 1906. Facsimile without notes from original in Cambridge University Library.
- Lydgate (John), *Dietary* [Ed. by Max Förster] *Anglia* 42 (1918). 176-192. Text with brief discussion.
- Lydgate (John), *Einige Religiöse Gedichte*, bearbeitet von Otto Mahir. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1914. Rev. by J. Koch ES 51 (1917). 127-130.
- Lydgate (John), *Fabula Duorum Mercatorum aus dem Nachlasse des Herrn Prof. D. J. Zupitza*, hersg. von Gustav Schleich. Strassburg: Trübner, 1897. QF 83. Text with historical and critical introduction (very complete) and notes.
- Lydgate (John), *Fall of Princes*, ed. by Henry Bergen. London: Milford, 1924. 4 vols. EETS e.s. 121-124. Also published, Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1923. Carnegie Institution Publication 262.

- Lydgate (John), *How the Good Wife Taught her Daughter*. A Dietary. EETS e.s. 21, 29 (1896). 521-540.
- Lydgate (John), *Lydgates Horse, Goose and Sheep*. Ed. by M. Degenhart. Leipzig: Böhme, 1900. MBREP 19. Text with discussion of style, history, language, notes and bibliography.
- Lydgate (John), *Lydgates Minor Poems—The Two Nightingale Poems* (A. D. 1446) ed. from the mss. with introductory notes and glossary by Otto Glauning. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1900. EETS e.s. 80.
- Lydgate (John), *Lydgate's Troy Book* (A. D. 1412-20) Ed. from mss. with introductory notes and glossary by Henry Bergen. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1906-1910. 3 vols. EETS e.s. 97, 103, 106.
- Lydgate (John), *Lydgate's Verses on the Kings of England*. (In *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*. Ed. by Jas. Gairdner. London: Camden Society, 1876) Camden Society Publication n.s. 17.
- Lydgate (John), *A Lytell Treatyse of the Horse, the Sheep and the Ghoos* . . . printed at Westminster by Wynkyn de Worde about 1499. Cambridge University Press, 1906. Facsimile without notes.
- Lydgate (John), *Merita Missae and Venus Mass*. (In *Lay Folks Mass Book* ed. by T. F. Simmons. London: Trübner, 1879. Appendix V, pp. 148-154, 389-399) EETS o.s. 71.
- Lydgate (John), *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* . . . with an Attempt to Establish The Lydgate Canon ed. by H. N. MacCracken. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1911. EETS e.s. 107. Minor poems text, introduction and notes, Lydgate bibliography.
- Lydgate (John), tr. *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, Englisht by John Lydgate* A. D. 1426 from the French of Guillaume de Deguileville A. D. 1335. Ed. from 3 15th century mss. in the B. M. by F. J. Furnivall. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1899-1904. EETS e.s. 77, 83, 92. London: Nichols, 1905. Roxburghe Club Publications 145.
- Lydgate (John), *Reson and Sensuallyte*, ed. from the mss. by Ernest Sieper. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1901-03 2 vols. EETS e.s. 84, 89. Text, notes, long discussion on metre and language.



- Lydgate (John), Reason and Sensuality. In Sieper, Ernst. *Les Échecs Amoureux und Ihre Englische Übertragung*. Weimar: Felber, 1898. LF 9 213-251. Text with comparison with originals.
- Lydgate (John), *Siege of Thebes*. Ed. by Axel Erdmann. London: Chaucer Society, 1911. Chaucer Society Publications 2nd ser. 46. Also published, EETS e.s. 108.
- Lydgate (John), *The Serpent of Division*. Ed. with introduction, notes and glossary by H. N. McCracken. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911. Rev. Athen. Apr. 1911, pp. 388, 508. Rev. by J. W. H. Atkins MLR 7 (1912). 253-254.
- Lydgate (John), *A Tale of a Prioress and Her Three Wooers*. Text mit einleitung . . . von Johannes Prinz. Berlin: Felber, 1911. LF 47. Long discussion (166 p.) on history, text, authorship. Text with notes.
- Lydgate (John), *Temple of Glas* ed. with introduction and notes by J. Schick. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1891. EETS e.s. 60. Chronology of Lydgate's poems. Discussion of his language.
- Lydgate (John), *The Temple of Glas*. Printed at Westminster by Wm. Caxton about the year 1477. Cambridge University Press, 1905. Facsimile without notes.
- Lydgate (John), *Treatyse of this Galaunt*. Acad. 43 (1893). 104-105. Brief note.
- Lydgate (John), *Two Tapestry Poems by Lydgate, The Life of St. George and the Falls of Seven Princes*. Ed. by E. P. Hammond. ES 43 (1910). 10-26. Text with brief discussion.
- Albert (Franz), *Über Thomas Heywood's The Life and Death of Hector, eine Neubearbeitung von Lydgate's Troy Book*. Leipzig: Böhme, 1909. MBREP 42. Possibly more on Heywood than Lydgate.
- Babcock (C. F.), *A Study of the Metrical Use of the Inflectional e in Middle English with Particular Reference to Chaucer and Lydgate*. PMLA 29 (1914). 59-92.

- \*Bergen (H.), *Description and Genealogy of the Manuscripts of Lydgate's Troy Book*. Diss. Munchen, 1906. *Ann. JsbGP* 29 (1907). pt. 2, 47.
- \*Beutner (H.), *Lydgate's Testament*, progr. München 1914. *Ann. JsbGP* 36 (1914). 77.
- Boccaccio (Giovanni), *Lydgate's translation of*. *PMLA* 11 (1896). 382-384. *Lydgate bibliography*.
- Brown (Carleton), *An Holy Medytacion—by Lydgate?* *MLN* 40 (1925). 282-285. Note on source of poem.
- Brown (Carleton), *Lydgate and the Legend of Good Women*. *ES* 47 (1913). 59-62. *Lydgate as imitator of Chaucer*.
- Brown (Carleton), *Lydgate's Verses on Queen Margaret's Entry into London*. *MLR* 7 (1912). 225-234. Text and short discussion.
- Courmont (André), *Studies on Lydgate's Syntax in the Temple of Glas*. Paris: Alcan, 1912. Rev. by Eugen Borst. *ES* 45 (1912). 77-80.
- Degenhart (M.), ed. *Lydgate's Horse, Goose and Sheep*. Leipzig: Deichert 1900. *MBREP* 19. Complete discussion—author, date, metre, text, notes.
- Douce (Francis), *Dance of Macabre in The Daunce of Death painted by J. Holbein and engraved by W. Hollar hrsg. von F. Douce*. London, 1804. *Lydgate's Dance of Macabre*.
- \*Duschl (J.), *Des Sprichwort bei Lydgate nebst Quellen und Parallelen*. München Diss. 1912. *Ann. JsbGP* 35 (1913). pt. 2, 86.
- Fiedler (Georg), *Zum Leben Lydgate's*. *Anglia* 15 (1893). 391-395. "Urkunden" to establish dates in Lydgate's life.
- Förster (Max), *Zu Lydgate's Secreta Secretorum*. *ASNS* 115 (1905). 169. Note on location of mss. Not of great value.
- Gattinger (E.), *Die Lyrik Lydgate's*. Wien & Leipzig: Braumüller, 1896. *WBEP* 4. Rev. by E. Koeppel *ES* 24 (1898). 280-297.

- \*Glauning (D.), *Lydgate's Nightingale Poems*. Münchener diss. 1904? *Ann. JsbGP* 26 (1904). pt. 2, 47.
- Graham (R. C.), *On a Legend From the Island of Tiree*. *SHR* 1 (1903/04). 113-122. Compares poem with a version ascribed to Lydgate. Text of Legend—Extracts from poem—Old facsimile.
- Gray (Thomas), *Some Remarks on the Poems of John Lydgate*. In *Essays and Criticisms of Thomas Gray* ed. C. N. Northup. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., c. 1911 (Belles Lettres Series).
- Halliwell-Phillipps (J. O.), ed. *A Selection from the Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate* ed. by J. O. Halliwell. London: Percy Society, 1840. Percy Society Publications 2. Gives ms. source of poems, texts, introduction, notes.
- Hammond (E. P.), *Dance Macabre*. *MLN* 24 (1909). 63. Discussion of derivation of Macabre.
- Hammond (E. P.), *London Lick-penny*. *Anglia* 20 (1898). 404-420. Text from Harl. 542. Good bibliography of editions of poem.
- Hammond (E. P.), *Lydgate and the Duchess of Gloucester*. *Anglia* 27 (1904). 381-398. For corrections see *Anglia* 44 (1920). 82. Discussion of historical foundation for and ms. of two poems on Duchess of Gloucester.
- Hammond (E. P.), ed. *Lydgate's Mumming at Hertford*. *Anglia* 22 (1899). 364-374. Text with discussion of ms. from which it is taken. For corrections see Holthausen F. *Mittelenglische Dichtungen* *Anglia* 44 (1920). 79.
- Hammond (E. P.), ed. *Lydgate's New Years Valentine*. *Anglia* 32 (1909). 190-196. Text from B. M. ms. Add. 16165.
- Hammond (E. P.), *Lydgate's Prologue to the Story of Thebes*. *Anglia* 36 (1912). 360-376. Discussion with extracts from text. Largely on Lydgate's word usage.
- Hammond (E. P.), *A Manuscript Perhaps Lost*. *MLN* 32 (1917). 187. Note on ms. of Lydgate's *Dance Macabre*.
- Hammond (E. P.), *Poet and Patron in the Fall of Princes: Lydgate and Humphrey of Gloucester*. *Anglia* 38 (1914). 121-136. Discussion of relation of two as shown in work.

- Hammond (E. P.), A Reproof to Lydgate. *MLN* 26 (1911). 74-76. Discussion of possible allusions to Lydgate in a 15th century ms.
- Hammond (E. P.), The Texts of Lydgate's *Danse Macabre*. *MLN* 36 (1921). 250-251. Note on ms. sources.
- Hazlitt (W. C.), *Handbook to the Popular, Poetical and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain*. London: Smith, 1867. Contains bibliography of Lydgate, pp. 357-359.
- \*Hingst (Richard), *Die Sprache John Lydgates aus seinen Reimen*. Diss. Greifswald. 1908. *Ann. JsbGP* 30 (1908). pt. 2, 3.
- Holthausen (Ferd.), ed. *London Lickpenny*. *Anglia* 43 (1919). 61-68. Text with brief introduction. Collated (in notes) with other versions.
- Holthausen (Ferd.), *Zu Mittelenglischen Dichtungen*. *Anglia* 44 (1920). 78-84. Corrections for and discussion of E. P. Hammond's articles on Lydgate's poetry. *Anglia* 22, 27.
- Horstmann (Carl), *Altenglische Legenden Neuefolge*. Heilbronn: Henninger, 1881. Some of Lydgate's minor poems.
- \*Horstmann (Carl), *S. Albon und Amphabel, ein Legendenepos in 3 Büchern von Lydgate nach der Editio von S. Albans 1534 Ediert*. Berlin: Winckelmann, 1882?
- Koepfel (Emil), *Laurents de Premierfait und Lydgate's Bearbeitung von Boccaccio's De Casibus Viorum Illustrium*. Ein Beitrag zur Litteraturgeschichte d. 15. Jahrhunderts. Munich: Buchholz und Werner, 1885. *Habilitationsschrift* Munich, 1885.
- Koepfel (Emil), *Lydgate's Story of Thebes, eine Quellenuntersuchung*. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1884. Diss. Munich. Rev. by A. Brandl *LGRP* 6 (1885). 284-285.
- Koepfel (Emil), *Lydgate's "Vowes of Pecok"*. *ASNS* 108 (1902). 29-31. Discussion of source and Lydgate's use of expression.
- Krausser (E.), *The Complaint of the Black Knight*. *Anglia* 19 (1897). 211-290. Discussion with text and notes. Attributed to Lydgate.

- Lange (J. H.), Lydgate und Fragment B des Romaunt of the Rose. ES 29 (1901). 397-405. Attempt to determine authorship of fragment B.
- Lange (J. H.), Zu Fragment B des ME Rosenromans. ES 31 (1902). 159-162. Continues discussion in v. 29.
- Lee (Sidney), Bibliography of Lydgate. DNB 34 311-316. (New York: Macmillan, 1893) Ms. bibliography especially good.
- MacCracken (H. N.), Additional Light on the Temple of Glas. PMLA 23 128-140. Discussion of date from internal evidence, especially dress of lady of the time.
- MacCracken (H. N.), King Henry's Triumphal Entry into London, Lydgate's poem and Carpenter's Letter. ASNS 126 (1911). 75-102. Shows parallel between poem and letter quoting both.
- MacCracken (H. N.), Lydgate's "Serpent of Division." MLR 8 (1913). 103-104. Note on evidence of date of poem.
- MacCracken (H. N.), Lydgatiana. ASNS 126 (1911). 365-370. A poem called Life of Holy Job supposed to be by an imitator of Lydgate and composed soon after Lydgate's death.
- MacCracken (H. N.), Lydgatiana. ASNS 127 (1911). 321-327. Text of two poems so much in manner of Lydgate that they might be his. 1. As Oft as Syghes Ben in Herte Trewe. 2. Complaynt for Lac of Sight.
- MacCracken (H. N.), Lydgatiana. ASNS 130 (1913). 286-311; 31 40-63. Texts with very brief introduction.
- MacCracken (H. N.), A New Poem by Lydgate. Anglia 33 (1910). 283-286. Ballade in Despyte of the Flemynges. Identification of poem as Lydgates. Discussion without text.
- \*Perzl (W.), Die Arthur-legende in Lydgate's Fall of the Princes. Diss. München 1911. Ann. JsbGP 34 (1912). pt. 2, 85.
- Prinz (Johannes), ed. A Tale of a Prioress and Her Three Wooers; text mit einleitung. Berlin: Felber, 1911. LF 47. Usually ascribed to Lydgate. Complete review, history, editions, metre, authorship, date, text.

Prosiegel (Theodor), *The Book of the Gouvernaunce of Kynges and of Prynces. Die von Lydgate und einem anonymus hinterlassene me. bearbeitung des Secretum Secretorum kritisch untersucht.* Münch. diss. 1903. München: Luitpold-Kreis-Realschule, 1903. Rev. by F. Brie ES 33 (1904). 257-258. Rev. by O. Glöde LGRP 30 (1909). 104. Critical discussion of various ms. versions.

Reismüller (Georg), *Romanische Lehnwörter (erstbelege) bei Lydgate, ein Beitrag zur Lexicographie des Englischen im XV Jahrhundert.* Leipzig: Deichert, 1911. MBREP 48. Discussion with bibliography.

Robinson (F. N.), *On Two Manuscripts of Lydgate's Guy of Warwick.* HSP 5 (1896). 177-220. Text of Harvard ms. Variations of other text.

\*Rudolf (Albert), *Lydgate und die Assembly of Gods.* Berlin: Trenkel, 1909. Inaug. diss. Ann. JsbGP 31 (1909). pt. 2, 62.

Schick (J.), *Kleine Lydgate-studien. Reason and Sensuality.* Anglia Beiblatt 8 (1898). 134-154. Discussion and criticism of poem.

Schleich (Gustav), ed. *Lydgate's Fabula Duorum Mercatorum, aus dem Nachlasse des Herrn prof. J. Zupitza.* Strassburg: Trübner, 1897. QF 83.

Schleich (Gustav), *Über die Quelle von Lydgate's Gedicht The Chorle and the Bird.* ASNS 99 (1897). 425-435. Corrections, 100 (1898) 170.

*Secreta Secretorium. Secrees of Old Philosoffres; a Version of the Secreta Secretorum tr. by John Lydgate and Benedict Burgh.* Ed. from the Sloane ms. 2464 with introduction, notes, and glossary by Robert Steele. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1894. EETS e.s. 66.

Sieper (Ernst), *Les Echees Amoureux: eine Altfranzösische Nachahmung des Rosenromans und ihre Englische Übertragung.* Weimar: Felber, 1898. LF 9. Last section discusses Lydgate—Reason and Sensuality.

Skeat (W. W.), "A Balade of our Lady" by Lydgate. Acad. 40 (1891). 286. Discussion of authorship.

Skeat (W. W.), *The Date of Lydgate's "Siege of Troy."* Acad. 41 (1892). 445-446.

- Skeat (W. W.), Lydgate's Testimony on "The Romaunt of the Rose." Athen. June 1896, p. 747. Text notes on Lydgate's version of Complaint of the Black Knight.
- Steele (Robert), A Stow ms. of Lydgate. Acad. 45 (1894). 395. Account of ms. with contents.
- Tyroller (Franz), Die Fabel von dem Mann und dem Vogel in ihrer Verbreitung in der Weltliterature. Berlin, 1912. LF 49-51. (Lydgate, The Chorle and the Bird.)
- Withington (Robert), Queen Margaret's Entry into London, 1445. MP 13 (May 1915). 53-57. Text of poem from Harleian Ms. 542.
- Zupitza (Julius), Zu Lydgates Aesopus. ASNS 85 (1890). 1-28. Extract from text, notes and historical introduction.
- Zupitza (Julius), Zur Biographie Lydgate's. Anglia 3 (1880). 532. Copy of receipt issued to Lydgate.
- Malory (Sir Thomas), Le Morte d'Arthur; the text of Caxton ed. by Sir Edward Strachey. London: Macmillan, 1899. Text with historical and critical introduction and Caxton's preface.
- Malory (Sir Thomas), Le Morte d'Arthur . . . ed. from the text of 1634. Introduction and notes by Thomas Wright. London: Smith, 1865, 3 vols. Collated with Caxton's text. Variations in notes.
- Malory (Sir Thomas), Le Morte d'Arthur. Ed. from the edition of 1634 by Thomas Wright. 3rd ed. London: Reeves and Turner, 1889.
- Malory (Sir Thomas), Le Morte d'Arthur. London: Warner, 1920, 2 vols. Modernized spelling, otherwise Caxton's text.
- Malory (Sir Thomas), Le More d'Arthur. London: Dent, 1912. (Everyman ed.) Text with modernized spelling. Caxton's preface given and historical introduction by the editor.
- Malory (Sir Thomas), Le Morte d'Arthur. The original edition of William Caxton now reprinted and edited with an introduction and glossary by

- H. Oskar Sommer. London: Nutt, 1889-91, 3 vols. V. 1, text; v. 2, introduction—discussion of various ed., collation—glossary; v. 3, studies of sources. Malory's style by A. Lang. Rev. by E. Kölbing ES 15 (1891). 424-427.
- Malory (Sir Thomas), *Le Morte d'Arthur*. London: Dent, 1899, 3rd. ed. 4 vols. Text.
- Malory (Sir Thomas), *Selections from Sir Thomas Malory's Morte d'Arthur*, ed. with introduction, notes and glossary by William Edward Mead. Boston: Ginn, 1897. Scholarly ed. of selections.
- Malory (Sir Thomas), *Selections from Malory*, chosen and ed. by H. Wragg. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912.
- Malory (Sir Thomas), *The Arthurian Tales*. London: Norroena Society, 1906. Norroena-Viking ed. Modernized text.
- Baldwin (C. S.), *The Inflections and Syntax of the Morte d'Arthur*. . . . A Study in Fifteenth Century English. Boston: Ginn, 1894. Takes up parts of speech separately. Bibliography: pp. ix-x.
- Baldwin (C. S.), *The Verb in the "Morte d'Arthur."* MLN 10 (1895). 46-47.
- Brown (A. C. L.), *Balin and the Dolorous Stroke*. MP 7 (1909). 203-206. Discussion of source of story as Malory used it.
- Brown (A. R.), *Wynkyn de Worde's "Morte d'Arthur."* Acad. 38 (1890). 91. Note on ms. ed. Answer to note, p. 112.
- Bruce (J. D.), *The Development of the Mort Arthur Theme in Mediaeval Romance*. RR 4 (1913). 403-471. Derives all versions from the Old French romance *Mort Artu*.
- Bruce (J. D.), *The Middle-English Romance "Le Morte Arthur" (Harleian mss. 2252): its Sources and its Relation to Sir Thomas Malory's "Morte d'Arthur."* Anglia 23 (1901). 67-100.



- Bruce (J. D.), A Reply to Dr. Sommer Concerning the Relations of Malory's Morte d'Arthur and the Middle-English Romance Le Morte Arthur preserved in Harleian ms. 2252. *Anglia* 30 (1907). 209-216.
- \*Fromm (Ch.), Über den Verbalen Wortschatz in Sir Thomas Malory's Roman Le Morte d'Arthur. Marburg diss. 1914. Noske, Borna-Leipzig. *Ann. JsbGP* 37 (1915). 75.
- Gilson (J. P.), Sir Thomas Malory. Athen. Feb. 1903, p. 275. Biographical note.
- Griffith (R. H.), Malory, Morte Arthure and Fierabras. *Anglia* 32 (1909). 389-398. Discussion of source of Malory.
- Hempl (George), The Verb in the Morte d'Arthur. *MLN* 9 (1894). 240-241. Lists of verb forms used.
- Humor in Malory. *Acad.* 62 (1902). 17-18. Discussion of the unconscious humor of Malory.
- Kittredge (G. L.), Who was Sir Thomas Malory? *HSP* 5 (1896). 85-106. Scholarly study with many references. Identifies the author of "Le Morte D'Arthur." Substance repeated in Mead's ed. of Selections from Malory. See *Supra*.
- Martin (A. T.), The Identity of the Author of the Morte d'Arthur with Notes on the Will of Thomas Malory and the Genealogy of the Malory Family. *Arch.* 56 (1898/99). 165-177. (n.s. 6) Attempt to identify Sir Thomas Malory.
- Martin (A. T.), Sir Thomas Malory. Athen. Sept. 1897, pp. 353-354. Biographical notes.
- Maynadier (G. H.), The Arthur of the English Poets. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1907.
- Minto (W.), English Scholars and the "Morte d'Arthur." *Acad.* 38 (1890). 273-274. Discussion of value of various editions.

- Scudder (V. D.), *Le Morte d'Arthur of Sir Thomas Malory and its Sources*. New York: Dutton, 1917. Bibliography, pp. 411-419. Good complete discussion.
- Sommer (H. O.), *The Facsimile Pages in Lord Spencer's Copy of Malory's "Morte d'Arthur."* Acad. 35 (1889). 95, 288. Result of collation with original.
- Sommer (H. O.), *On Bruce's Article: The Romance, Le Morte Arthur.* Anglia 29 (1906), pp. 529-538. Discussion of sources.
- Sommer (H. O.), *The Relationship of the Several Editions of Malory's "Morte d'Arthur."* Acad. 34 (1888). 273. Discusses early editions by Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde.
- Sommer (H. O.), *The Sources of Malory's "Le Morte d'Arthur."* Acad. 37 (1890). 11-12.
- Strachey (Edward), *Caxton's "Morte d'Arthur."* Acad. 29 (1886). 220. Discussion of the authenticity of various texts.
- Vettermann (E.), *Die Balen-dichtungen und ihre Quellen*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1918. Chapter IV, pp. 52-84 on Malory's book of Balyn, the noble knyght. *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*. Beihefte 60.
- Walther (Marie), *Malory's Einfluss auf Spenser's Faerie Queene*. Eisleben: Klöppel, n.d. Thesis—Heidelberg. More about Spenser than Malory though does refer frequently to points from Malory.
- Williams (T. W.), *Sir Thomas Malory*. Athen. July 1896, pp. 64-65; pp. 98-99. Discussion of authorship.
- Metham (John), *Amoryus & Cleopes (Prologue and epilogue with sketch of the romance)* ed. by F. J. Furnivall. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1866. EETS o.s. 15 301-311.
- Metham (John), *The Works of John Metham Including the Romance of Amoryus and Cleopes*. Ed. from ms. in Garrett collection by Hardin Craig. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1916. EETS o.s. 132.

- Metham (John), *Treatises on Palmistry and Physiognomy, Prognostications based on the Day of the Week on which Christmas Falls and the Days of the Moon*. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1916. EETS o.s. 132. Texts with notes.
- Misyn (Richard), See Rolle, Richard of Hampole.
- Mirk (John), *Mirk's Festial: a collection of homilies . . . ed. from ms. by Theodor Erbe*. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1905. EETS e.s. 96. Text with glossarial index.
- Mirk (John), *Instructions for Parish Priests*. Ed. from the Cotton ms. Claudius A II by Edward Peacock. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1868. (Rev. ed. 1902) EETS o.s. 31.
- Nassington (William), *Poem on the Trinity, and Unity, The Passion of Christ, etc.* EETS o.s. 26 63-75. Text.
- Page (John), *Old English Poem on the Siege of Rouen, A. D. 1418*. Ed. by Frederic Madden. Arch. 22 (1829). 350-398.
- Page (John), *Poem on the Siege of Rouen*. In *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*. Ed. by James Gairdner. London: Camden Society, 1872. Camden Society Publications n.s. 17.
- Palladius (R. T. E.), *On Husbandrie*. Ed. from the unique ms. of about 1420. London: Trübner, 1872-79, 2 vols. V. 1 ed. by Barton Lodge; v. 2 by S. J. H. Herrtage. EETS o.s. 52, 72. V. 1 Text; v. 2 History, glossary, rhyme index.
- Pecock (Reginald), *The Donet*, ed. from ms. Bodl. 916 and collated with *The Poore Mennis Myrroure* (B. M. Addl. 37788) by Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock. London: Milford, 1921. EETS o.s. 156.
- Pecock (Reginald), *The Folewer to the Donet*. Ed. from B. M. Roy ms. 17 D ix with introduction on Pecock's language and style by Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock. London: Milford, 1924. EETS o.s. 164.
- Pecock (Reginald), *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*. Ed. by Churchill Babington. London: Longman, Green, 1860, 2 vols. Rolls series 19, pts. 1 and 2. Historical introduction, brief biography, text.

- Pecock (Reginald), *Reginald Pecock's Book of Faith. A Fifteenth Century Theological Tractate*. Ed. from the ms. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, with an introduction by J. L. Morison. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1909.
- Blackie (E. M.), *Reginald Pecock*. EHR 26 (1911). 448-468. Discussion of his views and character.
- Great Britain. Historical manuscripts commission. [Pecock] 12th Report. Appendix, p. 9. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1891, pp. 385, 584.
- \*Greet (W. C.), *Reginald Pecock, Reule of Crysten Religioun*. London, EETS. Ann. in *Forthcoming Books, Mediaeval Academy of America*. Bulletin no. 5, May 1927.
- Hannick (E. A.), *Reginald Pecock, Churchman and Man of Letters. A study in 15th century English prose*. Catholic University of America, 1922. Thesis—Catholic University of America.
- \*Hoffmann (A.), *Laut- und Formenlehre in Reginald Pecock's "Repressor."* Greifswald, 1900.
- Lewis (John), *Life of the Learned and Right-reverend Reynold Pecock*. New ed. Oxford University Press, 1820. First ed., London, 1744.
- Schmidt (F.), *Studies in the Language of Pecock*. Upsala, 1900.
- Wager (C. H. A.), *Pecock's "Repressor" and the Wiclif Bible*. MLN 9 (1894). 97-99. Comparison to show in how far Pecock really quoted exactly.
- Zickner (Bruno), *Syntax und Stil in R. Pecock's "Repressor."* Griefswald diss. 1900. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1900.
- Pisan (Christine de), *The Epistle of Othea to Hector; or, The Boke of Knyghthode*, tr. from the French by Stephen Scrope with dedication to Sir John Fastolfe. Ed. by G. F. Warner. London: Nichols, 1904.
- Pisan (Christine de), *Morale Proverbes* tr. by Earl Rivers. Reprinted from the original Caxton ed. of 1478. Introduction by Wm. Blades. London: Blades, 1859.

Rate (David), *Ratis Raving and other Moral and Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* ed. from the Cambridge University Ms. by J. Rawson Lumby. London: Trübner, 1870. EETS o.s. 43.

\*Bertram (A.), *Essay on the Dialect, Language and Metre of Ratis Raving*. 1896. (Program der Realschule zu Sondershausen) Ann. JsbGP 18 (1896). 325.

Brown (J. T. T.), *The Author of Ratis Raving*. BB 5 145-161.

Ostermann (Ludwig), *Untersuchungen zu "Ratis Raving" und dem Gedicht the "Thewis of Gud Women."* BB 12 (1902). 41-102.

Rolle (Richard, of Hampole), *Fire of Love and The Mending of Life*, the first English in 1435, from the *De Incendio Amoris*, the second in 1434 from the *Oe Emendacione Vitae* of Richard Rolle by Richard Misyn. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1896. Ed. by Ralph Harvey. EETS o.s. 106.

Russell (John), *The Boke of Nurture Folowyng Englondis Gise*. Ed. by F. J. Furnivall. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1868. EETS o.s. 32.

Scogan (John), *Scogin's Jests . . . gathered by Andrew Board*. London: Thackeray, 1690. An abridged edition. Ascribed to the court jester of Edward IV.

Spaldyng (Richard), *Die Katherinen Hymne des Ricardus Spaldyng und eine Marienhymne derselben Pergamentrolle*. Ed. by Wilhelm Heuser. Anglia 30 (1907). 523-548. Texts with historical and critical introduction.

\*Walton (John).

Schümmer (C), *Probe eines Kritischen Textes von John Walton's Übersetzung der Consolatio Philosophiae*. Bonn Diss. 1912. Ann. JsbGP 34 (1912). pt. 2, 86.

## 5. ANONYMOUS WORKS

The Abbaye of the Holy Ghost. Printed at Westminster by Wynkyn de Worde about the year 1496. Cambridge University Press, 1907. Facsimile without introduction or notes.

Arthur: a Short Sketch of his Life and History in English Verse of the First Half of the Fifteenth Century, ed. (from ms). by F. J. Furnivall. London: Trübner, 1864. EETS o.s. 2. Text with brief introduction and notes.

Ballet of the Nine Nobles:

Craigie (W. A.), ed. The Ballet of the Nine Nobles. *Anglia* 21 (1899). 359-365. Text with notes. Craigie dates the poem 1440.

Battle of Agincourt. The Batayle of Egyngecourte. In Hazlitt, W. C. *Early Popular Poetry of England*. London: Smith, 1866. 4 vols. V. 2, pp. 88-108.

Agincourte Battell. (In Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript ed. by J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall. London: Trübner, 1868. V. 2, pp. 158-173, 595-599.

Emmerig (Oskar), *The Bataile of Agyncourt im Lichte Geschichtlicher Quellenwerke*. Münchener diss. Nürnberg, 1906. Rev. by F. Brie *ES* 38 (1907). 82.

Wylie (J. H.), *The Agincourt "Chaplain."* Athen. Aug. 1902, p. 254. Discussion of author of the poem.

The Boke of Noblesse: Addressed to King Edward the Fourth on His Invasion of France in 1475. London: Nichols, 1860. Roxburghe Club Publication.

Cartae Versificate. (In *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*. Ed. by Thomas Arnold. 1896) *Rolls series* 96, pt. 3, 215-237. Sometimes ascribed to Lydgate. Charters in verse.

Cato:

Förster (Max), *Eine Nordenglische Cato-version*. *ES* 36 (1906). 1-55. Parallel texts from two 15th century ms. of Cato.

## Chance of Dice:

Hammond (E. P.), *The Chance of the Dice*. ES 59 (1925). 1-16. Text with historical introduction. Sometimes ascribed to Lydgate.

## Chevy Chase:

Nessler (Karl), *Geschichte der Ballade Chevy Chase*. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1911. Pal. 112. Pp. 1-93 discuss the original ballad; then follows a history of its influence.

## Christemasse Song:

MacCracken (H. N.), *An Unprinted Version of "A Christemasse Song."* MLN 24 (1909). 225. Version of song from *Laud ms. 683*. Text with very brief discussion of origin. For another version see *Anglia* 26 (1903). 247; or, EETS e.s. 101 21-22.

## Clariodus:

Curtis (F. J.), *An Investigation of the Rimes and Phonology of the Middle-Scotch Romance Clariodus*. *Anglia* 16 (1894). 387-450; 17 (1895). 1-68; 125-160. Irving dates this 15th century. Curtis contends that it is 16th. Complete discussion of phonology.

## Cock in the North:

Brandl (Alois), *The Cock in the North*. Berlin: Reimer, 1909.

*A Commonplace Book of the Fifteenth Century, Containing a Religious Play and Poetry, Legal Forms, and Local Accounts*. Printed from the original ms. at Brome Hall Suffolk by Lady Caroline Kerrison. Ed. by L. T. Smith. London: Trübner; Norwich: Goose, 1886. Rev. by E. Kölbing ES 9 (1886). 453-455.

## Court of Love:

Arnold (T.), *The Date of the "Court of Love."* Acad. 13 (1878). 489.

Furnivall (F. J.), *The "Court of Love" and Chaucer*. Acad. 2 (1870/71). 60-61. Contends it is 15th century work. Reply by George Waring follows on page 61.

Kittredge (G. L.), *Henry Scogan*. HSP 1 109-117. Discussion as to whether Scogan was author of the *Court of Love*.

Neilson (W. A.), The Origin and Sources of the "Court of Love." HSP 6 146-168.

Skeat (W. W.), A Few More Words on "The Court of Love." Acad. 40 (1891). 56. Discussion of authorship.

Skeat (W. W.), The "Court of Love." Acad. 13 (1878). 512. Note on date.

Skeat (W. W.), "The Court of Love." Acad. 35 (1889). 431-432. Places date in last half of 15th century.

Skeat (W. W.), The "Court of Love." Acad. 14 (1878). 116-117. Argument that it was written by imitator of Chaucer.

#### Craft of Lovers:

Skeat (W. W.), Craft of Lovers. Acad. 33 (1888). 152. Note on date of poem.

#### Death and Life:

Hanford (J. H.), and Steadman (J. M.), eds. Death and Life. NCSP 15 (1918). 221-294. Text with historical and critical introduction and notes.

Holthausen (Ferd.), Zu Death and Life. Anglia Beiblatt 32 (1921). 83-86. Text notes.

Powell (F. Y.), Notes on Death and Liffe. ES 5 (1884). 97-101. Notes on reading of text.

Scamman (Edith), The Alliterative Poem "Death and Life." In Studies in English and Comparative Literature presented to Agnes Irwin. Boston: Radcliffe College, 1910.

#### L'Épitre d'Othea:

MacCracken (H. N.), An Unknown Middle English Translation of L'Épitre d'Othea. MLN 24 (1909). 122-123. Account of ms. (c. 1471) and its identification.



## Evangelie:

Campbell (G. H.), *The Middle English "Evangelie."* PMLA 30 (1915). 529-613, 851-853. Three texts of the poem are given, the most complete one 1410-1420. Discusses date and origin.

## Eye and the Heart:

Hammond (E. P.), ed. *The Eye and the Heart.* Anglia 34 (1911). 235-265. Text with historical account of ms. from which it is taken and something of history of poem.

Holthausen (Ferd.), *Das ME Streitgedicht "The Eye and the Heart."* Anglia 44 (1920). 85-93. Text corrections for poem as edited by E. P. Hammond. Anglia 34 (1911). 235-265.

## Fifteenth Century Verse:

*A Fifteenth Century Courtesy Book*, ed. from the ms. by R. W. Chambers . . . and *Two Fifteenth Century Franciscan Rules*, ed. from the ms. by W. W. Seton. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1914. EETS o.s. 148. Rev. Anglia Beiblatt 31 (1920). 146.

Furnivall (F. J.), *A Fifteenth Century Gallant.* Acad. 50 (1896). 146. Text of poem describing such a gallant with summary as introduction.

Macray (W. D.), *Fifteenth Century Religious Verses.* NQ ser. 9, 8 (1901). 240. Text of poem found on back of deed.

## Flower and the Leaf:

*Flower and the Leaf.* Acad. 13 (1878). 9, 55. Very brief note on date.

Hales (J. W.), "The Flower and the Leaf." Athen. Mar. 1903, pp. 403-404. Identity of author.

Marsh (G. L.), *The Authorship of "The Flower and the Leaf."* JEGP 6 (1906/07). 373-394. Attempt to prove Lydgate the author.

Marsh (G. L.), *Sources and Analogues of "The Flower and the Leaf."* MP 4 (1906). 121-167, 281-327. Study of the poem with sources. Also issued, University of Chicago Press, 1906. University of Chicago thesis.

Skeat (W. W.), *The Authoress of "The Flower and the Leaf."* Athen. Mar. 1903, p. 340. Identity of author.

Skeat (W. W.), "The Flower and the Leaf." Acad. 35 (1889). 448-449.  
Discussion of date.

Skeat (W. W.), "The Flower and the Leaf." Acad. 41 (1892). 592.  
Discussion of authorship.

The Frere and the Boye. Printed at London by Wynkyn de Worde about the year 1512. Cambridge University Press, 1907. Facsimile of only known copy in University of Cambridge Library.

#### Generides:

Generydes, a Romance in Seven-line Stanzas, ed. from the unique paper ms. in Trinity College, Cambridge (about 1440) by W. A. Wright. London: Trübner, 1878. EETS o.s. 55. Romance probably with French or Latin original but original lost.

A Royal Historie of the Excellent Knight Generides. Ed. from the unique ms. of John Tollemache by F. J. Furnivall. Hertford [Eng.]: Austin, 1865. From a ms. about 1430-1450. Roxburghe Club Publication 85.

#### Gospel of Nicodemus:

Hulme (W. H.), ed. Gospel of Nicodemus. Ed. from all known mss. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1907. EETS e.s. 100.

#### Guy of Warwick:

The Romance of Guy of Warwick—The Second or 15th Century Version. Ed. by J. Zupitza. London: Trübner, 1875-76. EETS e.s. 25-26. Rev. by E. Kölbing ES 13 (1889). 136.

Crane (R. S.), The Vogue of Guy of Warwick from the Close of the Middle Ages to the Romantic Revival. PMLA 30 (1915). 125-194. Early part of discussion deals with vogue in 15th century.

Reeves (W. P.), The So-called Prose Version of Guy of Warwick. MLN 11 (1896). 404-408 (202-203). Argument against its authenticity.

Sleich (Gustav), ed. Guy of Warwick nach Copland's Druck. Leipzig: Mayer & Mülller, 1923. Pal. 139. Rev. by Geo. H. Cowling MLR 19 (1904). 223.

Weyrauch (Max), *Die Mittelenglischen Fassungen der Sage von Guy of Warwick und ihre Altfranzösische Vorlage*. Breslau: Marcus, 1901. Part of discussion founded on Zupitza 15th century version.

How the Plowman Lernerd his Pater Noster:

Köhler (Reinhold), *How the Plowman Lernerd his Pater Noster*. *Anglia* 2 (1879). 388-394. Review of poem and attempt to determine sources. Possible 15th century.

How the Wyse Man Taught hys Sone:

Fischer (Rudolf), ed. *How the Wyse Man Taught hys Sone*. Erlangen: Deichert, 1889. EBEP 2. Three fifteenth century texts are given with historical and critical introduction.

Hymn to the Virgin:

Davies (J. G.), *Welsh Phonetic Copy of the Early English Hymn to the Virgin*. *Anglia* 36 (1912). 116-126. Discussion of author, metre and pronunciation with text of poem.

Williams (O. T.), *Another Welsh Phonetic Copy of the Early English Hymn to the Virgin from a B.M. ms. no. 14866*. *Anglia* 32 (1909). 295-300. Text with discussion.

*Imitation of Christ, written in Latin and translated into English*. London: Allan, 1923. Text reprinted from Ms. 1411 Gg. i. 16. Cambridge University Library.

Jacke Upland. In Wright (Thomas), ed. *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*. Rolls series 14, pt. 2, 157-205.

Jacob's Well:

*Jacob's Well, an Englisht Treatise on the Cleansing of Man's Conscience*, ed. from the unique ms. about 1440 A. D. in Salisbury Cathedral by Arthur Brandeis. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1900. EETS o.s. 115.

Furnivall (F. J.), *Jacob's Well and its Skeat*. *Acad.* 42 (1892). 171. Discussion of treatise of 15th century on theme of Jacob's Well.

King Ponthus and the Fair Sidone:

Mather (F. J.), *King Ponthus and the Fair Sidone*. (Ms. Digby by 185 Bodleian Library) *PMLA* 12 (1897). 1-150. Text with study of the origins.

## King Richard the Second:

Wright (Thomas), ed. Alliterative Poem on the Deposition of King Richard II. London: Camden Society, 1838. Camden Society Publications 3.

Webb (John), ed. and tr. Translation of a French Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard the Second. Written by a contemporary. Arch. 20 (1824). 1-442.

## Lament of a Prisoner:

Hammond (E. P.), ed. Lament of a Prisoner Against Fortune. Anglia 32 (1909). 481-490. Text and discussion of authorship.

## Lamentation of Mary:

Allen (H. A.), A Note on the Lamentation of Mary. MP 14 (1916). 255-256. Text with parallel French.

## Lancelot of the Laik:

Lancelot of the Laik, from Cambridge University Library Ms. Ed. by Margaret Muriel Gray. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1912. STS n.s. 2.

Lancelot of the Laik: a Scottish Metrical Romance (About 1490-1500 A. D.) re-edited from a ms. in Cambridge University Library by W. W. Skeat. London: Trübner, 1865. (2nd ed. 1870) EETS o.s. 6. Text with historical introduction discussing sources, notes, glossary.

Skeat (W. W.), The Author of "Lancelot of the Laik." SHR 8 (1910). 1-4.

## Lanterne of Lizt:

Swinburn (L. M.), ed. Lanterne of Lizt. Ed. from ms. Harl. 2324. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1917. EETS o.s. 151. A Lollard tract, about 1409.

## Laud Troy Book:

The Laud Troy Book, a romance of about 1400. Ed. from Laud misc. 595 in Bodleian Library, Oxford. Introduction, notes and glossary by J. E. Wülfing. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1902. EETS o.s. 121-122.

Wülfing (J. E.), Das Bild und die Bildliche Verneigung im Laud-Troy Book. Anglia 27 (1904). 555-580.

Wülfing (J. E.), *Das Laud-Troybook*. ES 29 (1901). 374-396. Discussion of ms. sources of story with attempt to date. Continues discussion by D. Kempe in same volume.

Lay-Folks Mass Book:

Gerould (G. H.), *The Lay-Folks Mass-Book from the Ms. Gg V. 31*, Cambridge University Library. ES 33 (1904). 1-27. Gives text with partial collation with four other mss.

Bülbring (K. D.), *Das Lay-Folks' Mass-Book in der Hs. der Advocates Library in Edinburgh*. ES 35 (1905). 28-33. Gives text with very brief discussion of date.

*The Libel of English Policie*. 2nd ed. rev. and annotated by Allen R. Benham. Seattle: University of Washington Bookstore, 1926.

*Libel of English Policie*. In Wright (Thomas), ed. *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*. Rolls series 14, pt. 2, 157-205.

*Libel of English Policie*. In Hakluyt (Richard), *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*. New York: Macmillan, 1903-1905, 12 vols. V. 2, pp. 114-147.

*Libelle of Englysche Polycye 1436*. Ed. by Sir George Warner. Oxford University Press, 1926.

Lovers Mass:

Hammond (E. P.), *The "Lovers Mass" in England and in Spain*. MP 14 (1916). 253-254. (Aug. 1916). Traces source to Spain.

Hammond (E. P.), *The Lover's Mass*. JEGP 7 (1907/08). 95-104. This is sometimes ascribed to Lydgate. Attempt to prove that it cannot be his. Text with discussion.

Lybeaus Disconus:

Kölbing (Eugen), *Zur Überlieferung und Quelle des Mittelenglischen Gedichtes: Lybeaus Disconus*. ES 1 (1877). 121-168. Collation of a 15th century ms. with another (probably earlier) and references to French original. See also ES 18 (1893). 165-190.

## Maria Magdalena:

Zupitza (Julius), *Das Leben der Heiligen Maria Magdalena*. ASNS 91 (1893). 207-224. Text with brief historical introduction.

## Mary and Christ:

Holthausen (Ferd.), *Ein Mittelenglischer Hymnus auf Maria und Christus*. Pal. 148 (1925). 70-74. Text and notes.

Holthausen (Ferd.), *Ein Mittelenglischer Hymnus auf Maria und Christus und seine Kymrische Umschrift*. ASNS 140 (1920). 33-42. Text (2 versions) with historical introduction and notes.

Merlin; or, *The Early History of King Arthur: a Prose Romance* (about 1450-1460) Ed. by W. E. Mead. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1899, 4 vols. EETS o.s. 10, 21, 36, 112.

*The Miroure of Mans Salvacionne*. A Fifteenth Century Translation into English of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. London: Privately printed, 1888. Roxburghe Club Publication 118.

Brix (Otto), *Über die Mittelenglische Übersetzung des Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1900. Pal. 7. For text under discussion see Roxburghe Club Publication 118.

*Mirroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesus Christ*. Tr. by Nicholas Love. A translation of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*. Ed. by Lawrence F. Powell. London: Frowde, 1908.

*The Myroure of Oure Ladye Containing a Devotional Treatise on Divine Service with a Translation of the Offices Used by the Sisters of the Brigiltine Monastery of Sion at Isleworth during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Ed. from the original text of 1530 with introduction and notes by J. H. Blunt. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1873. EETS e.s. 19. Sometimes ascribed to Thos. Gascoigne.

*Morte Arthure; or, The Death of Arthur*, ed. from Robert Thornton's Ms. by Edmund Brock. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1865. EETS o.s. 8.

*Nut-Brown Maid*. (In *Arnold's Chronicle*. London: Rivington, 1811, pp. 198-203). Text from reprint of first ed. of *Arnold's Chronicle*.

- The Nutt-Browne Mayd. In Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript ed. by J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall. London: Trübner, 1868. V. 3, pp. 174-186.
- The Not-Browne Mayde. In Hazlitt (W. C.), *Early Popular Poetry of England*. London: Smith, 1866, 4 vols. 2 271-294.
- Nut-Brown Maid. In Cunliffe, Pyre and Young. *Century Readings for a Course in English Literature*. New York: Century Co., 1918, pp. 34-37.
- Nut-Brown Maid. In Manly (J. M.), comp. *English Prose and Poetry*. Boston: Ginn, 1926, pp. 88-92.
- Nut-Brown Maid. In Skeat (W. W.), *Specimens of English Literature*. 6th ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892, pp. 96-107.
- Purves (J.), The Nut-Brown Maid. *Acad.* 4 (1873). 124-125, 164. Note on p. 164 by Furnivall.
- Octavian, zwei Mittelenglische Bearbeitungen. Heilbronn: Henninger, 1885. [Hersg. von Gregor Sarrazin] Rev. by Karl Breul *ES* 9 (1886). 456-466. Three versions given, one attributed to Thomas Chestre.
- Eule (Robert), Untersuchungen über die Nord-englische Version des Octavian. Berlin. Diss. 1889. Burg: Hopfer, 1889. Also, Berlin: Siebert, 1889?
- Orologium Sapientiae; or, The Seven Points of Trewe Wisdom (aus ms. Douce 114) ed. by Carl Horstmann. *Anglia* 10 (1888). 323-389. Text with very brief introduction.
- Partonope de Blois. *The Middle English Versions of Partonope of Blois* ed. from the manuscripts by A. Trampe Bödtker. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1912. EETS e.s. 109. Text with very brief introduction.
- A Fragment of Partonope of Blois from a Ms. at Vale Royal. London: Nichols, 1873. Roxburghe Club Publication 98. From a ms. of about 1450.
- Wülker (R.), Zu Partonope of Blois. *Anglia* 12 (1899). 607-620. Fragments from various texts of story. Text only. All from 15th century mss.

Pearce of Provence and the Fair Maguelone ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall. In Furnivall (F. J.), *Political, Religious and Love Poems*. EETS o.s. 15 293-300.

\*Peter Idle:

Miessner (F.), Peter Idle: Instructions to his Son. Greifswalder diss. 1903. Rev. *JsbGP* 26 (1904). pt. 2, 47.

Prouerbis of Wysdom:

Zupitza (Julius), The Prouerbis of Wysdom. *ASNS* 90 (1893). 241-268. Text with discussion of ms. source and extensive notes.

Quixley:

MacCracken (H. N.), ed. *Quixley's Ballades Royal (1402?)* (*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 20 35-50) Rev. by F. Brie *ASNS* 121 (1908). 221. A northern translation by Quixley of some of Gower's work. Characteristics of early 15th century.

\*Ragman Roll:

Freudenberger (A.), *Ragman Roll, ein Spätmittelenglisches Gedicht*. Diss. Erlangen 1909. *Ann. JsbGP* 31 (1909). pt. 2, 63.

Rauf Coilyear. Ed. by F. J. Amours. (In *Scottish Alliterative Poems*. *STS* 21 (1897). 82-114).

The *Taill of Rauf Coilyear* (About 1475 A. D.) from the unique copy of Lekpreuik's ed. of 1572. Ed. from originals by S. J. H. Herrtage. London: Trübner, 1882. EETS e.s. 39.

Browne (W. H.), ed. *Rauf Coilyear, The Taill of a Scottish Metrical Romance of the Fifteenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1903. Rev. by F. Mebus *ES* 37 (1906). 256-265.

Tonndorf (M.), *The Taill of Rauf Coilyear, ein ME Gedicht; Litterarische, Sprachliche, und Metrische Untersuchung*. Berlin: Vogt, 1894.

Richard the Lionhearted:

Brunner (Karl), *Der Mittelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz; kritische ausgabe nach allen handschriften*. Wien: Braumüller, 1913. *WBEP* 42 (1913). Discusses one 15th century manuscript of this work.



## Rondel:

Schleich (Gustav), Ein Mittelenglisches Rondel. ASNS 96 (1896). 191-194.  
Account of song to welcome Henry VI on his return from France.

## Saint Cuthbert:

Life of St. Cuthbert in English Verse, ca. 1450. From the original ms. in the library at Castle Howard. Durham: Andrews, 1891. Surtees Society Publications 87. Unique ms. Rev. by E. Kölbing ES 19 (1894). 121-124.

Lessmann (H.), Studien zu dem Mittelenglischen Life of St. Cuthbert. ES 23 (1897). 345-365; 24 (1898). 176-195. Largely comment and criticism on the Life of St. Cuthbert as published by Surtees Society.

## Saint Elizabeth of Spalbeck:

Gerould (G. H.), The Source of Middle-English Prose "St. Elizabeth of Spalbeck." *Anglia* 39 (1915/16), 356-358. Discussion of text and source. For text itself see Horstmann (C.), *Prosalegenden*. *Anglia* 8 (1885). 107-118.

## Saint Juliana:

Schleich (Gustav), Die Gloucestershire-legende der Heiligen Juliana. ASNS 151 (1926). 19-51. Complete discussion of ms. sources. Text criticism and readings.

## Saint Patrick's Purgatory:

Smith (L. T.), St. Patrick's Purgatory and the Knight, Sir Owen (From a ms. of the 15th century) ES 9 (1886). 1-12. Text of 15th century version with notes. For 14th century versions and sources see ES 1 (1877). 57-120.

## Siege of Troye:

Brie (Friedrich), ed. Zwei Mittelenglische Prosa-Romane: The Siege of Thebes und The Siege of Troy (1422 bis 1450) ASNS 130 (1913). 40-52, 269-285. Texts with brief historical introduction.

Griffin (N. E.), The Siege of Troy. PMLA 22 (1907). 157-200. Discussion of text of poem followed by text itself.

Kempe (Dorothy), A Middle-English Tale of Troy. ES 29 (1901). 1-26. Discussion of the origins of poem, its relation to others on the same subject. Relation to Lydgate.

Wager (C. H. A.), ed. *The Seege of Troye*. Ed. from Harl. ms. 525. New York: Macmillan, 1899. Rev. by G. L. Hamilton. *MLN* 15 (1900). 94-95.

*Siege of Rouen*, written in the reign of Henry the Fifth. Ed. by J. J. Conybeare. *Arch.* 21 (1827). 43-78. Text with brief summary.

Sir Cleges:

Treichel (A.), ed. *Sir Cleges*. *ES* 22 (1896). 345-389. Parallel texts of the two 15th century mss. of poem with historical and critical discussion.

Sir Degrevant:

Luick (Karl), ed. *Sir Degrevant*. Wien: Braumüller, 1917. *WBEP* 47 (1917). From "Thornton" Ms. (15th century version.)

Schleich (Gustav), *Sir Degrevant*. *ES* 12 (1889). 140-142. Note on reading and metre of Thornton Ms.

*Sir Gowther*. Eine Englische Romanze aus dem XV Jahrh. Ed. by Karl Breul. Oppeln: Franck, 1886. Rev. by Max Kaluza *ES* 12 (1889). 78-83.

Sir Perceval:

Pace (R. B.), *Sir Perceval and the Boyish Exploits of Finn*. *PMLA* 32 (1917). 598-604. Argument that date is earlier than 15th century, the commonly accepted date.

Sir Tryamoure:

*The Romance of Syr Tryamoure*. Ed. by J. O. Halliwell. London: Percy Society, 1846. Percy Society Publication 16. From ms. of reign of Henry VI. Text only.

Sowdone of Babylone:

*The Romaunce of the Sowdone of Babylone and of Ferumbras his Sone who Conquered Rome*. Re-edited from the unique ms. of T. Phillipps with introduction, notes and glossary by Emil Hausknecht. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1881. *EETS* e.s. 38. Rev. by G. Schleich *Anglia Anzeiger* 5 (1882). 69-73.

## Speculum Vitae:

Allen (H. E.), *The Speculum Vitae: addendum*. PMLA 32 (1917). 133-162. Discussion of date, origin, and authorship. Early 15th century ms.

Squyr of Lowe Degree, a Middle-English Metrical Romance, ed. in all extant forms by W. E. Mead. Boston: Ginn, 1904. Text with long historical and critical introduction and notes. Rev. by M. Weyrauch ES 37 (1907). 408-413.

Jefferson (B. L.), A Note on "The Squyr of Lowe Degree." MLN 28 (1913). 102-103. Discussion of originality of theme.

\*Funk (P.), *Studien zur ME Romanze The Squyr of Lowe Degree*. Breslau diss. 1900. Ann. JsbGP 22 (1900). 253.

## Surdyt:

Brie (Friedrich), *Surdyt*. ASNS 118 (1907). 325-328. Text with brief discussion.

Brie (Friedrich), *Zu Surdyt*. ASNS 121 (1908). 129-130. A note on two fragments.

## Ten Commandments:

Royster (J. F.), ed. *A Middle-English Treatise on the Ten Commandments*. NCSP 6, 8 (1910/11). V. 6, Text with notes, 1910. V. 8, Introduction with historical and critical discussion, 1911.

Zupitza (Julius), *Zwei Umschreibungen der Zehn Gebote in Mittelenglischen Verse*. ASNS 85 (1890). 44-48. Two versions, one 15th century, one early 16th century; notes for each.

## Theophilus:

Dasent (G. W.), ed. *Theophilus in Icelandic, Low German and Other Tongues, from mss. in the Royal Library, Stockholm*. London: Pickering, 1845. Texts with historical introduction.

Heuser (Wilhelm), *Eine Neue Mittelenglische Version der Theophilussage*. ES 32 (1903). 1-23. Gives text with discussion of source. Fifteenth century version of an old legend.

Holthausen (Ferd.), *Zu Mittelenglischen Romanzen*. *Anglia* 43 (1919). 313-318. Text notes and corrections for Theophilus legends. Text ed. by Heuser. *ES* 32 (1903). 1-23. This version from 15th century ms. but story much earlier.

*The Thre Prestis of Peblis, how Thai Told Thar Talis*. Ed. from the Asloan and Charteris texts by T. D. Robb. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1920. STS n.s. 8. Introduction discusses date, author, background. Text with facsimiles.

*Torrent of Portyngale*, ed. by E. Adam. London: Trübner, 1887. *EETS* e.s. 51. Romance of usual type. Only ms. known is 15th century through origin of story comes earlier.

Towton, Battle of:

Gordon (M. G.), ed. *Verses on the Battle of Towton, 29 March 1461*. *Arch.* 29 (1872). 343-347.

Trentalle Sancti Gregorii:

Bülbring (K. D.), *Das "Trentalle Sancti Gregorii" in der Edinburger Handschrift*. *Anglia* 13 (1891). 301-308. Text with brief introduction.

Jordan (Richard), *Das "Trentalle Gregorii" in der Handschrift Harley 3810*. *ES* 40 (1909). 351-371. Text extracts with discussion of relationship of this ms. (15th century version) to other earlier versions.

Kaufmann (Albert), ed. *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii*. Erlangen: Deichert, 1889. *EBEP* 3 (1889). Two texts—Most of versions 15th century. Historical and critical discussion, notes.

Virelai:

MacCracken (H. N.), *The Earl of Warwick's Virelai*. *PMLA* 22 (1907). 597-607. Text, historical introduction and notes.

## VII.

### APPENDIX

#### SOME REFERENCES ON THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW CENTURY

- Adriance (G. N.), *The Social and Political Satires of William Dunbar*. Seattle, 1925. Thesis (M.A.) University of Washington Library.
- Arber (Edward), ed. *The Dunbar Anthology 1401-1508 A. D.* London: Frowde, 1901.
- Baildon (H. B.), *On the Rimes in the Authentic poems of William Dunbar*. Edinburgh: Neill, 1899. Inaug. Diss. Freiburg.
- Barclay (Alexander), tr. *Certain Egloges, gathered out of a Booke named in Latin Miseriae Curialium comp. by Eneas Silvius*. Spenser Society, 1885. Spenser Society Publications 39. Text only.
- Barclay (Alexander), *The Cytezen and Uplondyshman, an Eclogue . . .* Printed from the original ed. of Wynken de Worde. Introduction by F. W. Fairholt. London: Percy Society, 1847. Percy Society Publications 22.
- Barclay (Alexander), tr. *The Mirroure of Good Manners . . .* Reprinted from the ed. of 1570. Spenser Society, 1885. Spenser Society Publications 38. Text only.
- Berdan (J. M.), *The Dating of Skelton's Satires*. PMLA 29 (1914). 499-516. Attempt to date poems from allusions.
- Berdan (J. M.), *Early Tudor Poetry*. New York: Macmillan, 1920. Hawes, Skelton, Barclay, etc. Sources, significance. Valuable discussion. Bibliographical notes.
- Berdan (J. M.), *The Poetry of Skelton: a Renaissance Survival of Medieval Latin Influence*. RR 6 (1915). 364-377.
- Berdan (J. M.), *Speke, Parrot; An Interpretation of Skelton's Satire*. MLN 30 (1915). 140-144. Relates allusions of poem to the political history of time.

- Bradley (Henry), Two Puzzles in Skelton. Acad. 50 (1896). 83. Working out of two cyphers in Skelton's poems. *Garlande of Laurell and Ware the Hauke*.
- Brandl (Alois), Berichtigun gzu "A Treatice of London." ASNS 102 (1899). 471. Zupitza ascribes poem to Dunbar.
- Brie (Friedrich), Skelton-studien. ES 37 (1907). 1-86. Life, complete discussion and chronology of his works.
- Brie (Friedrich), Zwei Verlorene Dichtungen von John Skelton. ASNS 138 (1919). 226-228. Discussion only.
- Bruce (John), ed. Inedited Documents Relating to the Imprisonment and Condemnation of Sir Thomas More. Arch. 27 (1837/38). 361-374.
- Bruce (John), Observations on the Circumstances which Occasioned the Death of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. Arch. 25 (1833). 61-99.
- Burkart (E. A.), Stephen Hawes' *The Pastime of Pleasure*. London, 1899. Diss. Univ. of Zürich. London: Wohlleben, 1899. Discussion of poem.
- Cambridge History of English Literature. New York: Putnam's, 1909. V. 3, chapter 3, pp. 63-92 Barclay and Skelton.
- Chalmers (Alexander), comp. *The works of the English poets from Chaucer to Cowper*. London: Johnson, 1810, 21 vols. Skelton 2 226-322. Biography and texts of poems (no notes).
- Dalheimer (Viktor), *Die Sprache Alexander Barclay's in "The Shyp Folyes of the Worlde" (1509)*. Zürich, 1899. Inaug. Diss.—Zürich.
- Douglas (Gavin), *A Description of May from G. Douglas*. By Francis Fawkes. London: Davis, 1752. Reprint, Edinburgh: Aungervyle Society, 1885. Scotch text (1710) and modernized version of 1752 given on opposite pages.
- Douglas (Gavin), *The Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas*. Edinburgh: Paterson, 4 vols.

- Douglas (Gavin), Works. Ed. by J. Small. Edinburgh: Southern, 1874.
- Dunbar (William), *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. by John Small. Introduction by A. J. G. Mackay. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1893, 3 vols. STS 2-4.
- Dunbar (William), *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. by J. Schipper. Vienna: K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1891. Rev. by F. B. Gummere MLN 7 (1892). 123.
- Dunbar (William), *The Poetical Works of William Dunbar with a Memoir and Notes*. Ed. by D. Laing. Edinburgh: Laing & Forbes, 1834. Supplement, Edinburgh: Paterson, 1865.
- Dunbar (William), Works ed. by J. Schipper. Wien: Tempsky, 1891-94, 5 parts. Edited with various readings. Denkschrift der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien. Rev. by E. Kölbing ES 10 (1887). 128-133.
- Ellis (Henry), ed. *Pylgrimage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land*. Camden Society.
- Fitzherbert (Master), *The Book of Husbandry*. Reprinted from the ed. of 1534. Ed. by W. W. Skeat. London: Dialect Society, 1882.
- Fisher (John), *The English Works of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (1459-1535)* Collected by J. E. B. Mayor. London: Trübner, 1876. EETS e.s. 27.
- Flügel (Ewald), *Neu Englisches Lesebuch*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1895. Anthology. Contains Caxton's prefaces, Skelton, and Barclay.
- The Freiris of Berwik. PMLA 23 (1908). 360-369. (In Hart, (W. M.), *The Fabliau in Popular Literature*) Brief discussion of technique of poem (Ascribed to Dunbar).
- Gray (G. J.), *Letters of Bishop Fisher, 1521-23*. The Library 3rd ser. 4 (1913). 133-145.
- Gray (G. J.), *Fisher's Sermon against Luther*. The Library 3rd ser. 2 (1911). 314-318; 3 55-63. Bibliographic notes on a copy of this sermon.
- Gringore (Pierre), *The Castell of Labour*, tr. from the French . . . by Alexander Barclay. Reprinted in facsimile from Wynkyn de Worde's ed.

- of 1506 with the French text of 1501. Introduction by Alfred W. Pollard. Edinburgh: Privately printed, 1905. Roxburghe Club Publication 143.
- Hamilton (G. L.), Concerning Fitzherbert's Book of Husbandry. MP 6 (1909). 440 (April, 1909). An answer to Hulme's article in same volume.
- The Harmony of Birds: a poem from the only known copy printed by John Wight in the middle of the sixteenth century. London: Percy Society, 1843. Percy Society Publication 7. Sometimes attributed to Skelton.
- Hawes (Stephen), The Conversyon of Swerers: a Joyfull Medytacyon to all Englonde of the Coronacyon of Kynge Henry the Eyght. Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1865. Ed. by David Laing (2 poems).
- Hawes (Stephen), The Pastime of Pleasure. Reprinted from the edition of 1555. London: Percy Society, 1845. Percy Society Publications 18. Poem with brief introduction.
- Hazlitt (W. C.), Handbook to the Popular Poetical and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain. London: Smith, 1867. Bibliography of Skelton, pp. 560-562.
- Hooper (E. S.), Skelton's "Magnyfycence" and Cardinal Wolsey. MLN 16 (1901). 213-215. Argument that Cardinal Wolsey and not Henry VIII is meant.
- Hulme (W. H.), A Probable Source for Some of the Lore of Fitzherbert's Book of Husbandry. MP 6 (July 1908). 129-132. Extracts from Cotton Galba E ix, 15th century ms.
- Kölbing (Arthur), Zur Charakteristik John Skelton's. Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder, 1904. Rev. F. Brie ES 35 (1905). 294-296.
- MacCracken (H. N.), New Stanzas by Dunbar. MLN 24 (1909). 110-111. Text and brief discussion.
- The Maitland Folio Manuscript containing poems by Sir Richard Maitland, Dunbar, Douglas, Henryson and others. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1919-1927, 2 vols. Ed. by W. A. Craigie STS n.s. 7, 20. V. 1, text only; v. 2, discussion and notes.



- Mebus (F.), Beiträge zu William Dunbar's Gedicht, *The Goldin Terge*. ES 39 (1908). 40-69. Text notes.
- Meldrum (H. S.), "The Pastime of Pleasure" by Stephen Hawes; a probable source of Spenser's "Faerie Queene." Seattle, 1922. Thesis (M.A.) University of Washington Library.
- Morley (Henry), *English Writers*. London: Cassell, 1887-95. 7 336-342. Bibliography of Dunbar, Douglas, Skelton.
- Mustard (W. P.), Notes on the Egloges of Alexander Barclay. MLN 24 (1909). 8-10. Notes on sources and text.
- Natter (Hans), *Untersuchung der Quellen von Stephen Hawes' Allegorischen Gedichte "Pastime of Pleasure."* Passau: Waldbauer, 1911. Rev. by O. Glöde ES 47 (1913). 86-87. (Gives brief summary of argument).
- Neumann (G.), *A Treatise of London*. ASNS 101 (1898). 143-145. Text of poem with discussion of ms. source and probable date. Dated from Henry V to early sixteenth century by various persons.
- Polydore Vergil's *English History in an Early Translation*, ed. Henry Ellis, 2 vols. Camden Society.
- Rey (Albert), *Skelton's Satirical Poems in their Relation to Lydgate's Order of Fools, Cock Lorell's Bote and Barclay's Ship of Fools*. (Bern. diss. 1899). Bern: Wyss, 1899.
- Ritter (Otto), *Wortkundliches zu Gavin Douglas*. ASNS 129 (1912). 220-224. Discussion of his use of various words.
- Schipper (Jakob), *William Dunbar, Sein Leben und Seine Gedichte*. Berlin: Oppenheim, 1884.
- \*Schipper (J.), ed. *The Poems of Wm. Dunbar*, ed. with introductions, various readings and notes. Vienna (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften) 1894. (Marred by misprints according to Cambridge History of English Literature.)
- Schipper (J.), *Zu Dunbar*. ASNS 91 (1893). 241. Note on "In Honour of the City of London."

- Schöneberg (Georg), *Die Sprache John Skelton's in Seinen Kleineren Werken.* (Marburg Diss. 1888.) Marburg: Schirling, 1888.
- Se Boyar (G. E.), *Skelton's Replycacion.* *MLN* 28 (1913). 244-245. Discussion of meaning and motive behind Skelton's allusions in poem.
- Skelton (John), *The Earliest Known Printed English Ballad . . .* Reproduced in facsimile with a historical and bibliographical introduction by John Ashton. London: Stock, 1882.
- Skelton (John), *Elynour Rummin; the Famous Ale-wife of England.* (In *Harleian Miscellanies.* London: Dutton, 1809. 3 476-485.)
- Skelton (John), *Magnyfycence—a Moral Play*, ed. by Robert Lee Ramsay. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1906. *EETS* e.s. 98. Text with complete discussion in long introduction.
- Skelton (John), *Magnificence . . .* London?, 1910. *Tudor Facsimile Texts.*
- Skelton (John), *Magnyfycence, an Interlude.* London: Woodfall, 1821. Facsimile.
- Skelton (John), *Magnyfycence, a Goodly Interlude and a Mery Denysed.* Amersham, Eng.: Farmer, 1914. *Old English Drama—Students Facsimile Edition.*
- Skelton (John), *Pithy Pleasaunt and Profitable Workes of Maister Skelton.* London: Davis, 1736.
- Skelton (John), *The Poetical Works of Skelton and Donne with a Memoir of Each.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1855, Riverside ed. 4 vols. in 2. *Bibliography of Skelton with text* v. 1-2. *Notes* v. 3 or first half v. 2.
- Skelton (John), *Poetical Works . . .* principally according to the ed. of Alexander Dyce. Boston: Little, Brown, 1856, 3 vols. *British Poets* ed. by Child.
- Skelton (John), *Poetical Works with Notes and some Account of the Author and his Writings* by Alexander Dyce. London: Rodd, 1843, 2 vols.

- Skelton (John), *Poems*. London: Heinemann, 1924.
- Skelton (John), *The Poems of John Skelton*. (In Chalmers (Alexander), ed. *The Works of the English Poets*. 1810. 21 vols. 2 225-310.)
- Skelton (John), *Select Poems with a Life of the Author* by Ezekiel Sanford. (In *Works of the British Poets*. Philadelphia, 1819-23. 1 257-282.)
- Skelton (John), *Skelton; A Selection from the Poetical Works of John Skelton, with introduction, notes and glossary* by W. H. Williams. London: Isbister, 1902.
- Smeaton (Oliphant), *William Dunbar*. Edinburgh: Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Famous Scots Series. Biography and general estimate.
- Steinberger (Cecile), *Étude sur William Dunbar*. Dublin: Imprimerie de l'université, 1908. Thèse—University of Paris. Historical introduction, biography, critical discussion of works with extracts for illustration. Dunbar's style. "Bibliographie de Dunbar."
- Teichert (P.), *Schottische Zustände unter Jakob IV nach dem Dichtungen von William Dunbar*. *Wiss. beilage des Gymnasium Augustum zum Görlitz*. Ostern, 1903. Rev. by O. Glöde ES 36 (1906). 267-268.
- Watt (L. M.), *Douglas's Aeneid*. Cambridge University Press, 1920. Discussion of Douglas as man and poet. Complete review of his translation of Aeneid. Bibliography of mss.
- Wright (Thomas), *Essays . . . on Literature . . . and History of England in the Middle Ages*. London: Smith, 1846, 2 vols. V. 1, essay 20, pp. 291-306 discusses Dunbar.]
- Zander (Friedrich), *Stephen Hawes' "Passetyme of Pleasure" Verglichen mit Edmund Spenser's "Faerie Queene."* Rostock: Hinstorff, 1905. Inaug. Diss. Rostock. Discussion of two—Comparison of allegory.
- Zupitza (Julius), *Handschriften Bruckstücke von John Skelton's "Why Come Ye not to Court?"* ASNS 85 (1890). 429-436.
- Zupitza (Julius), *Zu Dunbar*. ASNS 90 (1893). 151. Discussion of date of "Treatice of London."

## AUTHOR INDEX

References in this index are to pages of this volume, numbered at the bottom.

- Abbaye of the Holy Ghost 132.  
 Abbott (T. K.) 9.  
 Abraham and Isaac 89.  
 Abram (Annie) 32.  
 Adam (E.) 146.  
 Adam of Cobsam 99.  
 Adam of Usk 12.  
 Adams (J. Q.) 83.  
 Adriance (G. N.) 147.  
 Aesop 116, 126.  
 Albert (Franz) 119.  
 Alexius legenden 81.  
 Allen (H. A.) 138.  
 Allen (H. E.) 145.  
 Allen (P. S.) 53.  
 Allison (T. E.) 93.  
 Almack (Richard) 32.  
 Alphabetum Narrationum 100.  
 Amherst (Alicia M. T.) 109.  
 Amoryus and Cleopes 128.  
 Amours (F. J.) 68, 113, 142.  
 Amyot (Thomas) 12, 32.  
 Anchorites in Faversham churchyard 53.  
 Anderson (J. M.) 53.  
 Anderson (R. C.) 12.  
 Andreas (Bernard) 12.  
 Andrew of Wyntoun 12.  
 Anstey (Henry) 53.  
 Arber (Edward) 68, 106, 147.  
 Archbold (W. A. J.) 12.  
 Arnold (G. M.) 32.  
 Arnold (Richard) 32.  
 Arnold (T.) 60, 132, 133.  
 Arthur (Harold) 32.  
 Arthur 132.  
 Ashby (George) 99.  
 Assembly of Gods 117.  
 Asloan (John) 99.  
 Atthill (William) 53.  
 Aubert (David) 99.  
 Aurner (N. S.) 53, 103.  
 Aurner (R. R.) 63, 103.  
 Aust (Julius) 75.  
 Austin (Thomas) 32.  
 Aveling (S. T.) 32.  
 Awdelay (John) 99.  
 Axon (W. E. A.) 53.  
 Babcock (C. F.) 63, 119.  
 Babees' book 32.  
 Babington (Churchill) 129.  
 Bacon (Francis) 12.  
 Baeske (Wilhelm) 75.  
 Bahlmann (Paul) 83.  
 Baildon (H. B.) 147.  
 Baildon (W. P.) 33.  
 Baldwin (C. S.) 63, 75, 126.  
 Baldwin (F. E.) 33.  
 Baldwin (J. F.) 33.  
 Bale (John) 12, 13.  
 Bale (Robert) 42.  
 Balfour-Melville (E. W. M.) 13, 53.  
 Ballet of the Nine Nobles 132.  
 Baillie-Grohman (W. A.) 108.  
 Bang (W.) 83, 93, 95.  
 Banks (Mary McLeod) 100.  
 Barclay (Alexander) 147.  
 Barnard (F. P.) 33.  
 Barnett (Annie) 68.  
 Barrington (Daines) 33.  
 Baskerville (C. R.) 33, 83.  
 Baskerville (G.) 13.  
 Bates (K. L.) 83.  
 Battle of Agincourt 13, 132.  
 Bateson (Mary) 33, 54.  
 Baugh (A. C.) 9, 83.  
 Baumann (Ida) 63.  
 Bayley (John) 13.  
 Beasom (J. P.) 54.  
 Becker (E. J.) 76.  
 Beckington (Thomas) 13.  
 Benham (A. R.) 13, 33, 139.  
 Bennett (H. S.) 33.  
 Berdan (J. M.) 76, 147.  
 Bergen (H.) 117, 120.  
 Berners (Juliana) 100.  
 Bertram (A.) 63, 131.  
 Besancon (Etienne de) 100.  
 Betson (Thomas) 100.  
 Beutner (H.) 120.  
 Bibliographical Society of America 9.  
 Billings (A. H.) 76.  
 Birch (J. C.) 103.  
 Blackie (E. M.) 130.  
 Blades (William) 9, 100, 103, 130.  
 Blades (R. H.) 103.  
 Blakiston (H. E. D.) 68.  
 Blanchardyn and Eglantine 102.  
 Bland (A. E.) 34.  
 Block (K. S.) 90.  
 Blunt (J. H.) 140.  
 Board (Andrew) 131.  
 Boccaccio (Giovanni) 100, 120.  
 Bock (Franz) 112.  
 Böttker (A. T.) 141.  
 Boisonade (P.) 34.  
 Bokenham (Osbern) 101.  
 Boke of Kervynge 39.  
 Boke of Noblesse 132.  
 Boke of nurture 39, 49.  
 Bolle (William) 68.  
 Bonnell (J. K.) 83.  
 Book of Curtesye 34, 102.  
 Book of quinte essence 34.  
 Book of the ordre of chivalry 34, 104.  
 Borgström (Edv.) 116.  
 Borsa (Mario) 54.  
 Bradley (A. G.) 13.  
 Bradley (Henry) 148.  
 Bradshaw (Henry) 101.  
 Brampton (Thomas) 101.  
 Brandeis (Arthur) 137.  
 Brandl (Alois) 83, 96, 133, 148.  
 Brereton (Humphrey) 101.  
 Breul (Karl) 104, 141, 144.  
 Brie (Friedrich) 54, 143, 145, 148.  
 Bristol (Eng.) 34.

- British Museum 34.  
 Brix (Otto) 140.  
 Brock (Edmund) 140.  
 Brome Plays 82.  
 Bronson (W. C.) 68.  
 Brotanek (Rudolf) 83, 89, 95.  
 Brown (A. C. L.) 126.  
 Brown (A. R.) 126.  
 Brown (Carleton) 9, 83, 96, 116, 120.  
 Brown (J. T. T.) 110, 114.  
 Browne (W. H.) 142.  
 Bruce (John) 13, 34, 148.  
 Bruce (J. D.) 126, 127.  
 Brugger (E.) 63.  
 Brunner (Karl) 68, 142.  
 Brussendorf (Aage) 76.  
 Brut 14.  
 Buchtenkirch (E.) 63.  
 Buke of Howlate 113.  
 Bülbiring (K. D.) 69, 139, 146.  
 Bullrich (Geo.) 107.  
 Bunzen (Asmus) 96.  
 Burgh (Benedict) 102.  
 Burkhart (E. A.) 148.  
 Butler (Pierce) 104.  
  
 Cady (F. W.) 84, 96.  
 Caister Castle 51.  
 Calderhead (I. G.) 84.  
 Calendar of letters etc. 14.  
 Caley (John) 34.  
 Cambridge History of Eng. Lit. 9, 76, 148.  
 Campbell (E. M.) 84.  
 Campbell (G. H.) 135.  
 Campbell (William) 14.  
 Cannon (H. L.) 9.  
 Canterbury, Eng. Christ Church Priory 54.  
 Canterbury, Eng. Prerogative Court 35.  
 Capes (W. W.) 54.  
 Capgrave (John) 14, 102.  
 Cartae Versificatae 132.  
 Castle of Perseverance 93.  
 Catholicon Anglicum 54.  
 Cato 102, 108, 132.  
 Caulfield (James) 14.  
 Cave-Browne (J.) 35.  
 Caxton (William) 102, 107, 130.  
 Cazamian (Louis) 76.  
 Cecily Duchess of York 35.  
 Cely Papers 44, 67.  
 Ceremonial of the Burial of King  
   Edward IV 14.  
 Chalmers (Alexander) 148.  
 Chambers (E. K.) 84, 99.  
 Chambers (R. W.) 135.  
 Chambers' Encyclopedia of Eng. Lit. 76.  
 Champion (P. H. J. B.) 14, 76.  
 Chance of Dice 133.  
 Chandler (Richard) 14.  
 Charles d'Orleans 107.  
 Charles the Grete 105.  
 Chartier (Alain) 35, 104  
 Chaucer (Geoffrey) 69.  
 Chaytor (H. J.) 76.  
 Chester plays 82, 90.  
 Chestre (Thomas) 108.  
  
 Chevy Chase 133.  
 Cheyney (E. P.) 14, 35.  
 Chichevache and Bycorne 117.  
 Child (C. G.) 84.  
 Child (F. J.) 69.  
 Child of Bristow 117.  
 Childs (F. L.) 110.  
 Christie (M. E.) 14.  
 Christmas Game 102.  
 Christmasse Song 133.  
 Chronicle of the Grey Friars 54.  
 Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire  
   15.  
 Church (Daniel) 108.  
 Churchill (G. B.) 15.  
 Churl and the Bird 117.  
 Clariodus 133.  
 Clarke (M. C.) 15.  
 Clarke (S. W.) 84.  
 Coblentz (H. E.) 97.  
 Cock in the North 133.  
 Coffman (G. R.) 84.  
 Coit (Davida) 84.  
 Colby (C. W.) 35.  
 Cole (C. G.) 15.  
 Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia 54.  
 Collection of Songs and Madrigals 69.  
 Collier (J. P.) 9, 69.  
 Colvin (Mary Noyes) 107.  
 Combe (Taylor) 15.  
 Commonplace Book 35, 133.  
 Complaint of the Black Knight 122.  
 Complete History of England 15.  
 Conybeare (J. J.) 144.  
 Cook (A. S.) 69, 76.  
 Cooper (C. H.) 35.  
 Cooper (James) 54.  
 Cooper (W. D.) 15.  
 Cords (Rose) 69.  
 Cordwainers 35.  
 Corner (G. R.) 35.  
 Coulton (G. G.) 36.  
 Courmont (Andre) 63, 120.  
 Court of Love 133, 134.  
 Courthorpe (W. J.) 77.  
 Coventry Leet Book 36.  
 Coventry Plays 90.  
 Cowper (J. M.) 36.  
 Cox (E. G.) 77.  
 Cox (J. C.) 55.  
 Craft of Lovers 134.  
 Craig (Hardin) 84, 85, 90, 128.  
 Craigie (W. A.) 132.  
 Craik (Henry) 69.  
 Cramond (William) 36.  
 Crane (R. S.) 136.  
 Crawford (Mary) 63.  
 Creighton (Louise) 15.  
 Culley (W. T.) 102.  
 Cunliffe, Pyre & Young 141.  
 Cunnington (Susan) 104.  
 Curry (W. C.) 77.  
 Curtis (F. J.) 133.  
 Cushman (L. W.) 85.  
 Cussans (J. E.) 15.  
 Cutts (E. L.) 36.

- Dale (Lucy) 69.  
 Dalheimer (Viktor) 148.  
 Dalison Documents 49.  
 Dance Macabre 120.  
 Dasent (G. W.) 145.  
 Davenport (F. G.) 36.  
 Davey (Samuel) 36.  
 Davidson (Charles) 85, 90.  
 Davies (J. G.) 137.  
 Davies (Robert) 36, 98.  
 Davies (R. T.) 36.  
 Davis (H. W. C.) 36.  
 Deanesly (Margaret) 55.  
 Death and Life 82, 134.  
 Degenhart (M.) 118, 120.  
 Deimling (H.) ed. Chester Plays 90.  
 De Jong (R. R.) 63.  
 De Regimine Principum 111.  
 Denton (William) 37.  
 D'Evelyn (Charlotte) 70.  
 De Worde, Wynken 107, 117, 118, 132, 136.  
 Dibelius (Wilhelm) 64.  
 Dickenmann (J. J.) 37.  
 Dickens (Bruce) 111.  
 Diebler (A. R.) 111, 113.  
 Dietary 117.  
 Digby Plays 91.  
 Dillon (Viscount) 32, 34.  
 Dodds (M. H.) 91.  
 Dodsley (Robert) 93, 117.  
 Dominic, Prior of Evesham 55.  
 Donaldson (David) 113.  
 Dormer (J.) 64.  
 Douce (Francis) 37, 120.  
 Douglas (Gavin) 148, 149.  
 Dowden (J.) 55.  
 Dubislav (Georg) 64.  
 Duff (E. G.) 9, 37, 55, 100, 104.  
 Dugdale (Sir William) 37, 55.  
 Dunbar (William) 147, 149, 153.  
 Duncan (L. L.) 37.  
 Dunlop (O. P.) 37.  
 Durham (F. H.) 15.  
 Duschl (J.) 120.  
 Dustoor (P. E. P.) 85.  
 Dyboski (Roman) 111.  
 Dyce (Alexander) 152.  
 Early Tudor Poetry 147.  
 Easter sepulchres 41, 85, 86.  
 Eaton (H. A.) 96.  
 Eckhardt (Eduard) 85.  
 Edinburgh Bibliographical Society 10.  
 Edward IV 13, 14, 19, 27, 132.  
 Edward, second Duke of York 37, 108.  
 Edwards (John) 37, 55.  
 Einenkel (E.) 64.  
 Elckerlyck 92.  
 Elliot (M. M.) 37.  
 Eleven Thousand Virgins 101.  
 Ellis (Henry) 15, 16, 37.  
 Emmerig (Oskar) 16, 77, 132.  
 Eneydos 102.  
 England (George) 96.  
 English chronicle 16.  
 English Miracle and Mystery Plays 85.  
 English Register of Godstow Nunnery 38.  
 English Register of Oseney Abbey 38.  
 Entelude of Youth 95.  
 Erdman (*et al*) 119.  
 Ernst (Lorenz) 104.  
 Esdaile (A. J. K.) 10.  
 Eule (Robert) 141.  
 Evangelie 135.  
 Everett (Dorothy) 77.  
 Everyman 92.  
 Eye and the Heart 135.  
 Fables 111, 117, 125.  
 Fabyan (Robert) 16.  
 Fairholt (F. W.) 147.  
 Fall of Princes 117.  
 Farmer (J. S.) 85, 95.  
 Farnham (Willard) 85.  
 Fastolfe (Sir John) 32, 40.  
 Fauconberge 27.  
 Fawkes (Francis) 148.  
 Fearenside (C. S.) 16.  
 Fehr (Bernhard) 70.  
 Fenn (Sir John) 16.  
 Fiedler (Georg) 120.  
 Fifteen O's 104.  
 Fifteenth Century Courtesy Book 38, 135.  
 Fifteenth Century Facsimiles  
 Finsterbusch (Franz) 77.  
 First Battle of St. Albans 16.  
 Firth (C. B.) 38.  
 Fischer (Erna) 70.  
 Fischer (Rudolf) 137.  
 Fisher (John) 148, 149.  
 Fitzherbert (Master) 149, 150.  
 Flasdieck (Hermann) 38, 64.  
 Flemming (J. H.) 16.  
 Fleuley (Ralph) 17, 38.  
 Fletcher (W. Y.) 155.  
 Flood (F. S.) 17.  
 Flood (W. H. G.) 77.  
 Flower and Leaf 135, 136.  
 Flügel (Ewald) 77, 104, 149.  
 Förster (Max) 70, 99, 108, 117, 120, 132  
 Fortescue (Sir John) 38, 39, 108, 109.  
 Foss (Edward) 39.  
 Foster (F. A.) 85.  
 Four Sons of Aymon 103, 105.  
 Fowler (R. C.) 39.  
 Fox (John) 56.  
 Fragment from the Pontificall of John  
 Russell 56.  
 Franciscan Rules 135.  
 Frank (Grace) 85.  
 Franks (A. W.) 17.  
 Freiris of Berwik 149.  
 Frere and the Boy 136.  
 Freudenberger (A.) 142.  
 Fricke (Richard) 70.  
 Fromm (Ch.) 64, 127.  
 Fueter (Eduard) 56.  
 Fulgens and Luces 94.  
 Fuller-Maitland (J. A.) 71.  
 Funk (P.) 145.  
 Furnivall (F. J.) 39, 71, 91, 93, 99, 111,  
 116, 128, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137,  
 141, 142.

- Gaaf (W. van der) 64, 85, 98.  
 Gage (John) 56.  
 Gairdner (James) 17, 18, 39, 56, 118, 129.  
 Galbraith (V. H.) 56.  
 Game and Play of Chesse 104.  
 Gardener (Ion) 109.  
 Garnett and Gosse 77.  
 Garrett (R. M.) 71.  
 Gascoigne (Thomas) 56.  
 Gasquet (F. A.) 56.  
 Gattinger (E.) 120.  
 Gayley (C. M.) 86.  
 Geddie (William) 10.  
 Gee (Henry) 39.  
 Generides 136.  
 George (M. D.) 39.  
 Gerould (G. H.) 139, 143.  
 Gilson (J. P.) 18, 127.  
 Giraud (F. F.) 39.  
 Glauning (D.) 121.  
 Glauning (Otto) 118.  
 Godstow Nunnery 38.  
 Golden Legend 104, 105.  
 Gollancz (I.) 111, 112.  
 Gordon (M. G.) 18, 146.  
 Governance of Kings 124.  
 Grafton (Richard) 18.  
 Graham (Rose) 56.  
 Graham (R. C.) 121.  
 Graves (R. E.) 104.  
 Grazebrook (George) 64.  
 Gray (G. J.) 149.  
 Gray (Margaret Muriel) 138.  
 Gray (Thomas) 121.  
 Great Britain. Historical Mss.  
     Commission 130.  
 Great Britain. Public Record Office 18.  
 Green (Mrs. J. R.) 39.  
 Greenstreet (James) 39.  
 Greet (W. C.) 130.  
 Greg (W. W.) 86, 91.  
 Gregory (William) 18.  
 Griffin (N. E.) 143.  
 Griffith (R. H.) 127.  
 Grimston (Edward) 17, 28, 47.  
 Gringore (Pierre) 149.  
 Gross (Charles) 10.  
 Grumbley (Walter) 56.  
 Guiseppi (M. S.) 40.  
 Gummere (F. B.) 77.  
 Gurney (Hudson) 40.  
 Gutman (Joseph) 113.  
 Guy of Warwick 136, 137.  
  
 Hadley (William) 40.  
 Hagedorn (Wilhelm) 64.  
 Hakluyt (Richard) 139.  
 Hales (J. W.) 104, 132, 135, 141.  
 Hall (Edward) 19.  
 Halliwell-Phillipps (J. O.) 19, 71, 90,  
     100, 121, 144.  
 Hamelius (P.) 97.  
 Hamilton (G. L.) 57, 150.  
 Hamilton-Grierson (P. J.) 40.  
 Hammond (E. P.) 10, 71, 78, 107, 118,  
     121, 122, 133, 135, 138, 139.  
  
 Hanford (J. H.) 134.  
 Hannay (R. K.) 40, 57.  
 Hannick (E. A.) 130.  
 Harcourt (L. W. V.) 40.  
 Harding (John) 19, 109.  
 Hardy (C. F.) 57.  
 Hardy (W. J.) 40.  
 Harmony of Birds 150.  
 Harper (C. A.) 89.  
 Harris (George) 40.  
 Harris (M. D.) 40.  
 Harrod (H. D.) 40.  
 Hartley (Dorothy) 41.  
 Hartman (Herbert) 91.  
 Hartshorne (C. H.) 71.  
 Harvey (C. C.) 41.  
 Hausknecht (Emil) 64, 108, 144.  
 Haward (W. I.) 41.  
 Hawes (Stephen) 150.  
 Hay (Sir Gilbert) 109.  
 Hayward (John) 19, 80.  
 Hazlitt (W. C.) 10, 57, 72, 122, 132, 150.  
 Heales (Alfred) 41, 86.  
 Hearnshaw (F. J. C.) 41, 109.  
 Heath (Sidney) 41.  
 Hecht (Hans) 95.  
 Hein (J.) 78.  
 Hemingway (S. B.) 86.  
 Hempl (George) 64, 127.  
 Henry IV 16, 27, 31.  
 Henry V 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 28,  
     31, 36.  
 Henry VI 14, 73.  
 Henry VII 12, 14, 17, 28, 101.  
 Henry, the Minstrel 110.  
 Henryson (Robert) 111.  
 Herbert (J. A.) 100.  
 Herrtage (S. J. H.) 54, 106, 142.  
 Herterrich (O.) 98.  
 Heuser (Wilhelm) 78, 145.  
 Heyne (Herbert) 64, 110.  
 Heywood (Jasper) 62.  
 Higgins (Alfred) 41.  
 Hill (Richard) 111.  
 Hingeston-Randolph (F. C.) 19.  
 Hingst (Richard) 65, 122.  
 Hitchcock (Elsie Vaughan) 129.  
 Hoccleve (Thomas) 111, 112.  
 Hoffman (A.) 130.  
 Hohlfeld (A. R.) 86, 89, 91.  
 Holbein (J.) 120.  
 Holinshed (Raphael) 19.  
 Holland (Sir Richard) 113.  
 Holthausen (Ferd.) 72, 86, 91, 93, 96, 98,  
     99, 116, 122, 134, 135, 140, 146.  
 Holtzknecht (K. J.) 78.  
 Holy Grail 116.  
 Hone (William) 86.  
 Hoofe (A.) 65, 101.  
 Hookham (M. A.) 19.  
 Hooper (E. S.) 150.  
 Hope (W. H.) 19, 41.  
 Hopper (Clarence) 117.  
 Horae Eboracenses 57.  
 Horse, Goose and Sheep 118.  
 Horstmann (Carl) 72, 101, 105, 122, 141.

- How the Good Wife etc. 118.  
 How the Plowman learned his Paternoster 137.  
 How the Wise Man Taught hys Sone 137.  
 Howard (J. J.) 41.  
 Howorth (H. H.) 65, 105.  
 Hudnall (R. H.) 65.  
 Hugienin (Julian) 90.  
 Hugo (Thomas) 42.  
 Huizinga (J.) 57.  
 Hulbert (J. R.) 57, 112.  
 Hulme (W. H.) 72, 78, 136, 150.  
 Hume (David) 20.  
 Humor in Malory 127.  
 Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester 10.  
 Hunter (Henry) 20.  
 Hunter (Joseph) 42.  
 Hymn to the Virgin 137.  
  
 Imitation of Christ 137.  
 Inge (W. R.) 115.  
 Ingram (J. K.) 105.  
 Instructions to His Son (Peter Idle) 142.  
 Irlande (John) 57, 114.  
  
 Jacke Upland 137.  
 Jacob's well 137.  
 Jacobus de Varagine 105.  
 Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen der germanischen Philologie 10.  
 James I (King of Scotland) 13, 114.  
 James (M. R.) 72.  
 Jamieson (John) 110.  
 Jarrett (B.) 42.  
 Jefferson (B. L.) 145.  
 Jenney (A. M.) 87.  
 Jerningham (Edward) 20.  
 Jesse (J. H.) 20.  
 John of Bury 57, 115.  
 John of Hildesheim 115.  
 John Rylands Library 57.  
 Johnston (C. E.) 42.  
 Jones (J. W.) 105.  
 Jones (W. G.) 20.  
 Jordan (Richard) 72, 146.  
 Juliana of Norwich 115.  
 Jusserand (J. J.) 20, 78, 114.  
  
 Kabel (Paul) 20.  
 Kail (J.) 72.  
 Kaluza (Max) 108.  
 Kamann (P. J. G.) 98.  
 Kaufmann (Albert) 146.  
 Keiller (M. M.) 94.  
 Kellner (L.) 65.  
 Kempe (Dorothy) 116, 143.  
 Kendall (E. K.) 20.  
 Kennedy (Arthur G.) 10, 65.  
 Kennedy (Walter) 115.  
 Kern (J. H.) 112.  
 Kerrison, Lady 133.  
 King Ponthus and the Fair Sidone 137.  
 Kingsford (C. L.) 20, 21, 42, 78.  
 Kings Quair 114.  
 Kirby (T. F.) 58.  
 Klein (David) 10.  
  
 Knight (Charles) 105.  
 Kittredge (G. L.) 108, 127, 133.  
 Klaeber (Frederick) 117.  
 Knowlton (E. C.) 78.  
 Koehler (S. R.) 58.  
 Köhler (Reinhold) 58, 137.  
 Koeppel (Emil) 122.  
 Kölbing (Arthur) 150.  
 Kölbing (Eugen) 97, 98, 139.  
 Krahl (Ernst) 78.  
 Kramer (Stella) 42, 43.  
 Krapp (G. P.) 79.  
 Krausser (E.) 122.  
 Kretzmann (P. E.) 87.  
 Kurtz (B. P.) 112.  
  
 Lady Bessy 101.  
 Laing (David) 73, 111, 149.  
 Lament of a Prisoner 138.  
 Lamentation of Mary 138.  
 Lancaster (H. C.) 105.  
 Lancelot of the Laik 138.  
 Lane-Poole (Reginald) 79.  
 Lange (J. H.) 123.  
 Langlois (E.) 79.  
 Lanterne of Litz 138.  
 Lapsley (T. G.) 43.  
 Lathrop (H. B.) 58, 79.  
 La Tour-Landry (Geoffrey de) 43, 116.  
 Laud Troy book 138.  
 Launfal 108.  
 Lawrence (W. J.) 87.  
 Lawson (Alexander) 114.  
 Lay Folks Mass Book 139.  
 Leadam (I. S.) 43.  
 Leathes (S. M.) 58.  
 Lee (G. C.) 21.  
 Lee (Sidney) 123.  
 Lee (S. L.) 105, 123.  
 Legouis (Emile) 79.  
 Lekebusch (Julius) 65.  
 L'Epitre d'Othea 134.  
 Lessman (H.) 143.  
 Leveson-Gower (Granville) 43.  
 Levi (Eugenia) 21.  
 Lewis (John) 105, 130.  
 Libel of English Policie 43, 139.  
 Lichfield (William) 116.  
 Liebermann (F.) 43, 79.  
 Liljegren (S. B.) 101.  
 Lincoln diocese 58.  
 Lincolnshire, Rebellion in 15.  
 Lindsay (Robert) 21.  
 Lindsay (R. M.) 58.  
 Lipson (E.) 101.  
 Little (A. G.) 58.  
 Littlehales (Henry) 58.  
 Littleton (Sir Thomas) 43.  
 Livingston (E. B.) 44.  
 Locke (Clinton) 58.  
 London, St. Pauls 58.  
 London Lickpenny 121.  
 Love (Nicholas) 140.  
 Lovelich (Herry) 116.  
 Lovers mass 139.



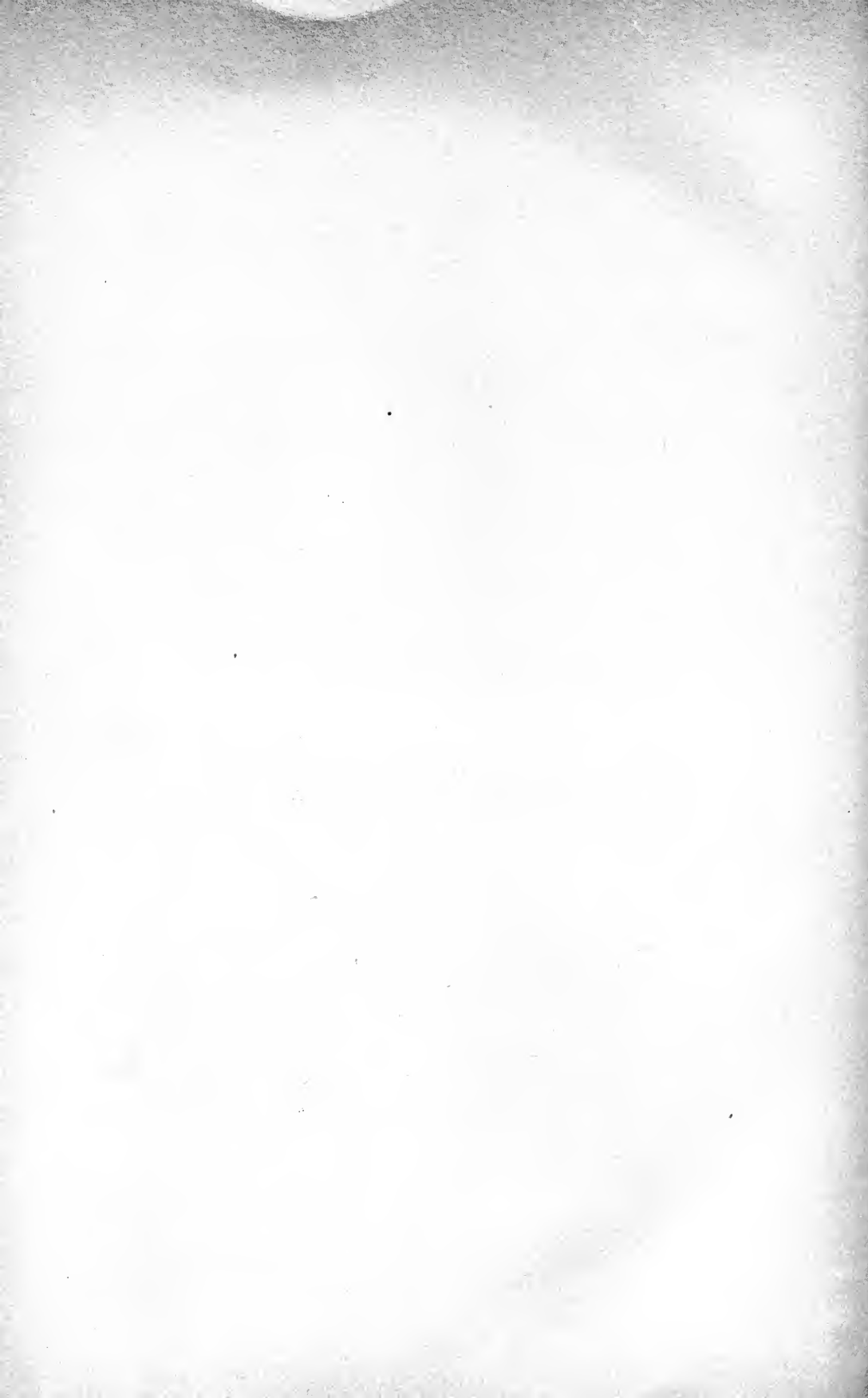
- Lowndes (W. T.) 11.  
 Luders (Alexander) 21.  
 Ludus Coventriae 90.  
 Luick (Karl) 65, 79, 98, 144.  
 Lumby (J. Rawson) 131.  
 Lybeaus Disconus 139.  
 Lydgate (John) 116-126.  
 Lyle (M. C.) 97.  
 Lysons (Samuel) 21, 22, 44.  
 Lyvys of Seyntys 101.
- McArthur (E. A.) 44.  
 Macaulay (G. C.) 72.  
 Macauley (E. R.) 95.  
 MacCracken (H. N.) 22, 73, 79, 95, 112,  
 114, 115, 118, 119, 122, 133, 134, 142,  
 146, 150.  
 Mace (F. A.) 44.  
 Mackay (Charles) 44, 73.  
 Mackenzie (W. R.) 87, 94, 95.  
 McKerrow (R. B.) 58, 95.  
 Mackintosh (A. M.) 44.  
 Macray (W. D.) 135.  
 Macro plays 93.  
 Madan (Falconer) 106.  
 Madden (Frederic) 22, 73, 129.  
 Mahir (Otto) 117.  
 Maitland (F. W.) 44.  
 Maitland folio ms. 150.  
 Malcolm (C. A.) 44.  
 Malden (H. E.) 22, 44.  
 Mallet (C. E.) 59.  
 Malone (Kemp) 79, 97.  
 Malory (Sir Thomas) 125, 128.  
 Mankind 93, 94.  
 Manly (J. M.) 73, 141.  
 Manly Anniversary Studies 93.  
 Manners and household expenses of  
 England 45.  
 Map of Norfolk and Suffolk 46.  
 Margaret, countess of Richmond 15, 26.  
 Margaret of Anjou 15, 19, 23, 81, 125.  
 Maria Magdalena 140.  
 Markham (C. R.) 22.  
 Markland (J. H.) 90.  
 Marriott (William) 87.  
 Marsh (G. L.) 135.  
 Martin (A. T.) 127.  
 Martin (C. T.) 45.  
 Martin (M. L.) 45.  
 Marwick (J. D.) 45.  
 Mary and Christ 140.  
 Master of Game 37.  
 Mather (F. J.) 137.  
 Materielen Zur Kunde des älteren  
 Englischen dramas 95.  
 Maynadier (G. H.) 127.  
 Mebus (F.) 151.  
 Medwall (Henry) 94, 95.  
 Meldrum (H. S.) 151.  
 Melville (R. D.) 45.  
 Mendenhall (J. C.) 65.  
 Menthel (E.) 79.  
 Merita Missa 118.  
 Merlin 140.  
 Metcalf (W. M.) 111.
- Metham (John) 45, 128, 129.  
 Methodius 70.  
 Miessner (F.) 142.  
 Millar (A. H.) 114.  
 Miller (F. H.) 87, 98.  
 Miller (R. D.) 22, 23, 79.  
 Minto (W.) 127.  
 Miracle and Mystery plays 84, 85, 87.  
 Mirk (John) 59, 129.  
 Miroure of Man's Salvation 140.  
 Mirroure of the Blessed Life of Jesus  
 Christ 140.  
 Misyn (Richard) 129, 131.  
 Modern Humanities Research Association  
 11.  
 Monro (Cecil) 23.  
 Monstrelet (Enguerrand de) 23.  
 Moore (J. R.) 87.  
 Moore (Samuel) 11, 59, 79.  
 Moorman (F. W.) 80.  
 More (Sir Thomas) 23, 148.  
 Morgan (R. B.) 45.  
 Morison (J. L.) 130.  
 Morley (Henry) 80.  
 Morris (Richard) 73.  
 Morsbach (Lorenz) 45.  
 Morte Arthure 140.  
 Mowat (R. B.) 23.  
 Müller (H. F.) 87.  
 Mullinger (J. B.) 59.  
 Mummung at Hertford 121.  
 Mundus at Infans 95.  
 Murray (J. A. H.) 65.  
 Mustard (W. P.) 151.  
 Mylo (P.) 108.  
 Myroure of oure Lady 59, 140.
- Nassington (William) 129.  
 Natter (Hans) 151. \*  
 Nature 83, 95.  
 Neilson (George) 23, 59, 110, 114.  
 Neilson (W. A.) 73, 134.  
 Nessler (Karl) 133.  
 Netter (Thomas) 59.  
 Neumann (G.) 151.  
 Neumann (G. K.) 65.  
 Newbolt (H. J.) 73.  
 Newcastle plays 95.  
 Newhall (R. A.) 23.  
 Newman (W. L.) 59.  
 Nicodemus (Gospel of) 136.  
 Nicolas (Sir Harris) 23.  
 Nichols (J. G.) 18, 23.  
 Niemeyer (N.) 45.  
 Noahspiel 95.  
 Noble (Mark) 23.  
 Norfolk (J. H.) 45.  
 Norfolk plays 84.  
 Norgate (Fr.) 46.  
 Norris (Edward) 87.  
 Northup (C. S.) 11, 121.  
 Nut Brown Maid 140, 141.
- O'Brien (G. A. T.) 46.  
 Octavian 141.  
 Old (W. W.) 24.

- Oldcastle (Sir John) 12, 13, 29, 75.  
 Oliphant (T. L. K.) 24.  
 Oman (C. W. C.) 24.  
 Ord (Craven) 24, 59.  
 Order of Chivalry 46, 106.  
 Orogium Sapientiae 141.  
 Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland 12, 65.  
 Oseney Abbey 38.  
 Ostermann (Ludwig) 131.  
 Othea (L'Épitre d') 134.  
 Otterbourne (Thomas) 24.  
 Owen (L. V. D.) 24.  
 Owst (G. R.) 46.  
  
 Pace (R. B.) 144.  
 Packard (L. B.) 46.  
 Padelford (F. M.) 73.  
 Page (John) 24, 129.  
 Pageants of Richard Beauchamp 60.  
 Palladius (R. T. E.) 129.  
 Pancoast (H. S.) 24.  
 Particulars Relating to John Harding 24.  
 Partenope de Blois 141.  
 Paston Books 60.  
 Paston Letters 33, 34, 36, 39, 46, 49, 60,  
 65.  
 Patch (H. R.) 11, 80, 91.  
 Patterson (F. A.) 80.  
 Pauli (Reinhold) 60.  
 Peacock (Edward) 59.  
 Peacock (M. H.) 97.  
 Peacock (W.) 73, 74.  
 Pearce of Provence 142.  
 Pecock, Reginald 46, 129, 130.  
 Peddie (R. A.) 11.  
 Pennsylvania University. Dept. of History  
 47.  
 Perceval (C. S.) 24, 25, 47.  
 Percy (Thomas) 74.  
 Perkin Warbeck 12, 15, 17, 18, 22.  
 Perry (G. G.) 25, 74.  
 Perzl (W.) 123.  
 Peter Idle 142.  
 Petition of the Citizens of Winchester 25.  
 Petriburg (M.) 60.  
 Phillips (Thomas) 25.  
 Photogravure Facsimiles 11.  
 Pilgrimage of the Life of Man 118.  
 Pisan (Christine de) 47, 130.  
 Planche (J. R.) 47.  
 Plomer (H. R.) 60, 80, 106.  
 Plucknett (T. F. T.) 47.  
 Plummer (Charles) 47, 109.  
 Plumpton correspondence 47.  
 Pollard (A. W.) 60, 74, 87, 106  
 Polydore Vergil 29, 43, 151.  
 Pompen (A. C. G.) 80.  
 Pontifical of John, Bishop of Lincoln 56.  
 Pound (Louise) 66, 80.  
 Powell (C. L.) 48.  
 Powell (F. Y.) 134.  
 Powell (Lawrence F.) 140.  
 Powell (M. D.) 25.  
 Power (E. E.) 48.  
 Pride of Life 96.  
 Prinz (Johannes) 119, 123.  
  
 Prior (O. H.) 106.  
 Promptorium Parvulorum 60.  
 Prosiegel (Theodor) 124.  
 Proverbis of Wisdom 142.  
 Purves (J.) 141.  
 Putnam (B. H.) 48.  
 Pylygrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde 149.  
  
 Quatuor sermones 106.  
 Quixley 142.  
  
 Ragman Roll 142.  
 Raine (James) 48.  
 Ramsay (J. H.) 25, 66.  
 Ramsey (Robert Lee) 152.  
 Ransome (Cyril) 25.  
 Rasmussen (J. K.) 100.  
 Rastell (John) 25.  
 Rate (David) 131.  
 Ratis Raving 131.  
 Rauf Coilyear 142.  
 Receipts and Expenses 48.  
 Redmayne (Robert) 25.  
 Redstone (V. B.) 48.  
 Reed (A. W.) 88, 94.  
 Rees (J. A.) 48.  
 Reeves (W. P.) 136.  
 Registrum Curteys 60.  
 Reid (E. J. B.) 60.  
 Reinhold (J. H.) 106.  
 Reismüller (George) 65, 124.  
 A Relation etc. 25.  
 Renwick (Robert) 48.  
 Repton (J. A.) 48.  
 Reul (P. de) 66, 106.  
 Reson and Sensuallyte 95, 118.  
 Rey (Albert) 151.  
 Reynard the Fox 106.  
 Rhymer (Thomas) 49.  
 Richard II 12, 30, 138.  
 Richard III 15, 17, 18, 20, 23, 29.  
 Richard the Lion-hearted 142.  
 Richardson (Olivia) 103.  
 Rickert (Edith) 74.  
 Riley (H. T.) 26.  
 Ritson (Joseph) 11, 74, 108.  
 Ritter (Otto) 151.  
 Rivers (Earl) 130.  
 Robb (James) 60.  
 Robb (T. D.) 146.  
 Roberts (Morris) 88.  
 Roberts (W.) 49.  
 Robertson (W. A. S.) 49, 88.  
 Robinson (F. N.) 124.  
 Rochester Inns 32.  
 Rockstro (W. S.) 71.  
 Rogers (Charles) 114.  
 Rogers (J. E. T.) 49.  
 Rolle (Richard) 131.  
 Rollins (H. E.) 80.  
 Romaunt of the Rose 123.  
 Römstedt (Herman) 66, 106.  
 Rondel 143.  
 Root (R. K.) 74.  
 Rösler (Margarete) 61.

- Ross (C. H.) 66.  
 Round (J. H.) 49.  
 Routh (E. M. G.) 26.  
 Rowe (B. J. H.) 26.  
 Royster (J. F.) 66, 145.  
 Rudolf (Albert) 124.  
 Russell (John) 18, 49, 131.  
 Rutland (J. H.) Manners 26.  
 Ruud (M. B.) 49, 61.  
 Rye (W. B.) 26.
- St. Albans, Battle of 16.  
 St. Albans, Book of 100.  
 St. Albans Monastery 61.  
 St. Augustine, etc. 102.  
 St. Cuthbert 143.  
 St. Elizabeth 143.  
 St. Juliana 143.  
 St. Katherine 102.  
 St. Patrick's Purgatory 143.  
 St. Paul's Cathedral 50.  
 St. Werberg 101.  
 Saintsbury (George) 80.  
 Salzmann (L. F.) 49.  
 Sandison (H. E.) 80, 113.  
 Sarrazin (G.) 108, 141.  
 Sauerstein (P.) 116.  
 Savine (Alexander) 50.  
 Scamman (Edith) 134.  
 Scharf (George) 50.  
 Schellenberg (Otto) 26.  
 Schelling (F. E.) 88.  
 Schick (J.) 119, 124.  
 Schipper (Jakob) 81, 115, 149, 151.  
 Schleich (Gustav) 101, 117, 124, 136, 143.  
 Schmid (F.) 66, 91.  
 Schmidt (F.) 130.  
 Schmidt (Karl) 81.  
 Schofield (W. H.) 81, 110.  
 Schoneberg (Georg) 152.  
 Schummer (C.) 131.  
 Scofield (C. L.) 26, 27.  
 Scogan (Henry) 133.  
 Scogan (John) 131.  
 Scott (E. J. L.) 107.  
 Scott (J. R.) 27, 50, 107.  
 Scudder (V. D.) 128.  
 SeBoyar (G. E.) 152.  
 Secreta Secretorum 120, 124.  
 Sedgwick (F.) 99.  
 Seege of Troy 143, 144.  
 Serjeantson (M. S.) 66.  
 Serpent of Division 119.  
 Seton (Bruce) 27, 50.  
 Seton (W. W.) 135.  
 Seven Penitential Psalms 101.  
 Sharp (Thomas) 91.  
 Sharpe (Lancelot) 97.  
 Shepherds' play 88, 97.  
 Sheppard (J. B.) 50, 61.  
 Shillingford (John) 50.  
 Sibbald (James) 81.  
 Sidgwick (Frank) 99.  
 Siege of Rouen 144.  
 Siege of Thebes 119.  
 Sieper (Ernest) 118, 119, 124.
- Simmons (T. F.) 118.  
 Simpson (W. S.) 50.  
 Singer (D. W.) 61.  
 Sir Cleges 144.  
 Sir Degrevant 144.  
 Sir Gowther 144.  
 Sir Perceval 144.  
 Sir Tryamour 144.  
 Skeat (W. W.) 74, 97, 98, 100, 113, 114, 115, 124, 125, 134, 135, 136, 138, 141, 149.  
 Skeel (C. A. J.) 109.  
 Skelton (John) 147, 148, 152, 153.  
 Skryveners' play 88.  
 Slettengren (H.) 66.  
 Small (J.) 149.  
 Smart (W. K.) 93, 94.  
 Smeaton (Oliphant) 153.  
 Smith (G. G.) 27, 81, 111.  
 Smith (J. T.) 50.  
 Smith (L. T.) 90, 97, 113, 133, 143.  
 Snape (R. H.) 50.  
 Snavelly (G. E.) 81.  
 Snell (F. J.) 81.  
 Solace of Pilgrimes 102.  
 Sommer (H. O.) 81, 125, 128.  
 Sorg (Edward) 88.  
 Southwell Cathedral 61.  
 Sowdone of Babylone 144.  
 Spaldyng (Richard) 131.  
 Speculum Vitae 145.  
 Spencer (M. L.) 88.  
 Spies (Heinrich) 66.  
 Spry (J. H.) 27.  
 Spurgeon (C. F. E.) 82.  
 Squir of Low Degree 145.  
 Stanley (A. P.) 27.  
 Steadman (J. M.) 82, 134.  
 Steele (Robert) 61.  
 Steele (R. R.) 28, 125.  
 Steinberger (Cecile) 153.  
 Sternberg (R.) 82.  
 Stevenson (Joseph) 28.  
 Stewart (A. F.) 61.  
 Stockley (W. F. P.) 28.  
 Stoddard (F. H.) 11.  
 Stoner letters 42.  
 Story of Thebes 121.  
 Stow (John) 28, 50.  
 Strachey (Edward) 125, 128.  
 Strickland (Agnes) 28.  
 Strutt (Joseph) 50.  
 Stubbs (William) 51, 61.  
 Studies in English 82.  
 Surdyt 145.  
 Süßbier (K.) 67.  
 Swenson (E. L.) 91.  
 Swinburn (L. M.) 138.  
 Sykes (F. H.) 67.  
 Syr Tryamour 144.
- Tait (James) 28, 62.  
 Tale of a Prioress 119.  
 Tapestry Poems 119.  
 Taylor (G. C.) 82, 88.  
 Taylor (George Watson) 107.

- Teichert (P.) 153.  
 Temple of Glas 119.  
 Temperley (Gladys) 28.  
 Ten Brink (Bernhard) 82.  
 Ten Commandments 145.  
 Testment of Cressid 111.  
 Theophilus 145.  
 Thien (Hermann) 74.  
 Thomas of Elmham 62.  
 Thompson (A. H.) 62.  
 Thompson (E. N. S.) 88, 91.  
 Thompson (Edith) 28.  
 Thoms (W. J.) 28, 106.  
 Thornley (I. D.) 29, 51.  
 Thre Prestis of Peblis 146.  
 Three Kings' Sons 99.  
 Tiptoft (John) 24, 29, 62, 79.  
 Tonndorf (M.) 142.  
 Torrent of Portyngale 146.  
 Towneley plays 96.  
 Towton (Battle of) 18, 146.  
 Toynbee (Paget) 67.  
 Traherne (J. M.) 51.  
 Traill (H. D.) 51.  
 Trautmann (Moritz) 82.  
 Traver (Hope) 88.  
 Treatise of this Galaunt 119.  
 Treichel (A.) 144.  
 Trentalle Sancti Gregori 146.  
 Trevelyan papers 51.  
 Triggs (O. L.) 117.  
 Troy Book 118.  
 Tryon (R. W.) 82.  
 Tucker (T. G.) 82.  
 Tupper (Frederick) 82.  
 Turnbull (W. B. D.) 51.  
 Turner (Dawson) 51.  
 Turner (Sharon) 29.  
 Tymms (Samuel) 51.  
 Tyroller (Franz) 125.  
  
 Ungemach (Heinrich) 90.  
  
 Van Dyke (Paul) 62.  
 Vassar Medieval Studies 113.  
 Vergilius (Polydorus) 29.  
 Verses on the Kings 118.  
 Vespasiano Memoirs 29.  
 Vettermann (E.) 128.  
 Vickers (K. H.) 29.  
 Vinogradoff (Paul) 51.  
 Virelai 146.  
 Visions of Heaven and Hell 76.  
 Vollmer (Erich) 67, 113.  
 Voynich (Wilfrid) 62.  
  
 Wager (C. H. A.) 130, 144.  
 Walford (Cornelius) 51.  
 Walford (W. S.) 29.  
 Walker (A. S.) 52.  
 Wallace 110.  
 Waller (J. G.) 52.  
 Walpole (Horace) 29.  
 Walsingham (Thomas) 29, 52.  
 Walther (Marie) 128.  
  
 Walton (J.) 131.  
 Warbeck (Perkin) 12, 15, 17, 18, 22.  
 Ward (A. W.) 89.  
 Ward (T. H.) 74.  
 Warwick the King Maker 24.  
 Warkworth (John) 29.  
 Warner (G. F.) 43, 47, 107, 130.  
 Warrack (Grace) 115.  
 Warrack (John) 52.  
 Warton (Thomas) 83.  
 Waterhouse (Osborne) 89.  
 Waterston (R. C.) 52.  
 Watt (L. M.) 153.  
 Waugh (W. T.) 29.  
 Waurin (Jehan de) 30.  
 Webb (John) 30, 138.  
 Webster (K. G. T.) 75.  
 Webster (Wentworth) 30.  
 Wethamstede (Johannis) 52.  
 Wey (William) 62.  
 Weyrauch (Max) 137.  
 Whitwell (R. J.) 62.  
 Willenberg (Gotthelf) 101.  
 William, Abp. of Tyre 107.  
 Williams (Benjamin) 30, 75.  
 Williams (C. H.) 52.  
 Williams (O. T.) 137.  
 Williams (T. W.) 128.  
 Wilson (James) 52.  
 Wilson (M. U. M.) 30.  
 Winchester, Citizens of 25.  
 Winston (J. E.) 52.  
 Wischmann (W.) 115.  
 Wisdom 94.  
 Withington (Robert) 89, 125.  
 Wood (Anthony a) 62.  
 Wood (Henry) 115.  
 Woodruff (C. E.) 62.  
 Worcester (William) 30.  
 Worde, Wynken de 117, 118, 132.  
 Wordsworth (C.) 107.  
 Wragg (H.) 126.  
 Wright (L. B.) 94.  
 Wright (Thomas) 30, 52, 62, 75, 90, 111, 125, 137, 138, 139, 153.  
 Wright (W. A.) 136.  
 Wright's Chaste Wife 99.  
 Wülfing (J. E.) 100, 138, 139.  
 Wülker (R.) 141.  
 Wyld (H. C.) 67.  
 Wylie (J. H.) 30, 31, 83, 115, 132.  
 Wynken de Worde 117, 118, 132.  
 Wynnere and Wastour 82.  
 Wyntoun 65.  
  
 York Plays 97.  
 Young (Karl) 89.  
 Youth 95.  
  
 Zachrisson (R. E.) 67.  
 Zander (Friedrich) 153.  
 Zickner (Bruno) 130.  
 Zupitza (Julius) 89, 92, 108, 117, 125, 136, 140, 142, 145, 153.

275



277

# University of Washington Publications

The University of Washington Publications are offered in exchange for similar publications issued by universities, scientific societies and other institutions. These papers contain the results of research work in various departments of the University. They are issued in separate monographs numbered in several series. There is no stated interval of publication. All inquiries and all matter sent in exchange should be addressed to the University of Washington Library, Seattle, Washington. Inquiries regarding purchase of these publications, should be addressed to the Publications Editor, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

(O.P.—Indicates that publication is out of print.)

## ANTHROPOLOGY

Vol. 1.	1. The Whaling Equipment of the Makah Indians, by T. T. Waterman (formerly Vol. 1, No. 1 of the University of Washington Publications in Political and Social Science, discontinued). Pp. 1-67. June, 1920.....	\$1.00
	2. The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America, by Leslie Spier. Pp. 69-88. Maps 1-9. August, 1925.....	.50
	3. An Analysis of Plains Indian Parfleche Decoration, by Leslie Spier. Pp. 89-112. August, 1925.....	.25
	4. Klallam Folk Tales, by Erna Gunther. Pp. 113-170. August, 1925.....	.50
	5. Klallam Ethnography, by Erna Gunther. Pp. 171-314. January, 1927....	1.25
Vol. 2.	1. Adze, Canoe, and House Types of the Northwest Coast, by Ronald L. Olson. Pp. 1-38. November, 1927.....	.50
	2. The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon, by Leslie Spier. Pp. 39-56. November, 1927.....	.25
	3. Some Tales of the Southern Puget Sound Salish, by Arthur C. Ballard. Pp. 57-81. December, 1927.....	.25

## FISHERIES

Vol. 1.	1. Preserved Pickled Herring, by Clarence Louis Anderson. Pp. 1-64. March, 1925 .....	1.00
	2. Field Characters Identifying Young Salmonid Fishes in Fresh Waters of Washington, by Donald R. Crawford. Pp. 12. April, 1925.....	.25
	3. Synostosis in the Spinal Column of the Rainbow Trout, by Donald R. Crawford. Pp. 8. April, 1925.....	.25
	4. A Study of the Gases in Canned Foods, by Ray W. Clough, Oscar E. Shostrom, Ernest D. Clark. Pp. 86-100. September, 1925.....	.25
	5. Notes on the Presence of Indol in Sea Foods and Other Food Products, by Ray W. Clough, Oscar E. Shostrom, Ernest D. Clark. Pp. 101-108. September, 1925 .....	.25
	6. Iodine Content of the Pacific Coast Salmon, by Norman Donald Jarvis, Ray William Clough, Ernest Dunbar Clark. Pp. 109-138. February, 1926.....	.25
	7. Biochemical Study and Proximate Composition of Pacific Coast Crabs, by Carl R. Fellers and Clarence T. Parks. Pp. 139-156. February, 1926.....	.25
	8. Bacteriological Investigations on Raw Salmon Spoilage, by Carl R. Fellers. Pp. 157-188. July, 1926.....	.25
	9. Canned Salmon: A Five-Year Correlation Study of Certain Quality Factors, by Carl Raymond Fellers, Ernest Dunbar Clark and Ray William Clough. Pp. 189-204. August, 1926.....	.25
	10. Fish Preservation by Hypochlorites, by Tung Pai Chew and Carl R. Fellers. Pp. 205-227. September, 1926.....	.25
	11. Non-gaseous Spoilage in Canned Marine Products, by Carl R. Fellers. Pp. 229-238. October, 1927.....	.25
Vol. 2.	1. Ecto-Parasitic Infusoria Attacking Fish of the Northwest, by John E. Guberlet. Pp. 1-16. October, 1926.....	.25
	2. Studies on the Control of Gyrodactylus, by John E. Guberlet, Harry A. Hanson and Jean A. Kavanagh. Pp. 17-29. December, 1927.....	.25

## GEOLOGY

Vol. 1.	1. Tertiary Faunal Horizons of Western Washington, by Charles E. Weaver. Pp. 1-67. February, 1916.....	1.00
	2. Paleontology of the Oligocene of the Chehalis Valley, by Katherine E. H. Van Winkle. Pp. 69-97. January, 1918.....	.50
	3. Fauna from the Eocene of Washington, by Charles E. Weaver and Katherine Van Winkle Palmer. Pp. 1-56. June, 1922.....	.50
	4. Foraminifera from the Eocene of Cowlitz River, Lewis County, Washington, by G. Dallas Hanna and Marcus A. Hanna. Pp. 57-64. October, 1924.	.50
Vol. 2.	The Geology of the San Juan Islands, by Roy Davidson McLellan. Pp. 185. 1 map 27"x33". November, 1927.....	2.00

**LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE**

Vol. 1.	The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, by Frederick Morgan Padelford. Pp. 238. October, 1920. Unbound, \$2.00 Bound.....	3.00
Vol. 2.	1. Spenser's Use of Ariosto for Allegory, by Susannah Jane McMurphy. Pp. 1-54. November, 1923.....	.75
	2. Thomas Dekker: A Study in Economic and Social Background, by Kate L. Gregg. Pp. 55-112. July, 1924.....	.75
	3. A Bibliography of Fifteenth Century Literature, by Lena Lucile Tucker and Allen Rogers Benham. Pp. 113-274. March, 1928.....	1.00
Vol. 3.	A Critical Edition of Ford's Perkin Warbeck, by Mildred Clara Struble. Pp. 216. 1 Map. January, 1926.....	2.00
Vol. 4.	1. A Bibliography of Chaucer, 1908-1924, compiled by Dudley David Griffith. Pp. 1-148. March, 1926.....	1.00
	2. Adam, translated by Edward Noble Stone. Pp. 159-193. March, 1926.....	.75

The Publications in Language and Literature are designed to include studies in the various languages and literatures, ancient and modern, represented at the University. The series replaces and absorbs The Publications in English, of which the following volumes have appeared:

Vol. 1.	Uno Linderlof's Elements of the History of the English Language, translated by Robert Max Garrett. Cloth.....	O.P.
Vol. 2.	The Political and Ecclesiastical Allegory of the First Book of the Faerie Queen, by Frederick Morgan Padelford. Cloth.....	.75
Vol. 3.	Johannes Steenstrup's The Medieval Popular Ballad, translated by Edward Godfrey Cox. Cloth.....	1.75
Vol. 4.	1. The Pearl: An Interpretation, by Robert Max Garrett. Paper.....	O.P.

**MATHEMATICS**

Vol. 1.	1. An Arithmetical Theory of Certain Numerical Functions, by Eric Temple Bell. Pp. 1-44. August, 1915.....	.50
	2. Cyclic-Harmonic Curves: A Study in Polar Coordinates, by Robert E. Moritz. Pp. 1-58. June, 1923.....	1.00
	3. Five Studies in Mathematics: Modular Bernoullian and Eulerian Functions, by E. T. Bell; Point-Line Correspondences Associated with the General Ruled Surface, by A. F. Carpenter; On the Sum of Products of Consecutive Integers, by Robert E. Moritz; Some Finite Linears Non-Associative Algebras, by L. I. Neikirk; The Ternary Hesse Group and Its Invariants, by R. M. Winger. Pp. 1-80. June, 1926.....	.75

**THE SOCIAL SCIENCES**

Vol. 1.	1. Studies in Matriculation Statistics, Intelligence Ratings and Scholarship Records at the University of Washington, by Alexander Crippen Roberts. Pp. 68. January, 1924.....	.75
	2. Causation and the Types of Necessity, by Curt John Ducasse. Pp. 69-200. February, 1924.....	1.50
Vol. 2.	1. Tiberius Caesar and the Roman Constitution, by Olive Kuntz. Pp. 1-78. August, 1924.....	.75
	2. The Logical Influence of Hegel on Marx, by Rebecca Cooper. Pp. 79-182. October, 1925.....	1.00
	3. A Scale of Individual Tests, by Stevenson Smith. Pp. 183-204. May, 1927.....	.50
Vol. 3.	1. A Study of Mobility of Population in Seattle, by Andrew W. Lind. Pp. 1-64. 2 Maps. October, 1925.....	.75
	2. History and Development of Common School Legislation in Washington, by Dennis C. Troth. Pp. 65-260. 2 Maps. February 1, 1927.....	1.50
Vol. 4.	1. John III, Duke of Brabant and the French Alliance, 1345-1347, by Henry Stephen Lucas. Pp. 1-64. May, 1927.....	.75

The University also publishes The Publications of the Engineering Experiment Station and The Publications of the Puget Sound Biological Station.







BINDING LIST NOV 1 1929

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

---

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

---

PR Surrey, Henry Howard  
2370 The poems of Henry Howard,  
A1 earl of Surrey  
1920

