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VOLUME XXIII

1942

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The English Association

BY

FREDERICK S. BOAS

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PREFACE

WAR-TIME conditions have again brought about some changes in the *personnel* of the contributors to *The Year's Work*. Mr. G. N. Garmonsway has for three years furnished the chapter on 'Old English'. The increasing pressure of Government work has now obliged him to discontinue this valuable service. In these circumstances the Association is deeply indebted to Miss Dorothy Whitelock for undertaking for this Volume the 'Old English' chapter in addition to the chapter on 'English Language: General Works' which she contributed to the two preceding volumes.

Professor Allardyce Nicoll is still engaged on Government duties in Washington, and the Association is under a special obligation to his colleague at Yale, Professor Tucker Brooke, for again supplying the chapter on 'Shakespeare'. This Anglo-American co-operation in *The Year's Work* is particularly welcome at the present time.

Last year we were much indebted to Professor L. C. Martin for undertaking both chapters in 'The Elizabethan Period: Poetry and Prose'. In this volume we are obliged to his colleague in the University of Liverpool, Dr. D. J. Gordon, for contributing the chapter on the 'Later Tudor Period'.

Mr. Southgate of the British Museum, to whom our thanks are due for furnishing since Volume XIX the 'Bibliographia' chapter, is now engaged in war service. The Association has been fortunate in enlisting for this chapter the co-operation of Mr. Strickland Gibson, Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian and Keeper of the University of Oxford Archives.

To facilitate reference the Index of Authors and Titles is followed by an Index of Selected Subjects.

To avoid delay in publication, due recently to war-time conditions, a change has been necessary in the arrangements for the printing of *The Year's Work*. This accounts for a difference in type and a slight increase in the content of the page in this Volume.

F. S. B.

ABBREVIATIONS

Archiv. = Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen.
B.J.R.L. = Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.
B.M.Q. = British Museum Quarterly.
C.H.E.L. = Cambridge History of English Literature.
C.U.P. = Cambridge University Press.
D.U.J. = Durham University Journal.
E.E.T.S. = Early English Text Society.
E.L.H. = A Journal of English Literary History (U.S.A.).
Eng. Stud. = Englische Studien.
Etud. ang. = Études anglaises.
Germ.-rom. Monat. = Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift.
H.L.Q. = Huntington Library Quarterly.
J.E.G.P. = Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
Med. Æv. = Medium Ævum.
M.L.N. = Modern Language Notes.
M.L.R. = Modern Language Review.
Mod. Phil. = Modern Philology.
N. and Q. = Notes and Queries.
O.U.P. = Oxford University Press.
P.M.L.A. = Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
P.Q. = Philological Quarterly.
Q.Q. = Queen's Quarterly (Kingston, Ont.).
Rev. ang.-amér. = Revue anglo-américaine.
Rev. de Litt. Comp. = Revue de la Littérature Comparée.
R.E.S. = Review of English Studies.
R.S.L. = Royal Society of Literature.
S.A.B. = Shakespeare Association Bulletin (U.S.A.).
Sh.-Jahr. = Shakespeare Jahrbuch.
S. in Ph. = Studies in Philology.
Spec. = Speculum.
Stud. Neoph. = Studia-Neophilologica (Uppsala).
T.L.S. = Times Literary Supplement.
U.T.Q. = University of Toronto Quarterly.
Y.W. = The Year's Work.

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I

LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM: GENERAL WORKS

By UNA ELLIS-FERMOR

WORKS which can strictly be called general (concerning themselves, that is to say, with criticism and aesthetics rather than with historical surveying) have not decreased this year, and this because of a notable accession of volumes from America. Three at least of these are devoted to the nature and central purposes of criticism or the relation of poetry and reality, while two more touch the borders of this theme or mix general essays with others more specific.

The Intent of the Critic[1] is a collection of essays by various authors. But it achieves nevertheless homogeneity from the common theme to which all are contributing, the careful organization of the material and Donald A. Stauffer's introduction which indicates and emphasizes the relations of the parts to each other. The critic's nature and function is discussed from four different points of view: Edmund Wilson studying the interpretation of literature in its 'social, economic, and political aspects', Norman Foerster the relations of aesthetic and ethical judgment, J. C. Ransom the speculative element in criticism and W. H. Auden the function of criticism in a mass society. None of these essays can be taken lightly or read casually; there is penetration in all of them, close reasoning in some and independence of judgment in most. Though the styles of authors as widely different as these are necessarily individual, there is an impression of grace and limpidity of expression. When four of America's most notable critics contribute to one central theme in this way, the result is a notable piece of work.

The Idiom of Poetry[2] is a group of six lectures on theory of poetry, all of which were, as this author remarks, 'attempts to

[1] *The Intent of the Critic* by Edmund Wilson, Norman Foerster, John Crowe Ransom, W. H. Auden. Ed. by Donald A. Stauffer. Princeton U.P. and O.U.P. pp. 147. 16*s*. 6*d*. net.

[2] *The Idiom of Poetry*, by Frederick A. Pottle. Cornell U.P. and O.U.P. pp. xiv+139. 12*s*. net.

unify the historical materials of theory of poetry by bringing to play on them, through analogy or contrast, the general principles of physical and linguistic science.' Here again there is independence of thought and judgment. Being virtually lectures, these essays have the vividness suitable to the classroom. The subjects themselves indicate the range of Pottle's material: the first discusses 'Shifts of Sensibility', the next two 'The Doctrine of Critical Relativism' and 'The Critic's Responsibility': two follow on 'What is Poetry', and 'Pure Poetry in Theory and Practice', and there is a final lecture on 'The Emergent Idiom', illustrated mainly from the poetry of Wordsworth.

There is a volume again this year from Fred. O. Nolte, *Art and Reality*,[3] which has certain natural affiliations with the critical positions of his previous work on the *Laokoön* (see *Y.W.*, xxii, 9). His subject making severe demands upon the critic, there are some passages of closely argued abstractions and acute generalizations upon the principles with which he is concerned. This is perhaps particularly noticeable in the chapters on 'Nature as a Standard' and 'Form for Form's sake'. His position is perhaps most nearly summarized by a sentence from the first of these, 'Art, to conclude, is not the "illusion"; it is the *revelation* of a higher reality.' The author's knowledge of and interest in the Classical and German literatures gives, again, a characteristic direction to his criticism.

The Opinions of Oliver Allston[4] is a volume on the borders of general literary criticism and of general psychological and ethnological commentary, but the chapters and passages on literary matters, subtle and acute in themselves, are rendered the more so by being embedded in passages or chapters concerned rather with the development of American life and character. Comments on American literature by the author of *The Flowering of New England* cannot be passed by and the chapters here on 'The Literary Life' and more especially on 'Criticism: Theory', 'Criticism: Practice', 'Literature To-day', 'What is Primary Literature?' 'Coterie Literature' and 'Notes on Style' are full of pithy comments written (in accordance with the design of the book) mainly in the form of apothegms, jottings, and casual notes.

[3] *Art and Reality*, by Fred. O. Nolte. Lancaster, Pa. pp. 188.

[4] *The Opinions of Oliver Allston*, by Van Wyck Brooks. pp. 216. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Edmund Wilson's *The Wound and the Bow*[5] is not a continuous series of studies on one theme, but a collection of seven, mainly but not entirely, on American and English novelists. Wilson's standards are those of the new American criticism which, though not of immediately recent birth, has hardly yet been fully recognized in England. The first and longest of these studies makes an independent evaluation of Dickens and includes Wilson's interpretation of the problem of *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*. 'The Kipling that Nobody Read' is, again, a penetrating and consistently argued study of the limitations of Kipling's art and the causes of his relative failure. Two studies of American novelists, Edith Wharton and Ernest Hemingway, indicating the essential originality of both, place each in turn in its own period of American literature, and the sixth essay, a study of Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake*, claims for it 'the rank of a great work of literature'. The last article on the *Philoctetes* gives the title to the whole volume and in some degree links the various interpretations that have preceded.

Another collection of essays similarly linked in general purpose, though on varying themes is Geoffrey Tillotson's *Essays in Criticism and Research*.[6] Like some of his American contemporaries whose work we have just noticed, Tillotson has a clear view of the function of criticism, particularly of that aspect which is generally known in America as historical criticism. Differing, as is inevitable, from both Pottle and Wilson, in certain aspects, his summary of the service of scholarship to the understanding of the poetry of a past age is in spirit closely akin to theirs. The only means, he considers, of reaching this understanding of any given poem of the past 'is by centring on the poem a historical and critical clairvoyance, a clairvoyance which, being partly historical, is possible only for the scholar, but which not all scholars have been able to apply.' This view, which is applied with specially interesting results in the large group of essays on various aspects of eighteenth-century poetry is never abandoned or contradicted in any of the twenty-two studies. This being his view, it follows of necessity that, as the author says, 'Certain essays are engaged in attacking received opinions on

[5] *The Wound and the Bow; Seven Studies in Literature*, by Edmund Wilson. Houghton Mifflin and Secker and Warburg. pp. viii+295. 15*s*.

[6] *Essays in Criticism and Research*, by Geoffrey Tillotson. C.U.P. pp. xxx+215. 15*s*.

literary figures and periods, in attacking opinions received as true by the text-books and by the incurious generally.' It is this very attack (arising, as it does, from a basic principle firmly held) that gives this collection its pungency.

One more volume of essays, some of which are upon general themes and some upon specific authors, is Sir E. K. Chambers's *A Sheaf of Studies*.[7] The range, both in subject matter and in date of writing is wider than in the volumes already described, and the author himself calls it 'gleanings from a period of fifty years'. This sometimes serves to emphasize the life-long devotion of the writer to the vocation of literary criticism, general or specific, as when his early essay on 'The Study of English Literature' (1896) stands side by side with the reprinting of his English Association Presidential Address on 'The Timelessness of Poetry', noticed in this chapter two years ago (*Y.W.*, xxi, 9–10). Of the other studies in this volume, two are on Matthew Arnold (biographical and critical), two on the poetry of Meredith, one on Alice Meynell and two are autobiographical reminiscence.

In the first volume of *Daylight*[8] Karel Brusák's 'The New Dramatic Space' treats the problems of modern theatre design in a way that relates them to drama, old and new. Lord Longford considers and sums up the main trends of 'The Irish Theatre To-day' and throws a good deal of light upon the development of modern Irish drama, John Lehmann, in 'The Heart of the Problem', examines the relation of contemporary fiction (especially of three representative novels) and the problems of Europe's future civilization.

There are no general surveys or histories of literature this year, though there are some on particular forms or aspects. The series *Britain in Pictures* supplies two; *British Dramatists*[9] and *English Novelists*[10]. In the first of these, Graham Greene outlines the development of the English Drama from the Middle Ages to the present day. This is no easy task, but it is simplified by the very brevity to which he is restricted; a rapid survey can touch upon the

[7] *A Sheaf of Studies*, by E. K. Chambers. O.U.P. pp. vi+157. 10*s*.

[8] *Daylight; European Arts and Letters, Yesterday, To-day, To-morrow*. Vol. I. The Hogarth Press. pp. 174. 7*s*. 6*d*.

[9] *British Dramatists*, by Graham Greene. Collins. pp. 48. 4*s*. 6*d*.

[10] *English Novelists*, by Elizabeth Bowen. Collins. pp. 48. 4*s*. 6*d*.

most significant phases and present a proportioned outline, where a volume permitted twice or three times as much detail would be faced by difficulties of selection. Students of the drama will object to his use of the term 'Miracle' (and still more 'Mystery') for the English Bible History plays, and antiquaries will object, as misleading, to his use of non-contemporary illustrations. But in spite of slight inaccuracies, the story is told in a lively way.

The second of these volumes surveys the English novel proper from the eighteenth century onwards, with a preliminary comment on the 'curious false dawn' which preceded it. Elizabeth Bowen then discusses the chief English novelists in turn, with a keen sense of the quality of their workmanship and delivers some acute judgments. George Eliot, for instance, may seem 'opaque and pedestrian', but 'as an artist she is never to be despised'. The survey closes with the work of Virginia Woolf and E. M. Forster.

A still more specific area is surveyed in H. E. Bates's *The Modern Short Story*[11] which combines the lively critical sense of a fellow-craftsman with some serviceable surveying of a crowded and confusing field. The chapters, after a retrospect covering the origins of the short story, are concerned with its career from Gogol onwards. Russian, American and French work necessarily holds pride of place in the early days; there follows the English work of Wells, Kipling, Katherine Mansfield, A. E. Coppard, and Lawrence and the Irish school which, like the growing Welsh school and the contemporary American renaissance, holds great promise for the immediate future. The final impression left is that of the immense diversity of form and content, the vitality and experimental enterprise of the short story, especially in America, and of the relative and regrettable neglect of this form by the reading public in England.

A characteristic feature of the modern short story which revealed itself in the later chapters of Bates's book is the theme of Phyllis Bentley's study *The English Regional Novel*.[12] This, as she explains at the beginning is 'the national novel carried to one degree further of sub-division', and here, in contrast to the con-

[11] *The Modern Short Story*; *A Critical Survey*, by H. E. Bates. Nelson. pp. 231. 7*s.* 6*d.*

[12] *The English Regional Novel*, by Phyllis Bentley. Allen and Unwin. pp. 48. 2*s.*

temporary achievement in short stories, England is particularly rich. The history of the regional novel dates only from the nineteenth century and the author begins her succinct but penetrating study of this subject with Charlotte Brontë, Mrs. Gaskell, Anthony Trollope and George Eliot. Hardy and Bennett follow and then the moderns, who have explored and delineated the characteristics of 'almost every yard of English soil', even to the point of becoming themselves the subject of satire. In her classified list of novelists arranged by county it is worth noting that very few counties are uncelebrated and that Yorkshire alone accounts for one third of the total number of names. Brief though her space is, she leads up to some clear and firm general conclusions, suggesting finally that the regional novel is representative of the essential qualities of English culture.

A survey of a different kind from these is found in G. S. Gordon's *Anglo-American Literary Relations*,[13] edited by R. W. Chapman from the manuscripts of the Watson Lectures delivered in 1931. The resulting volume covers a relatively long and varied period in a brief space. It selects significant periods, episodes or aspects, around which material can, in each lecture, be grouped. Nevertheless it forms a clear picture of the main streams of the two literatures and the relations between them and between certain individual writers on both sides. The emphasis is necessarily upon the American side, since the lectures were delivered to English audiences, and the surveys of Colonial and post-Revolution literature serve as an introduction to much of which many Englishmen are still ignorant. Some notable friendships in letters are recorded, such as that of Emerson and Carlyle, the story (not always comfortable reading) of British authors in America, and the intricate history of British copyright. The final lecture, 'The Literary Hopes of America' indicates the growing individuality of contemporary (1931) American literature and ends with a moving testimony to Walter Page.

Essays by Divers Hands[14] offers us this year four papers which contain either general criticism or surveys. In *A Boy's Outlook on the Place of Poetry in the Lives of the Young*, Michael Oakley

[13] *Anglo-American Literary Relations*, by George Stuart Gordon. O.U.P. pp. 119. 5*s*.

[14] *Transactions of the R.S.L.* Vol. XIX. Ed. R. W. Chapman. O.U.P. pp. 156. 7*s*. 6*d*.

makes a lucid and illuminating statement on the function of poetry as 'the language of the soul' and an intimation of the reality of the spiritual universe. R. H. Mottram in *Let us Persist* discusses 'some causes and consequences of the Dissemination of Literature in English throughout the World'. Ivor Brown describes *The Difficulties of Dramatic Criticism*, which arise from the relation between drama and theatrical art. In *The Soldier in Elizabethan and Later English Drama*, F. S. Boas traces the essentially similar figure of the British soldier from the play of Shakespeare and his contemporaries down to his counterpart in the drama arising from the war of 1914–18.

In a masterly article on *Psycho-Analysis and Literary Criticism*[15], which heads the English Association's *Essays and Studies*, vol. xxvii, C. S. Lewis disentangles certain lines of thought that have of late become dangerously confused, putting clearly before his readers the inherent weakness in parts of the Freudian theory of literature. He distinguishes the wish-fulfilment from disinterested imagination, pointing out that 'both may be the starting points for works of art', and insisting that 'even where a work of art originated in a self-regarding reverie, it becomes art by ceasing to be what it was'. He then examines the Freudian theory of symbols and protests against the illogical assumption that the work of art, 'the image, as opposed to the latent thought, effects nothing at all except disguise'. This he demonstrates with close reasoning and convincing illustration, urging that we reject the Freudian theory of literature because of what it takes from us. He concludes with an examination of Jung's 'doctrines of Primordial Images', indicating that what is needed at this point is the 'psycho-analysis of psycho-analysis'. Literature, in any event, remains.

In the same volume is an article on *Style* by W. H. D. Rouse, which indicates briefly wherein lie the characteristic qualities of the styles of certain masters of language and particularly of the English language. Having this suggested the significance of manner, the author gives a warning against confusing manner with mannerism and follows this by a spirited and entertaining series of illustrations. Four notable stylists whose manner does sometimes thus stray into mannerism—Gibbon, Carlyle, Macaulay, Henry James

[15] In *Essays and Studies, by Members of the English Association*, Vol. xxvii, collected by Nowell Charles Smith. O.U.P. pp. 75. 7*s*. 6*d*.

—retell in turn the story of Alfred Jingle and Ponto. The analysis of the tricks thus disclosed is brought to an end by a recommendation of the plain styles of Dryden and of Defoe.

An article on a special aspect of prosody appears in *M.L.R.* (July). H. G. Atkins, in *Holding Down the Trochees* describes the natural iambic tendency of English and German verse, demonstrating, with illustrations from *Hiawatha* and *Vitzliputzli*, the difficulty both Longfellow and Heine experienced in maintaining trochaic measures against this tendency.

A number of anthologies have again appeared. The series *The Centuries' Poetry* gives us the volume *Pope to Keats*[16] which immediately precedes the already published *Hood to Hardy* and is to be succeeded by *Spenser to Dryden*. The set of five volumes should, when complete, bring a fine range of English poetry within reach of the general reader. The compiler has endeavoured to give that balanced picture of the poetry of an extremely varied period in which there occur, as he reminds us, 'pretty well half our greatest poets'. He avoids the danger of what might be called the method of proportional representation (allowing names such as Pope, Burns, Blake, Wordsworth and his successors to monopolize the space) and has found place alongside them for three or four names which do not commonly find their way into a popular anthology.

Lyra[17] is a collection of new lyric verse with a preface by Herbert Read, who finds in the anthology something not only new but reconstructive, a desire 'to know with prophetic insight the living future'. The editors explain that many of the writers they have chosen are, of intention, little known and that there is no attempt to represent a school of writers, only to choose what they believe to be good verse from the youngest generation of poets. Twenty-five authors are included within the limits of fifty-four poems.

A. C. Ward has made a collection of passages, mainly prose, representing 'Endurance in its protean forms' and taking its title,

[16] *The Centuries' Poetry*, compiled by Denys Kilham Roberts. Penguin Books. pp. 8+181. 9*d*.

[17] *Lyra, an Anthology of New Lyric*, ed. by Alex Comfort and Robert Greacen. The Grey Walls Press, Billericay, Essex, pp. 71. 5*s*.

Grim and Gay[18] from the Prime Minister's summary of the character of the English people. The anthology is not confined to English writers; out of the 102 extracts, there are twenty-one from other sources. The range in mood and topic is from solemn passages from the Bible and Milton to Jane Austen's Miss Bates and Damon Runyon's *Take it Easy*. For the anthology is designed to cover primness, gaiety and many of the intervening moods. It is perhaps by these that the character of the English and of the American people is distinguished, the moods where both mingle in tragi-comedy or tragic irony. So that it is not surprising to find a large part of this volume filled with those writers in whose works comedy and endurance meet.

In the *Jewish Pioneer Series* come two anthologies of prose and poetry[19] drawn mainly from Jewish literature from the earliest portions of the Bible to writers of the present day, but including extracts from such writers as Hannah More, Walt Whitman, Shelley, Byron and George Eliot which touch upon Jewish history or thought. In both volumes are remarkable passages which are generally unknown.

In an interesting preface to his *Nature Abounding*,[20] E. L. Grant Watson explains the methods, of choice and of arrangement, that he has followed in his anthology. Of choice, in that he has attempted 'to draw chiefly from those authors who are the most objective in their observation'; of arrangement, in the classification under four main headings (Earth, Air, Water, Fire) 'which I believe still carry some part of their ancient significance'. The result is a series of passages, each substantial enough to give a clear impression of a single episode or observation, drawn from the works of writers who, for the most part, share a habit of precise, and careful observation. There is a high proportion of fine and impressive passages, some familiar, some less known to the common reader, and for him the book may well serve as an introduction to the writings of many hitherto unappreciated naturalists—professional or amateur.

[18] *Grim and Gay*, selected by A. C. Ward. O.U.P., pp. 320. 6*s*.

[19] *The Call of Freedom* and *If I Forget Thee*, by Ephraim Broido. The Hechaluz Organizations of Great Britain. pp. 79 and 80.

[20] *Nature Abounding*, ed. by E. L. Grant Watson. Faber and Faber. pp. 350. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Another anthology with a specific subject is L. A. G. Strong's *English Domestic Life*[21]. Drawing upon nearly fifty authors ranging in date from Richardson to Norman Collins and in tone and mood from D. H. Lawrence to Rhoda Broughton, it builds a synthetic picture out of a succession of self-contained scenes or episodes arranged chronologically so that the changing customs and habits are revealed. The author admits in this preface that the word 'domestic' troubled him, as the terms of their commission trouble most anthologists who set themselves a specific subject. But 'domestic' allows of considerable freedom and the reader is not disturbed by the sense of this range being exceeded. The editor has, as he says, denied himself 'fiercely' with certain writers such as Jane Austen and the resulting balance seems fair; the final impression, after reading the volume through, being of a characteristic picture of English life, continuous beneath its variations.

Ivor Brown's *A Word in Your Ear*[22] is, in fact, an anthology of words, those, as he explains in his introduction, which have caught his fancy. The introduction is itself an entertaining survey of the theme touching on the historical changes in the use of words, and certain modern and notorious aberrations in usage. His method with the words themselves is to list them alphabetically and give to each a paragraph indicating its virtue, noting the vicissitudes of its fortunes, quoting apt passages in illustration. Some seventy or eighty words are treated in this way.

[21] *English Domestic Life During the Last Two Hundred Years; An Anthology selected from the Novelists*, by L. A. G. Strong. Allen and Unwin. pp. 251. 7*s*. 6*d*.

[22] *A Word in Your Ear*, by Ivor Brown. Cape. pp. 136. 6*s*.

II

ENGLISH LANGUAGE. GENERAL WORKS

By DOROTHY WHITELOCK

THE most striking event in English philology in 1942 was the appearance of *A Philological Miscellany presented to Eilert Ekwall*,[1] containing forty-nine articles of which the vast majority relate to English philology and early literature, as is fitting in a *festschrift* to a scholar whose own contribution to these subjects has been so weighty. The individual articles will be noticed later in connection with other work in the same fields. It is sufficient here to call attention to the great amount of varied and interesting matter contained in this volume, and to note the strange effect produced on an English reader by this collection of material from scholars scattered all over a war-stricken Europe, many of them cut off from a direct exchange of views.

A. H. Marckwardt's *Introduction to the English Language*[2] is admittedly a method of teaching rather than an addition to scholarship. Its main innovation is that it works backward from the living language to Old English, and aims at teaching the student 'to observe, classify and generalize'. It is a synthesis of the more important results of others' investigations and is well suited to its purpose. On some subjects, e.g. the perfect tense, the discussion is perhaps unnecessarily indeterminate, but it is clearly not intended that the student should be left alone with this book, which will prove a useful accessory to the teacher.

A. G. Kennedy's *English Usage*[3] is not a study of evidence, but a tolerant discussion of methods and principles, intended for teachers of English in American universities. The examination of

[1] *A Philological Miscellany presented to Eilert Ekwall.* Part I has also appeared as *Studia Neophilologica*, vol. xiv, Nos. 1—3, pp. iv+426; Part II as vol. xv, Nos. 1—2, pp. 1—250. Uppsala: Lundequist. (Noticed further as Ekw. Misc.)

[2] *An Introduction to the English Language*, by A. H. Marckwardt. O.U.P. pp. xviii+347. 12s. net.

[3] *English Usage: A Study in Policy and Procedure*, by A. G. Kennedy. The National Council of Teachers of English: English Monograph No. 15. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. pp. xiii+166.

questionable usages should include 'an investigation of the opinions of authorities, a survey of good contemporary usage . . . an inspection when possible of the historical background of the usage, a thoughtful weighing of logical considerations, and an appreciation of esthetic considerations'. A very useful bibliography is added.

While M. Schlauch's *The Gift of Tongues*[4] begins on general matters, the majority of the illustrations are drawn from English, and a historical survey is given of this language alone, so some mention of this book seems in place here. It makes no claim to be advancing knowledge, but is planned for the educated reader with an unprofessional interest in language. Its most novel feature is a chapter applying linguistic knowledge to the understanding of modern poetry, by examining the usage of Joyce, Manley Hopkins, Auden, etc., under headings such as 'semantic rejuvenation', 'punning', 'juxtapositions'. The work ends with a discussion of the social aspects of language, e.g. taboos, hypercorrectness, etc. It fulfils its purpose admirably, being clearly expressed and amusingly illustrated, and it is more accurate than most works of its kind. It is only occasionally, as when the Elizabethan *his* for *its* is called a survival of grammatical gender, that one wishes to quarrel with its statements.

In *Sprachphilosophie und Grammatik im Spiegel englischer Sprachbücher des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (*Ekw. Misc*) Otto Funke examines the general outlook on linguistics of authors who have mainly been studied only for detailed information. He notes the Renaissance reaction against the 'universalism' of the medieval outlook. In England the formalism of Peter Ramus was particularly influential. A breach with this tradition comes in Wallis (1653), but only in the province of sound, and the first grammar to reveal an interest in the philosophy of language is that of Cooper (1685), influenced by Wilkins's *Essay toward a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*. An analogous state of things appears in the eighteenth century when the views expressed in J. Harris's *Hermes* (1751) pass into English grammer via Bishop Lowth's *A Short Introduction to English Grammar*, where the surprisingly

[4] *The Gift of Tongues*, by Margaret Schlach. New York: Modern Age Books; London: Allen and Unwin. pp. x+342. $3.50.

modern view is expressed that 'universal grammar' should first be taught in relation to the native language, not Latin.

Odium Philologicum, or a Century of Progress in English Philology (*Stanford Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, 1941) is a lively account by A. G. Kennedy of linguistic controversies between 1834 and 1934, beginning with the war of the Anglo-Saxonists of Oxford and Cambridge, and continuing, through the controversy of the lexicographers Webster and Worcester, and that between purists and supporters of usage as the only criterion of correctness, to the contention on the relative merits of Southern or Northern English. It makes amusing reading and at the same time adds a chapter to the history of linguistic scholarship in England.

Sir William Craigie is not concerned, in *Some Anomalies of Spelling*,[5] with whether the spelling of a word suggests its pronunciation, but with its correctness 'in respect of its origin and in relation to other words with which it ought to agree'. He makes a very convenient collection of anomalies, such as *bale* (from O.Fr. *baille*) and conversely *gait* (from ON. *gata*), *true* (OE. *trēowe*) beside *pew* (OFr. *puye*) and discusses the origin of inconsistencies like *ball* beside *maul* and *crawl*, *most* beside *oast*, *pace* beside *case*, and many others. Some anomalous forms are from Scottish spelling, e.g. *raid*, *fey*, *weird*, *sleuth*; *thane* first appears in Holinshed and we apparently owe *ghyll* to Wordsworth. The statement that *l* was inserted into *could* after the *l* of *should* had become silent is not borne out by the available evidence. Cooper (1685) equates *could* and *cull'd*, and early rhymes agree that the *l* was sometimes pronounced. The author concludes that a reduction of all these forms to consistency would greatly add to the number of homographs, and attacks the widespread assumption that phonetic spelling is the most suitable representation of every language, citing Færöese where phonetic spelling was replaced, after some fifty years of trial, by a system based on Icelandic.

Two articles in *Language*, namely *On Syllabic Division in Phonetics*, by N. E. Eliason (Apr.–June), and *Facts and Phonemics*, by E. Haugen and W. F. Twaddell (July–Sept.), are criticisms of

[5] *Some Anomalies of Spelling*, by Sir W. Craigie. Society for Pure English, Tract No. 59. O.U.P. pp. 26. 3*s*. 6*d*.

G. L. Trager and B. Bloch, *The Syllabic Phonemes of English* (*Language*, 1941), which owing to present conditions has not been accessible. The first article attacks the over-simplification involved in reducing the syllabic phonemes to six, by analysing all long vowels and diphthongs as short vowel phonemes plus the consonant phonemes [j], [w], or [h]. The second article also criticizes this theory, but further questions the validity of the whole procedure, which argues 'inductively from a statement of the phonetic data . . . to an interpretation in terms of linguistic structure'. Words like *law*, *bear* are assumed to end in a consonant [h], merely to fit the theory that examples of two vowels in succession do not occur. Objection is taken also to the subjective judgment of vocalic quantity and to the grouping into unitary phonemes of sound-types of considerable dissimilarity, owing to an over-economy of symbols.

In *Syllabic Consonants in English* (*M.L.Q.*, Mar.) K. Malone holds that the variation between a sonantal or consonantal pronunciation of a liquid or nasal does not suffice to split the phoneme into two. He considers that the semi-vowels agree with the liquids and nasals in this respect, and recognizes three, [ə] as a sonant in *fear*, *soda*, *onion*, a consonant in *barrier*, *idiot*, etc.; y (to use ordinary spelling) as a consonant in *yet*, *boy*, *lawyer*, a sonant in *happy*; [w] as a consonant in *outward*, a sonant in *pillow* (he regards the pronunciation with [o] or [ou] as a pseudo-refinement). He suggests that phonetic notation should be altered, to get rid of the inconsistency of using [ɪ] for both stressed and unstressed vowel, and of confining [j] to the sonant, when [ʌ] is confined to the stressed vowel, and there is only one symbol [ə] for unstressed vowel or consonant. If [wɪmɪn] is correct, one should write [sʌmʌn].

Wilhelm Horn, in *Probleme der neuenglischen Lautgeschichte* (*Ekw. Misc.*), doubts the explanation 'dialect origin' for the pronunciation of everyday words like *one*, *none*. He refers to the tendency to shorten the vowel in trisyllables and in monosyllables followed by weakly stressed words, and believes that when [o̅] (the stage reached by ME. ǭ in the seventeenth century) was shortened, the nearest short sound would be that developed from ME. *u*, namely [o̤] at this date. Similar development may pehaps be seen in *rowlock*, *oven* and in dialect, or earlier recorded, pro-

nunciations of *bonfire, cove, shone,* etc. He suggests that *don't* has passed through [dūnt] to [dọnt], and that this [ọ] was lengthened in emphatic position, hence present English [ou].

The same volume contains *A Few Notes on Gill's 'Logonomia Anglica', 1619,* in which Arvid Gabrielson collates the Bodleian copy with another copy of the 1619 edition. Jiriczek attached greater value to the second edition because in it typographical difficulties had been surmounted, whereas the 1619 edition had to be finished off by hand. Gabrielson argues that a comparison of the texts does not justify a pessimistic view of the reliability of the earlier edition.

In *Elizabethan 'che vore ye'* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) H. Kökeritz expands a point in his article on Gill (see *Y.W.* xxii, 38), showing that this phrase means 'I warrant you' and that *v* could replace *w* in southern dialects. (See also below, p. 105.)

Some Notes on English Pronunciation about 1800 (*Ekw. Misc.*) is a careful examination by A. Sturzen-Becker of *A System of Notation* published by the American, William Pelham, in 1808. It contains much that is of interest for the history of English in general, not merely of American. For example, it recognizes two sounds for *oi* and it distinguishes between the vowel in *wall, nor* and that in *ore.* A peculiarity is the lengthening of [æ] in certain words, usually before *n,* but in other positions also, as in *bad.* The value of this work as a mirror of New England speech is vitiated to some extent by the author's anxiety to teach 'good pronunciation'.

In the same *festschrift,* Erik Rooth's *Zur Geschichte der englischen Partizip-Präsens-Form auf ing* discusses how and why OE. *-ende* became *-ing.* Rooth thinks that both phonological and functional coalescence contributed to the development. He accepts the view of van Langenhove and Mossé that both *nd* and *ng* were in some circumstances weakened to *n,* and holds that in W. Gmc. *andia* and *angia* the nasal group was spoken with a varying degree of palatal colouring, and that by palatalization and assimilation both *nd* and *ng* arrive at a palatal *n,* thus leading to confusion with the inflected infinitive. In Southern English the following palatal

consonant raised the *e* of *-ende* to *i*, making possible a confusion with the verbal abstract in *ing*. Functional similarities between the verbal abstract and the inflected infinitive drew the former more and more into the verb sphere, and in Southern English up to about 1200 the inflected infinitive often agreed in function with the present participle. Finally between about 1200 and 1300 the (according to Rooth) hypercorrect form *ing(e)* ousted *-inde* in Southern dialects, spreading later into the Midlands.

Another article in this volume, G. Langenfelt's *The Hypocoristic English Suffix -s*, disagrees with Sundén's opinion that *-s* in pet-names has arisen from Christian names used in the genitive as surnames. This could only happen if this *-s* had lost its meaning. Langenfelt notes that many surnames have an *-s* which is not genitive, and he also lists nick-names of the *boots, lazybones* type, the latter recorded as early as 1593. He concludes that the *-s* in pet-names has spread from its use in such words, where it was originally a plural mark.

Two other contributions to the volume are devoted to the syntax of English auxiliary verbs. C. A. Bodelsen, *The System Governing the Use of the Futuric Shall and Will*, uses Jespersen's method, but brings in also the Saussurian concept of 'value'. In Modern English, futurity may be regarded under three 'angles', pure future (A), certainty of fulfilment (B), volition-coloured future (C), and, as there are only two auxiliaries, coalescencies between two of these shades of meaning may develop. He examines each person separately, both in statements and questions. He has an interesting discussion of why *will* in such phrases as 'There will be no retiring' can convey a stronger sense of inevitability than *shall*, and he examines the anomalies that arise in dependent clauses. He does not, however, discuss the situation when the subject is compound and of different persons.

A. Kihlbom's *The Use of 'Should' plus Infinitive in Subordinate Clauses of Time* has a more limited subject. Is the difference between the simple forms and this periphrastic use of *shall* or *should* stylistic only? The author shows that in some instances, as 'Bertram was ready to help Norah when she should need his help', there is a vague condition expressed, but often this implication is lacking, as in 'He sat down to wait till the doctor should

come down'. Yet even here the usage is more than stylistic, for it is a means of keeping attention focused on the time-phase indicated in the main clause by forcing us to see the action of the subordinate clause in a future perspective.

G. Noyes has added two articles to her previous work on early English dictionaries. In *Edward Cocker and Cocker's English Dictionary* (*N. & Q.*, May 30) she shows that this dictionary was a booksellers' compilation utilizing the names of Cocker and Hawkins, and drawing material from Skinner, Edward Phillips, Elisha Cole, etc.; and in *John Dunton's Ladies Dictionary, 1694* (*P.Q.* April), she styles this work an encyclopædia, rather than a dictionary, and shows that it is a patchwork of second-hand material.

St. Vincent Troubridge has continued his *Notes on the Oxford English Dictionary* (*N. & Q.*, Feb. 7, Mar. 7 and in most of the numbers between April 4 and Nov. 21). They consist of various ante- and post-datings, and of collocations like *comic relief*, *incidental music*, not noted as such in *O.E.D.* The expression *storm in a teacup* is put back from 1872 to 1754, and *pull your socks up* from 1924 to 1893.

A Dictionary of Words and Idioms Associated with Judas Iscariot,[6] by W. D. Hand, draws its material from many, mainly Germanic, languages. One can therefore see what conceptions are widespread, what confined to certain localities. As one would expect, *Judas kiss* is common to many languages, but the term *Judas ear* refers to different things in individual languages. Most terms have the expected connection with betrayal, but a few such as *Judas candle* come from old ritual, while *Judas colour* is from medieval legend. The book gives an impression that German is more prolific in these expressions than English, but this is doubtless because compounds like *Judasmantel* are recorded in dictionaries when collocations such as 'The cloak of Judas' are not. English seems to have coined no verb like German *judassen*, nor abstract noun like French *iudasserie*.

[6] *A Dictionary of Words and Idioms Associated with Judas Iscariot*, by W. D. Hand. Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press. pp. vi+57. 75 cents.

W. H. Davis in *Familiar Figurative English Expressions* (*Stanford Studies in Lang. and Lit.* 1941) divides figurative expressions into various categories such as terms derived from the human body, terms relating to the past history of the race (though in England, if not in America, kettles and pans can still be black), terms embodying lost references. Who, for example, was Jack Robinson? It is amusing reading—which is perhaps all that was intended—and makes no reference to authorities. It is surely incorrect to connect *peter out* with the saint.

The Language of Satirized Characters in 'Poëtaster'[7] is an original work on vocabulary in which A. H. King tries to ascertain what can be learnt about what American linguists would call 'the speech-levels' of Jonson's day. For the present day, we can base a study of the social formation of, and fashions in, language on living speech; for the past, our only evidence for the speech of the classes who leave no written record is its rendering in literature. The author chooses *Poëtaster*, with comparative material from other plays, as supplying a particularly good measure of evidence, and examines with minute care the expressions placed in the mouths of characters satirized for affectations, mannerisms, vulgarisms, etc., comparing them with a norm obtained by a study of the language of serious characters. Much that is significant for the student of literature as well as of language emerges from this scrutiny, and this aspect is considered below in Chapter viii, pp. 128–30.

King similarly deepens our understanding of Elizabethan vocabulary in *Some Notes on Ambiguity in 'Henry IV, Part I'* (*Ekw. Misc.*), where he discusses not only the more obvious quibbles like *pray* in 'watch to-night, pray to-morrow', but other types of ambiguity as well, as, for example, those where concrete and abstract senses co-exist, or play is made on pejorative and non-pejorative senses. He ends with a section on 'free association', which differs from the other types of association discussed in that it may be subconscious and unintentional on the part of the poet.

Pierre Legouis's contribution to this miscellany, *Some Lexicological Notes and Queries on Donne's Satires*, is noticed below in

[7] *The Language of Satirized Characters in 'Poëtaster'; A Socio-Stylistic Analysis 1597–1602*, by A. H. King. Lund: Gleerup; London: Williams and Norgate; Copenhagen: Munksgaard. 1941. pp. xxxiv+258.

chap. x, p. 153, and deals with usages that are misdated or inadequately explained in the *O.E.D.*

Brief studies on individual words include ME. *aubel* and *ebbl* and *Shakespeare's 'night-rule'* and *cyme* noticed on pp. 105 and 106; *Curmudgeon 'miser'* (*J.E.G.P.* April), by L. Spitzer, which derives this word from OFr. *chamorge* 'glandered (horse)', with a semantic development 'dribbling', 'intermittent', 'niggardly'; and *Engl. 'occasion', spätlat. 'occasio' in kausaler Bedeutung* (*Ekw. Misc.*), by E. Löfstedt, tracing the English use of *occasion* as 'cause', 'reason', first instanced in *O.E.D.* in 1382, to late Latin authors and to the Vulgate. The first recorded English use corresponds to *occasio* in the Vulgate.

W. Kurrelmeyer's article, *The Etymology of Dragoon* (*P.M.L.A.*, June), is a longer study. After a discussion of previous views and a minute search for early examples in various languages, with an investigation into the function of the troops who bore the name, he relates the word to German *Drache* 'a cock', which could become French *dragon* and be applied to a cavalry pistol discharged by a *dragon*, and then by transference to the soldier who was armed with it.

K. Malone's *Observations on the Word 'Standard'* (*Amer. Sp.*, Dec.) gives a short semantic history of the development of this word from a flag, etc., to a symbol of authority, an exemplar of weight or measure, a norm, a particular degree of excellence, and, as in 'Standard English', an ordinary, customary level.

Volume xviii of the *English Place-Name Society*[8] appeared this year, and is devoted to Middlesex, the original plan of including the City of London having been abandoned in war conditions. It does not fall below the standard of scholarship set by previous volumes, and it is not the editors' fault if this county has yielded comparatively little of interest. The most striking discovery is the location of the *Clæighangra* of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which allows a more coherent account to be given of Edmund Ironside's campaigns. There is also a *Grendeles gatan*, now Barnet Gate, formerly Grinsgate, and the obscure OE. *ætsteall* of *Waldere* and *Guthlac* probably occurs in the name Astlam, though this has not

[8] *The Place-Names of Middlesex apart from the City of London*, by J. E. B. Gover, Allen Mawer and F. M. Stenton, with the collaboration of S. J. Madge. C.U.P. pp. xxxiv+237. 18*s*.

yet brought us nearer to its solution. The volume gives an unusual amount of space to street-names, for it includes the City of Westminster. These record many half-forgotten events. Among minor names occurs *Boiland*, adding a thirteenth-century example to known instances of this first element, whose identity with the common noun 'boy' is doubted by Dobson (see Y.W., xxii, 30). The chief entries of interest to lexicographers are noted in an index, but one or two others, e.g. *dossere* (p. 202) and *hopping* (p. 127) could be added.

Some extinct Fenland Rivers (*Ekw. Misc.*), by P. H. Reaney, deals more fully with former courses of the Ouse and Nene than the same author's later work, the *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire*, but all the more important linguistic matter is repeated there. In this article, the meaning of the word *roddon*, surviving in Rodham Farm, etc., is discussed at length. Moreover the author differs from Ekwall, *English River-Names*, in taking *Wysem(o)uth(e)* to be the confluence of the Ouse and Nene, not of the Wissey and the main stream. His view leaves it open for us to believe, if we wish, that the *Wusan* of the Chronicle 905 is the Ouse, not the Wissey.

W. J. Arkell's *Place-Names and Topography in the Upper Thames Country: A Regional Essay* (*Oxoniensia*) suggests some interpretations based on close knowledge of topography. He confirms Ekwall's suggestion that OE. *slǣp* means 'slipway'. His most important observation is that numerous villages south of the Goring gap have *field* as an integral part of their names, but such names are not found north of the gap, where names in *ley* are common. He concludes that the villages to the south were founded when the forest was cleared and *feld* used in the sense that *leah* had borne when the woods between Oxford and Abingdon were settled.

While admitting that no final answer can be given to queries relating to the Danish settlement until the place-name material for the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Derby, and for East Anglia, has been published, F. M. Stenton draws some tentative conclusions in *The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies: The Danish Settlement of Eastern England* (*Trans. of the Royal Hist. Soc.*). He shows that the evidence of field-names, which represent the speech of the ordinary countryman, indicates a density of settlement that

would not have been suspected by a study of the village names alone, but which is borne out also by the frequency of Scandinavian personal names. He concludes that 'the movement . . . had the dimensions of a migration'.

The only personal-name study to be noted is O. von Friesen's *Personal Names of the Type Bótolfr* (*Ekw. Misc.*), which notes that names with *Bōt* are late in Scandinavia. The earliest are *Bōthildr*, the daughter of Earl Hakon (died c. 1030) who spent most of his life in England, and *Bōtolfr*, the name of an English saint. Other names in *Bōt-* are later, and less widespread, being commonest in Gotland and Södermanland. It seems probable that the English *Bōthild* and *Bōtulf* were borrowed, and then *Bōt-* became productive on Scandinavian soil.

Most works on slang are concerned with the American branch, but one work must be noted here, Uno Philipson's *Political Slang, 1750–1850*,[9] which is based on an examination of contemporary journals, political debates, etc., and is able to add new words or earlier datings to the dictionaries. Many, it is true, are momentary coinages like *anti-whiggosity*, but the author can date *thick-and-thin* 1809 (*O.E.D.*, 1886), *pocket-borough* 1818 (*O.E.D.*, 1856) and so on. The study shows that there was a change of attitude towards slang with the advancement of classes which had previously had little influence, and its value as a 'feeder of the standard language' began to be perceived. His statistics show a greatly increased rate of admission of slang into print from 1830–50.

Not much has been written on English dialects, but one should note Hilda M. Holmes's *Derbyshire Dialect in the Seventeenth Century* (*Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural Hist. Soc.*, 1941) which studies the 'constant register' of the Bakewell constables, for located material of an early date is rare. Phonological features are noted, not merely vocabulary. There is only one instance, *disbonded*, of *o* instead of standard *a* before nasals; ME. *ā* is variously rendered, e.g. *spead* beside *spaid*, 'spade'. The author interprets this as representing a pronunciation [e:]

[9] *Political Slang, 1750–1850*, by Uno Philipson. Lund: Gleerup; London: Williams and Norgate; Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard. 1941. pp. xvi + 314. 10 Kr.

beside [ɐ:]. But as 'dean's' is written *daines*, the writers appear to pronounce some words with ME. *ɛ̄* with the same sound they use for ME. *ā*, and it seems possible that *spead* represents an inverted spelling. Curiosities include *guirding* 'guarding' and several instances of *pilpit* 'pulpit'.

There is also *A List of Words Illustrating the Nottinghamshire Dialect* (*Trans. of the Thoroton Soc.*) by E. L. Guilford, containing a collection which has run through this journal since 1928.

Works on American English continue to appear in great numbers. Those concerned with English as a whole have been noted above, although the authors may have based their observations on American speech. The following account of works dealing mainly or exclusively with American cannot be exhaustive, owing to the difficulty of obtaining some journals, such as the *Quarterly Journal of Speech.*

R.-M. S. Heffner continues his measurements of vowel quantity in *Notes on the Length of Vowels* (*V*) (*Amer. Sp.* Feb. see *Y.W.*, xxii, 40), where he measures the vowel in *good* in different accentual conditions and concludes that tempo has nothing to do with the duration of the final accented word. In *Two Notes on Vowel and Consonant Quantity* (*ibid.* Oct.) N. E. Eliason disputes an opinion of Heffner's that a vowel is shorter under lighter stress, claiming that position, not stress, is the factor causing difference in quantity. He states also that oscillograph records show that the vowel in bimorphemic words like *tied* is about ·030 seconds longer than in monomorphemic words like *tide*. The same number contains *The Phoneme 'T': a Study in Theory and Method*, in which G. L. Trager analyses the different allophones of 't' in his own speech.

The Phonetics of Great Smoky Mountain Speech[10] by J. S. Hall, is a detailed and careful study. The area was chosen partly because its conversion into a national park is causing regional peculiarities of speech to disappear, and partly in the belief that traces of earlier stages of the growth of English would be found in a speech so long removed from the main currents of culture. This belief seems to have been justified, for not only does the vocabulary preserve old usages like 'spend one's opinion' but the sound system also has

[10] *The Phonetics of Great Smoky Mountain Speech*, by J. S. Hall. American Speech Reprints and Monographs 4. pp. vi+110.

features of historical interest. Among other things, ME. ē appears sporadically as [ei], [ę], beside normal [i:]; some speakers preserve a tense sound for short *i*; ME. *o* has normally the [a] of General American, but the occurrence of [ǫ] among older, or uneducated, people suggests that this is more original in the area. On the other hand, a few words like *crop*, *drop*, *yon*, have [æ], the development seen in English *strap*, etc., and the Biblical *plat*.

A. H. Marckwardt's *Middle English wa in the Speech of the Great Lakes Region* (*Amer. Sp.*, Dec.) is much more limited in aim. It is prefixed with a history of the combinative development of *wa* and concludes that this was sporadic, or confined to certain social levels. His findings show that while *swallow*, *want*, *water* are usually rounded, *watch* is generally unrounded. Rounding is commonest in Michigan and Indiana, rarer in Wisconsin and Illinois, almost absent in Indiana. There is agreement with the pronunciation of ME. *o* everywhere except in Indiana, which has the rounded vowel in *fog*, *hospital*, etc.

In C. K. Thomas's *Pronunciation in Downstate, New York* (*Amer. Sp.*, Feb. and Oct.), tables noting the pronunciation of vowels in various positions show that the same ME. vowel may be pronounced differently in different words. For example [ǫ] is commonly heard in *across*, but [a] is normal in *hospital*, *possible*, and while *dog* has almost invariably [ǫ], *log* and *frog* have [a]. After an examination of many other features, the author concludes that the boundaries are not the same for all classes of words; that the traditional boundary of the Hudson has no validity; and that there should perhaps be added a fourth type of American to the usual classification into Eastern, Southern and General.

Another dialect study, *Speech Currents in 'Egypt'* (*Amer. Sp.*, Oct.), by G. P. Smith, consists mainly of jottings of dialect words in South Illinois, and in the same number of this journal, J. N. Tidswell shows in *Mark Twain's Representation of Negro Speech* that this author's rendering was 'sincere and competent'.

In the province of vocabulary there must first be noted Parts XII and XIII of *A Dictionary of American English*[11] (see *Y.W.* xvii,

[11] *A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles*, by Sir William Craigie and J. R. Hulbert. Part XII (*Land Plaster—Mingo*) Nov. 1941; Part XIII (*Mingo—Outdoor Life*) Oct. 1942. O.U.P. pp. 256. 17*s.* per part.

53–4), which provide, as before, much information for the study of the inter-relation of the two branches of English, the dates of the earliest recordings suggesting, for example, that England borrowed from America *newsboy* and *liner*. Those interested in the coinage of new words will find many items to interest them, including *linguister* 'interpreter' in 1670. But many English readers will turn to this work mainly for the elucidation of unfamiliar expressions and will doubtless be surprised at the respectable antiquity of *lummox*, *maverick*, *mosey* and *nifty*.

It is naturally not possible to gather from this dictionary what British usages are not equally current in America, and there is therefore room for articles such as A. F. Hubbell's *A List of Briticisms* (*Amer. Sp.*, Feb.), which selects from recent fiction a number of words or expressions which sound alien to an American —some, such as *disallow* for 'prohibit', seem equally so to an Englishman. In view of the tendency to attribute new creations in language to America, it is worth noting that we may apparently claim the credit—if such it be—of *to do down*, *dust up* and *push-cycle*, to choose a few examples at random.

Various collections of material that may find its way into the dictionaries of the future are scattered through *American Speech*. They include a series called *New Evidence on Americanisms* (Feb., April, Oct.), a *Miscellany*, edited by Louise Pound, in each number, where individual words and phrases are discussed, and *Among the New Words* (April, Oct., Dec.), where D. L. Bolinger deals mainly with war-words such as *beach-head*, etc. Special jargons form the subject of R. Mulvey's *Pitchmen's Cant* (Feb.), B. H. Porter's *Truck Driver Lingo* (Feb.), and E. B. Davis's *Paul Bunyan Talk* (Dec.), i.e. the language of lumbermen, or 'loggers'. Finally, it is to be hoped that dictionaries will be able to ignore formations in *-eroo*, discussed by H. Wentworth in *The Neo-Pseudo-Suffix '-eroo'* (Feb.), where he collects words such as *swingeroo* 'swing music', apparently current in certain American circles.

A more important work on a special branch of vocabulary is E. Colby's *Army Talk*,[12] which is not confined to slang, but includes military terms and serves to some extent as an encyclopædia as well as a dictionary. It is collected largely from the author's own experi-

[12] *Army Talk*, by Elbridge Colby. Princeton Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xiv+232. 13*s*. 6*d*. net.

ence, and contents itself with a racy and vivid definition of the term under consideration, with no attempt to distinguish new explanations from those already accessible in print. It is not possible for a layman to assess its completeness, or its accuracy, but it makes amusing and instructive reading. We learn that *meat-ball* means the last day of an enlistment, and how *milk battalion* came to be a nickname of the third battalion. It appears at a convenient moment to help us communicate with our allies.

III

OLD ENGLISH

By DOROTHY WHITELOCK

THE appearance of *A Philological Miscellany presented to Eilert Ekwall*[1] was one of the major events of 1942 in this subject as well as in General Philology, for many of the contributions deal with Old English. They will be considered separately in their proper places below.

Next to be noted is the publication of vol. vi of *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*[2] (see *Y.W.*, xii, pp. 59 f.), entitled *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* and edited by E. van K. Dobbie. This volume contains the verse texts which come from other sources than MSS. primarily devoted to poetry, and thus it conveniently brings together many texts which have had to be consulted in scattered places—a signal service in itself. It includes texts, like *Finnsburh* and the *Battle of Maldon*, on which much previous work has been done, and it is useful to have the more important results of other scholars' work collected, weighed and sifted with the editor's sound sense of proportion. The book also contains poems that have hitherto received little attention, and here the editor makes suggestions about their interpretation, with references to parallels elsewhere, and corrects earlier misreadings or unnecessary emendations, restoring, for example, *þine* (not *wine*) in *A Summons to Prayer* and *unbleoh* (not *anwealh*) in *The Judgment Day*. Only one poem appears for the first time, *The Seasons for Fasting*, from Nowell's transcript of the burnt MS. Otho B. xi, a poem of no great merit or interest, but with a realistic picture of priestly misbehaviour at the end. The author has been very conservative, emending only when the correct reading is obvious or when the MS. makes nonsense. Further emendations could easily be made; e.g. l. 85 should read: *þe mot æt o þe wæt ærur þicgan*. Much remains to be done on this poem.

Little relevant to the subject has been missed, but it may be

[1] See above, p. 17.

[2] *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ed. by Elliot van Kirk Dobbie. Columbia Univ. Press. pp. clxxx+220. $4.50.

mentioned that doubt is thrown by A. J. Robertson in *Anglo-Saxon Charters* on the identification here adopted of the Thureth of the intercession poem with the earl of this name. Open to criticism also is the editorial principle that allows emendations in the text while drawing the line at the filling of lacunae. If it is permissible to print, as here, *l . . gne* for *l . . ge, gewe . ld* for *gefe . ld*, it would seem more reasonable to go the whole way, and print *langne, geweald.* These minor matters detract little from a most useful book which should give an impetus to the further study of rather neglected texts.

O. S. Anderson's *Old English Material in the Leningrad Manuscript of Bede's Ecclesiastical History*[3] is important for the study of the oldest English texts. Apart from the version of Cædmon's Hymn, the material is made accessible for the first time, for neither Plummer nor Sweet used this MS., which can be assigned with something near to certainty to a particular year (746) and is therefore of great importance in dating linguistic developments, especially the centralization of the unstressed vowels *æ* and *i*, on which the author has an excellent discussion. The value of this book is not only as material, for it is the first complete linguistic analysis of the Old English material in Bede. The author realizes that no final statement on MS. relationship can be made without a study of the Latin text as well, but he holds that its comparative freedom from error, and its agreement with other early MSS. against the Moore MS., indicate a reliability greater than that of the latter.

It has, like all the early MSS., a combination of North and South Northumbrian features, though with rather more Southern features than the Moore MS. Anderson would attribute this admixture to Bede himself, and regards his locality as the northern frontier of Deira. He discusses the possibility of the retention of non-Northumbrian features in names from other localities, concluding that *Peada* is Mercian in form. The suggestion that *Eafa* is similarly a Mercian form of *Afa* is more convincing than other explanations of this name. Previous work on nomenclature is criticized and among the more acceptable of the alternative solutions offered is

[3] *Old English Material in the Leningrad Manuscript of Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, by O. S. Anderson. Lund: Gleerup; Leipzig: Harrassowitz; O.U.P. 1941. pp. viii+165+3 plates.

the connection of *Bōsa* with Norwegian *bose* 'big fellow', and of *Tytil* with the *tutel* of the *Ancren Riwle*. A bigger part is thus assigned to the nick-name in early habits of nomenclature.

Minor contributions to Bede studies include a note by N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts owned by Johannes Vlimmerus and Cornelius Duyn* (*Library*, March), which shows that Leyden University MS. Bibl. Publ. Lat. 112 contains *De tabernaculo* and that there is a MS. of *De natura rerum* at Stonyhurst, Lancashire.

J. D. A. Ogilvy, in a review of Laistner entitled *A Noteworthy Contribution to the Study of Bede* (*Univ. of Colorado Studies in the Humanities* I. 3), makes a strong plea for the study of Bede as a whole, and not merely as a historian. Only thus can we learn fully about his scholarly habits, the knowledge available to him and his contemporaries, and the part taken by the Anglo-Saxons in the transmission of texts of the Bible.

L. Whitbread, *The Cædmon Story* (*N. & Q.*, Oct. 10) is simply a bibliography of previous work on Bede's story of Cædmon.

The *Bodleian Library Record* (April–June) notes the accession of a previously unknown leaf of a ninth-century MS. of Aldhelm's *De Laude Virginitatis*, making the thirty-fourth leaf of this MS. to be recovered.

By far the weightiest work on *Beowulf* is J. C. Pope's *The Rhythm of 'Beowulf'*,[4] setting out a new theory on the reading of Old English verse, with the help of musical notation. To pronounce on its merits lies beyond the competence of the present writer and must await the metrical expert. Meanwhile it is convenient to know that it does not involve a disruption of all previous textural criticisms based on the Sievers five-type system, for the author allows that 'the descriptive portion of Sievers' work is fundamentally sound'. His dissatisfaction with this system when translated into sound was, in later years, shared by Sievers himself, but it is not on the lines of 'Schallanalyse' that Pope would reach a solution.

Brief mention may be made in this place of K. Malone's *Lift-patterns in Old English Verse* (*E.L.H.*, March), an attempted classification 'in terms of rhythmical pattern alone'. He recognizes

[4] *The Rhythm of 'Beowulf'*, by J. C. Pope. Yale Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. x+386. 33*s*. 6*d*. net.

three categories of 'lifts' (1) major, with alliteration or rhyme; (2) minor, i.e. a stressed syllable without these accompaniments; (3) tertiary, differing from (2) in that the metrical heightening takes place at a lower level. As far as four-lift patterns are concerned, there is no great departure from the Sievers system, but under five-lift lines occur lines scanned like:

niceras nigène. No ic on niht gefrægn

with double alliteration in the second half-line, and in some cases, as in:

aldor on ofre, ær he in wille,

one may feel that very great emphasis is laid on a syntactically unimportant word. Six- and seven-lift patterns are also recognized, though they are not common, the latter representing what are normally called 'swollen lines'. The author has put forth his theory in the hope that it will lead to further work on these lines.

L. Whitbread's *Beowulfiana* (*M.L.R.*, Oct.) consists mainly of notes on Klæber's second edition, and they are of unequal value. Some good Latin parallels are adduced to ll. 1604, 1608, 2246 f, but the note on *ealuscerwen* brings many illustrations relating to 'deadly wine' without explaining why in this context *ealu* came to mean 'grievous, fearful drink'. The interpretation of the *banhelm* of *Finnsburh* as 'bone-protection provided by the skull or cranium itself' is possible, allowing one to take the verb *burston* in the same intransitive use with parts of the body as in *Beowulf*. On the other hand the suggested emendations of *eoletes* to *eotelre s*[*æ*], *deaðfæge deog* to *deaðdæge* [*ne ge*]*feag*, and *on sæl meoto* to *on sælum eowa*, require a more violent handling of the text than some earlier suggestions that have given at least as good a sense.

The most interesting part of this contribution is the comparison between the structure of Hrothgar's speech (ll. 1700–84) and that of *Deor*, both passing from exempla to general reflection and so to personal admission in an autobiographical form. The recognition that there was a regular form for such hortations would preclude the rejection of parts of either poem as interpolation. Does not the comparison suggest also that the poet of *Deor* is not, as is normally assumed, comforting himself in affliction by remembering the sorrow of others, but someone else by referring to his own (past) sorrow also? This would account for the refrain *þæs ofereode*, at the end of the autobiographical passage.

F. Holthausen's *Zur Textkritik des Beowulf* (*Ekw. Misc.*) suggests two emendations. He would take the *gara* of l. 461, usually emended to *Wedera*, as *wigana*, as more likely to have been corrupted to *gara*; and for l. 3168 b, where Smith's photographs show that the second word had *e* as its second letter, he makes the acceptable suggestion that we should read *swa heom æror wæs*, with reference back to *eldum*.

In the same volume, the first of H. Kökeritz's *Two Interpretations* deals with *Finnsburh*, l. 5a, *ac her forð berað*, taking it with the preceding half-line, *hornas ne byrnað*, and rendering *berað* as 'continue to support (hold up, keep holding up the roof)'.

The *Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture* for 1941 was delivered by R. Girvan on *Finnsburuh*,[5] and is an important contribution to a puzzle which never loses its interest for *Beowulf* scholars. It is impossible to examine in detail its many implications in a short notice. It is undoubtedly of permanent value in pointing out the fallacy in certain assumptions, especially that behind the fragment and the episode in *Beowulf* must lie precisely the same story. A good case is made for a late date for the poem, the evidence being cumulative rather than decisive. It is likely that the story told would differ from that known to the *Beowulf* poet, and Girvan argues that a lay exalting the loyalty of Hnæf's followers could not end in an ignominious making of terms, and concludes that it ended with the successful vengeance taken by the Danes, so that the two events in *Beowulf*—the fight in which Hnæf fell, and the vengeance some months later—have been telescoped in the lay into one single struggle of several days' duration. One may, perhaps, feel that too much is based on the assumed original brevity of a fragmentary work.

The novelty of the interpretation of the episode in *Beowulf* lies particularly in the suggestion that *Hunlafing* is a patronymic of Hengest, who would otherwise be the only important person in *Beowulf* of whose ancestry nothing is said. It is against the practice of the poet to introduce a character by a patronymic alone, so *Hunlafing* must be a character mentioned elsewhere. This interpretation is attractive and one can accept it without necessarily committing oneself to the reconstruction of events which the author bases on it, namely that Hengest girt the sword on himself, not as the first step towards vengeance, but as a gesture of defiance

of the treaty with Finn, who at once took action by slaying him. This was the *grimne gripe* that Guthlaf and Oslaf, his uncles, came from Denmark to avenge. It is only the fragment, not *Beowulf*, that speaks of their presence in the first battle and this can be disregarded if we accept the opinion of the telescoping in the fragment of two different events.

In *Freawaru* (*E.L.H.*, March 1940) Kemp Malone takes back his interpretation of Hrothgar's daughter's name as 'friendly awareness'. He compares the *Frealaf* and *Freawine* of the genealogies, and the use of the latter as a common noun, as well as *freadryhten*, *freareccere*, meaning 'lord'. *Freawaru* is identical, meaning 'lord and protector', but, as the second element is feminine, it could only refer to a woman. He still regards the name as a substitution by the author of *Beowulf* for a name beginning with *h*, perhaps *Hrút*, for though Saxo regards her as Hrothulf's sister, not cousin, he may have confused a foster-sister with a real sister. The article closes by tracing the progressive vilification of the character in the various versions of the Ingeld tale.

Ecgtheow (*M.L.Q.*, March 1940), also by Malone, is a neatly reasoned and convincing account of what one can gather about Beowulf's father. As Hrothgar knew Beowulf as a boy, it is probable that Ecgtheow and his family lived in Denmark at some time in Beowulf's childhood. Ecgtheow had previously been among the Wylfings. The usual emendation of *gara* in l. 461 to *Wedera* is not only paleographically difficult, but asks us to believe that Hrethel refused asylum to his own son-in-law, which would be understandable only if Ecgtheow had slain one of his own subjects. This was not the case, for other records suggest that the Wylfings were a tribe south of the Baltic. It is more likely, therefore, that *gara cyn* hides an alternative name for Wylfings, probably the Old English equivalent of the *Vulgares* of Paulus Diaconus, i.e. *Wulgaras* from *Wulg-waras* where the first element corresponds to ON. *ylgr* 'a she-wolf', and the second, judging by a comparison of pairs like *Chattvarii: Chatti*, has a similar meaning to *-ingas*. Both *Wylfingas* and *Wulgaras* mean 'offshoot of the *Glomman*' (i.e. wolves) mentioned in *Widsith*. Ecgtheow may have himself been a Wylfing. No reference is made in this article to *Beowulf* chronology, by which

[6] *Finnsburuh*, by Ritchie Girvan. The Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture. 1941. Proceedings of the British Academy, XXVI. 2*s*. 6*d*. net.

Ecgtheow would first arrive in Denmark some thirty years before his son was born, but Malone is doubtless assuming, with Girvan, that the poet has greatly extended the length of Hrothgar's reign for his own ends.

In *Grendel and Grep* (*P.M.L.A.*, March) Malone claims that the Grep episode in Saxo's fifth book is a parallel to the story of the slaying of Grendel. The Danes are delivered by champions from Geatland from an awkward situation—but how different a situation! One of the deliverers is called *Roller*, which Malone equates with *Hrepel*, postulating a shift of the story from Beowulf to his grandfather (or vice-versa), with a corresponding shift from Hrothgar to Frothi. The differences between the two stories seem, however, more striking than the resemblances. If we really have another version of the Grendel tale, it is so altered as to have little value for *Beowulf* studies, but need it show more than that there was a tradition that Geat help was brought to the Danes? This could have happened on more than one occasion.

It should, in fact, be a useful corrective to a tendency to see identity of origin in accidental similarities, that L. Whitbread is able to bring forward in *Beowulf and Grendel's Mother* (*M.L.N.*, April) two Polynesian tales with some similarity to the *Beowulf* account. It is natural that stories of heroes who fight monsters beneath the sea should arise independently and have features in common. It is for the folklorist, not the *Beowulf* scholar, that Whitbread has called attention to these parallels.

Three articles are concerned with the history of *Beowulf* scholarship. First F. Cooley, *Early Danish Criticism of 'Beowulf'* (*E.L.H.*, March 1940), gives an interesting account of Thorkelin's work and its reception, and of the work of Grundtvig and Rask, with an evaluation of their contributions to the subject. Of particular value is the study of the anonymous reviewer of Thorkelin's edition, who was the first person to appreciate the historical significance of the poem, to see the kinship with a type of folktale, and to realize the point of Grendel's 'second slaying'. Among Grundtvig's services, in addition to his identification of Hygelac with the *Chlochilaicus* of Gregory of Tours, which has often been noted, must be counted his recognition of the ship-burial of Scyld, of very many proper

names taken by Thorkelin as common nouns, including Hrethel and Hengest, of the connection between the *Finnsburh* fragment and *Beowulf*, and of the occurrence of many characters of the poem in Saxo and Norse sources. In brief, in spite of many strange misconceptions, he placed *Beowulf* scholarship on the right lines. To Denmark also we owe the first adequate edition of a section of the poem, by Rask in 1817.

In *Thorkelin's Transcripts of 'Beowulf'* (*Ekw. Misc.*) Malone points out that these transcripts have not been consulted since Zupitza published his facsimile, and that his collation of them has some errors and inconsistencies with regard to the pointing of the MS.

Thirdly, in the second part of the same miscellany, F. Gadde examines in *Viktor Rydberg and some 'Beowulf' Questions* the views of this little known contribution to *Beowulf*. Most are mythological interpretations—a type of conjecture that is now unfashionable. Typical is the belief that Beowulf and Breca swam out to fight the monsters of Jotunheim who had taken possession of the northern seas during the *fimbul* winter. In his relation of the Herebeald-Hæthcyn story to the Balder myth Rydberg has had some following, and he anticipated Schütte in identifying Ongentheow with Saxo's Athislus.

Two articles deal with the interpretation of *Deor*. It is impossible to reproduce in detail K. Malone's scrutiny of the third stanza in *On 'Deor' 14–17* (*Mod. Phil.* August). The main thesis is attractive: the name *Mæðhild* was confused in Germany with *Mahtild*, which in its turn was altered in Scandinavia to the synonymous *Magnhild*, and the story referred to in this stanza survives in ballad form (see *E.L.H.* iii) and concerns the marriage of *Gaute* (corresponding to *Geat* except for its weak inflection) with *Magnild*. This is the most likely connection yet advanced, even if one does not accept all the details of the theory, of which the more important are: the emendation of *monge gefrugnon* to *mone gefrugnon*, with *mone* as 'moan' (an early instance of the rounding of *ā*); and the assumption that *frige* is used in the Low German sense 'lady'. We should then translate:

'We learned that: the moans of Mæðhild; they became numberless, [the moans] of Geat's lady, so that that distressing love bereft her of all sleep.'

Some of the criticism of previous opinions is justified, but the author tends to regard his own theory relating to the structure of the poem as if it were an established fact.

The second article is L. Whitbread's *An Allusion in 'Deor': 21–22* (*J.E.G.P.*, July), which discusses the meaning and suitability, as a summary of the character of Eormenric, of the term *wylfenne*, showing how in early Germanic literature 'wolf' was used to bring out the ideas of treachery, exile and outlawry. He would interpret *wulfhleopu* in *Beowulf* as 'abodes of outlaws or outlawed creatures'.

D. Miller, in *The Sequence of the 'Waldhere' Fragments* (*Med. Æv.* Oct. 1941), suggests a reversal of the more common arrangement of the two fragments, as for example in Norman's edition, on the grounds that if the first speech in Norman's second fragment is correctly assigned to Waldhere, this hero was then in possession of two swords, while in the 'first' fragment, the words *Ne murn ðu for ði mece* occur, which Miller takes to imply that Waldhere had broken a sword. As he thinks it would be absurd if the hero had had three swords, he would put last the fragment in which a sword is broken. It must, however, be remembered that this interpretation of the line in question is only one of many.

A Note on 'Wulf and Eadwacer' (*Med. Æv.*, Oct. 1941), by L. Whitbread, is not a discussion of previous views, but an examination of the text. The chief new points are: the rendering of l. 9. as 'I thought to expect my Wulf from afar' (or 'at rare intervals'), emending *wenum* to *wenan* and accepting Hicketier's *hogode* for *dogode*; and the translation of *wæs me hwæpre eac lað* as 'even so (he) was also an enemy', declaring that *lað* cannot be abstract. Surely, however, it is well enough instanced in the sense 'what is unpleasant', and the contrast with *wyn* here is comparable with phrases like *mid lufe ge mid laðe*. The author thinks it possible, but doubtful, that we have an episode from a lost tale and views with scepticism attempts to connect it with known stories.

Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon,[6] by S. K. Das, is the most detailed study of this poet that has appeared for a long time. It's conclusion, that Cynewulfian authorship must be denied to *Crist*

[6] *Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon*, by S. K. Das. Univ. of Calcutta. pp. xx+260.

I and III, *Andreas, Guthlac A and B, Phoenix, Dream of the Rood* and the *Riddles*, differs little from the view expressed in K. Sisam's illuminating short study *Cynewulf and his Poetry*, with which Das seems unacquainted; it is nevertheless valuable to find the general impressions of this acute mind fully borne out by detailed investigations. These are divided into two parts, metrical and stylistic. In the first the reference system is extremely complicated—the reader is constantly harassed by the effort of remembering if it is *SA1b* or *SA2a* which refers to the second-half line, and bewildered by a system of percentages that seems to add up to 195—but if he takes the trouble to translate the results into comprehensible terminology he finds that, while many could be covered by a general statement that Cynewulf was artist enough not to let metrical stress be at variance with syntactical emphasis, there remain a sufficient number of individual habits which the unsigned poems violate. In the second part the author brings great fervour to the study of a somewhat neglected author and so sheds light on his skill and artistry, even if he perhaps overestimates the depth and subtlety of feeling.

Two discussions of one Old English riddle have appeared. That by A. E. H. Swaen, *Riddle 9 (6.8). Facts and Fancies* (*Ekw. Misc.*), is admittedly negative. It points out the difficulties in the way of accepting the solutions 'sangpipe', 'nightingale', 'wood-pigeon', 'bell', 'mimus', 'jay' and '*ceo*', but feels that 'bell' is perhaps the least objectionable. J. I. Young, *Riddle 8 of the Exeter Book* (*R.E.S.*, July), independently goes over some of the same ground, but she clears up the confusion that has arisen by mistaking a modern imitation of OE. *n* for a marginal rune, and she offers a solution. The necessity is to find a bird at once a songster and a mimic, and she describes the habits of the song thrush to prove that it fulfils the necessary conditions. If she is right, she has done more than solve one riddle: she has claimed for the Anglo-Saxon poet very close observation of nature. He is unaffected by the 'unnatural natural history' of much medieval literature.

In *Some Notes on the Old English Poem 'The Seafarer'* (*Ekw. Misc.*) S. B. Liljegren is doubtless right in rejecting the allegorical interpretation of the poem proposed by Anderson, whose translation, rendering *ceol* as 'life's bark', *ceare* as 'cares of life' and so on, does violence to the original to fit his theory. But it is not easy

to see why the demonstrated similarity in vocabulary between this poem and the other exile poems, the *Wanderer* and the *Wife's Complaint*, should lead to the question whether all three must be allegory, or all three elegy. The article includes a long discussion of the meaning of *forðon*, and by comparison with its use in the gospel translations concludes that it may mean 'albeit, however, nevertheless, indeed, actually', etc., and not necessarily 'therefore'.

The Dream of the Rood[7] is a pleasant translation of this poem by H. F. Brooks, based on the text in the edition of Dickins and Ross. It is in the main a close and accurate rendering which will convey to those ignorant of Old English a very fair idea of the original poem.

In *A Note on 'Dux Vitae' and 'Lifes Lattiow'* (*P.M.L.A.*, June). C. A. Hotchner claims that the phrase *lifes lattiow*, first in the OE. poem *Exodus*, is the origin of the Latin *dux vitae*, which does not appear until the eleventh century and then in German territory which was in alliance with England in the Confessor's reign. She lists the occurrences of the Old English expression and notes its survival into Middle English.

Alfred's *Orosius* forms the subject of three articles by R. Ekblom. In *Ohthere's Voyage from Skiringssal to Hedeby* (*Studia Neophilologica* 1939–40), he discusses in detail the precise route taken by Ohthere. After an exhaustive discussion of possibilities, he concludes that *Sillende* means 'terra firma', 'mainland' and applies to the east coastal district of South Jutland. He thinks that, by Denmark, Ohthere meant the Danish part of South Sweden, but is of the view that this could not have been, as Ohthere asserts, to larboard from the beginning of his journey, for Danish influence north of the Göta Älv had suffered a decline at the end of the ninth century. But it should be remembered that we do not know just when Ohthere made this voyage, nor when he related it to Alfred. It may well have been early in his reign. Ekblom notes that Ohthere distinguishes Jutland and Sillendi from Denmark, and thinks that this corresponds to Alfred's distinction between South and North Danes. Denmark may mean 'the Danes' border' in which case the

[7] *The Dream of the Rood*, by H. F. Brooks. Dublin: The Sign of the Three Candles. pp. 10. 1*s*.

name is most likely to have been given by their neighbours, the Swedes.

Ekblom contributes to the 1940–1 volume of this periodical *Der Volksname Osti in Alfreds des Grossen Orosius-Übersetzung*, in which he locates this tribe in the middle of Hither Pomerania, in an area formerly called *Wostroze*, *Wostrosne* or *Wostze*. The name survives in Wusterhusen.

In *Alfred the Great as Geographer* (*Ekw. Misc.*) Ekblom subjects Alfred's statements to a searching scrutiny, which reveals that he used two systems of orientation, 'normal' and Old Scandinavian, which had a clockwise deflection of sixty degrees, and which he used not only for Scandinavia (apart from Denmark) but also for the Old Saxon area, which suggests that his informant here was a Scandinavian. Realization of this clears up several difficulties. Others have arisen through misunderstanding of the plan by which Alfred chooses one tribe as a starting point and lists the others in relation to that tribe and therefore not necessarily to the one immediately preceding. On this reasoning, the 'Land of Women' can be placed in the area indicated by the tenth-century Ibrahim ibn Yakub, and Ohthere's 'great river' is the Varzuga. It is not quite clear to laymen on what principle the 'geographical centre' of a tribe is ascertained for purposes of calculation, e.g. Sala for the Swedes. The discussion of the *Beormas* contains no reference to A. S. C. Ross's treatise *The 'Terfinnas' and 'Beormas' of Ohthere.*

F. P. Magoun's article *King Alfred's Naval and Beach Battle with the Danes in 896* (*M.L.R.*, Oct.) will be useful for students, who usually have difficulty with this annal. The elucidation here is admirably clear, and it contains the suggestions that *utermere* means 'bay' not 'outer sea', and that *ufeweard muða* means 'upper harbour'. It is suggested tentatively that the two ships which could not row round Sussex were wrecked on Selsey Bill.

The Eighth Scribe's Dates in the Parker Manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (*Med. Æv.*, Oct. 1941), by W. S. Angus, is a minute examination of the dating figures and it shows that the problem is more complex than Plummer realized. One cannot enter here into the details of the argument, which is convincing, and vindicates scribe 8 from any suspicion of muddle. He wrote a consecutive series, but his numbers from 924–937 were altered to 925–938

by the corrector who added one to the annals from 892 to 938, at some time before the Otho text was copied, and a second corrector got rid of the resulting repetition of 938 by changing 938, 939 to 939, 940. This was the condition when the Otho text was copied. Somewhere about 1100 the scribe of MS F altered 941–2 to 940–1, erasing the blank annal 940 to avoid duplication. Finally, someone restored the original dating from 930–7 by deducting one from each number, and obtained a consecutive series by cancelling the blank annal 930 (i.e. the 8th scribe's 929). Having thus decided what the scribe wrote, Angus then examines the reliability of his chronology and finds him in error on the date of Athelstan's invasion of Scotland and on the date of his death.

A. Campbell's *Two Notes on the Norse Kingdoms in Northumbria* (*E.H.R.*, Jan.) are mainly of historical interest. They depend in part on the interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The author contends that Rægnald established his kingdom in two stages, with a pause from about 915 to 920. This involves a rejection of the identification with Rægnall son of Ivarr who according to Irish sources fought on the Tyne in 918. It is, however, difficult to believe that this should have no connection with the Battle of Corbridge. In his second note a clear account is given of a singularly complicated period. Campbell considers that both Anlaf and Erik were 'tools of a lingering particularism among the Northumbrian witan' and that Erik's main supporter was Archbishop Wulfstan I.

Ælfric studies have been enriched this year with an edition of the *De Temporibus Anni*,[8] by H. Henel. This work was last edited in 1866, and the present editor adds a careful investigation into MS. relationships, a full discussion on date and authorship, an excellent commentary and some useful quotations of sources and parallels. He dates the work about 993, and suggests altering the generally accepted order of Ælfric's work by placing part, at least, of the Old Testament translation before the *Lives of Saints*, maintaining that when Ælfric refers in the preface to that work to four books translating sacred subjects, he was not including his *Grammar*. He calls attention to Ælfric's claim to have himself frequently experienced

[8] *Ælfric's De Temporibus Anni*, ed. by Heinrich Henel. E.E.T.S. Original Series 213. O.U.P. pp. lviii + 106. 21*s*. net.

the shortness of a northern summer night, and wonders if he was a north-countryman, but he realizes that other and less startling explanations to this circumstance would be possible.

Three articles on Wulfstan are to be considered. The present writer shows, in *Wulfstan and the so-called Laws of Edward and Guthrum* (*E.H.R.*, Jan. 1941), how this code is completely ignored until 1008, the year in which we have our first evidence of Wulfstan's participation in legislation, but from then on becomes extremely influential. A close examination of the code shows that it is couched in Wulfstan's phraseology, and that in content its affinities are with eleventh-century legislation. Liebermann's reasons for an early date are scrutinized and found to be invalid. It is suggested that Wulfstan drew up the code, with a preamble that claims that its injunctions are not innovations but derived from the earliest agreements between Danes and English. If this is so, we must re-date the first appearance of several words borrowed from Old Norse. The effect of the redating of this code on views relating to the conversion of East Anglia is examined by the same writer in *The Conversion of the Eastern Danelaw* (*Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 1941).

D. Bethurum makes an important contribution with *Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.), where she examines several tenth- and eleventh-century MSS. containing in common many entries relating to the affairs of a bishop. By a comparison with Wulfstan's work she shows that it is highly probable that he used this material and is perhaps responsible for assembling it. The article makes several additions to knowledge of Wulfstan's sources. The investigation suggests that MS. C.C.C.C. 190 is the closest to the original collection, though three others of the group, C.C.C.C. 265, Junius 121, Nero A1, can definitely be located at Worcester.

Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman (*Trans. of the Royal Hist. Soc.*), by the present writer, in part covers the same ground and reaches similar conclusions about Wulfstan's scholarship from a more cursory examination of some of the same MSS., differing, however, in a willingness to allow more initiative to Wulfstan himself in the collection of his material. But the main aim of this article is to consider the political importance of a per-

sonage much neglected by historians, and it therefore collects what can be ascertained about his life, work and character. It surveys the problem of his precise connection with Ethelred's laws, concluding that many were drafted by him.

H. Larsen, *Notes on the Phoenix* (*J.E.G.P.*, Jan.), compares the Old English homily in C.C.C.C. 198 and Vespasian D.14 with two Old Norse versions of the subject, claiming that these show signs of being translated from Old English.

Work on Old English documents includes F. Rose-Troup, *Crediton Charters of the Tenth Century* (*Trans. of the Devonshire Assoc.*) and R. F. Jessup, *Notes on a Saxon Charter of Higham* (*Archaeologia Cantiana*), both dealing with the identification of boundaries. Allen Mawer in *Some Notes from Wiltshire* (*Ekw. Misc.*) re-establishes the identification of *Caningan mærsc* in the Chronicle as Cannings, Wilts., shows that Mooray Farm preserves the 'morning gift' of the Fonthill document, and suggests that the nickname *Higa* of one of the characters in this charter may imply membership of King Alfred's household at Wardour, four miles away. *Colungahrycge* of the Ætheling Athelstan's will is identified as Coldridge, which makes it virtually certain that it is to the Wiltshire Ludgershall that *Lutegaresheale* applies.

A series of articles by M. Deansley, mainly of historical interest, are important for the study of charters by their suggestion that some early Kentish grants, viewed with suspicion, are based in part on genuine originals. In *Early English and Gallic Minsters* (*Trans. of the Royal Hist. Soc.*, 1940) she showed that up till about 670 grants would be written on papyrus, a highly perishable material; and in *Canterbury and Paris in the Reign of Æthelberht* (*History*, Sept. 1941) she pointed out the connection between an early Rochester grant and the *formulæ* of the Bishop of Paris. In *The Court of King Æthelberht of Kent* (*Cambridge Historical Journal*) she defends the authenticity of a list of witnesses which would prove the Kentish court to have been organized on a Frankish pattern.

Runes and the Gothic Alphabet (*Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, 1941 and 1942), by J. Blomfield, is important for Old English as

well as Gothic studies, adding constructive views to a co-ordination of the results of the work of other scholars. This is not the place to discuss the reasonable contention that 'generations of experiment', not diversity of origin, account for divergencies between Gothic and Greek script, but in the course of the argument she makes a valuable re-examination of the evidence for dating the introduction of runes into Old English book-hand, and emphasizes the reverse influence of book-hand on runic inscriptions. The second part of the study examines the names of the runes, first clearing the ground by showing that the Gothic letter names are riddled with antiquarian confusions. One cannot here do justice to the erudition shown. Her views on *cen, eolhx, peorð* and *cweorð* should be read in full. A particularly interesting suggestion is that *ȳr, ear, iar* are simply phonetic, *ȳr* being the mutated form of *ūr* and the others formed on this pattern. What dictated the meaning given to these names in the Runic Poem remains a mystery.

F. Schubel, in *Die Aussprache des anlautende ae 'sc.'* (*Ekw. Misc.*), accepts Weyhe's view that *-sc* is proved to have still been *-sk* at the end of the ninth century, except when under the influence of a palatal vowel, by its metaphesis to *ks*. This criterion cannot be used for the initial position but Schubel maintains that alliteration with foreign loans like *scol, scot*, where the sound was never assibilated, proves the native sound still to be *sk*, and instances occur in *Brunnanburh* (*scyld: sceoten: Scyttisc*) and in the *Metra*. Absence of assibilation is shown also by the alliteration of *sc* with *s* in alliterative prose. It is difficult to see how this view can be reconciled with the diphthongization of vowels after *sc*, a subject not dealt with in this article.

The problem of the formation of the weak preterite is re-opened by J. Fourquet, *Anglo-saxon éode, dyde et la théorie du prétérit faible* (*Ekw. Misc.*). After a discussion of previous theories, he examines the relation of *ēode* to Gothic *iddja*. One would expect a preterite indicative OE. **ēo* from **iyō*. He takes *ēode* as subjunctive, **iyō-di* differing in its stem-vowel alone from the **iyêdi* attested by Gothic *iddjedi*. He claims therefore that both *ēode* and *dyde* originally ended in *-di*, i.e. a subjunctive suffix, and that Gothic *nasidedi* should be interpreted as *nasidē-di*, not as due to reduplication. Later, Gothic formed its indicative plural on the analogy of the subjunctive. This view, he

maintains, removes the necessity for connecting the weak preterite with **dhē* and so opens the way for a new enquiry.

A. H. Marckwardt's *The Verbal Suffix -ettan in Old English* (*Language*, Oct.–Dec.) is a detailed study of seventy-six verbs, and it concludes that the suffix *-ettan* is primarily de-verbal, though it may be de-nominative or de-adjectival with causative force; when de-verbal, it normally indicates repetition and there is little ground for taking it as intensitive; only a few examples lived on into the twelfth century, and only *grunt* into Modern English. He attributes this early disappearance to the ease with which its syncopated third person singular could be confused with the simple verb.

Altenglisch incūð und oncȳð(ð) (*Ekw. Misc.*), by T. Johannisson, questions the existence of an OE. negative particle *in-*. The dictionaries record *incūð* as 'strange', 'grievous', but the meaning 'strange' is not required in any of its contexts. The author suggests that it is the participle of a verb corresponding to OHG. *inkunnan*, which may be represented by OE. *oncunnan* 'blame', where the prefix could, however, be from *an(a)-*, and perhaps the OE. verb is a falling together of two. The abstract to **oncūð* is *oncȳð(ð)* and should be translated 'evil', not 'grief'.

In the same volume, H. Pedersen's *Angl. 'wife' et 'woman'* discusses the origin of OE. *wif*, O.H.G. *wib* which in West Germanic ousted the Indo-Germanic term represented by Gothic *qēns*, etc. He claims that the neuter gender of *wif* proves that it was not originally the designation of a person, and suggests that in *wifman* it represents the feminine 'pendant' corresponding to the weapons of a man, comparing ON. *veipa*. One might note that Alfred's will refers to the male and female lines as 'spear' and 'spindle' side respectively.

H. Meroney claims in *Old English ðær 'if'* (*J.E.G.P.*, April) that the use of *ðær* in the sense 'if' has not been exhaustively treated. He first examines instances where it translates Latin *si* (or, with *ne, nisi*), *utinam, forsitan, quasi* and *sedtamen*, and then the verse instances, and ends with an examination of two passages, *Christ and Satan* ll. 106–113, where he finds unnecessary the emendation of *nu* to *in* (l. 6) and *þær* to *ær* (l. 7), and *Beowulf* ll. 2570–5, where he takes *he* and *him* (ll.2573 f.) to refer to the shield, translating 'if, appearing for

the first time, it could have controlled (i.e. extended) that period; so fate did not assign it glory in battle.' This attitude to a weapon can be paralleled elsewhere (e.g. ll.1527 f.), yet the normal conception of the passage as a comment that this would be Beowulf's first failure seems to afford a more natural sense of *wealdan* and is in line with the statements (ll.2345 ff.) about the hero's confidence, based on past victories.

IV

MIDDLE ENGLISH

I. CHAUCER

By Dorothy Everett

Though nothing that has been published on Chaucer this year can rank in importance with the outstanding achievements of the two previous years, some useful contributions have been made to our knowledge and understanding of the poet; and, once again, the credit for most of them goes to American scholars.

Among the publications concerned with *The Canterbury Tales*, there are two on manuscript problems. Carleton Brown, in his article *Author's Revision in the 'Canterbury Tales'* (*P.M.L.A.*, March), continues the investigations which he began in 1940 (see *Y.W.* xxii, 55 ff.). In his earlier work he examined a number of passages in which the MSS. have some readings that would appear to be author's variants, and he maintained that 'with hardly a single exception the unrevised (and therefore earlier) readings' are to be found in MSS. of Manly's group *d*. In the present article he has considered some major differences in the MSS., particularly the varying treatments of the Marriage Group. Examining first the end of the *Clerk's Tale*, he finds himself in agreement with Manly's view (*The Canterbury Tales*, II, 243–4) that the earliest extant form of it is that in which the Wife of Bath's stanza (E 1170–6) is lacking and ll. 1195–1200 of the Envoy come after l. 1212. This, Brown notes, is the form found in *d* MSS. The purpose of the shift of stanzas in the Envoy (to the position in *a* MSS.) must have been to end the Envoy with the line

'And lat hym care and wepe and wrynge and waille'

which is echoed in the opening words of the Merchant's Prologue. This Prologue is lacking in a number of MSS., including those of group *d*. In seventeen *d* MSS. (and a few belonging to other groups) the order of tales in blocks D and E is $E^2D\ E^1$ (i.e. *Merchant's Tale*, *Wife of Bath's* etc., *Clerk's Tale*). Obviously the Merchant's Prologue must have been composed, not only after the shift of stanzas in the Envoy, but also after the rearrangement of $E^2D\ E^1$ which placed E^2 after E^1. Some time ago Brown gave several reasons for

thinking that E^2 D E^1 represents Chaucer's earlier arrangement of these tales (cf. *P.M.L.A.*, xlviii), and he now concludes that once again it is the *d* manuscripts which preserve Chaucer's earlier intentions.

His next concern is to prove that the Man of Law's End-link was written in order to introduce the *Squire's Tale*, as it actually does in most regular MSS. of groups *b*, *c* and *d*, and that it was intended to be suppressed when the Merchant-Squire link (i.e. the Epilogue to the *Merchant's Tale* and the Head-link to the *Squire's*) was written. Only two disarranged MSS., he notes, have both. According to Brown's view, Chaucer had not at first decided where to place the tales of the Marriage Group and when he finally made up his mind to put most of them between the *Man of Law's Tale* and the *Squire's*, he made this possible by cancelling the Man of Law's End-link. Ellesmere and MSS. of group *a*, which lack the End-link, represent this later intention. MSS. of groups *b*, *c* and *d*, however, retained the End-link and hence D and E could not be placed between B^1 and F^1. In Brown's opinion this fact, together with certain other complications, brought about the divergent scribal treatments of the Marriage Group which are exhibited by MSS. of the *b*, *c* and *d* groups. He explains in detail how he thinks these divergencies came about and remarks that, though *b* and *c* diverge from *d* 'along different lines . . . in both cases the movement is toward the later tradition as represented by group *a*.'

After considering the MS. variants of several other passages, Brown once again concludes that 'where evidences of textual alteration appear the manuscripts of group *d* in every case preserve the unrevised (and therefore the earlier) form of the text'. He therefore dissents from Tatlock's view that none of the MS. arrangements of tales has any validity, maintaining, on the contrary, that it is possible to trace in the MSS. 'successive steps in the [author's] development of the *Canterbury Tales*'. He claims that, if this be admitted, the chaos which Tatlock and Manly saw in the MSS. disappears and, not only the textual differences, but also the differences in the order of the tales 'all fit together in a coherent pattern'.

An article by Martin M. Crow, entitled *John of Angoulême and his Chaucer Manuscript* (i.e. *Spec.*, Jan.), contains a detailed account of the Paris MS. Fonds anglais 39 (Ps) and of its owner. The MS., which

is of little value so far as its text is concerned, is interesting for the light it throws on medieval methods of book production. It was written by a professional scribe, who signs himself Duxworth, for John, count of Angoulême; and it contains corrections by both men. Duxworth's corrections were mostly made in order to hide mistakes. A number of them he took from exemplars, sometimes from his original faulty exemplar (or exemplars), sometimes from a much better one; but he was capable of actually composing spurious lines to perfect couplets which he had carelessly disarranged. Angoulême's corrections show two tendencies. Sometimes he closely follows an 'excellent exemplar' which may have been the same as the better one used by Duxworth. (Crow queries whether this may not have been a copy belonging to Alice Chaucer, which her husband, William de la Pole, lent to his friend Angoulême.) At other times Angoulême shows a strong tendency to edit the *Tales*. It looks as though he too may have composed certain lines, not in order to cover mistakes, but to add to content, and it is fairly certain that he was responsible for omissions of some parts of the *Tales*. (For example, after only thirty-two lines of the *Monk's Tale*, the scribe has written 'Non plus de ista fabula quia est valde dolorosa'.)

In its textual relationships Ps shows very great variability. Since it shares both its textual shifts and its Northern dialect colouring with Ha[1], both must be derived from the same 'conflate' exemplar. An exemplar of this kind is likely, Crow thinks, to be the result of commercial book production, for, in a shop where several scribes were working and where several exemplars were available, the scribes would probably take no trouble to avoid shifting from one of these to another.

This is the best place to mention Thomas A. Dunn's dissertation, which has not previously been available, on *The Manuscript Source of Caxton's Second Edition of the Canterbury Tales*.[1] Dunn holds that earlier attempts to determine the MS. which Caxton used to correct his first edition (according to his own statement, in the 'Prohemye' to his second edition) were unsatisfactory because the material chosen for investigation was too limited. He himself has cast his net more widely and his conclusions are rather different from

[1] *The Manuscript Source of Caxton's Second Edition of the Canterbury Tales*, by Thomas A. Dunn. Private Edition distributed by the Univ. of Chicago Libraries. 1940. pp. 36.

those of the earlier investigators. His comparison of the prose tales in Caxton's first edition (Cx^1) and in his second (Cx^2) shows that, as far as they are concerned, Caxton was attempting to do no more in Cx^2 than reproduce Cx^1 with a few minor changes where the latter was obviously defective. An examination of such unique variants of Cx^2 as are of any significance (i.e. are not merely unimportant substitutions, typographical errors, etc.) indicates that the readings which it can be presumed that Caxton found in his MS. source are in general superior to those of Cx^1, and agree with those of the best MSS. That these readings were corrections of a copy of Cx^1 is clear from certain lines in which Caxton has changed a word or two, but otherwise left the lines as in Cx^1—thereby sometimes producing nonsense. It is clear, too, that Caxton occasionally edited the text, and, according to Dunn, this is the explanation of the order of tales in Cx^2.

Dunn shows that there is no MS. extant which contains all the additional lines which are in Cx^2 and not in Cx^1. While Caxton's borrowed MS. cannot therefore be identified with any that is extant, there are certain MSS. which contain all but a few of these additional lines, among them some of the best MSS. known to us. Comparing the variants of Cx^2 from Cx^1 with the six MSS. El Ch En^3 En^1 Ad^3 Dd, Dunn concludes finally that Caxton's borrowed MS. must have been very near to Ad^3, Dd and El, and that, as Caxton's young friend stated, it was 'very trewe'.

Apart from a brief attempt by L. Whitbread, in *Two Chaucer Allusions* (*N. and Q.*, Sept. 12) to explain why the Cook should have been called Roger and 'Hogge of Ware', there is only one of this year's publications which discusses any of the Canterbury pilgrims —Norman E. Eliason's article *Chaucer's Second Nun?* (*M.L.Q.*, Mar.). The purpose of this is to call in question the Second Nun's very existence—at least as a Chaucerian conception. Eliason points out that the chief evidence for her is the statement in l. 163 of the *General Prologue* ('Another Nonne with hir hadde she'). There is, however, something suspicious about ll. 163–4 and Eliason thinks that the whole couplet, and not merely its last words ('preestes thre'), may have been a scribal interpolation. The supposition that Chaucer never intended to refer to a Second Nun would explain why he introduces the Prioress with the words, 'Ther was also *a* Nonne', which is, Eliason points out, 'a curiously misleading way to introduce two nuns'. The other evidence for the Second Nun's existence is to be

found in the rubrics and pictures in the MSS. The evidence of the pictures Eliason rightly rejects as invalid. As for the rubrics, he notes that Chaucer was certainly not responsible for any of them; and, on examination, the headings of the Second Nun's *Prologue* and *Tale* prove to be both inconsistent and ambiguous. Though all those that name a teller call her a nun, some assign the *Tale* to *the Second Nun*, others merely to *the Nun*, and others 'have the ambiguous *Second Nun's Tale*, a phrase which may mean either the tale of the Second Nun, or the second tale of the Nun (i.e. of the Prioress)'. Eliason thinks that the original heading from which these variants developed cannot have been the unambiguous 'Tale of the Second Nun'; he suggests that it must have been either 'the Nun's Tale' or 'the Second Nun's Tale' (meaning, the second tale of the Prioress). He concludes, therefore, that evidence from the rubrics combines with textual evidence to raise 'a reasonable doubt' as to whether the Second Nun was a creation of Chaucer's.

The publications concerned with individual tales or links will be mentioned, as usual in this chapter, in the order in which the *Tales* themselves are printed in Skeat's edition.

In a note on the *Cook's Tale* entitled '*When he his "papir" soghte*' *CT A–4404* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.), R. Blenner-Hassett explains that the expression in A 4404 means 'when Perkyn demanded his apprentice's indenture'. In the *O.E.D.*, l. 4404 is cited an instance of 'paper' used in the general sense of 'paper bearing writing'; but Blenner-Hassett thinks that the meaning the word has in this passage is rather (to quote the *O.E.D.* again) 'a document written . . . on paper, as a note, bill or other legal document'. This would fit the context, for Chaucer goes on to tell how Perkyn's master, coming to the conclusion that he would be well rid of his apprentice, gave him 'acquitance', or legal evidence of discharge.

An ingenious explanation of the mysterious word 'phislyas' in the Man of Law's End-link (B. 1189), is proposed by Margaret Galway (*T.L.S.*, Oct. 3). In an earlier publication she identified Chaucer's Shipman with a certain Basque pirate named John Piers (cf. *Y.W.*, xx, 49), and she now suggests that in this word Chaucer introduced into the Shipman's speech a trace of his native tongue. 'Phislyas' is, she conjectures, the Basque singular noun *phizlea*, pluralized in the English way, and it designates 'two or more specific light-providers

or edifiers'. She interprets B 1188–9 to mean 'My tale shall not be of philosophy, or of such edifiers as Prudence and Melibeus, or . . .'. This interpretation depends, of course, on several assumptions—first, that Chaucer meant the speaker of the Man of Law's End-link to be the Shipman; second, that it is not the tale of Constance that is being referred to but the 'original tale' of the Man of Law; and third, that the 'original tale' was *Melibeus*. In a letter in *T.L.S.*, Oct. 24, Kenneth Sisam shows that a further assumption, that the modern Basque initial *ph* would be represented in the fourteenth century by the letters '*ph*', is unlikely; and later (*T.L.S.* Nov. 14) Rodney Gallop mentions various facts about the Basque language which make it still more difficult to accept Miss Galway's theory.

The gems mentioned in the *Prioress's Tale* are the subject of a note entitled *The Prioress's Gems* (*M.L.N.*, June) by James J. Lynch. Two of them, the ruby and the emerald, are referred to by name (B 1799–1800); the third, the pearl, is the 'generally accepted' explanation of the 'greyn' (B 1852). Lynch suggests that all three have symbolic significance in the *Tale*. The ruby, the symbol of martyrdom, is aptly used in reference to the 'litel clergeon'. The pearl was regarded as symbolic of the Virgin Mary and therefore, if the 'greyn' was in fact a pearl, the placing of it on the boy's tongue would be appropriate. The emerald was believed to have the power of preserving chastity and it, too, according to Lynch, would suggest the Virgin Mary. This, however, seems questionable. It is the boy who is called 'This gemme of chastite, this emeraude', and this line and ll. 1769–75, taken together, make it quite clear that the Prioress wished specially to emphasize *his* chastity and its significance.

A fresh attempt to explain the Host's oath in the Prologue to the *Monk's Tale*, B 3082, is made by George L. Frost in '*That Precious Corpus Madrian*' (*M.L.N.*, March). He points out that there was a common noun 'madrian', which was in use in the fourteenth century, (cf. *O.E.D. madrean*). Though its meaning is not entirely clear, it seems, to judge from a recipe in MS. Harl. 2378 which is headed 'To Mak Conserue of Madrian', that when ginger was treated with lye, the result was called 'ginger madrian' or simply 'madrian'. Frost therefore suggests that the Host was transforming the vaguely remembered name of some saint into the well-known name of a sweet-

In *Vincent of Beauvais and Chaucer's 'Monk's Tale'* (*Spec.*, Jan.) Pauline Aiken once again demonstrates Chaucer's indebtedness to Vincent's encyclopædia. She begins by claiming that a larger number of the Monk's stories are to be found in the *Speculum Historiale* than in Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, and that Vincent presents them in a form more like Chaucer's. The tragedies which show the influence of the *Speculum Historiale* most clearly are those of Samson, Nebuchadnezzar, Nero and Julius Caesar. The opening lines of Samson's story, B 3205–10, are almost a translation of Vincent's Latin. Nebuchadnezzar's story contains two misconceptions which can be explained as arising from the account of him in the *Speculum Historiale*. In the story of Nero, the death of Seneca is twice mentioned, and two different motives are assigned for it. The *Roman de la Rose*, which is generally held to be Chaucer's source for this tale, supplies only the second motive (B 3701 ff.); the other (B 3693 ff.) comes from Vincent. The origins of the Monk's version of Julius Caesar's story have, of course, been much discussed, and Miss Aiken does not deny that reminiscences of other writers than Vincent may have gone to its making. She maintains, however, that the *Speculum* was almost certainly one of Chaucer's chief sources and may have been 'the only source actually consulted' by him during the writing of the passage.

Miss Aiken concludes that there are, altogether, eight tragedies which may possibly owe something to Vincent's work, though only in the case of the four that have been mentioned can the indebtedness be definitely proved.

There are three useful notes on difficulties in the *Tales* of Group D. In the first of them, *'Thy Gentillesse' in 'Wife of Bath's Tale' D 1159–62* (*M.L.N.*, March), Germaine Dempster proposes a convincing explanation of the apparent lack of logical connection in the Wife of Bath's discussion of 'gentillesse'. The difficulty arises from the use of the pronouns of the second person singular ('Of *thyne* auncestres', 'to *thy* persone', etc.) in ll. 1160 ff., which the reader naturally takes to refer to the knight to whom the whole speech is addressed. Mrs. Dempster points out that pronouns of the second person occur in the passage in Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* which Chaucer is closely following here, and it is clear from the context that they are used by Boethius to mean the indefinite 'any one'. (It may be noted that they are retained, with this meaning, in Jean de Meung's

French translation and in Chaucer's English prose.) In D 1159–62, therefore, the Wife is not making personal remarks to the knight, but is merely continuing her general statements. Mrs. Dempster comments that 'it would not be unlike Chaucer, caught by his genuine interest in the subject . . . to overlook' the possibility that the pronouns might be misunderstood.

Sister Mary Immaculate, commenting on the *Friar's Tale* D 1501–3 in *Fiends as 'Servant unto Man' in the 'Friar's Tale'* (*P.Q.*, April), notes that, to fit the context, the word 'servant' must be understood in the broad sense of 'one subject to the will of another'. It must here be an adjective, otherwise the grammar of 'And somtyme be we servant unto man' is inexplicable. She shows that the allusion to Saint Dunstan in the following line can be amply justified, and she refers in particular to the *Vita Dunstani* written by Osbern, precenter of Canterbury, between 1071 and 1089, which contains many legends showing Dunstan's power over fiends.

The real point of the friar's jest against rich and self-indulgent clerics in the *Summoner's Tale* D 1929–34 is explained by Marie P. Hamilton in *The Summoner's 'Psalm of Davit'* (*M.L.N.*, Dec.). It has been generally assumed that, in the allusion to 'cor meum eructavit' (Psalm xliv, Vulgate), Chaucer was merely adapting a current pun on the literal meaning of *eructare* 'to belch'. Miss Hamilton suggests that the main point was the complete inappropriateness of this particular Psalm as a prayer for the dead. 'For centuries' she writes 'that epithalamion, the *Eructavit cor meum*, has been regarded by the Church as a song of jubilation for the triumphant Elect. . . . Surely no sober ecclesiastic ever used it as a prayer for the dead.' She thinks that the familiar pun was also intended, and that the reading 'Lo, *buf* they seye' draws attention to it. It is not impossible, however, that the reading of Ellesmere and some other MSS., 'Lo *but* they seye', should be right, the 'but' serving to point the contrast between the Psalm of David which the clerics might have been expected to say (probably the *De Profundis*) and what they actually did say.

In his book on the sources and literary connections of the *Clerk's Tale*[2] J. Burke Severs provides, together with some matter that is entirely new, a full discussion of many points which he was only able

[2] *The Literary Relationships of Chaucer's 'Clerkes Tale'*, by J. Burke Severs. Yale Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xii+371. 50*s.* net.

to touch on in his chapter on the *Clerk's Tale* in *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (cf. *Y.W.*, xxii, 51 ff.).

The introductory section gives an account of the various versions of the tale of Griselda which were in existence when Chaucer wrote, and describes their relation to one another. The circumstances of the composition of Petrarch's Latin version are related in some detail, and the differences between it and its source, the last story in the *Decameron*, are noted. Sercambi's version is dismissed as 'a very close retelling' of Boccaccio's, with only superficial differences. Two of the three French prose versions that have come down to us, namely, the version by Philippe de Mézières and that by an anonymous author, were independent translations of Petrarch; the version included in *Le Ménagier de Paris* is shown to be based on that of Mézières, though certain alterations were made.

Severs discusses the MSS. of Petrarch's Latin tale very fully, first listing the sixty-five MSS. and seven early prints which he consulted, and then describing and classifying the twenty MSS. and four prints which he completely collated. One of the most important results of his investigations is the discovery that there are probably two versions of the Latin work—the earlier surviving in MSS. of group *d* and dating from 1373, the other written a year later and surviving in *a*, *b* and *c* manuscripts. Having classified the MSS., Severs proceeds, by a process of minute comparison, to identify, first, the group of MSS., and then the individual MS. within that group, which is nearest to Chaucer's 'original'. Though the Vatican MS. Lat. 1666 (Vat. 6) emerges best from this test, it was certainly not the one which Chaucer actually used, since there are passages in which it is less close to Chaucer than one or more of the other extant MSS. By adopting, in these passages, the readings which correspond most nearly to Chaucer's words, Severs has been able to indicate, in all but a few doubtful instances, how Chaucer's MS. must have read. He has, of course, been careful to avoid using for this purpose readings from the *c* and *d* groups of MSS., from which, as he shows, Chaucer's MS. could not have been descended.

In the third section of his book Severs conclusively demonstrates that Chaucer used, as an additional source, the anonymous French prose translation (and not, as Cook earlier maintained, the version in *Le Ménagier de Paris*). Among the wealth of evidence which Severs produces, there is an interesting passage in which the anonymous French translator misunderstands Petrarch and is followed in this

misunderstanding by Chaucer, whereas *Le Ménagier* renders Petrarch correctly (cf. *Clerk's Tale* 332–4, discussed by Severs on pp. 142–3). As the result of a more thorough examination of the MSS. of the anonymous translation, Severs now holds that MS. Bibl. nat. fr. 12459 (PN 3) is nearer to the one Chaucer used than MS. fr. 1165, for which he earlier stated his preference (cf. *P.M.L.A.*, xlvii). He gives a full explanation of his change of mind and shows how PN 3 can be emended, by readings from other MSS., to bring it nearer still to Chaucer's MS.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is the chapter entitled 'Chaucer's Technique', in which Severs considers exactly how Chaucer used his two sources. Chaucer must, it appears, have had both Latin and French versions before him as he wrote, and must constantly have consulted both of them. There is evidence that when he began to write he intended to rely more upon the Latin, but 'perhaps lured on by the greater ease of translating the French', he came to use the Latin far less frequently than the French.

It is probably obvious even from a summary that this book is the result of long and arduous labour. It should be added that, throughout his investigations, its author displays a scholarly thoroughness, and that, in spite of the mass of detail with which he has to deal, he succeeds in keeping clearly before the reader the main lines of his argument. His conclusions are almost always soundly based and he does not press them too far.

In *A Note on the Irony of the 'Merchant's Tale'* (*P.Q.*, Oct.) Thomas A. Kirby makes the ingenious, but not completely convincing, suggestion that E 1957 ('til that the coughe hath hym awaked') does not mean 'till he was awakened by a cough', but 'till the chough waked him'. Elsewhere in Chaucer the chough is evidently regarded as the traditional reporter of marital infidelity; hence, it would be appropriate that January should be wakened by one. This interpretation suggests to Kirby that the reading *cow*, found in some manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, is to be preferred to *coughe*, the reading of most of the manuscripts and of most modern editions; but he thinks that *coughe* is explicable as a scribal substitution for *cow(e)*.

Some Oriental parallels to the Canacee-falcon episode in the *Squire's Tale* were pointed out by Haldeen Braddy some years ago (cf. *Y.W.*, xvii, 82 ff.), and now, in *The Genre of Chaucer's 'Squires*

Tale' (*J.E.G.P.*, July), he uses this discovery as a guide to the interpretation of Chaucer's plan for the *Tale* as a whole. He notes that Part I sets the stage and introduces the main characters, and the narrative action really begins in Part II, with the account of Canacee's adventures. In this Part it is clear, Braddy thinks, that Canacee is to draw a moral from the falcon's tale (cf. ll. 488–90). The moral itself is also clear ('Men loven of propre kynde newfangelnesse As briddes doon'). Braddy takes Canacee's covering of the mew with symbolic colours, blue ('In signe of trouthe that is in wommen sene') and green ('In which were peynted alle thise false fowles'), as an indication that she took warning by the bird's tale and 'like her Oriental prototype, Princess Dunyā' she became convinced of the fickleness of men.

At this point in the story Chaucer breaks off, stating that he will return to the falcon later; but he will first tell three episodes—how Cambyuskan won many cities, how Algarsif won Theodora for his wife and how Cambalo fought 'with the bretheren two For Canacee er that he myghte hire winne'. Chaucer's brief sketch of his plan suggests to Braddy that the *Squire's Tale* was going to be like the type of Oriental framing tale which 'begins with a principal story for the frame and is followed by several intercalary incidents before the framing tale is resumed and closed'. This kind of tale is exemplified in the Persian *Thousand and One Days*, in which Princess Farruknaz conceives an aversion to men because of a dream in which a doe is deserted by a faithless stag. Another example is the seventh-century Hindu romance *Vāsavadattā*, and in this too an animal episode introduces the frame. Though neither of these framing tales can have been known to Chaucer, their existence suggests that he was not inventing the *Squire's Tale*, but was following some definite source; and Chaucer's own statement, that he will tell how the falcon 'gat hire love ageyn Repentant, as the storie telleth us' (l. 655) points to the same conclusion. The Canacee-falcon episode, then, would seem to have been the beginning of a framing tale, and the 'intercalary incidents' are the episodes sketched in the *Squire's Tale* ll. 661 ff.

The third of these, how Cambalo fought for Canacee, is the most puzzling, since, in l. 31 of the *Squire's Tale*, Cambalo is named as a son of Cambyuskan. Braddy suggests that there is here a hint at incest, which is a motif in the cycle of romances to which the Arabian story of Tāj al-Mulūk and Princess Dunyā belongs. If Chaucer's original did include a story of incest, it might explain why the poet left off the *Squire's Tale* so abruptly. It must be presumed that he

began to tell his story before he had read his original right through, and Braddy thinks that, in view of the great length of the Arabian analogue, this is not improbable.

In a brief note in *Stud. Neoph.*, XV (*Ekwall Festschrift*, Pt. II) entitled *A Rash Promise*, N. Bøgholm indicates how various versions of the story told in the *Franklin's Tale* reflect the cultural background of their narrators. He compares, from this point of view, the Sanskrit version Kathā Sarit Sāgara, Boccaccio's version, and Chaucer's.

Chaucer's reference in the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* to Arnald of Villa Nova is the subject of a note by Edgar Hill Duncan (*Chaucer and 'Arnold of the Newe Toun'*, *M.L.N.*, Jan.). It was pointed out by J. L. Lowes that the words in ll. 1431–40, which Chaucer attributes to Arnald's *Rosarium*, were in fact taken from *De Lapide Philosophorum*, a lesser known work by the same author. Duncan shows that the thought in the next seven lines (ll. 1441–7) is also to be found in *De Lapide*; and that the idea at the back of ll. 1431–40 is expressed both in the *Rosarium* and *De Lapide*, though in the former it is 'not couched in such mystifying language'. To the question why Chaucer should have referred to the title of one of Arnald's works when he was actually using another, Duncan answers that, in Chaucer's day, the *Rosarium* would be the most familiar of Arnald's alchemical treatises, hence Chaucer would wish to name it; but the little known *De Lapide* really suited his particular purpose better. Its 'mystifying language' was needed 'to cap the climax of confusion' in the Yeoman's recital, and, moreover, it quoted the authoritative name of Hermes, 'the father of all alchemists'.

In his article '*Homicide' in the 'Parson's Tale*' (*P.M.L.A.*, March) Dudley R. Johnson remarks that, in the passage on homicide in the *Parson's Tale* 564–79, Chaucer (or an earlier compiler) abandoned the *Summa seu Tractatus de Viciis* of Peraldus, the source of the greater part of the digression on the seven deadly sins in the *Tale*, and reverted to Pennaforte's *Summa Casuum Conscientiae*, part of which provided the penitential section and the general structure of the *Parson's Tale*. Both Pennaforte and Chaucer distinguish two kinds of homicide, spiritual and bodily, and then subdivide these; and they use some of the same quotations to illustrate their points.

Certain difficulties in the *Parson's Tale* can be cleared up by refer-

ence to Pennaforte's work. For instance, the statement that 'spiritueel manslaughtre' is 'in sixe thynges' (565) has been thought to contain a scribal error, since, apparently, only three subdivisions of spiritual manslaughter are mentioned in the following lines; but, with the aid of the corresponding passage in Pennaforte's work, Johnson is able to show that three more are hinted at in the words (see l. 568) 'withholdynge or abreggynge of the shepe (or the hyre), or of the wages of servauntz, or elles in usure, or in withdrawynge of the almesse of poure folk'.

Of the three articles which are concerned with *Troilus*, Robert D. Mayo's *The Trojan Background of the 'Troilus'* (*E.L.H.*, Dec.) may be mentioned first as being the most general in scope. Critics have suggested that Chaucer used the tragic fate of Troy as a 'kind of secondary motif' to intensify the tragedy of Troilus; but Mayo does not think that an unbiassed examination of the poem bears out their view. He considers the poem book by book, and while he admits that Chaucer's treatment of the death of Hector does suggest an 'atmosphere of doom', he denies that the fate of Troy is a dominant motif in the poem as a whole. He doubts whether medieval poets were fully alive to what he calls 'the possibilities of background detail'. The full and conscious use of the doom of Troy as a background to the love-story, would, he thinks, only have been possible in a later age.

Some interesting points emerge from R. P. ap Roberts's close examination of a passage in *Troilus* Book IV (*Notes on 'Troilus and Criseyde', IV, 1397–1414*, *M.L.N.*, Feb.). He notes that there is a discrepancy between Criseyde's remark about Calchas in l. 1411 ('Whan he for fered out of Delphos sterte') and what Chaucer has previously told us about him. In Book I Chaucer, following Boccaccio, relates that Calchas learned from his god 'Daun Phebus, or Apollo Delphicus' that Troy should be destroyed, and so left the city and fled to the Greeks. There is nothing in this earlier passage to explain Criseyde's suggestion that he fled from Delphi, and it can only be understood by reference to the *Roman de Troie*. There we are told that Calchas was sent by the Trojans to Delphi to ask for Apollo's help and advice. The oracle told him that it was the will of the god that Troy should be overthrown, and that he was to go to the Grecian fleet and help the

Greeks. Chaucer must have had this account in mind when he wrote what was apparently his first version of l. 1411, 'Whan he from Delphos to the Grekys sterte'. (This is the reading of MS.H_3, which exhibits between l. 1301 and l. 1442—to quote Root—'a number of unique readings, some of which appear to represent Chaucer's text in its earliest state'.) Roberts suggests that Chaucer's revision of this line (as seen in the reading first quoted) may indicate that he recognized, and tried to gloss over, the discrepancy between Criseyde's statement and the account of Calchas's actions in Book I. The line as revised 'offers no *necessary* contradiction', though it does not, of course, really remove the inconsistency.

In answer to the question why Chaucer did not revise more radically, Roberts argues that the retention of the word 'Delphos' was necessary for his purpose. A comparison of Chaucer's treatment of Criseyde with Boccaccio's at this point in the story will show that the English poet has a different and a fuller conception of her. In Boccaccio's poem she apparently does not know her father's reasons for leaving Troy; in Chaucer's, more credibly, she does. If, knowing her father's reasons, she had taken them seriously, she could never have proposed her own plans for returning to Troy; so Chaucer, again departing from Boccaccio, depicts her as sceptical of the oracle (cf. especially ll. 1406–7). 'The double revelation of Criseyde's knowledge and skepticism,' writes Roberts, 'makes it completely credible that she could plan her return in contempt of the gods.' It is her use of the word 'Delphos' that reveals her full knowledge of her father's motives and actions, and the word can therefore be regarded as 'part of the larger irony which Chaucer effects by the addition of the whole passage'.

A fresh solution to the problem of Chaucer's references to Lollius is proposed by Hans J. Epstein in *The Identity of Chaucer's 'Lollius'* (*M.L.Q.*, Sept.). He begins by pointing out how little real proof there is for the view most generally accepted to-day, that the name Lollius is to be explained as a misunderstanding of a passage of Horace. This, he writes, 'may serve as an excuse for offering a theory with scarcely more substantial proof'; and he proceeds to put the claim of Bassus Lollius, the author of ten epigrams, one of which, on Germanicus, fixes his date. In two of these epigrams there are references to Troy, and in another there is a mention of 'Corinna' which may, so Epstein thinks, help to explain the mysterious reference in *Anelida*

to 'Corynne'. There are also a few other Chaucerian passages in which traces of the epigrams may possibly be found.

Epstein makes various suggestions as to how knowledge of the epigrams, which are preserved in *The Greek Anthology*, might have reached Chaucer. In his opinion the most likely route is through the Arabs into some 'Latino-barbaric work, well known to Chaucer, but not yet investigated'.

Most of the articles on Chaucer's so-called love-visions are concerned with relations between them and their 'sources'. In *Chaucer Mentions a Book* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.), Marshall W. Stearns denies that 'the introductory device of reading a book', which Chaucer uses in the *Book of the Duchesse* and the *Parlement of Foules*, was a conventional feature in Old French love-visions. Sypherd suggested that Froissart's *L'Espinette Amoureuse* provides a parallel, but Stearns remarks that in Froissart's poem the mention of a book is incidental. It has no function comparable to that of the story of Ceyx and Alcione and the story of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, each of which, after being summarized, serves 'to set the mood' for the whole of the poem that follows. Stearns has, moreover, failed to find anything like this functional use of the device elsewhere in the Old French love-visions. In the opening lines of the *Roman de la Rose*, however, Lorris does quote Macrobius as an authority for the belief that dreams are true, attributing to him the *Somnium Scipionis*. If Chaucer took the idea of mentioning a book from any other writer, it is most likely that it was from this passage in the *Roman*; but his use of the device remains 'highly original'.

Skeat noted long ago that certain passages at the end of Book I of the *Hous of Fame* were reminiscent of Dante, and it is now shown by Dorothy A. Dilts in *Observations on Dante and the 'Hous of Fame'* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) that there are several more of these reminiscenses both here and in the following book. Most of them come, not from the *Inferno* or the *Purgatorio*, where Skeat found his, but from the *Paradiso*, Canto I. Perhaps the most striking is the unusual image employed by Chaucer in his description of the eagle, ll. 504–6 (cf. Dante's 'come quei che puote avesse il ciel d'un altro sole adorno', I, 61–3). The number of similarities which Miss Dilts has found seems to make it quite certain that in this part of his poem Chaucer was adopting both ideas and images from the Italian poet.

It is generally held nowadays that the F. Prologue to the *Legende of Good Women* is closely related to the *Lai de Franchise* composed by Deschamps in 1385, and that this fact provides a *terminus a quo* for the composition of the F. Prologue. This view, which was first put forward by J. L. Lowes in 1904–5, has been called in question by Marian Lossing in an important article entitled *The Prologue to the 'Legend of Good Women' and the 'Lai de Franchise'* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.). Miss Lossing examines in detail the supposed resemblances between the Prologue and the *Lai* on which Lowes based his theory. Taking first the alleged verbal parallels, she finds that the Chaucerian passages are in reality of a kind so familiar in French literature that it is impossible to be certain whence Chaucer derived them. Sometimes 'parallels equally or more convincing . . . are to be found in the poems of Froissart and Machaut'; sometimes what Lowes claims to be 'unique and peculiar verbal parallels . . . turn out to be general literary conventions'.

The more general structural resemblances which Lowes mentioned, and on which he laid most stress, are considered by Miss Lossing under four headings. In answer to Lowes's first contention that both poems differ from the usual May-day poems in 'concentrating the May-day observances upon the daisy', she replies that neither poem can be pigeon-holed under the name of any particular *genre*. The *Lai* combines elements from 'no less than four distinct types of French poems', and, if the Prologue can be classified at all, it would be most safely labelled a dream poem introducing a debate on love. Neither of them is, in any case, a 'May-day poem'. Lowe's second point was that, because the *Lai* is not a dream poem, the opening passage of the Prologue (ll. 1–196), which is influenced by the *Lai*, is not in the dream convention either; it is only after this passage that the Prologue becomes a dream poem. In answering this Miss Lossing agrees with several earlier critics that the structural break in the Prologue, which is assumed in Lowe's argument, does not exist. There are plenty of parallels to the long introduction or proem to a dream, and ll. 1–196 should be considered as such. As for Lowe's third point, that the flower is the central theme in both poems, Miss Lossing's summary of the *Lai* suggests that its references to a 'flower' (not specifically a *marguerite*) have little, if any, structural importance. Lowes laid stress on the fact that in both poems the flower speaks, stating that in the Prologue she speaks 'as a favored subject to her king'; but Miss Lossing points out that, in fact, it is Alceste who speaks in this way.

She thinks that, in the Prologue, the daisy, Chaucer's lady, and Alceste are 'three distinct yet related allegorical expressions of the ideal womanly love'. Chaucer represents himself as worshipping them separately until, towards the end of the Prologue, he is enlightened by the god of love who explains their underlying unity. But, because they are finally unified, they are not therefore to be regarded as identical all though the poem. If this interpretation of the allegory is correct, it is not safe to attribute Alceste's speeches to the daisy, as Lowes did.)

Finally Lowes maintained that there is a suggestion in the *Lai* for Chaucer's device of dressing Alceste like the daisy, and he referred to ll. 53–61 of the *Lai* which mention the many places where the 'flower' may be seen painted. According to Miss Lossing the only possible hint for Chaucer's device is in the word 'd'abiz' (in the phrase 'painte la voy . . . en moult d'abiz'), which Lowes evidently took to mean 'garments'. She herself, however, would translate it 'dwellings'.

In conclusion Miss Lossing remarks that, since Lowe's parallels between the Prologue and the *Lai* do not stand the test of close examination, the date of the *Lai* no longer provides a *terminus a quo* for the Prologue, and the way is 'open for a reconsideration' of its chronology.

In a letter printed under the heading *Chaucer's 'Sovereign Lady'* (*T.L.S.*, Oct. 10) Margaret Galway draws attention to a parallel between certain lines in Alceste's speech in the Prologue to the *Legende of Good Women* (F 352–3) and a speech by Princess Joan, mother of Richard II, in the contemporary chronicle of Adam Usk. This, Miss Galway suggests, helps to confirm her identification of Alceste as Joan (cf. her article, mentioned in *Y.W.*, xix, 66 ff.).

The next two publications are concerned in different ways with Chaucer's reputation among later writers. Earle Birney's interesting article *Is Chaucer's Irony a Modern Discovery?* (*J.E.G.P.*, July), is written to disprove Caroline Spurgeon's statement that it was not till 'well on in the nineteenth century . . . that Chaucer's humour seems to have met with any adequate recognition'. Birney maintains, on the contrary, that it has never gone unrecognized, and he points first of all to the illuminator of the Ellesmere MS. whose portraits suggest that he was fully alive to Chaucer's subtler hints. Even Lydgate can contrive 'a very fair resurrection of Harry Bailly, including

his chaffing humor' (cf. *The Siege of Thebes*). According to Birney, the Elizabethan view is most fully stated by William Webbe, who does not ignore Chaucer's irony but sees it as a device under cover of which the poet might 'gyrde at the vices and abuses of all states'. In the seventeenth century there were many who could appreciate this quality in Chaucer; Birney quotes, among others, Ben Jonson, the writer who calls himself 'I, Chaucer junior', Bryan Twyne (the Oxford antiquarian) and Samuel Butler. The idea that Chaucer's humour was unrecognized in this period proceeds, so Birney thinks, from a widespread belief that in Dryden's preface to the *Fables* we have the most appreciative criticism of his day. Birney's own view of Dryden as a critic of Chaucer is that, though he 'left a memorable testimony to Chaucer's healthy vigor and breadth of vision . . . in sensitivity to the characteristic irony of Chaucer, as to his melody and tenderness, Dryden was singularly behind his own and Elizabethan times'.

Miss Spurgeon would, therefore, seem to have been mistaken in regarding Thomas Warton as the first discoverer of Chaucer's humour. The real truth probably is that the single word 'humour' had, by Warton's time, become capable of expressing the connotations of a whole group of words such as 'wit', 'raillery', 'archness', 'glee', 'tickling', all of which had been used of Chaucer's work by earlier writers.

Birney does recognize one important difference between the conception of Chaucer's humour prevailing before the nineteenth century and that which began with Leigh Hunt. In earlier centuries it was thought that his humour was 'a protective colouring for social and religious satire', whereas Leigh Hunt considered that Chaucer was 'essentially non-partisan, laughing because tolerant'. Birney's own feeling is that, since modern scholarship is continually discovering topical satire beneath Chaucer's 'apparently casual details', it should not be lightly assumed that the Elizabethans understood Chaucer less well than the Victorians.

In '*Dan Chaucer*' (*M.L.N.*, June), Thomas Pyles discusses the title 'Dan', noting that its use with a surname was rare at any time. Chaucer himself only employs it with 'given names'. In Spenser's day the title was already old fashioned, and Pyles thinks that Spenser used it to indicate 'antiquity, dignity, learning' and his own 'respectful affection' for the earlier poet. Though Miss Spurgeon has recorded

two fifteenth-century uses of it in reference to Chaucer, it seems clear to Pyles that it was Spenser who set the fashion for it; and not merely all the later 'Dan Chaucers', but also all the later uses of the title with other surnames, are imitated from him.

The purpose of Ruth McJimsey's book[3] is to examine some of the apparent exceptions to the regular treatment of final *-e* in Chaucer's verse. The author has preferred to investigate a limited field comprehensively and she has accordingly restricted herself to the use (or disuse) of 'irregular *-e*' with monosyllabic nouns. She has examined the treatment of every monosyllabic noun recorded in Tatlock and Kennedy's *Concordance* (using its scansion, and the forms with which it rhymes, as chief evidence of pronunciation), and she has classified the varieties of treatment which she has discovered. Her results are summarized in an 'Epitome' (pp. 19–29) and are more fully explained in a 'Demonstration', which also presents the evidence for them.

The wealth of evidence which she has collected for the categories previously recognized has enabled her to make differentiations and distinctions within them and to suggest some general principles which may lie behind and explain them; and a glance at the 'Conclusion' to her book, in which these principles are set out, will show that she has made contributions to the understanding of Chaucer's treatment of final *-e* which are of some value. They would have been more valuable still if one could feel more sure of the reliability of Miss McJimsey's evidence.

Inquiries into the history of Chaucer's family include an article on *Alleged Descents from Chaucer* (*N. and Q.*, May 16) in which E. A. Greening Lamborn follows up his discovery of last year (cf. *Y.W.*, xxii, 68) by drawing attention to other families, notably the Flemings of Rydal, which have falsely claimed descent from Chaucer. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this family mistakenly included the coat of Geoffrey Chaucer among their quarterings, and Lamborn shows how the mistake is likely to have arisen.

In *T.L.S.* (May 23) Alan S. C. Ross notes some facts about a certain Nicholas Chaucer who was received into the Grocers' Company in 1346. Further information about him is given by H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence (*T.L.S.*, June 6).

[3] *Chaucer's Irregular – E. A Demonstration among Monosyllabic Nouns of the Exceptions to Grammatical and Metrical Harmony*, by Ruth Buchanan McJimsey. New York: King's Crown Press and O.U.P. pp. x + 248. 13*s.* 6*d.* net.

V

MIDDLE ENGLISH

II. BEFORE AND AFTER CHAUCER

By GLADYS DOIDGE WILLCOCK

THE war seems so far to have produced less effect in diminution of output than might have been expected, though it has caused changes in its distribution—most of the work here surveyed has come from across the Atlantic. A chief war-time difficulty has been delay and difficulty in obtaining material and a few books and articles have proved unprocurable. The order of this chapter remains much the same as in previous years and will lead from writings of general or cognate interest, through poetry, prose and drama, to linguistic and bibliographical subjects.

In the comprehensive *Festschrift* presented to Eilert Ekwall on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday.[1] Only a limited number of articles are relevant to this chapter. These include the five items in *Stud. Neoph.* noticed on pp. 72–3 and the four etymological articles also in *Stud. Neoph.* noticed on p. 84.

Next may be mentioned one or two writings on medieval Latin or cultural subjects which have something in them for students of Middle English. An article by Ruth J. Dean, *MS.Bodl.292 and the Canon of Nicholas Trevet's Works* (*Spec.*, April), is mainly devoted to the problem of the authorship of a number of short anonymous treatises bound up with the two commentaries by Trevet on the Tragedies of Seneca and the *City of God*, but it has also some bearing on the study of Aristotle in the Middle Ages.

Those who are on the lookout for easily assimilable information on the subject of medieval rhetoric on the ordinary stylistic levels of poet, *rhétoriqueur* or practitioner of *ars dictaminis* need not turn to Richard McKeon's *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (*Spec.*, Jan.). Rhetoric is here considered as an activity or interest of the 'highbrow' medieval mind. The article makes somewhat stiff and unyielding reading; it traces the intricate permutations of the traditions of

[1] See above, Chapter II, p. 17.

Aristotle, Cicero, Boethius and Augustine; it seeks to unravel the shifting relations of rhetoric to logic, dialectic, knowledge in general and theology in particular. There are brief references to text-books, *dictamen*, preaching and some interesting suggestions as to the heritage of rhetoric traceable in such subjects as literary criticism (where we expect it) physics and psychology, but the writer's chief concern is with the highest intellectual disciplines of the medieval world. A leading thought is: 'If rhetoric is defined in the terms of a single subject-matter such as style or literature or discourse—it has no history during the Middle Ages.'

Much consideration has recently been given to the validity of such chronological divisions as Dark Ages, Middle Ages, Renaissance and the like. Theodore E. Mommsen's *Petrarch's Conception of the Dark Ages* (*Spec.*, April) first traces the gradual restriction in quite modern times of the term 'Dark Ages' to the first sequence (c.500–1100) of the centuries that intervene between the decline of the Ancient World and its 'Renaissance'. It might be said, perhaps, that the early centuries deepened their darkness by contrast when the period from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries emerged into increasing light of understanding and appreciation. To Petrarch, and a long succession of scholars after him, all was dark that was not ancient; it was not so much dim and uncharted as knowledge (for the materials for study were to hand) as morally and culturally repellent—the work of the barbarian loose in the land. Antiquity was light. Readers of the article will probably feel some forcing or straining of individual texts from Petrarch's Latin writings in the endeavour to place him at the head of the stock Humanist 'periodization' of cultural history, but no one will cavil at the total impression of an overwhelming dominance of the Antique. Had Petrarch had his way we should indeed have lost a world of fine fabling. What is of particular interest to students of any medieval literature is the contrast between the Italianate idea, already more or less established in the fourteenth century, and the medieval idea vigorously realized elsewhere in Western Europe—a historiography of quite independent tradition in which national or local chroniclers could rest in a common scheme of universal history, could pay their respects to 'Rome le grant' and yet devote themselves with no misgivings to a *Historia Regum Britanniae* or *Francorum* or *Danorum*.

Among Anglo-Norman studies may be mentioned a brief article

by William A. Nitze on *The Home of Robert de Boron* (*Mod. Phil.*, Nov.). Nitze first finds in a trisyllabic pronunciation of *jeu(s)di* an additional point of confirmation for his identification of Robert's home with the village of Boron in the Burgundian district of Montbéliard. The question then arises as to how, before 1201, a native of Burgundy developed an interest in Glastonbury and its legendary traditions. This is not, perhaps, so very strange in the conditions of the time; however that may be, Nitze is prepared to make it easier by willingness to accept the identification of his Robert de Boron with the Robert de Burun mentioned in an Essex document as having been rewarded by Henry II about 1186. De Boron may thus have obtained his Glastonbury information during a sojourn in England.

The same author in the *Romanic Review* (April) returns to the subject of *The Fisher King* and the thesis he has defended since 1909 that 'originally, on British soil', the *Roi Pêcheur* 'represented the equivalent of a Mediterranean vegetation god'. The article moves in the 'Loomis hinterland' of Arthurian romance; the linguistic detail which is here the particular pursuit can only be judged by Celtic and O.Fr. experts.

Five New Gretham Sermons and the Middle English 'Mirrur' (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) by Charlton G. Laird comes in here rather than among Middle English religious writings since its material is almost entirely Anglo-Norman. Laird is engaged on a study of a Huntington MS. of the Anglo-Norman *Mirroir* (MS. HM. 903) and throws out the suggestion that this MS. with its five additional homilies may explain the extra sermons found in MS. C.C.C. 282 (Cambridge) of the English translation known as the *Mirrur*.

The vitality of some of those 'dark' chronicles in which Petrarch found no worthy record is attested by a number of articles on the Geoffrey of Monmouth—Wace—Layamon series, amongst which Roland Blenner-Hassett has four to his credit. In collaboration with F. P. Magoun he has studied *The Italian campaign of Belin and Brenne in the 'Bruts' of Wace and of Lawman* (*P.Q.*, Oct.) and noted how Geoffrey's meagre account of this Italian campaign has been amplified by Wace into a story of two successive 'pincer-movements' over the Alpine passes and down Italy to Rome. Naturally, the place-names used by Wace have been the objects of special study. Wace had no firsthand experience of the roads to Rome. The writers believe that the *chansons de geste* with their habit of using Italian names

supplied him with some, but not all, of his references; the rest they would ascribe to his contact with returned pilgrims. It would seem that some special interest must have inspired Wace to this particular amplification—an interest that was soon exhausted. Layamon takes over Wace's names, diversifying them with a few blunders.

In an article in *Speculum* (April) Blenner-Hassett sets out to explain *Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'Mons Agned' and 'Castellum Puellarum'*. These names occur in Geoffrey's account of the founding activities of King Ebrauc. In addition to York and Dumbarton, Ebrauc is credited with a third foundation—an *oppidum Mons Agned*, later called *Castellum Puellarum* and *Mons Dolorosus*. *Agned* has certainly a look of Celtic tradition, but only Welsh scholars can judge the etymology here suggested—an etymology reconstructed from the modern Welsh *angen* ('necessity', 'want') which would equate it with *Dolorosus*. *Castellum Puellarum* is readily enough explained as arising from some early association with a house of anchoresses or nuns; the site itself—the actual *mons*—is identified with the Rock of Edinburgh Castle—in Layamon's *Brut* 'Agnetes Munte' stands for the Edinburgh Rock.

It is the *Brut* which is Blenner-Hassett's favourite hunting-ground for name-puzzles. In *M.L.N.*, (March), he has selected from his store *Gernemuðe: A Place-Name Puzzle in Lawman's 'Brut'*. Both Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace, in their story of Cadwalan's voyage from Ireland to Brittany, give Guernsey as a intermediate port of call. Layamon invents an 'island by Gernemuðe', which, as to the name, is credibly explained as due to a misreading of some one of the several variant spellings of 'Guernsey' in the Wace MSS.; Layamon might easily enough 'translate' a form like 'Gernemue' as Gernemuðe. So far, so good, but some further topographical arguments are less convincing—particularly, perhaps, the assertion that both Guernsey and Freshwater Isle (mouth of Yar, I.O.W.) are equally acceptable as stopping places *en route* from Ireland to Brittany.

Blenner-Hassett has scattered his name-puzzles also in Scandinavia. In *Studia Neophilologica* (vol. xiv, 1941–2) he has a note on *A Nature-name Puzzle in Lawman's 'Brut'*, though actually his use of the title is perhaps by this time habit, for there is no name and scarcely any hint of localization for Layamon's *maere swiðe muchel* (ll. 22015 ff.), a pool whose waters move with the tides. It is not until one gets behind Wace to Geoffrey of Monmouth and behind him again to Nennius that a name emerges—*Linligwan* or *Oper* (*Aber*) *Linn Liuan*.

There is a hint of some connection with the Severn tides but Blenner-Hassett wisely doubts whether 'Aber Llynn Lliwan' is to be located on any modern map of Great Britain.

The next four items are all to be found in the same volume of *Studia Neophilologica*. They consist of short articles and notes on M E. secular verse. In these the *Brut* appears again in *Notes on the vocabulary of Layamon's 'Brut'* by K. E. Sundén. This study is mainly directed to the significance of the differences in vocabulary between the A and B versions (the later modernizing and also 'prosaising' in intention and effect); the last part consists of a series of etymologies of individual words. S. Singer's main object in *Die Sprichwörter Hendings* is to offer comparative notes on the proverbs as samples of the lines on which it should now at long last be possible to build on the foundations laid in the last forty years. Parallels have been gathered over a wide field. There are two very brief notes on English romance material. Bruce Dickins has a one-page note on *The Names of Grim's Children in the Havelock Story*, pointing out that since not one of these names is found in earlier versions of the story, they may well be additions by the English author. Helge Kökeritz, in the second of his *Two Interpretations* rejects the meaning 'jests' for *bordes* in *Gawain* l. 1954; he believes that better sense is given by taking it as a variant of *burdes* (O E. *byrde*), i.e. 'maidens', 'damsels'.

The *Historia Regum Britanniae* has entered in some fashion into several of the above articles. Some other items to its account can be found, together with Arthurian references in general, in John G. Parry's continuation: *A Bibliography of Critical Arthurian Literature for the Year 1941* (*M.L.Q.*, June). Here can be found the titles of several as yet unprinted theses in the Arthurian field and references to a number of foreign articles difficult of access in this country.

Finally, before leaving this fruitful field, it is to be noted that still more evidence is coming in of Geoffrey's vitality in his own day. Also in *M.L.Q.* (June), Jacob Hammer records and lists his discoveries of *Some Additional Manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'Historia Regum Britanniae'*. He has been able to add twelve to the known list of MSS.: two Spanish, one Swiss, one German and eight English. The two most interesting of the English MSS. are one from the Chapter of the Cathedral Library, Exeter, and another, a St. Cuth-

bert's College MS., at Ushaw near Durham, which shows conflation by the scribe of Geoffrey's *Historia* with Henry of Huntington's *Historia Anglorum.*

The Middle English Verse Life of Edward the Confessor forms the subject of a Ph.D. dissertation by Grace E. Moore.[2] In addition to the printing of the text from MS. Cotton Julius D IX, it is the writer's object to supply the materials for illustrating the transition from history to hagiography—the process by which a pious but unsuccessful king acquires the halo of a saint. Thus, the Introduction contrasts the 'historical' with the 'legendary' elements and the Appendix brings together the prose versions down to and including Caxton's. The amount of material printed here from MS. sources represents a strenuous labour of transcription, but it cannot be said that the introductory material is very attractively or expertly handled and the writing is monotonous. The apparatus includes a section establishing the dialect of MS. Cotton Julius D IX from the usual criteria of the accented vowels and 'such points regarding consonants and inflections as may be of dialect importance' which is not quite complete, a glossary giving the modern meanings of the Middle English words and two and three-quarter pages of notes. As this last item makes clear, the author's interest is not in the linguistic or other detail of the poem but in the text and the historical background of the Edward theme. Her text is strictly conservative (no punctuation is superimposed) and is accompanied by full critical apparatus of variant readings. There are some misprints or errors which call for revision.

The textual problems offered by the extant MSS. of *The Proverbs of Alfred*[3] have been re-studied by O. S. Anderson and published as Part I of a projected complete edition of the Proverbs. Anderson finds earlier writings on these MSS. unsatisfactory, particularly in their assessment of the value of the Jesus College MS. (J). A large part of this book is devoted to showing that J, though containing some inferior material, and though later written and extensively revised, yet preserves a large number of authentic readings and early forms and is of independent descent from the

[2] *The Middle English Verse Life of Edward the Confessor*, ed. by Grace Edna Moore. Philadelphia. pp. xci + 142.

[3] *The Proverbs of Alfred* (I. A Study of the Texts, by O. S. Anderson. Lund pp. 162.

archetype. The dialects of the MSS. and of the archetype are also reviewed. This book is a piece of strenuous philology.

Ruth Crosby in *Robert Mannyng of Brunne: a New Biography* (*P.M.L.A.*, March) reviews the extant biographical material in the conviction that this early fourteenth-century story-teller ought to be much better known than he is. She returns to the place and personal names used by Mannyng—Brunnewake, Sempringham, 'Sixille' Robert and Alexander Bruce, etc., and by the pursuit of what clue are available she has succeeded in clarifying Mannyng's connections with Sempringham and his status. Conditions and organization of the Gilbertine Order at the relevant period are helpfully used to elucidate Mannyng's position and the relation of this to *Handlyng Synne*. Miss Crosby believes Mannyng to have been a Canon and Master of the novices. Among these would be lay brothers who were, among the Gilbertines, illiterate by statute, debarred from the possession of books. It is, accordingly, a professional pre-occupation with oral vernacular exposition which makes the inspiring purpose of *Handlyng Synne* and accounts for those tricks and habits which recall oral transmission.

Piers Plowman provides half the subject-matter of the late R. W. Chambers' Warton Lecture, *Poets and their Critics: Milton and Piers Plowman*, which, though delivered in 1941, was not dealt with in this chapter last year. It was given when Chambers was nearing the end of his lifetime of luminous scholarship; in the circumstances, the ardent conviction, the serene dogmatism of this lecture are particularly striking, even poignant. On the subject of the value, the unity, the art of *Piers Plowman* Chambers inhabited no half-way house. Basing himself on thirty years' work on the poem by Grattan, himself and others, he speaks his last word on Do Well, Do Bet and Do Best. He goes beyond assertion of unity of authorship (and the author, of course, William Langland) to assertion of unifying command of thought and structure, not only in those portions where this is generally conceded: 'after thirty years study I am not afraid to assert dogmatically that the B-text is as well constructed as the A-text.' This is bracing, especially to those who feel that the poem has been allowed to wander in a kind of Limbo too long. There will probably be, however, considerable reserve towards the allegedly national, English theme of 'patient fortitude' in which Chambers finds the unifying

bond between his two poets; certainly the notion of patience hardly abides in the mind after his exposition of the passionate quest of William Langland.

C. C. Macaulay in his edition of the *Confessio Amantis* brought forward some pieces of evidence suggesting a connection between the *Confessio* and Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum.* In view of the popularity of the latter work, this is inherently likely enough; it is the purpose of Dorothy A. Dilt's note (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) to call attention to a few more links. These do not amount to proof; she herself claims no more than increase of likelihood.

Elmer B. Atwood has published this year two selections from the studies growing under his hand of the Middle English *Seege* (or *Batayle*) *of Troy.* The two articles attempt to trace the source of material in the *Seege* concerning Paris and Achilles which cannot be accounted for by reference to the known principal sources—Dares' *De Excidio Troiae* and Benoit de Sainte Maure's *Roman de Troie.* Paris, under the title *The Judgment of Paris in the 'Seege of Troy'* is handled in *P.M.L.A.* (June); *The Story of Achilles in the 'Seege of Troy'* appeared separately in *St. in Ph.* (July). Each article is provided with enough preparatory and summarizing material to be self-consistent, and each reminds us of Atwood's discovery of a third source-text, the post-classical Latin *Excidium Troiae* which contains most of the supplementary items found in the *Seege* (see *Y.W.*, xxii 16), but which yet, when put to the test concerning Paris and Achilles, does not explain the provenance of all the details. A fourth source is therefore envisaged—a Latin account resembling the *Compendium Historiae Romanae-Troianae.*

Three MSS. of the *Seege* have a somewhat startling version of the 'Judgment' story in which Paris is roused from sleep by 'ffoure ladies of eluene land' named Saturnus, Jubiter, Mercurius and Venus· MS.H is here less 'Gothick' and substitutes 'thre goddes', Juno, Pallas and Venus—it is nearer to the source, but not necessarily to the author. Atwood finds that neither Dares, nor *Excidium* nor *Compendium* will explain the very full and dramatized version found in the *Seege.* He hunts medieval analogues far afield, but nothing emerges that can be claimed as a source. He is, therefore, compelled to postulate a fourth recension of the Troy-story, not divorced from the *Excidium*, but worked up to greater length by the development

of speeches. The writer of H (who must be considered a reviser) brought his version into closer and soberer dependence on this source.

For the story of Achilles it is, of course, necessary to take account of the *Achilleid* of Statius and many parallels have been traced. But there are also variations; moreover, the *Excidium* runs very closely parallel to the *Achilleid* in its account of Achilles' youth. The body of the Achilles article consists of a comparison of incidents as given in the *Seege* with Statius, the *Excidium* and, often, with medieval analogres—French, German, Spanish, etc.—and, again, the looked-for source is still to seek. Possibilities of an intermediate version of the *Achilleid* have to be considered.

Sister Mary Immaculate's *The Four Daughters of God in the 'Gesta Romanorum' and the 'Court of Sapience'* (*P.L.M.A.*, Dec.) is related to the allegorical theme of the contest in Heaven between the 'four daughters'—Mercy and Peace *versus* Justice and Truth—over the fate of fallen man. The article discusses the rôle of a Latin recension of the allegory which grew out of St. Bernard's sermon on the Psalmist's verse, 'Mercy and Truth have met together'. To this Latin recension Sister Mary Immaculate gives the title *Rex et Famulus* and this she believes (on the strength of five *differentia* distinguishing it from the original sermon) to have been the principal disseminator of the Four Daughters theme in the Middle Ages. She argues the dependence of the story in the *Gesta Romanorum* and the *Court of Sapience* on *Rex et Famulus* rather than on the sources hitherto alleged. Argument and evidence are too intricate to be summarized in a paragraph. Of particular interest are, first, the reminder of the duty of allowing for the different forms of the *Gesta*—the original Anglo-Latin (still in MS.), the fifteenth-century English text based thereon, and the continental or Vulgärtext (the base of early and modern printed editions); and, second, the rejection of any dependence of the *Court of Sapience* story on Grosseteste's *Chasteau de Labour*. Care has clearly been taken in the organization of this article, but inevitable condensation is occasionally at war with lucidity. The article includes the Latin text of *Rex et Famulus* printed (following Hauréau) from the better of the two MS. versions in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Rossell H. Robbins continues his indefatigable researches into late

Middle English devotional and liturgical vernacular verse. A large number of his recent studies have illustrated the growth of vernacular assistance to devotion from the early fifteenth century onwards. In *Middle English Verse Levation Prayers* (*Mod. Phil.*, Nov.) he suggests that a special reason accounts for the switch to a vernacular prayer in the midst of a Latin liturgy—namely, a natural impulse to the use of the mother-tongue in moments of intense feeling. He recalls that Bede prayed in English on his death-bed. Robbins finds evidence for a *corpus* of Levation prayers known to the devout. In this article he assembles material towards such a *corpus*, with references to nine prayers and the text of seven hitherto unknown. The setting of the private Levation prayer was the Book of Hours for the use of the literate; in addition there were the simple vernacular ejaculations ('Jesu!' 'Mercy!', etc.) and popular prayers orally taught and circulated and occasionally scribbled in odd places. The importance of the growing vernacular habit in devotion justifies all the emphasis given to it at the end of the article.

In *M.L.N.* (Jan.), under the title of *The Burden in Carols*, Robbins takes up with Dr. Greene some points concerning the carol form and its textual handling in editions. He is more particularly concerned with the so-called Ritson MS.—B.M.Add. 5665—designed for a sophisticated audience and no criterion, therefore, for popular music. He is a strong believer in the simple couplet burden as the typical form. At the end (still indefatigable) he gives references for seven new carols to be added to the *corpus*.

As an amusing contrast to this pre-occupation with the devotional, Robbins prints in *M.L.R.* (Oct.) *Two Middle English Satiric Love Epistles*. The secular pieces in MS. Rawlinson poet. 36 in the Bodleian have remained so far unprinted; from them are selected and here published two mock-amorous epistles, one from a woman to a man and the other (and longer) from a man to a woman. The device is at bottom the same sort of parody of loverly poetic conventions as Hoccleve's roundel and (we might add) the Pyramus and Thisbe interchange. Robbins, indeed, sweeps in amongst his comparisons Shakespeare's sonnet 130—'My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun.' At the end of the article the development of the love-epistle is summed up and thirty-nine examples (in addition to those mentioned in the text) are enumerated in a footnote. It is permissible to hope that,

now that his collaboration in the *Index of Middle English Verse* is completed, a synthesis of all this learned but scattered material is growing under Robbins's hand.

In the field of Middle English prose the E.E.T.S. has defied the war by producing a massive volume, *The Book of Vices and Virtues*,[4] edited by W. Nelson Francis of the University of Pennsylvania. Dan Michel's translation from the same French original—his Kentish *Ayenbite of Inwyt*—has, in Nelson's opinion, proved so powerful a philological lure, that the subject-matter of the *Somme le Roi* in its bearing on popular theology and religious instruction has been overlooked. We have here, then, an East Midland version following a Huntington MS.—a text dialectically straightforward which can be read by any one reasonably versed in Chaucer's language.

The edition follows the pattern and heads familiar to all users of this series. Editorial material is, especially in the Introduction, generously full; the glossary has, for reasons of war-time economy, been cut to the needs of the general reader. On the date and authorship of the East Midland recension the editor squeezes some not very rewarding material for every drop of information; it seems, indeed, a little optimistic for him to hope that a fifteenth-century note on the bounds of Cranborne Chase written on the flyleaf of his MS. H. might lead him to the authorship of his fourteenth-century text. The dialect provides the weightiest evidence—at least as to the provenance of H., the selected text. Adequate notice of all the work done by the editor on the French author and original and on the English MSS. is impossible here; the following notes and queries, expressed in the briefest possible form, may be helpful: Nelson has been able to double the number of known MSS. of the *Somme le Roi* and gives a very full account of the process of compilation and conflation which produced that text. In dealing with the Cranborne Chase 'clue', does he not, in rejecting any adjacent nunnery as a possible repository for the book, take with excessive literalness Eileen Power's conclusions regarding the literacy of nuns? The account of the language of MSS H. and A. is well arranged but needs revision, particularly what is said under O E. $\bar{æ}^1$ and $\bar{æ}^2$. The book is addressed, not to the linguist, but to the student of medieval popular religion; freedom from dialectal toughness is therefore an advantage. The text of H. represents

[4] *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, ed. by W. Nelson Francis. O.U.P. for the E.E.T.S. pp. lxxxii+378. £2 12*s.* 6*d.*

phonologically a very pure East Midland dialect (apart from a few South Easternisms); it shows, however, in the accidence, fluctuation between Midland and Southern forms. The editor considers that the northern Thames-side counties between the eastern border of Oxfordshire and the western boundary of Essex would satisfy conditions. There seems no need to look far from the 'London area' interpreted with modern latitude.

Production, paper and type of this volume are excellent—a remarkable achievement under present conditions.

George Sanderlin's article, *Usk's 'Testament of Love' and St. Anselm* (*Spec.*, Jan.) is not unconnected with his recent study of *Liberum Arbitrium* in *Piers Plowman*. The author cannot say much for the consistency and vitality of the *Testament* and admits that his principal concern—Book III—is the dullest part of a dull treatise. He begins his article in the belief that Book III's apparent confusion largely disappears if its dependence on St. Anselm's *De Concordia Praescientiae et Praedestinationis nec non Gratiae Dei cum Libero Arbitrio* is recognized and traced. Towards the end, however, he says disarmingly, 'I suspect that I have not dispelled quite as much of the confusion as I thought.' Perhaps it is not unnatural that a Testament of Love should be a better witness to the heart than the head. Usk's allegorical theme of his love for the 'Margaret' led him to substitute 'love' for Anselm's 'rectitude' and 'lovinge wil' for *recta voluntas* and thus to destroy the concatenation of the theological arguments. Another explanation, briefly touched on but capable of considerable development, lies in the limitations of English philosophical vocabulary in the fourteenth century.

A new Lollard prose text has been made accessible by E. W. Talbert in his article *A Lollard Chronicle of the Papacy* (*J.E.G.P.*, April). This tract is extant in one early fifteenth-century MS.—MS. 1.4.9. in Emmanuel College Library and may be the *Caeremonium Chronicon* attributed by Bale (probably incorrectly) to Wyclif himself. Its editor claims it as 'perhaps the most interesting of the unedited Wyclifite treatises'; its importance lies, of course, mainly in the field of ecclesiastical history and Lollard doctrine, though there is some interest in the author's manipulation of his sources—chiefly Higden's *Polychronicon*. The editor assigns the original tract to 1379; the extant MS. is early fifteenth century.

Vol. II of John Bellenden's translation of *The Chronicles of Scotland compiled by Hector Boece*, has now appeared.[5] H. Winifred Husbands has carried on the work of R. W. Chambers as joint editor with Edith C. Batho. This volume contains the Text from the 'Tabill' of the tenth 'Buke' to the end and an appendix on the life of John Bellenden by Dr. E. A. Shephard. The collaborators have earned the rare distinction of producing this volume sooner than was expected.

Medieval drama seems to have lain fallow during 1942. G. R. Coffman prints *P.Q.* (April) *A Correction: the Miracle Play: Notes and Queries* to clear up a misinterpretation of a Latin passage originally quoted and translated in his book *A New Theory of the Origin of the Miracle Play* (1913) and re-used with abridgment in his article *The Miracle Play: Notes and Queries* (*P.Q.*, XX.) noticed in this chapter last year. When the writer, now recognizing in one of the Latin passages used in 1913 *cantate* as the 2nd.pers.pl.imperative, admits that his earlier reference to the article *cantata* in Du Cange was a 'wrong ascription', one can but concur with acclamation, but the promised clarification of the 1941 article scarcely materializes.

There is rather more to notice under the head of 'Language' than has often been the case lately. In *Delaware Notes* (May, 1941) which was received too late for comment last year, A. R. Dunlap has made an analytical survey of *The Vocabulary of the Middle English Romances in Tail-rhyme Stanza.* This survey has grown out of earlier suggestions by Flazdieck and Oakden of the 'lexical distinctness' of different bodies of Middle English verse. The method is to classify under four headings—I. Scandinavian, II. Old French, III. Old English, IV. Miscellaneous—the substantial words from the twenty-seven known tail-rhyme romances. Each heading is subdivided under A and B, B containing the rarer or more distinctive words (this distinction might have been explained earlier than it is). Under each heading the material is subjected to certain tests—comparison with the *O.E.D.*, the *English Dialect Dictionary*, Kaiser's lists of Northernisms, Southernisms, etc. The results provide the basis for seven general 'observations

[5] *The Chronicles of Scotland compiled by Hector Boece, translated into Scots by John Bellenden, 1537*, Vol. II ed. by Edith C. Batho and H. Winifred Husbands with the co-operation of R. W. Chambers and the late Walter Seton. Blackwood for the Sc. Texts Soc., 1941. pp. vii+478.

on the collective vocabulary', of which the 'prespective' (*sic*) is given in an eighth and concluding paragraph. This perspective confirms what most readers of the tail-rhyme romances would suspect—that there is little conscious effort to be 'literary' and that their authors were content to use words of general currency; in other words there is no lexical distinctness. Though this analysis rather confirms the expected than discovers the new, it is, with its three Appendices, a strenuous piece of work; there are numerous asterisked examples where information in the *O.E.D.* has been corrected or supplemented. Students of the tail-rhyme romances will have noted that Dunlap's findings run counter to A. H. Trounce's contention for a 'school' of tail-rhyme poets. The article is not, however, polemic; the confutation of Trounce is disposed of in a footnote.

There is an important contribution from Sweden to the study of English names—Mattias T. Löfvenberg's *Studies on Middle English Local Surnames.*[6] This book, though it selects a different order of names, is a successor to Gustav Fransson's *Middle English Surnames of Occupation* (1935). The field of personal names calls out for workers though there has been both active and comprehensive interest in it. Löfvenberg finds previous works and dictionaries (such as those of Bardsley and Weekley) 'dilettante'. The truth is that place-name study has so far advanced the technique of this branch of research that synthesis or general 'human' interest is only discernible at the end of a long avenue.

Löfvenberg is careful first of all to delimit his field of study by a series of rejections. Of three types of local surnames, he selects one—the prepositional; geographically he limits himself to four counties—Sussex, Surrey, Somerset and Worcester—as 'old Saxon' counties for which printed record-material is available. It was, inevitably, impossible for him to visit this country. In subsequent sections of his Introduction he reviews (II) the Form of Local Surnames (the relation of English and French, the prepositions used, the survival of inflexions), (III) the Meaning (these names mainly arise from objects in the landscape indicating place of residence, not, in his opinion, from the signboard habit), (IV) the Value of the Study of Local Surnames, and, lastly, a brief section (V) on a special linguistic

[6] *Studies on Middle English Local Surnames*, by Mattias T. Löfvenberg. Lund Studies in English. C. W. K. Gleerup and Williams and Norgate. xlv+pp. 255. 10 Kr.

feature, the Elliptical Genitive. In IV he has no difficulty in demonstrating the interest of his study in its wider philological relations: he mentions modern names which are inexplicable (as are hosts of place-names) without recourse to the earliest forms accessible; just as place-name study gives invaluable help to the researcher in personal names, so the latter can make a reciprocal contribution, lexicography benefits through the unearthing of words and forms hitherto unknown, our knowledge of the dialects and the geographical distribution of words and names can be extended and clarified, further light can be shed on the history of English sounds.

In the body of the work the 'articles' are arranged according to the nouns, of course, not the prepositions, in alphabetial order, 'Aker' . . . 'Aler' . . . 'Apelder', etc., and the scale and method of treatment closely resemble those obtaining in the publications of the Place-Name Society. Discussion is often detailed and occasionally controversial; it uncovers numerous points of linguistic, local and social interest. Like other name-studies, the book draws on lexical material very slightly, if at all, represented in the literature. This is a piece of close philological research, of the kind and quality we have come to associate with the 'Ekwall school'.

Some brief etymological Notes conclude what has to be said about language here. Leo Spitze (*M.L.N.*, Nov.) seeks to revise the accepted (*O.E.D.* and Skeat) derivation of 'dismal' from an Anglo-French *dis mal* going back to Lat. *dies mali*. The Chaucerian 'in the dismal' has been taken to mean 'in the evil days', hence, 'on an unlucky day'. As his title makes clear—*English 'Dismal= OFr. 'Dism-al'*—Spitze believes the stock etymology to be based on a wrong division of the word. He finds an OFr. *dis mal* unattested, unidiomatic and phonologically impossible. *Dism*, he says, is OFr. *disme*<*decima* (*pars*); the common adjectival suffix *-al* turns it into 'dismal'. In ecclesiastical reckoning the *decimale tempus* or tithe of our time was the tenth share to be devoted to God, i.e. to prayer and fasting. Human nature, then, perhaps accounts for the generalization of the meaning to 'gloomy', 'unlucky'. The phonology of this must be left to OFr. experts; semantically, the new explanation does not seem satisfying.

In the same periodical (Dec.) C. L. Livingston also considers etymologies in *Old French 'Recchier' and English 'Rack'*. The 'rack' here explained is a technical term of the wine trade. Following up a study of *reechier* and its cognates by Antoine Thomas, Livingston

suggests an ultimate source in Lat. *re-aedificare*, derivatives of which acquired the meaning of 'improve' (particularly in a rural, cultural sense); in wine-making *reechier* came to mean *soutirer, tirer au clair*, i.e. 'refine'. English 'rakke' with the meaning 'draw off from the lees' is attested as a fully English term from the latter fifteenth century. The *O.E.D.* traces it to Gascon *arraca*. Livingston seeks to reverse the direction of borrowing. For this the currency of *a*-doublets is necessary, e.g. an Anglo-French *raquier*. A little more support seems necessary here than is provided in a footnote.

Further etymologies make the subject of three articles in the volume of *Studia Neophilologica* (1941–2) mentioned earlier. Frank Behre's *Two M.E. Words of Scandinavian Origin* is devoted to two Northernisms, *stoke* and *in waght* occurring in Thomas Castleford's *Chronicle*. By some intricate tracing of English dialectal and Norse forms he relates *stok* with *steck*, 'to run away', etc., and *waght* with *wecht*, 'weight' or 'weighing', 'balancing', hence 'doubt', 'hesitation'.

The interrelation of two ME. tree-names is briefly considered by M. T. Löfvenberg in his *Notes on M.E. 'aubel' and English Dialectal 'ebble'*. Etymologically, the words are distinct; the *Promptorium Parvulorum* shows, however, that there had been some conflation between *aubel*, 'white poplar', and *ebble*, 'danewort' or dwarf elder. Löfvenberg's etymology for *ebble* (ME. *ēble*, OFr. *yeble*, *eble*, Lat. *ebulum*) modifies the *O.E.D.*'s view of it as a variant of *abele*, 'white poplar'.

A lengthier article by Emrik Slettengren, *On the Origin of the M.E. variant diol, O.F. due(i)l and the Pronunciation of O.F. -uel in the Anglo-French Dialect* starts from the spelling *diol* (normal M.E. *del, dol*) recorded a considerable number of times in the Auchinleck MS., but, as the title indicates, the phonological inquiry is conducted almost entirely in the Old and Anglo-French fields.

Finally, from the same publication can be mentioned *A Study on the Use of the Infinitive Sign in Middle English* by Urban Ohlander. Examples of ME. usage with and without 'to' are collected and classified in order to show what general habits or tendencies can be discerned in what was, admittedly, in the main a fluctuating state of affairs.

The medieval book-world has been receiving increasing attention of late and this chapter concludes with three interesting bibliogra-

phical studies. In an avowedly exploratory article, *The Auchinleck MS. and a London Bookshop* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.), Laura H. Loomis sets herself to fill a gap in our knowledge of the provenance of vernacular MSS. (especially of secular verse) before 1350. Certain ideas of 'publishing', even of 'mass production', have begun to loom for the fifteenth century and, in connection with Chaucer MSS., have been carried back to the fourteenth century. This article considers the Auchinleck MS. as a product of a lay 'book-workshop' in London or Westminster between 1330 and 1340. The author's acquaintance with the medieval art and craft world leads her to find nothing strange in a bookmaking parallel to the 'lay-atelier'; scribes would be employed on a business footing to reproduce unassuming volumes of work in popular demand. The workmanship, the distribution of scribal hands, the contents of the Auchinleck MS., seem to answer to such conditions. The thesis is ingeniously supported and several interesting sidelights are thrown on the MS. itself and what might be called the business relationships of medieval culture.

A strenuous and closely packed article by Neil R. Ker *The Migration of Manuscripts from the English Medieval Libraries* (*The Library*, June), offers some valuable warnings as to our mental reconstructions of medieval libraries. It is one main contention that lists of extant medieval works in collections, etc., are no guide whatever to the contents of English medieval libraries. The principle of selection that worked in the Tudor dispersal has meant that the proportions have entirely changed. At the break-up of the monasteries the books that had the best chance of survival were histories, patristic writings, Bible commentaries and so on; those with least chance were the works of the schoolmen and late medieval philosophy. Thus the works of the early middle ages had the better chance of survival. At the same time, Ker notes that conditions differed from place to place. Indifference at some centres led to the preservation of many unpopular works. Further, many classes of books with survival value (such as *registra brevium*, medical recipes, chronicles, religious and secular verse, including the works of Chaucer and his successors) represent the possessions of private individuals, not of institutions. The author would clearly have us beware how we furnish the scriptoria and the shelves of English religious houses from the material extant in our collections. (See also below, p. 229.)

Lastly, welcome is to be extended to the first item of a new 'rare books monographs series' to be published by the initiative of H. P. Kraus, New York. This is a beautifully produced slim volume, *An English 13th Century Bestiary*,[7] containing two complementary studies, 'Analysis of the Text' by Samuel A. Ives and 'The Miniatures' by Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt. The text (herein designated the K Bestiary) is that of a *Physiologus* contained in a Latin codex now in the possession of H. P. Kraus; it is of English workmanship c. 1200–1250. The miniatures (illustrations of birds, beasts, etc.) all precede the text, in which the spaces for illumination have never been filled in. There is evidence that miniatures and text were once independent, though linked by a common origin as exemplars or model-books, the one for illuminators, the other for scribes. The miniatures still show traces of the perforations for 'pouncing' by which 'transfers' of the designs were made. What is of more than iconographical interest is the manner in which these researches link with those of Mrs. Loomis and others into what has been, perhaps rashly, called medieval 'mass-production' of books —i.e. the multiplication of works of wide appeal by scribes and illuminators working in 'lay-ateliers' organized on a business-footing.

[7] *An English 13th Century Bestiary. A new discovery in the technique of medieval illumination*, by Samuel A. Ives and Hellmut H. Lehmann-Haupt. H. P. Kraus, N.Y. pp. 45+facsimiles.

VI

THE RENAISSANCE

By Frederick S. Boas

The publications of 1942 dealing with general aspects of the Renaissance period were fewer than the unusually large number that appeared in 1941. Attention may be first called to the account published in *H.L.Q.* (Jan.) of *The Renaissance Conference at the Huntington Library*. This was held on 4–6 August 1941 in succession to the first meeting on 19–21 August 1940 (see *Y.W.*, xxii, 84–5). The subjects on which papers were read (relating to the period) included Social Diffusion of Ideas in the English Renaissance', 'Tudor Popular Music: its Social Significance'; 'Henry VIII and the Eclipse of Art', regarding which C. H. Collins Baker stated that owing to Henry's taxation and 'the vandalism of the dissolution . . . to a great extent the tradition of building and painting was lost'. Coming more immediately within the scope of *Y.W.* is the paper by Mark Eccles, 'A Survey of Elizabethan Reading'. Basing his 'sketch map' conclusions on the entries in *The Short-Title Catalogue*, he estimates that of the twenty-five favourite works published before the death of Elizabeth, fourteen were religious, headed by the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. Among the secular books it is surprising to find that a legal volume, Littleton's *Tenures*, comes first with about twice as many entries as those next on the secular list among which are Bacon's *Essays*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Tusser's *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, *Euphues*, the *Arcadia* and *Venus and Adonis*. To some extent supplementary to Eccles's paper is that by J. L. Livesay on 'Trends in Tudor and Stuart Courtesy Literature', showing that English conduct books 'passed successively under the spell of continental humanism, Italian *virtù* and French *civilité*'. Among these books Guazzo's *Civile Conversation* attained even wider popularity than Castiglione's *The Courtier*.

The remaining papers read at this second meeting of the Conference related to later subjects than come within the scope of this chapter of *Y.W.* This also applies to papers at the third meeting on 3–4 August 1942 summarized in *H.L.Q.* (Nov.). One of these by Brent Stirling discussed 'The Social Significance of Elizabethan Drama', entirely in relation to Shakespeare, and another by René

Wellek introduced the wide theme of 'The Nature and Scope of Literary History'.

Another paper, not prepared for the Renaissance Conference but read in its first form at a Huntington Library session, by Mark Eccles on *A Biographical Dictionary of Elizabethan Authors* was published in *H.L.Q.* (April). It gives the plan of a *Dictionary* on which Eccles is engaged which will include the lives and works of authors within the British Isles between 1558 and 1603. In addition to the thousand belonging to this period noticed in *The Dictionary of National Biography* there are about 550 others entered in *The Short-Title Catalogue*, and several hundreds not listed in either of these works. Hence the full roll-call will number not far from 2,000.

Eccles indicates the various sources manuscript or printed which have become available since *The D.N.B.* was begun in 1885, and from which more detailed lives can be written and inaccuracies corrected. As an illustration he shows how much new light has been thrown on the career of Thomas Danett, the translator of the *History* of Comines (1565) since the slight account of him in *D.N.B.*, vol. xiv (1888). He also gives a specimen biography of Sir John Beaumont, the poet, whose whole career however falls outside the limits of this chapter.

Supplements to the studies of Renaissance humanism by Douglas Bush and R. Weiss (see *Y.W.*, xxii, 85–6 and 88–90) may be found in two articles by Henry Guppy, *The Dawn of the Revival of Learning* (*B.J.R.L.*, Oct.–Nov. 1941 and May–June 1942). The first of these traces the renewal of the interest in classical literature, going back as early as the later thirteenth century in the Florentine Brunetto Latini. Among his successors were Albertino Mussato and Giovanni del Verglio followed by the great figures of Petrach, Dante and Boccaccio, masters both of the Latin tongue and of their Italian vernacular. It is Petrarch whom Guppy singles out as the chief link between the medieval and modern world. As collectors and transcribers of valuable classical MSS. long lost or neglected he notes Niccolò Nicolli and Poggio Bracciolini whose travels included a visit to England in 1485.

The second article begins with 'The Discovery of the New World', and discusses the various classical sources that may have inspired Columbus to seek a route to the Indies by sailing to the West. Guppy then passes to 'A New System of Education' and enumerates the early Italian humanist writers on education of whom the most

notable is Æneas Sylvius afterwards Pope Pius II. Their doctrines were put into practice in Mantua by Vittorio da Feltre and in Verona and Ferrara by Guarino who taught Greek to the first group of English humanist visitors to his school. Then followed in the closing years of the fifteenth century the introduction of Greek into the curriculum at Oxford.

c. One of the results of that vitalized interest in the classics which characterized the Renaissance was an increased emphasis upon eloquence'. Thus Richard F. Jones begins his paper, *The Moral Sense of Simplicity*,[1] which traces a reaction against the scholarly enthusiasm for eloquence or flowers of rhetoric, the growth during the sixteenth century of an opposite movement stressing the merits of a homely style. The insistence upon the value of simple speech, and the distrust of rhetoric are specially characteristic of many of the writers on religious subjects, whether Catholic or Protestant. Thus Thomas Cotsforde writes in 1543, 'I truste you wyl credite and embrace the truth though it be never so barely and homely wrytten or declared unto you. For the truthe shall abyde and floryshe whanl prophane paynted persuasions . . . shal vanyshe awaye.' This is only one of the many illustrations quoted by Jones from theological treatises. The same attitude is found in various writers on scientific and medical matters. Humphrey Lloyd in 1558 in a preface to a medical work asserts that 'physicke is an arte contente only to be playnly and distinctly taught and nothinge desirous to be adorned and decte with eloquence and gay paynted sentences.' Furthermore translators from the clasics often insisted that they dispensed with 'inkhorn' terms, as their aim was not to show a mastery of fine phrases but to make themselves intelligible to the greatest numbers of readers. They disparaged rhetoric not only as obscuring the sense but as a frivolous ornament. Hence in Jones's suggestive but debatable summing-up, 'it was the moral not the artistic sense of simplicity that prompted the latter's all-but-fanatical advocates.'

Don C. Allen, in his picturesquely-named study, *The Star-Crossed Renaissance* deals, as his sub-title indicates, with 'The quarrel about Astrology and its influence in England'.[2] The first

[1] In *Studies in Honor of Frederick W. Shipley*, by his Colleagues. Washington Univ. Studies. New Series. Larg. and Lit. No. 14. pp. xi+314.

[2] The *Star-Crossed Renaissance*, by Don Cameron Allen. Durham, North Carolina: Duke Univ. Press. 1941. pp. xi+280.

hundred pages of the book discuss the views on astrology in fifteenth-century Italy and afterwards on the European continent generally till the beginning of the seventeenth century. The three later chapters are devoted to the controversy on the subject in Renaissance England. Allen distinguishes between (1) learned physicians and scientists who honestly believed in planetary influence; (2) semi-charlatans like Dee, Forman and Lambe; (3) complete quacks. The first formal attack on astrology was William Faulke's Latin *Antiprognosticon* (1560), translated by William Painter. The attack was continued by the Earl of Northampton in *A Defensative against the poyson of supposed prophecies* (1580) and by William Perkins in *Foure Great Lyers* (1585). On the other side Richard Harvey published in 1583 *An Astrological Discourse*, with an appendix by his brother John. The controversy then died down for a time to be actively renewed in the early years of the seventeenth century.

Passing to the influence of astrology upon literature, Allen claims that Bacon, Burton, Raleigh and Donne are to be classed among the adherents of 'the cause of the moderate astrologers'. To other men of letters of the period, whatever their views about its merits may have been, 'the science of astrology was a storehouse of rhetorical ornament'. The frequency of their references, and their often technical nature, suggest to Allen that the Renaissance public was as familiar with the astrologer's theories and jargon as the modern public is with the methods and language of psychologists. He gives detailed illustrations, especially from plays and poems. A favourable channel for the prognostications of the lower type of astrologers was provided by the almanacks which were highly popular and to which the plays of the period are full of allusions. Allen completes his study by an account of these annual publications and their makers and of the burlesques in which their oracular pretensions were ridiculed.

As a supplement to the above study of one notable aspect of human credulity attention may be briefly called to the article by S. Reed Brett on *Witchcraft* (*Quarterly Review*, Oct.). Here too genuine delusion was mixed with charlatanism and some detailed acquaintance with the subject is helpful to the student of Renaissance literature, particularly of drama.

The articles on *The Art of War* by S. Gibson in *The Bodleian*

Library Record (Feb. and April–June) were in connexion with the Exhibition of books and MSS. in the Library on this subject in the spring of 1942. The earliest publication mentioned is Henry VIII's *Ordinances of War* (1513) of which the Bodleian has a fragment requiring that every soldier going into battle should wear the Cross of St. George. Among the books described by Gibson between that date and 1580 are J. Sadler's translation of Vegetius, *The foure bookes of . . . marshall policy* (1572); William Patten's *Expedicion into Scotlande* (1548), which 'covers all aspects of war'; Peter Whitehorn's *Certain waies for the ordering of soldiers in battleray* (1572) where he is 'the first Englishman to write about fortifications, gunpowder and bombs'; and some early works on navigation.

From this group of general studies this survey passes to individual writers and concludes with notices of publications bearing on Tudor drama and the theatre before 1580.

H. W. Donner in *The Interpretation of 'Utopia'* (*Stud. Neoph.*) following in the footsteps of R. W. Chambers in his biography of More, maintains that 'if any theory advanced in the *Utopia* is inconsistent with the life and teaching of its author, then he was speaking in sport'. He holds that if the first book of the romance, which was written after the second, had not been added, *Utopia* would not have been regarded as anything but a *jeu d'esprit*. 'The fact that the first book is highly critical of the actual conditions of Europe has led critics to the conclusion that the second book must be constructive. The very opposite is true. The first book offers practical suggestions for the reforms, the second is ironical.' The virtues of the pagan Utopians show up by contrast the vices of Christian Europe, but theirs is not an ideal society for it is enlightened only by reason not by revealed religion. In support of his interpretation Donner quotes from More's contemporaries, Erasmus, Colet and Budé.

H. C. Andrews in *Baldock, Herts, and John Skelton* (*N. & Q.*, April 25) throws light on an allusion twice made by Skelton to 'the jibbet of Baldock'. In *Speak Parrot* he says that it was made for Jack Leg. This was Jack o' Legs, a giant outlaw who lived in a wood at Weston, near Baldock, in Herts, where he was hanged. In *Why Come Ye not to Court* attacking Wolsey the 'jibbet of

Baldock' is again mentioned as suitable for such a prelate. Some commentators have strangely misinterpreted Baldock as Baghdad.

In *Tyndales 'Supper of the Lord'* (*N. & Q.*, 21 Nov.) I. F. Mozley claims that internal evidence proves that this treatise is without doubt from Tyndale's pen. On 26 December 1572, Sir Thomas More published a reply to a MS. treatise on the Lord's Supper by John Frith. More was answered in an anonymous publication, *The Supper of the Lord*, dated 5 April 1533, printed ostensibly at Nuremberg but really at Antwerp. Its authorship was doubtful at the time, some ascribing it to Tyndale, others to George Joye. Mozley holds that neither in its Zwinglian tendency nor its literary quality is it characteristic of Joye. Some of its hits against More and turns of phrase are typical of Tyndale. The allusion to Bishop Stokesly, formerly vice-president of Magdalen College, Oxford, as 'bloody bishop christencat' comes naturally from Tyndale who had been a resident at the neighbouring Magdalen Hall.

In *George Joye and John Foxe* (*T.L.S.*, Nov. 14) Mozley points out that Joye's tract *A contrary to a certain man's Consultation that adultery ought to be punished with death* was written against Foxe's *De non plectendis morte adulteris consultatio*, published in 1548 and reissued with a different title in 1549. Joye does not name Foxe but refers to this 'young and new author' in abusive terms and quotes freely from the *Consultatio*.

J. C. Whitebrook's contribution to *N. & Q.* (Aug. 29) on *Edmund Grindal, Foxe and Wendelin* is of theological rather than of literary interest. Grindal was anxious, as his letters to Foxe on 10 May and 1 August 1556 show, to have a doctored version published of the text of Cranmer's controversy with Gardiner and of Archdeacon Philpot's views on the Real Presence. Foxe then an exile in Basle had suggested Jacob Wendelin as a suitable printer. Grindal replied that Wendelin was too scrupulous for such work and suggested instead Frisius or Froschover.

In a Note on *Alexander Barclay* (*M.L.R.*, April) L. S. Colchester brings to light a hitherto unknown factor in the later years of the translator of Brant's *Narrenschiff*. The Wells Cathedral accounts show two payments to him in 1547 of £12 and 26*s.* 8*d.* as Master of the Cathedral School. These amounts tally with a report by the Chantry commissioners in the same year that the Dean and

Chapter pay the Master of the school yearly £13 6*s.* 8*d.* and the usher £6 13*s.* 4*d.* From the unusual mention of the usher it is inferred that Barclay took little part in the school affairs. He was at the time Vicar not only of Wookey, two miles from Wells, but of Great Baddow in Essex.

In *Sir Thomas Elyot on the Turning of the Earth* (*P.Q.*, Oct.), E. J. Howard deals with an apparent contradiction in Elyot's writings which cannot be solved in the same way as his discordant views on poetry (see *Y.W.*, xxii, 94). In *Pasquil the Playne* (1533) Pasquil asks, 'Herdest thou never, that the world is rounde and therefore it is ever tournynge, nowe the wronge side upwarde, an other tyme the ryght?' On the other hand in *The Defence of Good Women* Candidus (representing Elyot) agrees with Canidius that to hold that 'the erthe is not stable but ever movinge' is 'contrary to truth and al common sense'. Howard suggests that Elyot when at the Court of Charles V in 1531 may have had an opportunity of reading the MS. *Commentariolus* in which Copernicus first stated his theory of the earth turning on its axis and had adopted this view. Later, on reflection, he had rejected it as contrary to 'al common sense'. Howard's suggestion, which in any case is not flattering to Elyot, would carry more weight if the date of the first publication of *The Defence of Good Women* were certain. He assumes that the Queen Anne to whom it is dedicated was Anne of Cleves and the date 1540, but if (as has been argued) the queen was Anne Boleyn, the publication would be between 1533 and 1536.

The most elaborate study of an individual writer falling within the scope of this chapter is C. T. Prouty's *George Gascoigne*.[3] He is conspicuous among the young men of good lineage who in the middle years of the sixteenth century 'did their best to chart the right course to fame and future . . . he tried careers in the court, the law, soldiering and finally literature; but in none achieved complete success.' On these varied aspects of Gascoigne's activities Prouty has for a considerable time conducted researches on both sides of the Atlantic of which some of the results have been published in articles (see *Y.W.*, xvii, 117 and xix, 111). These have been embodied with much fresh material and comment in the present volume.

Where Prouty has been specially diligent and successful is in

[3] *George Gascoigne; Elizabethan Courtier, Soldier and Poet*, by C. T. Prouty. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xxii+351. 25*s.*

linking references in Gascoigne's writings with information derived from documentary or other external sources. Thus his allusions to his education at Cambridge and to 'Nevysone' by whose 'helpe I learning first embraste' are elucidated by investigations into the career of Stephen Nevynson who was a fellow and tutor of Trinity College in 1547–61. Gaps in autobiographical poems like 'The Greene Knights farewell to Fansie' and 'Gascoigne's woodmanship' are filled in, and his account of his military service in the Low Countries is the poem 'Dulce Bellum Inexpertis' is illustrated from the prose narrative of Sir Roger Williams and from State Papers. Prouty was the first investigator to make it clear that Gascoigne's soldiering in Holland falls into two periods, one from June 1572 to the late autumn, the other beginning March 1573 while his volume *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* was passing through the press. Another biographical problem which Prouty discusses in detail from documentary sources, but which is still partly baffling is Gascoigne's marriage on 23 November 1561, to Elizabeth Bacon, widow of William Breton who had already been wedded early in 1559, apparently in irregular fashion, to Edward Boyes.

The first four chapters of the book are biographical, the four that follow deal with the various aspects of Gascoigne's literary achievement as a lyrist, mainly of courtly love, a dramatist, a narrator in prose and verse and a moralist. It is stressed that he shows to most advantages in his lyrical and satiric vein when he writes in the traditional simpler style and avoids the conceits of the fashionable Petrarchan school. The importance of Gascoigne's stylistic initiative in the use of prose dialogue in *Supposes* and *The Glasse of Government* is well brought out. But where Prouty has done his chief service to Gascoigne's literary reputation is in calling attention to his 'most important work, the first original prose narrative of the English Renaissance'. This is 'The Adventures of Masher, F. J.', in the form in which it appeared in *A Hundredth Sundrie Flowres* as a romance in prose and verse of which the scene is laid in the north of England. Owing to adverse criticism of its morality, Gascoigne in the second edition of it in his *Posies* gave it an Italian setting as translated from the riding tales of Bartello—a name otherwise unknown. As it had been reprinted only in this apparently derivative form its significance as the first English psychological novel has not been realized.

Prouty has now facilitated our appreciation of this and other problems concerning Gascoigne's literary workmanship by publishing a critical edition of *A Hundredth Sundrie Flowres*,[4] omitting the two translated plays *Jocasta* and *Supposes* which, as he shows in his introduction, were not included in the original plan of the volume and which were added by the printer, with or without the author's knowledge. From a collation of seven of the ten known copies Prouty concludes that there was only one edition of the volume, though there were some corrections during the printing, and that a gap in the pagination between 164 and 201 is not due to cancellation but to the printing of the book in two sections. The internal evidence points to its publication within at most a month after Gascoigne left Queensborough on his second voyage to Holland on 19 March 1572–3.

The most important question discussed in the introduction is whether *A Hundredth Sundrie Flowres* is, as B. M. Ward and others have held, an anthology to which Gascoigne was a contributor or whether he was the sole author. The problem involving reference to Elizabethan literary conventions is complicated and needs to be studied in detail. To the present writer Prouty gives convincing proof that Gascoigne was the sole author of the *Flowres* and that 'he was either the author or deliberate instigator of the letters of *H.W.* and *G.T.*', the anonymous introducers of the book.

Somewhat more speculative are the conclusions reached about Gascoigne's use of posies, e.g. 'Si fortunatus infoelix', and 'Meritum peterc, grave', subjoined to each of the poems. Prouty argues that 'the various posies represent successive periods in Gascoigne's life', and the groups of poems to which they are attached in the *Flowres* have their distinctive emotional significance. These groups were broken up and redistributed in the *Posies* in order to conceal the underlying facts from contemporary gossip-mongers. The use of posies was characteristic of courtier-poets and *A Hundredth Sundrie Flowres* is termed by Prouty the best product of the amateur *genre* while *The Shepheardes Calender* some years later marks the beginning of the 'professional' type.

Textual and critical notes, a list of variants in the *Posies*, including the conclusion of 'Dan Bartholmew' unfinished in the

[4] *George Gascoignes 'A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres'*, ed. by C. T. Prouty. Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Studies. Vol. xvii. No. 2. pp. 305. $2.50.

Flowres, a glossary and indexes complete an edition which is the fruit of intensive and discriminating study.

Jean Robertson in *George Gascoigne* and '*The Noble Arte of Venerie and Hunting*' (*M.L.R.*, Oct.), proposes an addition to the canon of Gascoigne's work. *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, an anonymous publication, printed by A. Bynneman in 1575 who also printed in that year George Turberville's *The Booke of Falconrie or Hawking*, is usually attributed to Turberville. But the first poem in this book of mixed verse and prose is avowedly by Gascoigne. and Whetstone in his memorial verses on him attributes to him 'a book of hunting'. Miss Robertson gives further reasons for attributing the whole of *The Noble Arte of Venerie* to Gascoigne.

George Whetstone was Gascoigne's friend and elegist. It is therefore appropriate that a study of him, by Thomas C. Izard,[5] should have appeared within the same year as Prouty's two volumes, and have added to our knowledge of his biography and placed his literary achievement in more satisfactory perspective. From the will of George Whetstone's father, Robert, dated 18 October 1560, Izard shows that it is probable that George was born about 1551, not, as has been usually calculated, about 1544. Through his mother he was associated with the Stamford district and the Cecil family, whose patronage helped him. His biographers customarily state that like Gascoigne, he served in the Low Countries in 1572, but Izard makes it clear that this is due to a misinterpretation of a section in his first published work, *The Rocke of Regard* (1576). Izard describes in some detail Whetstone's part in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's unsuccessful expedition of 1578, his journey to Italy in 1580, and the circumstances in which he met his death in September 1587 in Flanders in a duel with Captain Udall.

But Izard's main purpose is to show that Whetstone's reputation should have a firmer basis than that his unwieldy two-part play, *Promos and Cassandra* gave Shakespeare the material for *Measure for Measure*. His prose works form his chief title to remembrance. *An Heptameron of Civill Discourses*, with its Italian background, is of the courtesy book type. During seven days a group of ladies

[5] *George Whetstone; Mid-Elizabethan Gentleman of Letters*, by Thomas Izard. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. ix+297. 25*s*.

and gentlemen hold festival and discuss questions concerning marriage, illustrated by the recital of stories borrowed and adapted from various sources. In the two-fold publication *A Mirour for Magistrates of Cyties* and *A Touchstone for the Time*, Whetstone becomes more directly didactic. Izard stresses the fact that these tracts attack the general evils of London life and that they have little bearing on the stage-controversy. *The Honourable Reputation of a Soldier* does not deal with the military art, of which Whetstone disclaims knowledge, but is a conduct book for men-at-arms. Perhaps the most interesting point to-day about Whetstone's encyclopædic *The English Myrror*, a ponderous attack on envy, is that, as Izard shows, it was here, rather than in the usually quoted sources that Marlowe may have found an account of Tanburlaine. Throughout the years of his literary activity, 1576–87, Whetstone is thoroughly representative of the mid-Elizabethan period and though he borrowed inordinately, especially from Gruget and du Verdier, yet his work has the stamp of an original mind.

Allan Evans in a Note on *Actors in the Account Rolls of Battle Abbey* (*H.L.Q.*, Nov.) supplies from four of the steward's and one of the chaplain's rolls some fresh details about touring companies who performed at the Abbey or at one of its manors in the reigns of Edward IV, Henry VII and Henry VIII. The companies mentioned by name in the 1478–9 accounts are those of the King, the Queen, 'the Lord Prince', the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel, to whom the usual reward was 6*s.* 8*d.* Lesser sums were paid to individual or a few actors, in one case with puppets. New names in the 1497–8 accounts are the players of the Earl of Oxford and of 'the Lord Cardinal of Canterbury [Morton]. Lord Arundel's recur in this year, in 1508–9 and in 1520–1. The other players mentioned in 1520–1 belong mainly to more or less neighbouring localities, Cranbrook, Tenterden, Malling, Maidstone.

In *Sources of John Rastell's 'The Nature of the Four Elements* (*P.M.L.A.*, March) Elizabeth M. Nugent throws valuable further light on a subject with which G. B. Parks and E. M. Borish had previously dealt (see *Y.W.*, xix, 112–3). Miss Nugent prints in parallel columns extracts from the interlude concerning the eight of the ten points listed in the prologue which Rastell develops together with the Latin or English passages which appear to have

inspired them. These are drawn from Johannes Sacrobosco's *Tractatus de Sphacra*, Gregorius Reich's *Margarita Philosophica*, the anonymous *Image du Monde*, in Caxton's translation, and Martin Waldesemüllers *Comographiae Introductio* with its accompanying large wooden map and the *Quattuor Voyages* bound up with it. When Experience in *The Four Elements* elucidating 'poyntes of cosmography' describes the European countries and says of Italy, 'Behold where Rome in the myddes doth ly' he is probably 'calling attention to the double eagle and the papal keys, symbols which Waldseemüller uses to mark the city.' In any case where Rastell writes,

> *But this newe lands founde lately*
> *Ben called America by cause only*
> *Americus dyd furst them fynde*

he was following Waldseemüller who gave Amerigo Vespucci, instead of Columbus, the credit of discovering the New World and having it named after him; moreover Rastell in his description of the paganism of the inhabitants and their very primitive ways of living is reproducing details from the *Quattuor Voyages*.

Robert Withington in a Note on *Experience, The Mother of Science* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) deals with the allegorical significance of Experience in Redford's interlude *Wyt and Science*. Here Science has its original meaning of knowledge generally and Experience is used in the sense of experiment of which knowledge is born.

In his article *The First Phase of the Elizabethan Attack on the Stage 1558–79* (*H.L.Q.*, July) William Ringler aims at disproving two current views that 'the attacks were the end products of a movement that began at least by the time of Henry VIII', and that they were mainly of Puritan origin. He seeks to show that the attack began suddenly in 1577, that it resulted from changing conditions within the theatres and that the objections were not primarily theological, but due to social and economic causes. Ringler deals only with the professional stage. The Statute of 1572 in which 'common players', not in the service of a nobleman or without a licence, were classed as rogues and vagabonds, was not directed against them specially but against 'masterless men' generally. The orders of the City authorities prohibiting or regulating performances in 1565, 1566, 1569, were due either to the plague or to preserve decency and good order in the audiences, while the

licensing order of March 1574 was intended to assert the authority of the Lord Mayor's Council over performances within the City.

From an examination of a large proportion of the works printed 1558–76 dealing with social abuses Ringler has found only three incidental objections to the stage, while many clergy favoured the drama and some of them wrote plays. It was the building of the two commercial playhouses, the Theater and the Curtain, in 1576 that led to an unprecedented onslaught against the professional stage by, among others, John Northbrooke in his *Treatise* against 'Dicing, Dauncing, vaine playes or Enterluds' (1577). John Stockwood in 'two sermons preached at Paul's Cross (24 August 1578 and 10 May 1579) and Stephen Gosson's *The Schoole of Almse* (1579). But even by these assailants up to 1579 the stage was not condemned outright. They inveighed against the prodigal expenditure by the large composite audiences attracted to the new playhouses; against disorderly conduct there; and against the profanation of the Sabbath by entertainments which drew crowds away from the churches.

Ringler's article serves from some points of view as a prelude to his doctoral thesis on *Stephen Gosson.*[6] Herein he traces in detail the development of Gosson's views during the later phases of the controversy. When he first turned from writing plays to attacking the theatre in *The Schole of Abuse* he wrote in moderate terms, 'He restricted himself to arguments based on natural reason and common experience and approached the whole problem from the point of view of a practical legislator rather than from that of a theorizing moralist'. *The Schole of Abuse* was followed in 1580 by more extreme attacks on the stage from various quarters including Munday's *Second and third blas of retrait* from *plaies and theatres*, which bore the City's arms on the reverse of the title-page and which Ringler therefore believes was directly inspired by the London authorities.

On the other hand *The Schole of Abuse* provoked attacks on Gosson's character and a reply inspired by the players and written in abusive terms by Thomas Lodge. Smarting under these indignities Gosson published in 1582 his *Playes Confuted in Five Actions.*

[6] *Stephen Gosson; A Biographical and Critical Study*, by William Ringler. Princeton Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. v+151. 13*s.* 6*d.* net.

Here he dealt successively with the efficient, material, formal and final causes of plays and with their effects, and condemned acting utterly as a form of sinful counterfeiting. Henceforth the controversy passed into a more embittered phase, which had its final outcome on the suppression of the theatres in 1642.

Ringler's study deals with other less well known aspects of Gosson's career. From various sources he throws additional light upon his student days at the King's School, Canterbury, and at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and calls attention to his eight days' visit to the English Hospital at Rome in April 1584, where he may possibly have been on Government service. Ringler considerably adds to our knowledge of Gosson's long and successful clerical activities from his ordination in 1584 till his appointment in April 1600 to the rectory of St. Botolph's, Bishopgate which he held till his death on 13 February 1624. Of particular interest are details from the MS. records of Sandridge Church, near St. Albans, where he was vicar from October 1586 to December 1591.

A single example of his gifts as a preacher remains in *The Trumpet of Warre*, a sermon preached at Paul's Cross on 7 May 1598, which proves beyond doubt that his theological attitude was the reverse of Puritan. This sermon and *Playes Confuted in Five Actions* are written, as Ringler emphasizes, in plainer style than *The Schole of Abuse* and Gosson's novel, *The Ephemerides of Phialo*, which are Euphuistic in diction and sentence structure. As has been pointed out in another connexion (see *Y.W.*, xix, 162) Ringler finds an important source of Euphuism in the Latin lectures of John Rainolds who was Gosson's tutor at Corpus Christi College. This is a debatable point but Ringler's lucid and well arranged thesis is a valuable piece of work.

VII

SHAKESPEARE

By TUCKER BROOKE

THE year 1942 produced few volumes on Shakespeare, though the Shakespearean matter in periodicals was voluminous enough. The most amusing book is *Shakespeare without Tears*[1] by Margaret Webster, which is as merry as its title. Her purpose is to place Shakespeare in reference to the opportunities of the present day stage; that is, to show how directors, actors, and audiences can most fully interpret and enjoy him. Drawing upon a variety of personal experience and a sound knowledge of recent textual and bibliographical criticism, she mediates between the need, on the one hand, of keeping performances in line with contemporary taste and, on the other, the need of utilizing the discoveries of those whom without malice she calls 'the professors'. She has much to say out of her own wisdom and observation, and on most of the disputed points she seems to this writer very right.

Another attractively written and, within its special limits, notably learned book is *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man*[2] by Theodore Spencer, being the Boston Lowell Lectures of 1942. Beginning with a sketch of the 'optimistic theory' of a universal and intricately articulated world-order and of the Renaissance questionings of this doctrine, Spencer explores, with the aid of the history of ideas, three large topics: Shakespeare's intellectual background, his developing craftsmanship, and finally the philosophic values of his work in relation to human experience.

M. B. Kennedy[3] has discussed the oration in Shakespeare as an art form, in relation both to the history of the type and the evidence it gives of the dramatist's development. As regards sophistic rhetoric, i.e. stylistic embellishment for its own sake, he finds that

[1] *Shakespeare without Tears*, by Margaret Webster. London: Whittlesey House; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. pp. xii+319.

[2] *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man*, by Theodore Spencer. New York: Macmillan and C.U.P. pp. xiii+233. 18*s*.

[3] *The Oration in Shakespeare*, by Milton Boone Kennedy. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press and O.U.P. pp. viii+270. 18*s*. 6*d*. net.

Shakespeare was 'conspicuously unrhetorical in the vast majority of his plays'. Eighty-three orations are counted, over half of them in the history plays. The conclusion is that 'as Shakespeare's art develops, orations diminish in number as they gain in perfection, in structure, and dramatic integration'. Numerous tables offer statistical data, which are interestingly interpreted. Kennedy argues that in writing orations for his dramatic characters Shakespeare was faithful to the best classical tradition, that of Aristotle and Cicero, and he thinks it probable that the former's *Poetics* was known to him. Supplementary chapters on ancient and medieval rhetoric and on Elizabethan education are clear and helpful.

Two practising lawyers[4] have produced a very careful and apparently decisive book on the Law of Property in Shakespeare and his dramatic contemporaries. Further volumes on such subjects as Equity, Marriage and Divorce, and Criminal Law are promised. Clarkson and Warren find little support for the theory that Shakespeare was a lawyer. They show that his references to law were neither particularly accurate nor particularly profuse, and that about half the playwrights of his time employed more legalisms than he did.

Mention should be made here of Alwin Thaler's[5] volume of Shakespearean and Elizabethan essays, which escaped notice in *Y.W.* last year. The contents are for the most part revised and amplified versions of papers previously published by Thaler in various journals. Students will be glad to have them in more complete and more readily accessible form. The title-essay, *Shakespeare and Democracy*, and several others are new.

Another sound and well written paper, by Robert P. Falk, *Shakspere's Place in Walt Whitman's America* (*S.A.B.*, April), confirms by independent reasoning the conclusions which Thaler has drawn on the same subject. Both writers show that the much-quoted pronouncements of Whitman against Shakespeare as a 'feudal' poet inimical to democracy misrepresent his essential, and

[4] *The Law of Property in Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Drama*, by Paul S. Clarkson and Clyde T. Warren. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press and O.U.P. pp. xxvii+346. 23*s.* 6*d.* net.

[5] *Shakespeare and Democracy*, by Alwin Thaler. Univ. Tennessee Press (1941). pp. ix+312.

particularly his final, attitude. As Falk summarizes it: 'Over the years one can perceive in Whitman's intellectual life an irresistible tendency to rationalize and explain, in the light of his conscious theories of democracy, the instinctive love he had always felt for Shakspere's poetic greatness.'

John C. McCloskey, in *Fear of the People as a Minor Motive in Shakspere* (*S.A.B.*, April), touches upon the democratic theme. After mentioning the prevalence of agrarian uprisings in Tudor England, McCloskey notes how often Shakespeare introduces the dread of offending popular feeling as a curb on the power of tyrants. His conclusion is that the poet, 'while making no brief for democracy and advancing no formal defence of the common people, was aware, at least, that the people are a power to be reckoned with.'

M. Elwood Smith's *Note on Shakespeare in America* (*S.A.B.*, Jan.), is in lighter vein, recording an incident from Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*. During the fighting near Detroit in 1764, an Indian presented Captain Morris with a volume of Shakespeare, 'the spoil of some slaughtered officer—and then begged for gunpowder.' Morris's life was saved shortly afterwards by the accident that he remained in a canoe, 'solacing himself by reading *Antony and Cleopatra* in the volume he had so oddly obtained', when he should normally have been with his party ashore.

Little that concerns the biography of the poet has appeared during the year. In *The License for Shakespeare's Marriage* (*M.L.N.*, June), J. G. McManaway argues that an abbreviated word in the Latin record of the marriage license of William Shaxpere and Anne Whately in the Bishop of Worcester's register for 27 November 1582 should be read as 'salutis', not 'similis' or 'supradicto'. For discussion see *M.L.N.*, Dec. A. Davenport, in *The Seed of a Shakespeare Sonnet* (*N. & Q.*, May 2), raises the question whether Shakespeare's second Sonnet is based upon the similar imagery of Drayton's second eclogue in *The Shepherd's Garland*. Six images are common to both, and it would appear that Drayton's poem was the earlier.

The Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy was given by C. S. Lewis[6] on the subject, *Hamlet: the Prince or the*

[6] *Hamlet; the Prince or the Poem?* by C. S. Lewis. O.U.P. for the British Academy. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Poem? Lewis is for the poem, as an evocation of ghosts and poetic mystery and the fear of being dead, and he is against the critics who find the play's chief interest in the motives and character of the prince. He triumphs delightfully over the disharmony of the critics on these last points and finds in it proof that they are missing the real value of the play. He is as gaily subversive of psychological approaches to *The Merchant of Venice*, but concedes Beatrice in *Much Ado* to the psychologists. This adroit lecture is both a critique of *Hamlet* and an allegorist's profession of faith concerning poetic drama.

Another scrutiny of fundamental values is found in *Shakespeare's Development as a Dramatist* by Hardin Craig (*S. in Ph.*, April), which starts from the contention that rule-of-thumb dramatization of romantic story, rather than imitation of traditional techniques, is the 'main stem' of Elizabethan drama. Shakespeare, Craig thinks, learned more from his own experience than from rule or from the example of his contemporaries. This is illustrated from *Richard III*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Richard II*, and *Pericles*, and particularly by the development of Falstaff's character. The conclusion is that Shakespeare was fancy's child in a truer sense than commentators and source-hunters are apt to allow.

More clearly philosophic is Baron von Oppell's essay on *Beauty in Shakespeare and in Kant* (*Hibbert Journal*, Jan.), which analyses the relation between 'Shakespeare's intuitive perception of beauty and Kant's methodical approach to it'.

In the field of bibliography Charles J. Sisson offers some new facts and an enlightening reinterpretation of more familiar evidence in his *Shakespeare Quartos as Prompt-Copies, with some account of Cholmeley's Players and a new Shakespeare Allusion* (*R.E.S.*, April). He points out that printed editions of early interludes often show that the publishers had it in mind that companies of players would use them, since they frequently gave directions for grouping the parts among the actors and for abridging or otherwise suiting the text to stage requirements. He then adds, from the Star Chamber records, evidence that the 'country players' were more numerous than has been commonly supposed, and traces in considerable detail the history of the Yorkshire company of Sir Richard Cholmeley, which in 1610 was acting *Pericles* and *King Lear* by means of

the recently printed first quartos of those plays. His conclusion is that the use of printed plays as prompt-copies was probably general and constituted a commercial menace to the companies that owned the author's manuscript.

Madeleine Doran prepared for the 1941 meeting of the English Institute at Columbia University *An Evaluation of Evidence in Shakespearean Textual Criticism*, published in the *English Institute Annual*, 1942. This brief but highly competent review, dealing with 'the value for inference of the various types of evidence at the disposal of the Shakespearean textual critic,' should be studied by amateurs of bibliographical sleuthing. It is both cautious and comprehensive, and is illustrated by some examples drawn from Miss Doran's experiences with the text of *King Lear*.

M. W. S. Swan, in *Shakespeare's Poems: The First Three Boston Editions* (*Papers of the Bibl. Soc. of America*, First Quarter), clears up the confusion which arose when two separate but similarly named publishing houses—Oliver & Munroe and Munroe & Francis—brought out competitive editions of Shakespeare's 'Poems' in Boston between 1807 and 1812.

Textual notes include two learned articles by H. Kökeritz. In *Elizabethan 'che vore ye,' 'I warrant you'* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.), he shows that the verb 'vore' employed by Edgar in *King Lear* (IV. vi, 247) should mean in standard English 'warrant' and not, as usually construed, 'warn'. The dialectal history of the form is very intricate and is illustrated by evidence from place names. In *Shakespeare's 'night-rule'* (*Language*, Jan.–March), Kökeritz proves that 'rule' in the passage referred to (*M.N.D.*, III., ii, 5) and in others is a phonetic development of 'revel'. The *O.E.D.* requires revision at this point. In *An Emendation in Romeo and Juliet* (*S.A.B.*, Jan.), H. E. Cain points out that no authority, English or Italian, has been found for the reading '*alla stoccata*' (*R. & J.*, III., i, 79). Cain would read the line, '*Allo steccato* carries it away', and would interpret it: '*To the field* is the cry that prevails above all.'

In *A Line in 'As You Like It'* (*T.L.S.*, Nov. 7, p. 550), B. H. Newdigate proposes 'waues' for 'meanes' in *A.Y.L.I.*, II., vii, 73; i.e. 'Till that the weary very waves do ebb'. Norman E. Eliason, in *Shakespeare's Purgative Drug Cyme* (*M.L.N.*, Dec.), returns to that doubtful word in *Macbeth*, V. iii, 55 (see *Y.W.*, 1941). He

suggests that 'cyme' is a doublet of 'cumin', both being derived from *O. E.* 'cymen'. Percivale R. Cole, in '*The most unkindest*' (*N. & Q.*, Nov. 7), suggests that a double superlative is not intended. Antony pauses as he is about to say something like 'most dastardly' and substitutes the ironic 'unkindest'. A passage in *Henry V* (V. ii, 12), where the Queen of France addresses Henry as 'brother Ireland' is likewise ironic, Cole says, and should not be altered. Bertram Lloyd, commenting on '*Portage*' *in Pericles* (*N and Q.*, June 20), proposes to substitute 'partage', in the sense of 'share', both in *Per.*, III. i, 35 and in II. iii of Henry Shirley's *The Martyred Soldier.*

Among articles less easy to classify, *Shakespeare and Some Conventions of Old Age* by Ernest H. Cox (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.) deals with the dramatist's use of literary formulas derived from the *contemptus mundi* tradition; and an illustrated paper by Meyer Schapiro, '*Cain's Jaw-bone that did the first Murder*' (*Art Bull.*, Sept.), discusses the currency in England and Ireland of the legend Hamlet refers to. *Two Notes on Shakespeare*, by Seymour M. Pitcher (*P.Q.*, April) suggest (1) that Old Gobbo's uncertainty when Launcelot asks his blessing (*Merchant of Venice*, II. ii) should be added to the other Biblical allusions in the play, for it recalls Jacob's deception of the blind Isaac (*Genesis* 27); (2) that the expression of Hamlet, 'Alas, poor Yorick', may be an echo of 'Alas, poor York' in *3 Henry VI* (I. iv, 84), and the name Yorick may be a contamination of York and Warwick.

Hazelton Spencer, in *Shakespearean Cuts in Restoration Dublin* (*P.M.L.A.*, June), offers some useful suggestions concerning the nature of stage cuts in the Restoration, *a propos of* R. C. Bald's *Shakespeare on the Stage in Restoration Dublin* (see *Y.W.*, xxii, 114, 171). The omission of famous passages, for example, does not indicate that such passages were not then appreciated, but only that they had not yet become so famous as to be indispensable.

The matter of influences is touched upon by Sarah M. Nutt in *The Arctic Voyages of William Barents in probable relation to certain of Shakespeare's Plays* (*S. in Ph.*, April), which furnishes an interesting account of the three voyages of 1594–6 conducted by Barents and described by Gerrit de Veer. The parallels cited between de Veer's narrative and eight of Shakespeare's plays are of

the vaguest. It is unfortunate that the passage quoted in connexion with the line of *Measure for Measure* (II. i, 39), 'Some run from brakes of ice, and answer none', throws no light upon that famous *crux*. In *How Great was Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne?* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.), Alice Harmon argues that the influence of the Frenchman has been greatly exaggerated by modern critics of Shakespeare. In *Tennyson's 'Maud' and Shakspere* (*S.A.B.*, April), T. P. Harrison, Jr. shows that *Maud*, which its author described as 'a little *Hamlet*', owes a good deal also in specific passages to *Romeo and Juliet* and *King Lear*. *Arnold on Shakespeare* is the subject of three brief letters by R. Hussey and Wm. Jaggard in *N. and Q.*, April 18, May 16, June 20. They concern Arnold's famous sonnet and the Stratford bust (see also below, p. 198). In *Shakspere and Delacroix* (*S.A.B.*, Oct.), Arnold Whitridge introduces a new point of view as regards nineteenth-century judgments of Shakespeare. Eugene Delacroix (1799–1863) drew the inspiration for twelve of his romantic paintings from Shakespeare and criticized him significantly, both in early rapturous letters written when Delacroix and Victor Hugo were co-revolutionists in sister arts, and in many maturer sections of his *Journal*.

Shakespeare's comic method is discussed in a fine essay, '*What Art Thou, Angelo?*' by W. H. Durham, contributed to the *Studies in the Comic* published by the Univ. of California Press (1941). Durham shows that even in such early comedies as *Love's Labour's Lost* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Shakespeare draws much of his comic perception from the conflict between being and seeming, the difference between what a man is and what he thinks he is'. In maturer figures like Malvolio there are multiple mirror-images, showing the man as he and as others see him, and all conducing to the ironic truth. Special attention is paid to Angelo in *Measure for Measure*. Durham makes the point that the psychological progress manifested in the comedies was not irrelevant to that seen in the great tragedies. 'The movement', he says, 'from *Much Ado* and *Twelfth Night* to *Macbeth* and *Lear* was one which followed a straight and natural line.' Another point is that this ironic variety of aspect in Shakespeare's characters is what gives them their multiple dimensions and reality. 'We go really wrong about them only when we accept without reservation what any one critic or commentator or producer or actor tries to tell us about them.'

The Use of Comedy in 'As You Like It' by C. L. Barber (*P.Q.*, Oct.) deserves careful attention. Choosing *As You Like It* for illustration, it develops some acute observations on the function of comic passages in Shakespeare's plays. His comic method, Barber says, is the reverse of satire. 'The satirist presents life as it is and ridicules it because it is not ideal, as we would like it to be and as it should be. Shakespeare goes the other way about: he represents or evokes ideal life, and then makes fun of it because it does not square with life as it ordinarily is.' Touchstone, Jaques, and Rosalind are studied in relation to this idea and to the 'control of tone', which, Barber notes, 'is one of the great contributions of Shakespeare's comedy to his dramatic art as a whole.'

John Phelps, in an important and good-tempered paper, *The Source of 'Love's Labour's Lost'* (*S.A.B.*, April), deals with the historical meeting at Nerac in Navarre, in 1578–9, between Queen. Catherine de' Medici and her bevy of court ladies on the one side and Henry of Navarre and his Huguenot lords on the other. Suggestion of this as a source for Shakespeare's play is usually credited to Abel Lefranc in his *Sous le Masque de 'William Shakespeare'* (1918); but Phelps shows that he presented the same theory in much detail in the *Baltimore News* of June 24, 1899. Sir Sidney Lee's earlier proposal (*Gentlemen's Mag.*, 1880) of a meeting at St. Bris in 1586 as Shakespeare's source is alleged to rest on a confusion of the St. Bris and Nerac episodes.

H. W. Crundell, in *'Love's Labour's Lost': a New Shakespeare Allusion* (*N. and Q.*, July 18), notes that Drayton's line in the *Heroical Epistles* (Jane Shore), 1597, 'Here might he find the true Promethian fire,' echoes the first draft of Berowne's speech in IV. iii. This is taken to be evidence that the revised draft of *Love's Labour's Lost* was not current till the date of the court performance in December 1597.

In *The Ambiguity of 'Measure for Measure'* (*Scrutiny*, Jan.), L. C. Knights says that Shakespeare deals obscurely with the problem which the play seems to propose: 'What is the relation between natural impulse and individual liberty on the one hand, and self-restraint and public law on the other?' Knights finds a moral confusion in Isabella, Angelo, and particularly in Claudio, which leads him to conclude that in the period of *Measure for*

Measure 'analysis is not completely pure, and an emotional bias seems to blur some of the natural, positive values.' F. R. Leavis, replying to Knights in *The Greatness of 'Measure for Measure'* (*Scrutiny*, same issue), rebukes his colleague for reasoning in so Victorian a manner. He justifies the questioned consistency of Claudio's and the Duke's character and asserts that 'it is Shakespeare's great triumph in *Measure for Measure* to have achieved so inclusive and delicate a complexity, and to have shown us complexity distinguished from contradiction, conflict and uncertainty with so sure and subtle a touch.' He ends by justifying the resolution of the plot in the last two acts and with it the character of Angelo. In a third essay in *Scrutiny* on *Measure for Measure* (Summer) D. A. Travers explored the morality of the play, arguing that it offers no real solution of the problems it raises and so proves Shakespeare to be still short of the pinnacle he reached in the great tragedies.

In *The Merry Wives Quarto, a Farce Interlude* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.), Vincent H. Ogburn argues that there is a purpose in the form of the bad quarto of 1602 not explained by piratical origin. 'Things which are not in the interlude manner are cut out, and things which are typical of the interlude are emphasized and heightened.' The conclusion is that some adapter, 'habituated to the manner of the interlude', produced the quarto abridgment. In *'The Merry Wives' and 'Two Brethren'* (*S. in Ph.*, April), Dorothy Hart Bruce points out with much detail the similarities between the intrigue of Falstaff with the Merry Wives and the tale 'Of Two Brethren and their Wives' in Barnabe Riche's *Farewell to Military Profession* (1581). It would seem that in certain points, though not in all, Shakespeare is closer to Riche than to any of the six similar tales reprinted in the Collier-Hazlitt *Shakespeare's Library*.

In another source-study, *'Much Ado about Nothing': A possible Source for the Hero-Claudio Plot*, D. J. Gordon (*S. in Ph.*, April) observes that plot elements not found in the cognate narratives of Bandello, Ariosto, and Spenser are paralleled in della Porta's comedy, *Gli Duoi Fratelli Rivali*, which was probably ultimately based on Bandello. Since it is unlikely that Shakespeare had seen this play, Gordon believes that he may have employed some intermediate version. *Beatrice and Benedick*, by John W. Draper

(*J.E.G.P.*, April), seeks to interpret the characters in terms of 'physical therapy'. Both, we are told, are sufferers from choler, though 'not of a violent and dangerous sort', and Beatrice's choler is more persistent than Benedick's. Unhappy Benedick! *Spenserian 'Courtesy' and 'Temperance' in 'Much Ado about Nothing'* (S.A.B., April, July) by Abbie F. Potts deals with a large number of likenesses, in wording, plot, and character, between Shakespeare's comedy and Spenser's epic. Only a very clever person could have noted them, or could have left it, as Miss Potts does, to some strangely gifted reader to decide what they imply.

Strata in 'The Taming of the Shrew' (*S. in Ph.*, April), by Raymond A. Houk, who has recently contributed a good deal on this play, is in refutation of Mrs. F. H. Ashton's article (*P.Q.*, 1927) on *The Revision of the Folio Text of 'The Taming of the Shrew'*, and in amplification of Houk's contention for *The Integrity of Shakespeare's 'The Taming of the Shrew'* (see *Y.W.*, xxi, 105). He argues that there is no sufficient evidence for more than two strata; namely, the original pre-Shakespearean text (which he thinks may have been similar to *A Shrew* in plot, but different in other details) and a single Shakespearean revision, which in one effort produced the text of the Folio. In *The Evolution of 'The Taming of the Shrew'* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.), Houk goes on to say that *A Shrew* is not a 'bad' version of *The Shrew*. Both plays derive from a common source. *A Shrew* has corrupted the order of scenes in this original. On the other hand, *The Shrew* is a revision of an earlier form of the play similar in some respects to *A Shrew*. An attempt is made to work out the time-scheme. The conclusion here is that Shakespeare *may* have been the author of the lost original play and also of *The Shrew* as revised, but cannot have been the reviser responsible for *A Shrew*.

Thomson King's paper, *A Quaint Conceit regarding the Genesis of 'The Taming of the Shrew'*, read before the Shakespeare Society of Baltimore (*S.A.B.*, April), makes no pretence of handling the complex arguments lavished on the play. The purpose is to serve as a vehicle for King's original blank verse fore-piece, which has the form of a scene between Henslowe, Shakespeare, and Burbage.

There is great sagacity and breadth of learning in W. W. Lawrence's *Troilus, Cressida, and Thersites* (*M.L.R.*, Oct.), which criti-

cizes some recent interpretations of *Troilus and Cressida*. Lawrence is disposed to yield Cressida to her denouncers, but finds that Troilus is depicted with real sympathy. He sees a pro-Troy bias in the play, which he thinks Shakespeare probably wrote to order, 'for a special and sophisticated audience accustomed to theatrical licentiousness'.

Shakspere on Degree: A Study in Backgrounds, by Paul Deutschberger (*S.A.B.*, Oct.), shows the close dependence of Ulysses' famous speech on degree (*Tr. & Cr.*, I. iii) upon Sir Thomas Elyot, Sir John Cheke, Richard Hooker, and other politico-religious writers (including Dante). He leaves us with a dilemma. Is this speech to be regarded as 'a capital piece of royalist propaganda based upon the same propositions which were then being enunciated by all the government's apologists', or is it—as Deutschberger thinks more likely—a speech of intentional ineptness, designed to 'harmonize with and emphasize the satire inherent in Shakspere's delineation of the voluble and ineffective grandiloquence of the Greeks'?

Et in Illyria Feste, by J. W. Draper (*S.A.B.*, Jan.), concludes the detailed discussion, begun in the previous October issue, of Feste in *Twelfth Night*, considered both as a main-spring in the plot and as a representative of the traditional court fool.

Appearance and Reality in Shakespeare's Last Plays, by Theodore Spenser (*Mod. Phil.*, Feb.), is a fine essay on Shakespeare's sense of ultimate values, and may be profitably read in conjunction with chapter vii of Spenser's *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man* noticed above. A. A. Stephenson, in *The Significance of 'Cymbeline'* (*Scrutiny*, April), examines the imagery of the play in the manner of the 'ex pede Herculem' school of recent critics. He finds, as Miss Spurgeon did, a preponderance of valuation-imagery, which he interprets as indicating a preoccupation with the 'idea of an ideal perfection, an absolute value'. Such a vision 'by an inevitable paradox', he thinks, 'can hardly itself be the theme of poetry'. It obviates conflict and the effective sense of evil, substituting a naïveté and tranquillity which express themselves freely only 'in certain areas'.

In the same number of *Scrutiny*, F. R. Leavis offers a 'Caveat' on *The Criticism of Shakespeare's Latest Plays*, questioning the divergent opinions of *Cymbeline* by Stephenson and (in an earlier

number) by F. C. Tinkler. Instead of defending the play as idealism or, alternatively, as irony, let us, says Leavis, take the safe middle course and admit that it 'is not a great work of art of the order of *The Winter's Tale*'. The remainder of this remarkably complacent article is devoted to showing that the last-named play is superior to *Cymbeline* and also to *The Tempest*, being 'a striking instance of Shakespeare's ability to transmute for serious ends what might have seemed irremediably romantic effects'.

In the field of the history plays, P. Maas suggests, in *Two Passages in 'Richard III'* (*R.E.S.*, July), that two lines first found in Q 2 are an actor's interpolation and that the reading in I. i. 32 should be 'inductious-dangerous', not 'inductions dangerous'. J. W. Draper, in *The Character of Richard II* (*P.Q.*, April), describes the king as a 'Mercurial' personality, passing irresponsibly from one 'humour' to another, and attempts to show how this type of characterization is significant for Shakespeare's later tragedies. *Imagery in 'Richard II' and in 'Henry IV'*, by Madeleine Doran (*M.L.R.*, April), acknowledging a debt to E. M. W. Tillyard's *Poetry Direct and Oblique*, argues that *I Henry IV* 'is a stage beyond *Richard II* in the welding of poetic imagination to dramatic need'. This conclusion will hardly be denied, but the candid reader of this deft article will be grateful for evidence of the same virtue in the author, who constantly warns us of the difficulties and ambiguities inherent in the material she is measuring.

Some Notes on Ambiguity in 'Henry IV, Part I', by Arthur H. King, published in the Swedish *Studia Neophilologica* (pp. 161–83), have been noticed above, p. 24. *Shakespeare's 'Henry IV' and the Waverley Novels*, by R. K. Gordon (*M.L.R.*, July), shows how deeply the wording and themes of these two plays affected Scott's work (see also below, p. 188). In *Did Shakespeare Miss the Road to Warkworth?* (*S.A.B.*, July,) A. Barnett Langdale deduces from the speech of Travers in the first scene of *2 Henry IV* that Shakespeare was careless, since if Travers was on the straight road from Shrewsbury to Warkworth, he would not have been overtaken by a gentleman who was on the direct road from Shrewsbury to Chester. The *non sequitur* is that we do not know whether the gentleman *was* on the right road. The fact that he was in headlong flight and had to ask Travers the way to Chester may as well indicate that it was he, not Shakespeare, who had missed the road.

R. A. Law, in *An Echo of Homer in 'Henry V'* (*Univ. Texas St. in English*, July), suggests that the picture of Henry's sleeplessness at the opening of Act IV and the figure of Erpingham were indebted to the beginning of Book x of the *Iliad*, a book available in Chapman's volume of 1598.

The same number of the Texas *Studies* contains a condensed but soundly reasoned article by C. A. Greer, *Revision and Adaptation in 1 Henry VI*, which offers reasons for believing that this play is an adaptation of an earlier drama (presumably the *Harry the Sixth* mentioned by Henslowe in 1592) designed to fit it to the later parts of *Henry VI* and to *Richard III*. The adaptation, Greer thinks, was made shortly after the composition of *Richard III*; it is often inconsistent with details in the other three plays, and includes, as the others do not, large amounts of material not found in Hall and Holinshed. The inference is that the adapter (Shakespeare) was dealing with a work of quite different origin from that of the other plays and did not bother to compose many of the inconsistencies.

The subject of Shakespearean tragedy may be introduced by E. E. Stoll's thoughtful analysis in *Heroes and Villains: Shakespeare, Middleton, Byron, Dickens* (*R.E.S.*, July). He protests against a modern tendency to paradox in criticisms of such characters as Hamlet and Othello which make them at one and the same time heroic and villainous. The villain-hero of Byron and Victor Hugo is not, Stoll says, what Shakespeare seeks to portray or Middleton in such a play as *The Changeling*. Those dramatists were more interested in passion than character, in producing pity and terror than in depicting actual psychology, and this is true of great tragedy in general. The method of Dickens is closer to that of Shakespeare; in both of these there is not the romantic blurring of good and bad. The bad characters remain bad, and though capable of torments of conscience, are not capable of true penitence.

The Cosmic Sense in Shakespearean Tragedy by William J. Grace (*Sewanee Rev.*, Oct.–Dec.) seeks to explain Shakespeare's conception of tragedy by the blending of Renaissance Platonism with traditional theology. 'Organic supernaturalism' gives the poet his cosmic sense and hence his ability to combine in tragedy the particular with the universal, the microcosm with the macrocosm.

Hamlet is the hero because of his cosmic sense; Iago the villai because, being a complete egoist, he lacks it: 'he has no cosmi referent'. Grace approves the approach to the subject in W. C Curry's *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns* and attempts to e tend the implications of that work.

H. B. Charlton's lecture, *Hamlet* (*Bull. of the John Rylan Library*, April–May), after pointing out that 'whereas the founda tion of Greek tragedy was religious, that of Shakespeare's traged is not,' seeks the cause of Hamlet's failure to deal effectively wit his problem. This is not, he thinks, moral sensitiveness or human tarianism (post-Shakespearean virtues), nor dissatisfaction wit the ghost's evidence (Charlton regards the third soliloquy as a excuse); nor is it material difficulties, nor anything of a Freudia nature. It is not that Hamlet thinks too much, but that 'his way c thinking frustrates the object of thought'. That is, temperamenta emotionalism and an easily excited imagination cause the tragi result that 'the world, as his mind builds it, ceases to be a represen tation of the world as in fact it is'. 'For Hamlet is a metaphysician not a psychologist; he is speculative, but not essentially intro spective.' Charlton's interpretation of the much discussed 'To b or not to be' soliloquy seems to this writer thoroughly sound, bu the effect of the lecture is to make one wonder how Hamlet coul have become a popular figure.

Arthur M. Sampley defends *Hamlet* from certain recent critic in *Hamlet among the Mechanists* (*S.A.B.*, July). The 'mechanists are in particular J. M. Robertson, E. E. Stoll, and T. S. Eliot whose common assumption of a faulty cleavage between the char acter of the hero and the plot Sampley regards as stemming fron an earlier book by Charlton M. Lewis, *The Genesis of Hamle* (1907). Hamlet *does* delay, according to Sampley, and is a characte of conflicting actions, both resolute and irresolute. Shakespear made him so, not from inconsistency, but because he knew 'tha human conduct is often the result of a complex of motives so inter mingled as to be inextricable'. Shakespeare has given six reason for Hamlet's delay, and the delay is but one of many elements i Hamlet's character, all perhaps 'subsidiary to a mood of outrage idealism'; for the play, he concludes, 'is more than a play; it is mood, a way of feeling; it is a chapter, sombre but not withou triumph, of the agony which the human spirit inevitably endures'

Turning to more restricted studies in *Hamlet*: logical evidence that Kyd was the author of the old play is supplied in an article which J. Dover Wilson has paraphrased from the Danish of V. Østerberg: *Nashe's 'Kyd in Æsop'* (*R.E.S.*, Oct.), and which is noticed in more detail below, p. 123. Julia Grace Wales, in *Horatio's Commentary* (*S.A.B.*, Jan.), observes that the 'study of the sources' major and minor, of any play of Shakespeare threatens to defeat itself through the sheer mass of facts accumulated'. She therefore limits herself in this shrewdly analytical article to the first scene of *Hamlet*, and particularly to that portion of it which she calls Horotio's commentary (lines 75–125), examining the points at which the dramatist's imagination may have been stimulated by passages in Belleforest, Saxo, *Julius Caesar*, Plutarch, Lucan (in Marlowe's translation), and Vergil. She finds a slight reason for accepting Dover Wilson's transposition of lines 117–25, and is satisfied with the common reading of line 63, 'He smote the sledded Polacks on the ice'. *Romantic Apologiae for Hamlet's Treatment of Ophelia*, by Arthur P. Hudson (*E.L.H.*, March), connects the sentimental criticism of *Hamlet* (and also *Lear* and *Othello*) by Coleridge, Lamb, and Hazlitt with the ethos of the second part of *Christabel*. The germinal idea came from Coleridge (see also below, p. 203).

Two interesting articles deal with the 'mousetrap', William Montgomerie offering a new psychological interpretation of Hamlet's purpose and method in the play scene in *Mirror for Magistrates: the Solution of the Mousetrap in 'Hamlet'* (*Life and Letters To-day*, May); while Moody E. Prior, *The Play Scene in 'Hamlet'* (*E.L.H.*, Sept.), explains the rationale of the dumb-show. It varies from other dumb-shows in giving the actual plot of the play it precedes, and this is due to Hamlet's purpose of forcing the king to betray himself by subjecting him to continuous and increasing strain.

The Exchange of Weapons in 'Hamlet', which has been much argued since Dover Wilson's *What Happens in Hamlet* made it a subject of lively debate, appears to be finally and professionally settled by James L. Jackson (*M.L.N.*, Jan.). Study of the Elizabethan manuals and expert testing of the various proposed manœuvres show that the only method Shakespeare can have had in mind (assuming him to have been as well informed in the art as

Jackson is) is that of 'left-hand seizure'. In another article, *The Fencing Actor-Lines in Shakespeare's Plays* (*M.L.N.*, Dec.) Jackson finds that the plays exploited the interest in exhibitions of swordsmanship, and that Shakespeare wrote parts to suit the three skilled fencers in his troupe: Burbage, Sly, and Pope. *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern*, by W. Roy Mackenzie (*In Honor of Frederick W. Shipley*, Washington Univ., St. Louis), is both amusing and important. Mackenzie exonerates the pair of the conscious guile of which they have been often accused, and while doing so pours a sane light upon the play scene and other parts of *Hamlet*. Though light and even jocular in manner, as befitted the occasion for which it was written, this essay is very soundly argued.

In *Shakespeare's 'Julius Caesar'—a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript* (*J.E.G.P.*, Oct.), G. Blakemore Evans discusses a Restoration copy now in the Folger Library. One of two seventeenth-century MSS. of an acknowledged Shakespearean play, this appears to have been transcribed about 1665. It seems to have been copied from another MS., but to derive ultimately from the second Folio and to have no textual connection with the Restoration quartos. It shows playhouse influence, and offers some interesting variants and stage directions.

The Two Techniques in 'King Lear', by W. B. C. Watkins (*R.E.S.*, Jan.), replies to Middleton Murry's depreciation of the play. Watkins believes that *King Lear* repeats the structural pattern of *Richard II*, a pattern necessitated in each instance by the dramatist's purpose of concentrating interest upon an inert and unheroic king. A mixed method is employed, which Watkins calls 'a combination of psychological realism and symbolical stylization', and this combination, particularly conspicuous in *King Lear*, causes, as he says, 'for the unwary audience or reader, a slight grinding of shifting gears'. Mixed technique in this sense is, of course, nothing rare in poetry, and readers will form their own opinions of the special relevance of the diagnosis to *King Lear*, but the author's point of view is ably and elaborately presented.

Arthur N. Stunz, in *The Date of 'Macbeth'* (*E.L.H.*, June), collects much circumstantial evidence in support of the usual opinion that the play was written in the spring or early summer of 1606.

Howell V. Calhoun, in *James I and the Witch Scenes in 'Macbeth'* (*S.A.B.*, Oct.), assembles the parallels between the play and King James's *Demonology* and *News from Scotland*, concluding that the spirit and atmosphere of the former 'were deliberately designed to appeal to the monarch's tastes and opinions on the subject of witchcraft'.

Interesting in connection with the recent successful production of Paul Robeson's *Othello* in New York is an article (*S.A.B.*, Jan.) on *Ira Aldridge*, translated by E. Blum from the Russian of S. Durilin. Aldridge was an American negro actor, who received sensational applause for his Othello at the St. Petersburg theatre in 1858. He died in Russia in 1867 and is buried in the city of Lodz. E. H. W. Meyerstein, in *'Othello' and C. Furius Cresinus* (*T.L.S.*, Feb. 7, p. 72), cites an unnoted passage in Philemon Holland's translation of Pliny, which seems to have suggested several phrases in the first act of the play.

In *Shakespeare's Debt to Marlowe in 'Romeo and Juliet'* (*P.Q.*, July), H. R. Walley deduces from some striking parallels that the tone of the earlier part of the play (to the marriage of the lovers) owes more to *Hero and Leander* than to its ostensible source, Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet*.

'Timon of Athens,' an Unfinished Play, by Una Ellis-Fermor (*R.E.S.*, July), argues for the probability of Sir Edmund Chambers' suggestion that the unsatisfactoriness of the existing text is not to be ascribed to multiple authorship, but to the fact that Shakespeare simply left it unfinished. She finds evidence of Shakespeare's thought and manner even in clearly imperfect passages; they are rough outlines which never reached full development. The greatest lack, she thinks, is in the presentation of the hero, who is provided with no satisfying personality or environment. 'All that we can say,' she concludes, 'is that here is a design not wholly comprehended and subdued by the shaping spirit of imagination.' *The Hardboiled Shakspere*, by William T. Hastings (*S.A.B.*, July), is mainly a spirited defence of *Titus Andronicus*, both as a tragedy and as an authentic work of the young Shakespeare. It contains some striking observations on related works, e.g. *Venus and Adonis*, and offers a fine appraisal of one side of Renaissance (and Shakespearean) taste.

VIII

ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

By FREDERICK S. BOAS

PUBLICATIONS in 1942 dealt chiefly with individual dramatists or plays. Those of a general type were concerned mainly with the theatres and actors. But Harbage's *Annals of English Drama, 975–1700*, noticed in *Y.W.*, xxi, 113, has been criticized and supplemented in some details by A. H. Carter (*M.P.*, Nov.). While paying tribute to the value of Harbage's compendium as a work of reference Carter takes exception to certain points in his methods. Among these are instances of arbitrary dating, inconsistency in the treatment of titles and assignment of types, and errors of alphabetical order in the indexes. In illustration, Carter gives notes upon some eighty of Harbage's entries, including ten relating to Shirley's plays; he corrects what are, or are considered by him, mistakes and adds in a number of cases further information.

The present writer in the Giff Edmonds memorial lecture (in *R.S.L. Essays by Divers Hands*, vol. xix) dealt with *The Soldier in Elizabethan and Later Drama*. The major part of the lecture described the various military types figuring in Tudor and Stuart plays. Quotations from contemporary documents testified to the realism of much of the stage portraiture and of the condition of serving and discharged soldiers.

The Law of Property in Shakespeare and Elizabethan Drama by Paul S. Clarkson and C. T. Warren has been noticed in Chap. vii, p. 102.

In *The Globe Playhouse*[1] John C. Adams has made the most elaborate study that has yet appeared of a single Elizabethan theatre. With the aim of reconstructing as fully as possible its design and equipment he has examined all available contemporary records—'plays, dramatic entertainments, playhouse documents, legal cases, letters, maps, pamphlets, poems and other material'—and has cited the evidence from them copiously in his text and

[1] *The Globe Playhouse; Its Design and Equipment*, by John Crawford Adams. Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xiv+420. 28*s*. net.

footnotes. He has of course also made use, even when sometimes differing from their conclusions, of the researches of previous stage-historians. He has dealt in turn with the structure of the playhouse, the auditorium, the stage, the tiring house and the superstructure.

Adams was fortunate in finding in the Folger Shakespeare library a unique copy of Visscher's 'View of London' (1606–14), in which the Swan, the Bear Garden, and the Globe are conspicuous in the Bankside foreground. A reproduction of the Globe from this 'View' forms the frontispiece of this volume. The drawing of the playhouse, 2½ inches high and more than 1½ inches wide, records the following details.

'The building was outwardly octagonal with a concentric octagonal court or yard inside; windows were inserted in the exterior walls at three levels, suggesting three stories; the eight sections of the gallery-frame forming the shell of the playhouse were roofed; and in the south-west side of the frame, apparently overhanging some portion of the inner yard, rose a cluster of small buildings or "huts" with a central turret surmounted by a flagpole and a large unmarked white flag.'

By reference to the Fortune and Hope contracts and by arithmetrical calculations Adams concludes that the building measured 84 feet between the outside walls, was 34 feet high to the eaves-line, and 58 feet across the interior yard. In spite of Shakespeare's allusion to 'this wooden O', which he thinks refers to its name and not to its shape, Adams gives reasons for his belief that the yard was octagonal, and also for his view that it was not level but sloped towards the stage. He calculates that the yard of the Globe gave standing room for 600 spectators and that the total accommodation with successively rising prices for the penny gallery, the two-penny rooms, the gentlemen's rooms (or twelve penny rooms) and a few seats on the stage, was 2,048.

By reference to the Fortune contract Adams estimates the width of this platform stage as 43 feet and its depth as 29 feet. Partly on the evidence of the title-pages of *Roxana* and *Messalina* he inclines to the view that it was tapering rather than rectangular, thus giving more space for the groundlings. He emphasizes the fact that the tiring-house rising from its rear line was 'a three-story section of the playhouse frame, of which the two lower had curtains suspended before them moving laterally on a fixed rod and moveable by invisible means'. Flanking the lower stage curtains and

placed in the two oblique walls of the tiring house was a pair of large doors. This allowed an expansion of the opening of the inner stage. The effects, according to Adams, were revolutionary. 'What had been an alcove became a full stage. . . . After 1599 the range of inner-stage settings began to expand, and the performance of inner- to outer-stage scenes to rise.' Now interior scenes could compete in effectiveness with external scenes. The inner stage on the first level Adams designates 'the study', and he challenges the view that scenes acted there were not sufficiently visible. He distinguishes the inner stage on the second level by the name of 'the chamber', in front of which was a projecting gallery or penthouse known as 'the tarras'. On the third level the inner stage was used sometimes for scenes specified as on the top, but its normal use was as a gallery for the musicians who played unseen behind a light curtain.

In *A Good Name Lost. Ben Jonson's Lament for S.P.*, G. E. Bentley recovers the true designation of the boy actor whom Ben Jonson lamented in an elegy, and who has become known as Salathiel Pavy. In the 1616 and later folios the epitaph is entitled 'On S.P. a Child of Q. El. Chappel.' He appeared in *Cynthia's Revels* and *The Poetaster*, and, in all editions of these he figures in the casts as Sal. Pavy. It seems to have been Gifford who in his reprint of the Epitaph in vol. viii of his 1816 edition of Jonson's work first expanded Sal. into Salathiel and was followed by all later editors and stage historians. But Bentley points out that Henry Clifton when complaining to the Star Chamber of the seizure of his son for the company of the Queen's Revels mentions 'Salmon Pavey' as another boy who had been similarly seized. And Bentley has found the entry of the burial on 25 July 1602 in St. Mary Church, Somerset, London of 'Sollomon Pavy'. The usual form of the Hebrew name in Elizabethan English was 'Salomon', and there can be no doubt that the boy-actor was so called.

C. J. Sisson contributes from documentary sources valuable *Notes on early Stuart stage history* to *M.L.R.* (Jan.). The Notes, chiefly concerned with the Red Bull, fall into three sections: (1) Biographical notes on men of the theatre and musicians, with two related women. Amongst the men are Christopher Beeston, Robert Browne (see also *Y.W.* xviii, 140), Thomas Heywood, Aaron

Holland, Francis Langley (see also *Y.W.*xii, 145), Richard Perkins and Ellis Worth (2) Shares in the Red Bull Company, in which section Sisson discusses the real significance of a share as an asset. The value of a full share was agreed to be £80, a three-quarter £60, and a half £40, tō be paid upon the death of the sharer to his executors. 'The accepted and agreed value of a share was a safeguard of the interests of the individual sharer and of his family.... But it was also a pawn or hostage by which the whole body of sharers safeguarded the general interests of the company. The actual and real value of a share depended upon the condition of the company and of the trade in which it was engaged. It seems pretty clear that it was not an asset likely to justify itself in a Court of Law' (3) Wages of hired men. Richard Baxter's agreement was for 10 shillings weekly, Roger Clarke's for 6 shillings, John King's for an unspecified sum. But these amounts were reduced when the company was doing badly, and in each of these three cases there was an accumulated deficit of wages, though Baxter finally became a sharer.

In *James Shirley and the Actors at the first Irish theatre* (*M.P.*, Nov.), A. H. Stevenson seeks to solve two problems at one blow. The first Dublin playhouse, the Werburgh Street theatre, was opened in 1637 with Shirley as its leading dramatist and John Ogilby as Master of the Revels. He brought over a company of actors and musicians whose identity has been unknown. Stevenson suggests that these actors included some leading members of Queen Henrietta Maria's Company which broke up into different groups in 1636–7. Of four of the Queen's men, Allen, Bowyer, Clark and Robins, who had acted in some of Shirley's plays, nothing appears to be known between 1637 and 1641. Shirley was in London in the spring of 1637 and Stevenson conjectures that with Ogilby, or as his agent, he induced some of his old associates at the Phœnix to try their fortunes in Ireland. In addition to these Queen's men there are clues which suggest that Cooke, Perry and Jordan from other companies may have played at the Dublin theatre. Further evidence may some time be forthcoming to confirm or disprove Stevenson's ingenious hypotheses.

In the *University of Texas Studies in English* Gertrude C. Reese discusses *The Question of the Succession in Elizabethan Drama.* She

examines the bearing on this subject of twenty-three plays beginning with *Gorboduc* and including Shakespeare's chronicle-histories. The plays reflected a number of points which were at issue—'established succession, hereditary right, marriage, and the notion of fitness and possession.' *Gorboduc* stresses the sanctity of established succession confirmed by Parliament against any 'pretended right', but the view supported by Miss Reese that it and the later play, *Sir Thomas Wyat*, advocated the claim of Lady Catherine Grey of the Suffolk line is questionable. Till after the execution of Mary Stuart it was dangerous to press the claim of hereditary right but after 1587 this became prominent as a dramatic theme. The principle was accepted by Shakespeare though 'he knew also that fitness was a necessary adjunct' to it. In *Edward III* and other plays, the strong national feeling against a succession by, or a marriage alliance with, a foreigner is voiced. But Miss Reese is again treading on shaky ground when she interprets Lyly's *Sapho and Phao* as 'an allegorical representation of the love of Elizabeth for Alençon, the Queen's subdual of her passion, and the departure of the disappointed lover'.

In the same publication Mary G. M. Adkins in *Sixteenth-Century Religious and Political Implications in 'Sir John Oldcastle'*, though dealing with only a single play, discusses its bearing on some of the general issues between the Sovereign and her people. The historical Oldcastle was not only a professed Lollard but took part in a conspiracy against Henry V, and was sentenced to death both as a traitor and a heretic. In the play on the other hand, while stress is laid on his zeal as a religious reformer there is equal emphasis on his loyalty to the King. This is shown in word and deed, above all in his revelation of the conspiracy of Cambridge, Seroop, and Grey. The King himself takes the lead in repudiating charges of treason against him.

Miss Adkins points out that it was important that the loyalty of the hero of a popular play should thus be vindicated. Elizabeth jealously guarded the doctrine of the royal supremacy and realized that there was a potential challenge to it in Puritanism. In *Sir John Oldcastle* there is, expressed or implicit, a recognition of this struggle for headship. The emphasis in the play upon loyalty to the Sovereign is probably no coincidence. In the latter part of her article Miss Adkins shows that though Oldcastle is glorified, his associate

heretics are represented after the satirical fashion common to the Elizabethan dramatists in their treatment of Puritans.

In *Oxford and 'Endimion'* (*P.M.L.A.*, June), Josephine W. Bennett presents a new allegorical interpretation of Lyly's play. In her view Cynthia is Elizabeth, Endimion is Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, Tellus is Anne Vavasour and Corsites is Sir Henry Lee. Oxford, though married to a daughter of Lord Burghley, was accused in March 1581 by Anne Vavasour, one of the Queen's gentlewomen, of being the father of a son that she had borne. The Earl was imprisoned in the Tower and though released in June was not restored to Elizabeth's favour till June 1583.

Lyly had entered Oxford's service before March 1580 and Miss Bennett suggests that the play was written in his defence. Tellus slanders Endimion, a lover of Cynthia, and is punished. This would correspond with the situation of Anne Vavasour and Oxford as viewed by the Earl's partisans. Tellus when imprisoned, inspires love in her jailer, the old soldier Corsites. Anne became the mistress of Sir Henry Lee who, as Master of the Armoury, had apartments in the Tower. The sleep of Endymion represents the period of the Queen's displeasure and the kiss with which Cynthia awakens him is the grant of the royal pension to him in June 1586.

The grasp of historical details and the ingenuity with which she dovetails them into her interpretation make Miss Bennett's article well worth attention. But the allegory will have to take its chance with its numerous rivals. Moreover, Oxford's boy players had no part in the presentation of *Endimion* which was acted by the Children of Paul's, and if Lyly was making a plea for the Earl it would have been more timely about 1583 than in 1586 or later.

In *Nashe's 'Kid in Æsop'* (*R.E.S.*, Oct.), J. Dover Wilson has done a valuable service in publishing his paraphrase of the section of V. Østerberg's book, *Studier over Hamlet-Teksterne* (1920), which deals with the passage in Nashe's 'Epistle' prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon* relating to the pre-Shakespearian *Hamlet*. The Danish scholar insists that the portions of the passages most often quoted are misleading when taken out of their context. Even when read as a whole, the passage cannot be fully understood; it must be seen in conjunction with the surrounding paragraphs. To do justice therefore to Østerberg's closely reasoned line of argument

the complete text of it as interpreted by Dover Wilson must be read. Here only the most salient points can be noticed.

Nashe, after alluding to 'whole Hamlets, I should say handfuls of tragical speeches' proceeds, '*Sencca* let blood line by line and page by page, at length must needes die to our Stage; which makes his famished followers to imitate the Kid in Æsop, who enamoured with the Foxes newfangles forsooke all hopes of life to leape into a newe occupation; and these men renouncing all possibilities of credite or estimation, to intermeddle with Italian Translations.' Østerberg points out that there is no relevant story in Æsop's *Fables*, and that Nashe in all probability has in mind the story in the May canto of *The Shepheardes Calender* where a Kid was 'so enemoured with [a] newell' in the basket of a Fox disguised as a pedlar that he was trapped and carried off to be eaten. But in spite of the verbal similarity of phrase, 'motive and upshot are fundamentally different in the two accounts'. As Østerberg puts it, 'The Kid forsakes safety and security, and so comes to destruction. The famished writers are driven to seek a way of escape from indigence . . . Seeing then that there is no plausible connexion between Seneca's followers and the Kid; that a violent distortion is required to apply the pseudo-Æsopian illustration, and in any case that the phrase in question affords no meaning apart from a personal allusion—*we are in a position to claim it for certain as pointing to Thomas Kyd.*'

Østerberg further points out how other allusions in the Epistle correspond with what we know of Kyd's career, including his translation from Tasso in *The Householders Philosophy*. As the attribution by Sarrazin and the present writer of the pre-Shakespearian *Hamlet* to Kyd was challenged by McKerrow, it is reassuring to have it thus fortified from so acute and independent a source.

On the other hand, in *John Payne Collier* and '*The Murder of John Brewen*' (*M.L.N.*, June), R. M. Gorrell raises some doubt about the attribution to Kyd of the pamphlet of which the unique copy in Lambeth Palace library has on the title-page the MS. signature 'Ihō Kyde' (the publisher) and at the end 'Tho. Kydde' (the author). In S. R. Maitland's catalogue of English books in the Lambeth Library the pamphlet is listed as anonymous. It was first claimed for Kyd by J. P. Collier in *Notes and Queries*, 29 March 1862, the year before he issued a reprint of it, asserting in the pre-

face that the unique copy 'was clearly that transmitted to one of the licensers' who had written on it the two signatures. Gorrell has found that in Collier's own copy of the reprint, now in the Huntington library, signatures like those in the Lambeth copy have been glued on it. There is little doubt that these were written by Collier, and Gorrell is suspicious of the genuineness of those in the Lambeth copy. 'There were enough peculiarities in Collier's handling of the quarto to make the signatures less authoritative than they have seemed.'

Christopher Marlowe, by John Bakeless, published in this country by Jonathan Cape in 1938, abbreviated from a U.S.A. 1937 edition, was noticed in some detail in *Y.W.*, vol. xix, pp. 136–7. The two-volume *The Tragical History of Christopher Marlowe*[2] is a considerably enlarged form of the previous work, with illustrations, expansion of details, and new material acquired between 1937 and 1940.

As was pointed out in the notice of the 1938 volume, Bakeless has made his chief contribution to Marlowe's scholarship by tracing and making use of fresh biographical material from MS. sources. In the present publication the most important new feature is the description of five documents discovered in 1939–40 in the Canterbury Public Record Office by F. W. Tyler, formerly sub-librarian of the Cathedral library. In the autumn of 1585 Catherine Benchkyn, a Canterbury woman, made her will, which was attested by four witnesses (whose signatures are reproduced in facsimile), 'John Marley, Thomas Arthur, Christopher Marley, John Moore'. Here, together with the signatures of his father, a maternal relative and a brother-in-law is the only known specimen of the dramatist's handwriting. Intimately related to the Benchkyn will is a deposition by John Marlowe on 5 October 1586 setting forth the circumstances in which he and Thomas Arthur and his son and son-in-law subscribed their names to it 'aboute twelvemonthes agone or moe'. We thus know for the first time that during at least one of his absences from Cambridge Christopher returned to the Canterbury household. The three other newly discovered depositions by John Marlowe are concerned with legal transactions of relatively minor interest.

[2] By John Bakeless, Harvard and O.U.Presses. Vol. i. pp. xvi+375: Vol. ii, pp. vi+432. £2 2*s*. 0*d*. net.

With regard to the dramatist's London career, apart from extensive elaboration of details, there seems to be only one salient respect in which Bakeless has changed his view since 1937. He is now inclined to follow Miss E. de Kalb in holding that Friser in killing Marlowe was acting as the agent of Lady Walsingham against whom the dramatist possessed dangerous information. To the present writer this seems an untenable speculation.

Bakeless again shows his weakest critical side by repeating, in altered phrasing, his crudely depreciatory verdicts on *Dido* and *The Massacre of Paris* and the Ovid and Lucan translations. In his learned discussion of sources he tends to make too much of books in the Corpus Christi library. In the chapters on Marlowe and Shakespeare, and in the Marlowe Apocrypha one may query some of the details but in the main they are well balanced surveys. And every Marlovian student will owe Bakeless a debt of gratitude for his bibliography of just over one hundred pages, which is a monument of painstaking research and arrangement and will be found an indispensable mine of information.

Paul H. Kocher's article on *Marlowe's Art of War* (*S. in Ph.*, April) has its basis in his conviction that its various aspects can be realized to-day 'only if we make the effort to recover them as far as possible by a study of some of the countless military treatises of the age.' He shows how details given in these correspond with Marlowe's descriptions in *Tamburlaine* of the respective functions in battle of pikemen, infantry with small firearms and cavalry. The dramatist was specially interested in the problems of fortification and siegecraft and Kocher holds that, though he was indebted to Ive's *Practise of Fortification* in a well-known passage in *II Tamburlaine*, his knowledge of the subject went well beyond this. It is a plausible suggestion that as Du Bellay's *Instructions for the warres* was bound up with Ive's treatise Marlowe may have got from there the idea of Barabas admitting the Turks into the Maltese capital by means of the vault of a sewer. He is on more questionable ground when he seeks to justify Tamburlaine's killing of his pacifist son, Calyphus, by maintaining that he deserved death under every code of contemporary military law, and that only the exceptional Elizabethan would think otherwise.

Helen L. Gardner, holding that *The Second Part of 'Tamburlaine*

the Great' has been misjudged, contends (*M.L.R.*, Jan.) that it is not a mere continuation of Part I, but is different in intention and plan. Part I shows the human will personified in the Scythian conqueror overbearing all opposition. The structure of the play 'could be plotted as a single rising line on a graph'. Part II demonstrates that there are facts which no force of soul can conquer, that there is a clash between man's desires and his experience. Its structure 'can be thought of as two lines, the line of Tamburlaine and that of his enemies'. But such a graph is insufficient as 'it leaves unrepresented the force that in the end destroys the hero,' which 'can be called Necessity or God according to one's interpretation of Marlowe's religious thought'. Miss Gardner develops her thesis in an analysis of the plot and claims that the episodes of Olympia and Calyphas are not irrelevant but prepare for the denouement by showing the limitations of human power, thwarted by other wills. She ends with a suggestive comparison between the pattern of the play and that of Jonson's *Sejanus*.

Paul H. Kocher's article on *Nashe's Authorship of the Prose Scenes in 'Faustus'* (*H.L.Q.*, March), is an important contribution to the textual study of the play. As there is contemporary evidence for Nashe's association with *Dido* there is *a priori* a better claim for his hand than that of any other dramatist to be found in another of Marlowe's plays. Kocher assembles a remarkable series of parallels between the 1604 prose scenes and passages in Nashe's prose works. Their cumulative effect is undoubtedly striking, and though internal evidence alone can never be completely decisive on a question of authorship, Kocher's parallel quotations in any case throw light upon some of the obscurities and curious details of the 1604 text. They should be read as a whole; only a few examples can be given here.

In *Faustus* I, ii, Wagner uses the phrase 'to come within forty foot of the place of execution'. In *Strange Newes* Nashe in reference to Harvey speaks of those who 'stand fortie foote from the execution place of his furic'. In I, iv, Wagner threatens the clown with two devils, Baliol and Belcher. Baliol as a corruption of Belial is explained by Nashe's similar use of Belly-all in *Pierce Penilesse* In IV, v[A] Doctor Lopus for Lopez is twice similarly spelt by Nashe in *Have with you* and *Lenten Stuffe*. The scene in *Faustus* introducing the Seven Deadly Sins (II, ii) is in many points closely

paralleled by the description of them in *Pierce Penilesse* and *Christs Teares*. But the most notable of all Kocher's instances is to be found in his comparison of the scene of the Papal banquet (III, ii) with a kindred story in *Lenten Stuffe*. The line in *Faustus* 'Cursed be he that took Friar Sandels a blow on the face' has always been a crux, for no Sandels has appeared, and only the Pope has been struck. In *Lenten Stuffe* a close variant, Friar Pendela, is apparently used to designate the Pope. If Nashe's authorship of the scenes is accepted Kocher gives 1594 as the probable date of his contribution, intended to freshen the play with comic matter.

In *Some Nashe Marginalia concerning Marlowe* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) Paul H. Kocher draws attention to some MS. entries in a copy of Leland's *Principum Ac illustrium aliquot & eruditorum in Anglia Encomium* in the Folger Shakespeare library. On the back of the title-page is written 'Thomas Nashe', and a comparison with an authentic signature of Nashe convinces Kocher that it is an autograph. On the two last pages of Leland's book is one clear and one mangled quotation from *Doctor Faustus*, both in Kocher's view, in Nashe's hand. As Leland's book was published in 1589, and as Nashe in his preface to Greene's *Menaphon* seems to refer to it, Kocher thinks it probable that the marginalia were written in that year. If so, they would have a bearing on the disputed problem of the date of Marlowe's play.

In *Mephistophilis and the Lost 'Dragon'* (*R.E.S.*, July) Leo Kirschbaum agrees with the present writer in his edition of *Doctor Faustus* that in the 1616 text, the word Dragon in Faustus's otherwise Latin invocation to Mephistophilis to appear is a strayed stage-direction. But instead of expanding it into 'Enter Dragon above' he interprets it as a 'marginal *warning* telling the property man to get the property noted ready for immediate use'. In view of the twice repeated 'surgat' in the S.D. he holds that Mephistophilis rose in the shape of a dragon through a trap-door, and that the illustration on the 1616 title-page represents this. He also explains as referring to this episode Henslowe's item of 'j dragon in Fostes'.

In his elaborate study of *The Language of Satirized Characters*

in 'Poetaster'[1] A. H. King has made a contribution to Jonsonian scholarship on unusual lines. He uses the clumsy compound 'socio-stylistic' to indicate a field of study neither purely linguistic nor purely literary, but philological' The linguistic aspect of the work has been noticed above (p. 24). But from an analysis of the speech of leading characters in *Poetaster* King reaches conclusions that go outside the merely linguistic sphere. Quoting from *Discoveries* the dictum that 'no glasse renders a mans forme, or likenesse, so true as his speech,' he infers that 'the distinction between good and bad speakers usually corresponds with that Jonson makes between good and bad persons.' The characters whose modes of speech are satirized in *Poetaster* are on this showing also morally condemned, but do they represent individuals?

In seeking to answer this question King builds up a structure of wellnigh alarming proportions. In the first place is Crispinus to be identified with Marston? A detailed list is given of expressions (1) peculiar to Crispinus, (2) peculiar to him and Marston, (3) used by Crispinus alone in *Poetaster* and by Marston and others, (4) used by Crispinus alone in *Poetaster* and by others but not Marston, (5) by Crispinus and others in *Poetaster*. King's conclusion is that Crispinus is a new type 'including satire of Marston's crude diction, but not a lunpoon of Marston', nor of any other real person; he embodies 'general tendencies of pedantic and courtly affectation united in a combined pedant-gallant-gull'.

The lack of moral and social standards by Princess Julia's court clique is reflected in its affected language. But it is Captain Tucca who engages King's special interest and for whose expressions he draws up a scheme akin to that for Crispinus. Here too a real figure, Captain Hannam furnished Jonson with a starting-point, but he belongs to the socially classless type of military parasite. His speech is mainly that of the street, 'the very matrix of Elizabethan literature. But he speaks it with a difference—in him its vitality is caricatured into a linguistic St. Vitus' dance.'

From King's point of view Tucca becomes the most important character in *Poetaster*, indeed the greatest character-creation of Jonson's early period. Even those who may query this conclusion, or who may find it hard to keep track through such a labyrinth of

[1] *The Language of Satiryed Characters in 'Poetaster': a socio-stylistic analysis 1597–1602*, by Arthur H. King. (Lund Studies in English 8). Lund: Gleerup; London: Williams and Norgate. pp. xxxiv + 258. 10 Kr.

verbal details, will be indebted to King for his strenuous and suggestive labours.

Martin Kallick discusses *Unity of Time in 'Every Man in his Humour' and Cynthia's Revels'* (*M.L.N.*). In the earlier play the neoclassic unity is strictly observed and in the revised folio text Jonson made an alteration, I, iii, 22–5, to ensure even stricter conformity to the rule. In *Cynthia's Revels* on the other hand the addition in the folio version of the duello scenes (V, i-iv) interfered with the time schedule and spoilt the unity of the play.

In connection with the publication of vol. vii of the Oxford *Ben Jonson*, containing the Masques and Entertainments, mention was made in *Y.W.*, xxii, 130 of two 1942 articles relating to it, W. W. Greg's *Jonson's Masques—Points of Editorial Principle and Practice* (*R.G.S.*, April) and Evelyn Simpson's *Jonson's Masques: A Rejoinder* (*R.E.S.*, July). Greg's main general criticism was that the editors, in his view, had not been sufficiently logical and consistent in their choice of basic texts, and he suggested that the grounds of this choice were 'emotional rather than rational'. He also took exception to some features of their use of brackets. He added critical comments upon some points concerning the individual masques, especially *The Gypsies Metamorphosed.* In her *Rejoinder*, Mrs. Simpson denied the influence of emotional considerations on the Oxford editors, explains their grounds of choice in particular cases, and defends their use of brackets. But she recognizes the value of Greg's constructive suggestions, especially concerning *The Gypsies Metamorphosed.*

In *R.E.S.* (Oct.) P. Maas adds further *Notes on the Text of Jonson's Masques.* The most important relates to *Time Vindicated.* In a note to his edition of *The Dramatic Records* of *Sir Henry Herbert* J. Q. Adams stated that 'in the Dulwich College MS.', this is called *The Prince's Masque.* Gifford mistakenly called Herbert's office-book, used by Malone and now lost, the Dulwich MS., and thus misled Adams. The office-book is the only authority for the alternative title.

Edgar H. Duncan, discusses *The Alchemy in Jonson's 'Mercury Vindicated'* (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.). As compared with the play, *The Alchemist*, which 'is not primarily a satire on alchemy but on charlatans and their dupes, in the masque alchemy comes in for a

direct and pointed satire'. The fundamental concept which Jonson ridiculed was that the alchemists' art could contradict the limits of nature and perform rapidly what nature could only accomplish by slow degrees.

The parts played in the masque by Vulcan as the master alchemist and by the fluid and volatile Mercury are shown by Duncan to be in accord with views expressed by Arnald, Paracelsus and other writers on alchemy. It was Paracelsus in particular who elaborated the idea that men could be artificially generated. Through the lips of Mercury Jonson makes much of this claim and deals it a deadly blow by introducing in the second antimasque a group of 'imperfect creatures with helms of Limbeeks on their heads'. These 'ridiculous monsters' are bidden vanish while Nature appears young and fresh with twelve of her true sons.

In *Surviving Original Materials in Dekker's 'Old Fortunatus'* (*N. & Q.*, Jan. 17), W. L. Halstead calls attention to three sections in the play written in 'prose that is heavily laden with Euphuism plus a touch of Arcadianism'. He suggests that, as these mannerisms were becoming antiquated in 1599, the passages in question were survivals from the earlier *Fortunatus* of 1596 or were still older material only partly rewritten by Dekker.

R. H. Perkinson in *Nature and the Tragic Heir in Chapman's Bussy Plays* (*H.L.Q.*, June) discusses some of Chapman's ethical and philosophic ideas, while emphasizing that he is professionally an Elizabethan dramatist, not a philosopher. In particular, when taking over from Marlowe the super-man as hero he found it necessary to explain his vulnerability by presenting a curious theory of Nature on whom the blame is thrown. This is set forth in the dialogue between Monsieur and Guise in *Bussy*, Act V, iv (originally ii), where Nature is said to work at random, creating a 'whole man' and then overthrowing him. This view approximates to Epicureanism but six years later in *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* Chapman had absorbed Stoic doctrines and Nature is conceived differently. She is, as exemplified in Clermont, 'the norm of right conduct' and is the real protagonist; 'the antagonist is the world of corrupt mankind, specifically the court of Henry III'. For Perkinson's development of this thesis and related ideas his article should be read as a whole.

In *Daniel's 'Philotas' and the Essex Case* (*H.L.Q.*, Dec.), Brents Stirling reprints a letter from Daniel to Viscount Cranborne (1605), already published by Grosart in 1896, but which has had little attention. In it, as in his letter to the Earl of Devonshire, his *Apology* and the Epistle to Prince Henry Daniel protests that in his tragedy concerning Alexander's favourite he was innocent of any contemporary reference. But Stirling gives a number of reasons for holding that Daniel had the Essex case in mind when writing the tragedy. In his 'Epistle Dedicatorie' to *The Civil Wars* he laid stress on the fact that history repeated itself, and that old themes could have a topical application. Two of the chief associates of Essex, the Earls of Devonshire and Southampton, were patrons of Daniel. While he borrowed the story of Philotas from Plutarch and Quintus Curtius he modified it in his tragedy to bring it into much closer parallelism with the trial and fate of Elizabeth's favourite.

W. A. Bacon indicates *The Source of Robert Daborne's 'The Poor-Man's Comfort'* (*M.L.N.*, May). He has found it in William Warner's story *Syrinx* (c. 1584). Apart from changes in nomenclature and background and his theatrically effective additions the story *calamus septimus* in *Syrinx* and the main plot of the play are fundamentally the same. Daborne has added a secondary action which elaborates *calamus quintus* in *Syrinx*.

In *The Ascription of Speeches in 'The Revenger's Tragedy'* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.), E. M. Waith proposes a fresh solution, to which readers are referred, of the well-known difficluty caused by the distribution of some of the speeches in Act V, i and iii.

Three articles in *The Library*, W. W. Greg's *Some notes on Crane's manuscript of 'The Witch'* (March), Gwynne B. Evans's *'Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, with other Poems' by Mr. William Cartweight, 1651* (June), and Irene Mann's *A Political Cancel in 'The Coblers Prophesie'* (Sept.–Dec.) are mainly of bibliographical interest and are noticed in Chapter XV, 228–9.

The Fairy Knight, or Oberon the Second, attributed to Thomas Randolph and edited by Fredson T. Bowers from a MS. now in the Folger Shakespeare library (Univ. of Virginia Studies, No. 2) has not been available for further notice. Bowers has also printed from a MS. (M.P., 265) *Thomas Randolph's 'Salting'*, a comic monologue apparently spoken at Trinity College Cambridge, in 1627.

In an article on *The Text of the Parnassus Plays* (*R.E.S.*, Oct.), J. B. Leishman makes the welcome announcement that he is preparing an elaborate edition of the St. John's College, Cambridge, trilogy, now only accessible as a whole in the edition published by W. D. Macray in 1886. Macray rendered an important service by printing for the first time the text of *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus* and Part I of *The Return* from MS. Rawlinson D.398, together with Part II of *The Return* based on the first two 1606 quartos, partly corrected from a MS. then belonging to J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps. But G. C. Moore Smith in *M.L.R.*, April 1915, pointed out a number of misreadings by Macray of the Rawlinson MS. Leishman has ascertained that the MS. of Part II of *The Return* is now in the Folger Shakespeare library in Washington, and from an examination of photostats has proved that Macray's collation of it was imperfect.

Leishman estimates that there are 362 certain or probable errors, with seven possible, in the 1606 quartos that may be corrected from the Folger MS., which on the other hand has 109 certain or probable errors, with seven possible, which may be corrected from the quartos. In forty-six cases the quartos and the MS. agree in error, and in 231 the MS. has revisions or variant readings of which however only twenty-three are classed as definite improvements. For reasons which he gives Leishman holds that the Folger MS. is further removed from the Cambridge dramatist's autograph than the quarto texts. His account of his proposed editorial methods gives promise of an authoritative presentation of the trilogy.

W. A. Abrams has edited *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*[3] from the 1608 quarto, together with a reprint of the prose pamphlet *The Life and Death of the Merry Devil of Edmonton*, by T. Brewer, of which the first extant edition is 1631. From the text as it stands it is somewhat difficult to understand the great popularity of the play, as evidenced by the six editions which appeared between 1608 and 1655, the references by Middleton and Jonson, and the frequent revivals, including Court performances, till towards the close of the seventeenth century, Abrams however in his introduction argues that the play has come down in a mangled version, and

[3] *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, ed. by William Amos Abrams. Durham North Carolina: Duke Univ. Press. pp. ix+290. $3.50.

that scenes are missing which must have been known to the writer, of the prose pamphlet and which would explain some internal allusions in the play. Abrams agrees with Manly in finding in a chapter of *The Famous Historie of Fryer Bacon* the source of the main plot, though apart from the name of the heroine, Millicent, the resemblances are somewhat general. In the comic underplot Abrams shows good reason for finding the origin of Act IV, Scene ii in one of the tales in *The Shakespeare Jest-Book.*

A long section of the introduction is devoted to the problem of the authorship of this anonymous comedy. Moseley's ascription of it to Shakespeare and Coxeter's to Diayton, though each has found some later support, are without any solid basis. Mose of a case may be made for Heywood but Abrams goes all out for Dekker as author. 'Dekkerian vocabulary, figures of speech and images, are everywhere present in this play. Moreover the style, the characters, and the plot of the comedy strikingly resemble the style, characters, and plots found in his undoubted dramatic and melodramatic works.' These statements are illustrated by a somewhat excessive mass of details which vary greatly in their cogency. But their cumulative effect is to go father than has hitherto been done to establish Dekker's claim to the play. Probably the strongest link in the chain of internal evidence is the parallelism of the diction of Blague, the host of the George Inn, and Simon Eyre, the shoemaker. Notes, textual and explanatory, appendices and a bibliography complete a valuable, though somewhat overweighted, edition.

In *Peter Fabell and Dr. Faustus* (*N. & Q.*, July 18) Joseph Horrell urges that too little notice has been taken of the influence of Faustus in Marlowe's play on the necromancer Fabell in the Induction to *The Merry Devil of Edmonton.* Horrell quotes a number of striking Marlovian echoes in the Induction, though at the end of it the author gives a comic twist to the situation when Fabell makes the agent of Lucifer powerless to move from an enchanted chair.

Theodore Miles writes in *R.E.S.* (Oct.) on *Place-Realism in a Group of Caroline Plays.* From late in 1631 until some time in 1635 six plays were staged with London place-names as titles—Marmion's *Holland's Leaguer* (a Southwark brothel), Shirley's *Hyde Park,*

Brome's *Covent Garden Weeded*, Nabbes's *Covent Garden* and *Tottenham Court*, and Brome's *Sparagus Garden*. As Miles says, 'such repetition of an idea is not likely to prove coincidence', and these plays, as a group, 'are structurally unlike anything else in the realistic drama prior to 1642'. They differ on the one hand, from plays like some of Middleton's where the London topographical allusions are incidental, and, on the other, from Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, where the place is integral to the play.

'What makes them individual is the insertion of a photographic realism which seems to have been introduced for its intrinsic appeal, rather than for its effectiveness as setting. . . . First, the place-realism is limited to one, or at the most, two spots in the play, usually a single act, or scenes within the act. Second, it is not essential as background, and very seldom, if ever, affects the mood or action of the play. Next it usually involves an outright interruption of the forward motion of the plot. Last, in most cases, it employs supernumerary characters.'

Miles then illustrates these characteristics from the six plays in turn, more particularly from Brome's *Sparagus Garden*. From contemporary evidence in ballads, letters, and so forth he points out that the places from which the titles are taken were specially to the fore at the time in the interest of Londoners. 'The dramatists and companies, always good showmen, recognized the temporary value for publicity of such names. . . . The six plays afford the most extensive and clear-cut illustration of the impact of theatrical necessity upon literary craftsmanship that is to be found in the drama of the time.'

Alfred Harbage in *A Choice Ternary: Belated Issues of Elizabethan Plays* (*N. and Q.*, July 18), discusses a 1662 publication, 'Gratiae Theatrales or a Choice Ternary of English Plays Composed upon special occasions by several ingenious persons.' It contains three plays, *Grim, the Collier of Croydon, or the Devil and his Dame; Thorney Abbey, or the London Maid; The Marriage Broker, or the Pander*. Harbage gives reasons for his view that the trio 'were written originally before the death of Shakespeare, were revamped for the stage before the closing of the theatres, and were sketchily revised for the press after 1660.' He illustrates this more in detail from passages in *The Marriage Broker* which appears to give evidence of having been altered to bring them up to date.

In *Elizabethan-Restoration Palimpsest* (*M.L.R.*, July 1940), Harbage claimed that a number of supposed original Restoration plays were adaptations of 'lost' Elizabethan plays. Among them was Sir Robert Howard's *The Great Favourite, or the Duke of Lerma* (1668), adapted from an old play, which on internal evidence Harbage ascribed to Ford. This ascription is endorsed by G. F. Sensabaugh in *Another Play by John Ford* (*M.L.Q.*, Dec.). In articles previously noticed in *Y.W.* (see xxii, 134) Sensabaugh showed the influence on Ford's work of two sources, Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* and the Platonic love cult fostered at Court by Henrietta Maria. From this dual influence arose a unique type of drama. Sensabaugh analyses the plot and characterization in Howard's play and reaches the conclusion that it belongs to this unique type, and was therefore originally from the pen of Ford and was recast very slightly by Sir Robert from the manuscript.

IX

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD: POETRY AND PROSE

(I) THE LATER TUDOR PERIOD

By D. J. GORDON

STUDIES in Spenser take up the largest part of the record of work done in this field. This chapter begins, therefore, with an account of work on Spenser's poetry and prose, and on subjects related to Spenser. Work on Sidney is then treated. Notices of work on prose in general, on other poets, and on certain special themes, follow, in that order.

The most substantial single contribution to the study of Spenser is Josephine W. Bennett's elaborate work on the composition of *The Faerie Queene*.[1] Mrs. Bennett believes that accounts of Spenser's narrative technique and constructive powers—to say nothing of more general estimates of the poet—have been largely vitiated by two large assumptions: that the letter to Raleigh, published in 1590, describes the plan which the poet had fully worked out in mind ten years before; and that having written 'A gentle knight was pricking on the plaine', Spenser went straight ahead with his poem, altering nothing and rearranging nothing. This last assumption has indeed been questioned by others, but no one has subjected the structure of the poem to such a radical scrutiny. Mrs. Bennett firmly rejects both assumptions. She believes that the letter to Raleigh outlines 'an omnibus scheme, which attempted to systematize the product of ten years of experimentation, rather than a preconceived working plan according to which the poet began to write in 1580'. Recognition of this must certainly, as she says, throw new light on every aspect of the poem. To begin with, *The Shepheardes Calender*—particularly the 'October' ecologue—and the Spenser-Harvey letters are examined for what they can tell us about the kind of poem Spenser had it in mind to write. Mrs. Bennett believes that Harvey's famous description of the poem may not, at that time, have been so wide of the mark.

After a discussion of the Raleigh letter and chapters on general

[1] *The Evolution of 'The Faerie Queene'*, by Josephine Waters Bennett. Univ. Chicago Press and C.U.P. pp. vii+299. $3.

themes, on the 'Faerie Queene' herself and her order of knighthood, Mrs. Bennett goes on to deal with each book in turn, episode by episode, building up an outline of the sequence of composition. Her method is to study how Spenser used his sources and how he conducted his narrative. She also uses the enjambment test, which, she believes, can help to determine periods of composition. Full use is made of whatever external evidence we now have about Spenser, his life and career.

There are three appendices: an analysis of the poem by episodes, book by book, with tables showing the results given by the application of the metrical tests for dating to each episode; second, a study of the importance of the enjambment test; third, a note on Spenser's use of compound words. The Index is helpful. Whether or not Mrs. Bennett's views find general acceptance, they are based on a vigorous investigation of the problems involved and a wide knowledge of the contemporary background of the poem, and will have to be taken into consideration by all subsequent students of *The Faerie Queene.*

Mrs. Bennett has also been involved in a controversy with Brents Stirling about the true meaning of Spenser's 'Garden of Adonis'. Mrs. Bennett, recalling that this episode has received no fewer than seven different interpretations in the last twenty years, and finding that T. P. Harrison in a recent article, *Divinity in Spenser's Garden of Adonis* in *Univ. of Texas Studies in English* (1939), has accepted the fundamental premises that Stirling propounded in opposition to an earlier article of hers, reopens the whole question with an article in which she seeks to confute Stirling's views, *Spenser's Garden of Adonis Revisited* (*J.E.G.P.*, Jan.). To this article Stirling replies (*ibid.* Oct.), offering a list of places in Mrs. Bennett's article where she has either, he claims, misrepresented his views or misinterpreted Spenser's text (*Spenser's Platonic Garden*). Mrs. Bennett replies to this in the same number. The matters under discussion are so complicated, the stages of argument and counter-argument so intricate that no summary can be attempted here. In Mrs. Bennett's final words 'the conscientious reader must surely refer to the articles in question and judge for himself'.

D. T. Starnes has undertaken, in collaboration with a colleague,

a new investigation of classical mythology in the works of the major poets of the English Renaissance. Meanwhile he has published three articles on the sources of Spenser's knowledge of classical mythology. Starnes's thesis is that students of this problem have concentrated too exclusively on the ultimate sources of such knowledge in the classical texts, neglecting the stores of information to be found in contemporary works of reference which were popular and easily accessible to scholars and editors. Starnes undertakes to show how greatly Spenser was indebted to contemporary dictionaries; he concentrates, for the most part, on three, Robert Stephanus' *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ*, Charles Stephanus' *Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum*, and Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ and Britannicæ*.

In his first article, *E.K.'s Classical Allusions Reconsidered* (*S. in Phil.*, April), he examines these allusions with a view to showing that many of E.K.'s notes are based on material found in the dictionaries, used singly and in conjunction, and not always rightly understood and suggests that if E.K. used such works, Spenser may well have done so too. This suggestion is followed up in later articles: *Spenser and the Graces* (*P.Q.*, July) and *Spenser and the Muses* (*Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, July). In the first Starnes collects all the references to the Graces in Spenser and sets them in relation to what is said about the Graces in the current *polyanthea* and dictionaries, concluding that Spenser need not have gone further than the dictionaries to find out all that he knew about these figures. In the second article Starnes does the same for what Spenser says about the Muses, reaching a similar conclusion.

Starnes also suggests that the pattern of *The Teares of the Muses* was inspired by that colloquy of Erasmus's entitled *Conflictus Thaliæ et Barbariæ* and that the muse who presides over *The Faerie Queene* is indeed Calliope—a view advanced by other scholars, but disputed—for it is Calliope who presides over the Heroic Poem according to the mythographical tradition within which Spenser was working.

Spenser's sources have been the subject of other investigations. In a long and elaborate article, *The Genesis of some passages which Spenser borrowed from Marlowe* (*E.L.H.*, Sept.), T. W. Baldwin closely examines seven passages from *Tamburlaine*, which, as has long been known, are connected with passages in *The Faerie*

Queene. Baldwin finds that in these instances Spenser has been borrowing from Marlowe, not Marlowe from Spenser. By analysing in great detail the sources of the classical allusions in these passages with reference to the various dictionaries and commentaries available to Marlowe, Baldwin shows how the words and images may have come together in Marlowe's mind. It is suggested that the process of growth traceable in Marlowe is not apparent in Spenser's handling of the related images, and that Spenser has taken them over from Marlowe merely as bits of ornament. It is not necessary to assume that Spenser saw the MS. of *Tamburlaine*; he may have been using a commonplace book of 'beauties' gathered from the MS. by someone else. Baldwin believes that these borrowings are important for dating the composition of Book I of *The Faerie Queene*—they are used only in the opening and in the Duessa episode of Book I—and argues that Spenser probably put Books I and II into approximately their present form about the end of 1587 and the beginning of 1588.

In *M.L.Q.* (Dec.) Kathrine Koller considers '*The Travayled Pilgrime*' *by Stephen Batman and Book II of* '*The Faerie Queene*', finding in the former an analogue of Guyon's trials. Miss Koller does not claim that Batman's poem, which she summarizes, was a source of Spenser's, although she notes several cases of similarity. She finds the work primarily interesting as an example of a poem in which appear allegorical devices resembling those employed later by Spenser with much more effect, and those ideas about psychology which were accepted by Spenser and his contemporaries: Spenser, as poet and moralist, was following the pattern of his time.

Following up a suggestion made previously by Allan H. Gilbert (*M.L.N.*, Dec. 1941) that Lucian might be the ultimate or immediate source of the stanza in which Spenser enumerates the knights overthrown by Britomart as Chastity (*F.Q.* III, i, 45), giving them names which indicate an 'amatory progression', James Hutton, writing in *M.L.N.* (Dec.), under the heading *Spenser and the* '*Cinq Points en Amours*' suggests that Spenser was here following a well established tradition, primarily French, of the stages in the progress of love, each stage corresponding to one of the five senses. Hutton believes that the source of the theme, as it appears in Chaucer and

Spenser, was the traditional treatment in homily and moral treatise of the dangers to chastity incurred through the five senses.

In a recent article (see *Y.W.*, xxi, 152) Herbert B. Nelson traced the background in English and Roman law of Spenser's tale concerning the two sons of Milesio (*F.Q.*, V, iv, 4–20), and added that this episode might have been based on a lost Irish folk tale. Roland M. Smith who writes on *Spenser's Tale of the Two Sons of Milesio* in *M.L.Q.* (Dec.) believes that the source is rather to be looked for in some hypothetical lawsuit of the sort outlined in the native laws of Ireland. Spenser's use of the name shows that he was aware of the legend telling of the invasion of Ireland by the Milesians (sons of Milesius) centuries before the birth of Christ. Smith thinks that Spenser came upon his source in some version of the quarrel between Heber and Heremon, sons of Milesius, as told in the laws; and finds evidence in Spenser's *View* that his study of the native laws was not superficial. It is suggested that this should be taken into account by students of passages in *The Faerie Queene* which call for legal commentary.

In *H.L.Q.* (Jan.) James E. Phillips, Jr., considers *The Woman Ruler in Spenser's 'Faerie Queene'* in the light of contemporary writing on the subject. It was indeed a subject much discussed, for the reigns of Mary Tudor, Mary Stuart, and Elizabeth had thrust it upon the notice of political theorists. Phillips finds that Spenser was aware of current arguments and held the position sustained by Calvin, Bullinger, and the moderate Puritans: women in general are not fitted to rule, but sometimes God calls an exceptional woman to do so and endows her with the appropriate qualities. It is when Spenser deliberately opposes Radigund and Britomart that we can see his views most clearly. The vices of Radigund and her government are those which opponents of the regiment of women attributed to female rule; Britomart who overthrows her and her Amazonian system is the exceptional woman called and especially endowed by God. So, Phillips concludes, Spenser was concerned not only to represent allegorically certain known female rulers but to illustrate what a good queen is and what a bad, according to contemporary opinion.

In *P.M.L.A.* (Dec.) Allan H. Gilbert discusses *Spenserian*

Armoùr from an historical standpoint. The conclusion is reached that in this, as in other things, Spenser was 'archaising', but that he was content to give a general impression of 'antique history' without having visualized the details of his heroes' equipment with minute historical accuracy.

It is already known that in his *Amoretti* Spenser drew upon Tasso. Chandler B. Beall in *M.L.Q.* (Dec.) adds another possible item to the list of these debts, under the heading *A Tasso Imitation in Spenser.*

Two articles have been devoted to investigating points about Spenser's circle and topical references. Viola B. Hulbert argues in *J.E.G.P.* (July) that the dialect spoken-by 'Diggon Davie' in the 'September' eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender* is the English attributed to Tudor Welshmen, and that that 'farre countrye' from which Diggon comes is Wales. Further, Miss Hulbert seeks to identify Diggon with Richard Davies who was Bishop of St. David's from 1561 to 1582, and whose troubled career she summarizes. She thinks that Diggon's lament is very appropriate to the condition of the Church in Wales at that time.

Rudolf Gottfried in *M.L.Q.* (Dec.) brings forward fresh evidence to support the view that *The 'G.W. Senior' and 'G.W.I.' of Spenser's Amoretti* (writers of commendatory sonnets) were father and son, Geoffrey Whitney the Emblematist and his father. Gottfried is not satisfied that Spenser was influenced by the younger Whitney's *A Choice of Emblems*, but finds that in this book Whitney refers to persons who were in Spenser's circle, and points out that Whitney in his will bequeathed a ring to the wife of that Sir Robert Needham of Shavington to whom the *Amoretti* volume had been dedicated by William Ponsonby, its publisher.

Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland* has been studied by two scholars. Walter J. Ong writing on *Spenser's 'View' and the Tradition of the 'Wild' Irish* in *M.L.Q.* (Dec.) sets out to account for the inconsistency he finds between the measures which Spenser advocates as necessary for the subjugation of the Irish and his general attitude to the Irish as a race. Spenser does not altogether condemn the Irish; he holds that to some extent their vices are the result of circumstances. Ong would explain this inconsistency in terms of

the traditional views about the nature of the Irish. After examining certain texts dealing with the Irish, from Giraldus Cambrensis to Campion, he concludes that Spenser's 'limited hostility' to the Irish springs from current opinion about this people: that they are 'wild' and 'uncivilized'; that they are not bad by nature, but lack the arts that make for civilization; and that they are ignorant of the processes of education needed to turn a barbarous into a cultured nation. The distinction between 'art' and 'nature' had a wide significance for educational theorists from Giraldus's day to Spenser's, and these opinions about the Irish fit into this wider context. Spenser, then, accepted traditional opinion. His inconsistency, concludes Ong, arises from his attempt to graft on to this view his 'cold and unlovely piece of policy'.

We have to record with regret the deaths, in the one year, of Ray Heffner and F. M. Padelford—a great loss to Spenserian and Elizabethan studies. *M.L.Q.* (Dec.), designed to honour Heffner's memory, contains articles by both, Heffner contributing *Spenser's 'View' of Ireland: some observations.* Recalling Spenser's long if not particularly distinguished service of the State, Heffner suggests that we have thought too much about his *View* as a literary document and have not sufficiently considered it as a document composed for practical purposes by a man well versed in Irish affairs. Heffner believes that in 1596 Spenser was urged by prominent people to give them the benefit of his long experience, and that the *View* is the result; and he suggests, though he will not commit himself to a positive assertion, that the *View* was written at the instigation of Essex, and was designed to advise him. As evidence of the importance assigned to the *View* Heffner cites the Bodleian Gough MS. which was prepared for publication with a title-page referring to its author as an authority on Irish affairs and worded to suggest that the treatise is to be taken as a programme for action.

Heffner also adduces the letter sent by the Privy Council to the Justices of Ireland in strong recommendation of Spenser, and gives a full transcript of it. Heffner thinks that the document known as *A Brief View of Ireland* is certainly Spenser's, probably his last act of public service. Finally, Heffner denies that the measures Spenser advocates as necessary for dealing with the Irish are as extreme as they have been thought to be.

Padelford's contribution is an account of *Antony Copley's 'A Fig*

for Fortune': A Roman Catholic legend of Holiness, the rare and curious first imitation of *The Faerie Queene*, published in 1596. After describing Copley's chequered career Padelford analyses the action and allegory of the poem. He shows that it is a sort of inversion of Book I of *The Faerie Queene*: Copley exalts the Roman Catholic Church as the one true church and condemns the Anglican Church as the whore of Babylon and the creation of Anti-Christ, while trying hard to prove that he admires Elizabeth and is a truly loyal subject. Padelford suggests that many of Copley's idiosyncrasies of language and imagery rather anticipate the metaphysical poets than show the influence of Spenser's style.

The influence of *The Shepheardes Calender* is shown in Thomas Blenerhasset's poem *A Revelation of the True Minerva* (1582) which has been edited in facsimile by Josephine W. Bennett (1941) from the unique copy in the Huntington Library, and which did not arrive in time for notice last year.[2] Blenerhasset is best known for his share in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, but his poem not only illustrates the influence of Spenser but gives further instances of the metrical experiments that were being tried out at this period.

In the first part of an article called *Criticisms Criticized: Spenser and Milton* (*J.E.G.P.*, Oct.) E. E. Stoll reviews with some liveliness certain views about Spenser recently put forward by American and English scholars.

Sidney has attracted attention in several articles in 1942. A. G. D. Wiles' *Parallel Analyses of the Two Versions of Sidney's 'Arcadia' Including the Major Variations of the Folio of 1593* (*S. in Ph.*, April) provide a basis for a thorough study of Sidney's revision of the *Arcadia*. After his synopsis of the revised version Wiles gives a running account of the major alterations made in the last three books of the original for the Countess of Pembroke's 1593 edition. He also briefly sketches his conclusions about the precise nature of Sidney's very extensive revision.

Cornell M. Dowlin, writing in *M.L.Q.* (Dec.) on *Sidney's Two Definitions of Poetry*, agrees with Irene Samuel (see *Y.W.* xxi, 150)

[2] *A Revelation of the True Minerva, by Thomas Blenerhasset. With an Introduction and a Bibliographical Note*, by Josephine W. Bennett. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints. pp. xix+sigs. A—G2r.

that the *Apologie* is essentially a defence of poetry against Plato's attack, based on Plato's own grounds; and argues that Sidney's second definition of poetry is not based on Minturno, as has been supposed, but comes directly from the tenth book of the *Republic*: another instance of Sidney's adoption of ideas from Plato to use against him.

Feuillerat included in his edition of Sidney's *Works* (Vol. II, p. 342) a poem of nine lines from Allot's *English Parnassus*, which is there ascribed to Sidney. Allan H. Gilbert in *M.L.N.* (May) recalls that this is *A Poem wrongly attributed to Sidney*, Crawford in his edition of Allot (Oxford, 1913, p. 495) having identified it as a stanza from *The Faerie Queene* (V, v, 25).

Charles D. Murphy examines *John Davies' Versification of Sidney's Prose* in *P.Q.* (Oct.) and finds that Davies, in his *Mirum in Modum*, took over and versified certain passages—combining them with other material—from those early chapters of Sidney's and Golding's translation of Mornay's *Vérité de la Religion Chrestienne* which Feuillerat attributed to Sidney.

As the influence of Giordano Bruno on Sidney and his circle has been widely discussed, it is appropriate to notice here Angelo M. Pellegrini's *Giodano Bruno and Oxford* (*M.L.Q.*, April). There is little documentary evidence to go on, and what there is, provided by Bruno and others, admits much canvassing. Pellegrini finds no proof that Bruno was associated with Oxford as a formal lecturer, but thinks that he may well have disputed there with Dr. Underhill in the course of the disputations arranged for Prince Alasco's entertainment, and that in view of what we know about the informality, and even the disorderliness, of such disputations, Bruno may have 'intruded' in one without invitation.

Little has been done on the major prose writers. Maurice Bévenot, writing on *The Catholicism of Richard Hooker* in the *Hibbert Journal* (Oct.) examines relevant passages from Hooker, Whitgift, and the puritan Cartwright, and finds that both defenders and opponents of the established Church were at one in rejecting the doctrine of the Real Presence. It is concluded that the orthodox tradition was not in fact maintained by the Anglican Church, in spite of recent arguments that it was.

In an article on *Bacon on Platonism* (*U.T.Q.*, Jan.) F. H. Anderson studies Bacon's attitude to Plato. He points out that in furtherance of his desire to get rid of the authority of Aristotle, Bacon was anxious to recall that tradition of ancient learning which was not Aristotelian. Bacon's projected history of learning was never written, but it is in connection with this, Anderson says, that Bacon's use of Plato should be considered. Anderson collects and makes a synthesis of Bacon's references to Plato and is satisfied both that Plato was important for Bacon, and that his treatment of Plato is 'minute and consistently critical'. Anderson divides the references into three categories: (a) cases where Plato is cited—this group illustrates the extent of Bacon's familiarity with Plato's teaching; (b) cases where Plato's doctrine is condemned—generally when Plato is condemned with Aristotle for reducing philosophy to discourse and arresting the advance of science; and (c) cases where Plato is cited to support an argument and advance a theory —this mostly happens when Bacon is discussing the problems of scientific knowledge—its objects, method, and ends.

Jean Robertson, who has recently published a number of articles on the prose and verse of Nicholas Breton, has now given us a valuable account, in which Breton is conspicuous, of Elizabethan handbooks offering instruction in the art of letter-writing.[3] She begins with a brief survey of the *Ars dictaminis*, which was primarily directed to students of rhetoric, and shows how it was adapted in England for the Elizabethan middle-class by William Fulwood. The second chapter deals with the progressive adaptations introduced by Breton and his imitators, who made the form a framework for 'social satire and semi-fictional writing designed to amuse rather than to instruct'. In chapter three Miss Robertson shows how this sort of letter-writer was supplanted by a new kind composed under the influence of the French *academies*. A bibliography of complete letter writers from 1568–1700 is added.

Miss Robertson has also published a note in *M.L.N.* (Feb.) on *Nicholas Breton's 'The Hate of Treason'*. This poem exists both in a printed version dated 1616 and in a British Museum MS. Miss Robertson briefly describes the variations between these two ver-

[3] *The Art of Letter Writing; An Essay on the Handbooks published in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, by Jean Robertson. Liverpool Univ. Press and Hodder and Stoughton. pp. 80. 7*s*. 6*d*.

sions. She believes that the poem must have been written before 6 October 1613, and that the 1616 edition which alone survives was not the first.

Arnold Davenport has carried further his researches in Elizabethan satire. The theme of his *The Quarrel of the Satirists* (*M.L.R.*, April) is the confused, embittered relationships between the group of satirists who flourished—if the word may well be used—at the turn of the century, and, particularly, the intervention of John Weever in the quarrel that involved Hall, Marston, Guilpin, Jonson and Breton. Weever in his *Epigrammes* (1599) was on Marston's side. But in *Faunus and Melliflora* (1600) he supports Hall against Marston. The next stage in the quarrel comes with *The Whipping of the Satyre* (1601). Davenport supports the attribution of this to Wheeler, arguing that the main objection to this attribution, the animus shown in the poem against Marston is removed when we realize that Wheeler, in *Faunus and Melliflora*, had already changed sides. He also suggests that *The Whipper of the Satyre* an anonymous reply to this last attack was really written by Guilpin. The last pamphlet in the series, *No Whipping nor Tripping* was, as is already known, certainly written by Breton.

In another paper, on *An Elizabethan Controversy: Harvey and Nashe* in *N. and Q.* (Feb. 28), Davenport suggests that certain of the topics raised in the famous Harvey-Nashe quarrel entered into the later quarrel between Hall and Marston, and wonders whether this linking of Hall's *Virgidemiarum* and Marston's *Scourge of Villanie* with the earlier quarrel was not partly responsible for the decision of the authorities to include these works with the books of Nashe and Harvey in the ban of 1 June 1599. In *Interfused Sources in Joseph Hall's Satires* (*R.E.S.*, April) Davenport shows how in Hall's imagination, like Coleridge's—to compare great things with small—various recollections of his reading could flow together to produce a *tertium quid*. Thus in one passage we find memories of Scaliger, Persius and Juvenal combined, one leading to the other through links of subject matter and imagery.

Davenport also seeks to add to the Hall canon. He gives in *N. and Q.* (Jan. 31) two poems from Harleian MS. 1423 which are attributed to a Doctor Hall, and finds that grounds of occasion and style make it fairly certain that Joseph Hall wrote them.

'Olybrius' follows this up in *N. and Q.* (Aug. 29) by printing *Verses Attributed to Joseph Hall.* These are commendatory lines written on the fly-leaf of a MS. translation of the *Aeneid* by one Russell, dating from about 1640.

Phyllis B. Bartlett continues her work on Chapman in an article on *Stylistic Devices in Chapman's Iliads* contributed to *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.). Nearly all the 'stylistic idiosyncrasies' of Chapman's rendering, she says, are covered by the principles of translation announced by him in the verse Preface to the Reader that accompanied his first two books in 1609; for example, his refusal to attempt classical prosody, and his defence of periphrasis. Miss Bartlett is mostly concerned with the elucidation of elements in the translation constituting what Chapman calls the 'free grace of his natural dialect'. They are, she finds, first, the use of English colloquialisms and terms anachronistic in their context. Thus Chapman will write of 'Dukes' and 'Angel' and transpose Homer's anatomical and physiological detail into terms of Renaissance opinion on those subjects.

Secondly, Chapman adds figures of speech and plays on words that are 'natural' to the Elizabethan poet: this is Miss Bartlett's main subject. She finds Chapman constantly changing the Homeric abstractions into Personifications and constantly playing with phrases and single words. He will also elaborate the Homeric similes to bring out their application, to make explicit what Homer had left implicit. This device, Miss Bartlett argues, is in keeping with Chapman's theory of poetry. She closes her analysis by indicating some of the ways in which Chapman tried to speed up the movement of the verse and make up for the loss of pace in which his elaborations resulted.

Notes additional to those given by Miss Bartlett in her edition of Chapman's poems are offered by George G. Loane in *N. and Q.* (Nov. 7, Dec. 5). In some instances Loane expresses disagreement with Miss Bartlett's conclusions.

G. E. Bentley's article in *T.L.S.* on Ben Jonson's *An Epitaph on Salathiel Pavy* has been noticed above, p. 120. It may here be added that this article was followed up on 6 June and 13 June by letters from Margaret Perceval and N. B. White suggesting possible origins for the name *Salathiel.*

In an article on *Bodin's 'Methodus' in England before 1625* (*S. in Ph.*, April) Leonard F. Dean traces references by English writers to the *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* from 1580, before which date he can find no mention of the book.

Boies Penrose has written an agreeable and pleasantly illustrated account[4] of the lives and wanderings of seven eminent travellers, of their adventures at home and abroad, in Europe, the Near East and India, in the period between 1591 and 1635. Penrose writes on Fynes Morison, John Cartwright, Thomas Coryate, William Lithgow, George Sandys, Sir Thomas Herbert and Sir Henry Blount—a mixed and interesting bag.

[4] *Urbane Travellers, 1591–1632*, by Boies Penrose. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press and O.U.P. pp. viii+251. 18*s.* 6*d.* net.

X

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD: POETRY AND PROSE

(II) THE EARLIER STUART AGE AND THE COMMONWEALTH

By L. C. MARTIN

NEARLY all the material that comes under this heading has to do with the poetry of the period. Donne and Milton preponderate. As a general rule, broken where convenient, notices of the few articles or notes on writings in prose are placed at the beginning of the chapter. The work on Milton, verse and prose together, is treated after that on other poets has been discussed.

Basil Willey's account in *Essays and Studies*, vol. xxvii, of *Lord Herbert of Cherbury: A Spiritual Quixote of the Seventeenth Century* provides a fitting point of departure both because it bears upon the general social history of the time and because Herbert's personality and thought as represented in his prose-writings are here considered, not Herbert as a poet. He is taken as a typical figure in whom 'the Middle Ages and the Modern World were blended: knightly qualities fusing with the new rationalism, Quixotry with Deism'. Accordingly, the *Autobiography* and other documents are drawn upon to illustrate that romantic knight-errantry which was now becoming out-moded and decadent, although in such as Herbert the old feudal virtues have not lost all their original brightness and can still lend a fugitive charm and dignity to these surviving exponents; on the other hand Herbert's more modern interests are made evident by references to his acquaintance with the sciences and to his anticipations (in the *De Veritate* and elsewhere) of eighteenth-century rational theology.

James H. Hanford in *H.L.Q.* (April), from the papers of John Egerton, first Earl of Bridgewater, now in the Huntington Library, examines the relations and hostilities between *Lord Herbert Cherbury and His Son*, Richard, thus throwing further light upon Lord Herbert's character and considerably amplifying what is known about his later life.

Majl Ewing contributes to *P.Q.* (Oct.) *A Note on the Sir Thomas Browne—Sir William Dugdale Letters* in which the order and dating of Letters 198–201 in Keynes's edition are questioned.

Kenelm Digby's 'Thuscan Virgil' occurs in Digby's *Observations upon 'Religio Medici'* and introduces a quotation from the Italian of a hitherto unidentified poet. Chandler B. Beall (*M.L.N.*, April) points out the source of this quotation in Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, observing that here 'Thuscan' means simply Italian and 'Virgil' a writer of bucolic verse.

Henry Peacham's compendious reflections on life in early seventeenth-century England published in 1638 have not been reprinted until now[1] but the volume deserves attention, if not for its style at least for its lively animadversions, 'by way of Essay', upon such subjects as Parents and Children, Schooles and Masters, Liberty, Fashion and Travel. It has a usefully informative and critical introduction by R. R. Cawley.

A new biography of Donne was overdue and perhaps the biography which will in every way meet the scholar's requirements has still to be written; but Evelyn Hardy's[2] is commendable in that she has brought to the task a strong and lively interest in Donne's personality, an inquiring mind, a liking and aptitude for psychological investigation, and extensive knowledge both of Elizabethan life generally and of the special circumstances in which Donne lived and wrote. The dust-cover announces that the work is intended 'for the large public which bought the Nonesuch edition of Donne's Poems, and for any intelligent reader interested in the life-story and spiritual adventures of the famous Dean of St. Paul's'. The title and the epigraph quotations from Mr. T. S. Eliot and Dr. Ernest Jones exhibit the author's willingness to apply on occasion the methods and findings of modern psychologists, not least the doctrines of 'unconscious' mental behaviour. Such an indication is to be welcomed, for literary biography has shown itself to be perhaps unduly cautious if not hostile towards the light which may come from this direction, possibly underestimating the weight of evidence

[1] *The Truth of Our Times, by Henry Peacham. From the Edition of 1638 with an Introduction* by Robert Ralston Cawley. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. (for the Facsimile Text Society). pp. xxiii+203. 13*s.* 6*d.*

[2] *Donne, A Spirit in Conflict*, by Evelyn Hardy. Constable. pp. xiii+274. 10*s.* 6*d.*

which the case-books are accumulating. Thus there is nothing too unlikely in the suggestion that the second marriage of Donne's mother *may* have aroused in him a conflict of love and hatred which *might* account for much in his more mature attitude to women. The complexity of human minds is such and we know really so little about Donne's early experiences that it is naturally difficult not to look this gift-horse of conjecture in the mouth. Nevertheless in the absence of certain knowledge conjecture has its own restricted importance in such connections.

For the rest Miss Hardy tells her story with much verve and an attractive mingling of fact and fancy, made distinguishable by a generous infusion of 'may-have-been's and 'probably's; and those who like biography to read like a novel will find much to give them satisfaction. It would be easier to decide how far she is acquainted with all the relevant literature if the book had contained a formal bibliography, but there is evidence by the way that recent developments have not escaped her and she has clearly gone to much trouble in certain matters of detail.

In *M.L.Q.* (Dec.) R. E. Bennett writes briefly on *John Donne and the Earl of Essex* to the effect that on the Islands Voyage (1597) Donne was with Lord Thomas Howard's squadron and not, as stated by Walton, that of Essex; and that Donne should not, on the score of Walton's remark, be classed among those who placed all their hopes in Essex, Donne having had in his early years influential friends who were not of Essex's party.

A note by Harold Cooper in *M.L.N.* (Dec.) headed *John Donne and Virginia in 1610* refers to John Chamberlain's statement in February 1610 (N.S.) 'that John Dun seekes to be preferred to be secretarie of Virginia', mentions other evidence of Donne's interest in the colony, and suggests that 'Elegy V, His Picture' may have been written while this Virginian voyage was being contemplated.

The new edition of Donne's poems by R. E. Bennett[3] is modernized and 'intended for those who wish to read Donne's poetry for pleasure'. Scholars, who take their pleasures in more ways than one, are however provided for, since in constructing the text Bennett has not only examined afresh the original printed and MS. sources but has taken into account some weighty considerations,

[3] *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Roger E. Bennett. Chicago: Packard. pp. xxix+306. 95 *cents*.

affecting the canon and understanding of Donne's poetry, which have appeared subsequently to the publication of Grierson's edition in 1912, for example Williamson's *Textual Difficulties in the Interpretation of Donne's Poetry* (*M.P.*, Aug. 1940; see *Y.W.* xxi. 162). In some instances Bennett has found it advisable to rely upon a MS. rather than a printed version. making clear the basis in the index to the poems. There is an apparatus of two and a half pages at the end of the volume showing first the readings (including Bennett's own emendations) which are 'not recorded or not clearly supported' by Grierson and then Bennett's departures from texts not edited by Grierson. Bennett has unassumingly done so much as to make it seem the more regrettable that limitations of space prevented him from attempting to justify the readings he has adopted; but it is no little consolation that students comparing this edition with others may find much profit in trying to perceive for themselves why Bennett's decisions have been made.

There is, further, a short but wise and perceptive introduction designed to explain some major features of Donne's thought and imagination and to facilitate sympathy with what the reader 'for pleasure' may at first regard as hindrances: Donne's fondness for metrical and rhetorical patterning is a natural expression of the contemporary tendency to look for the pattern of the universe in art, not in the physical and natural sciences; his love of paradox probably derives less from any painful mental conflict (here Bennett is at odds with Miss Hardy) than from his desire to represent in poetry 'the essential duality of human experience'; and his failure to put forward any sustained self-revelation is connected with the essentially social function which verse-writing was expected to perform. The introduction is so condensed as not to be patient of further shortening but in spite of the restrictions (including the absence of any explanatory or biographical notes) the volume as a whole makes real contributions to the knowledge and appreciation of Donne's poetry.

Studia Neophilologica XIV (presented to Eilert Ekwall) contains *Some Lexicological Notes and Queries on Donne's Satires* by Pierre Legouis, who lists and comments upon a number of usages apparently not recorded or not explained in *O.E.D.*, and of words and meanings for which the Satires afford earlier illustrations than *O.E.D.* supplies.

Edgar Hill Duncan in *E.L.H.* (Dec.) examines *Donne's Alchemical Figures* with reference to the views and practices of alchemy current in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The article has the double purpose, which is faithfully and profitably carried out, first of demonstrating Donne's skill in adapting alchemical notions to poetic uses and secondly of explaining such figures as depend upon abstruse alchemical ideas.

An interesting comment on the development of English versification at the turn of the century is provided by Arnold Stein, who writes on *Donne and the Couplet* in *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.). Donne's freedom in rhyming masculine and feminine endings (e.g. 'strings' with 'tacklings'), in the technique of 'runover' lines, and generally in breaking up the rhythmical patterns favoured by Spenser and the sonneteers, is well illustrated (although some of the scansions offered seem questionable); and these features of Donne's verse are brought into relation with the loosening of dramatic blank verse and the new anti-Ciceronian tendencies in prose-writing, the ultimate source of all such phenomena being found in that emergent intellectual attitude according to which 'the exact communication of immediate individual experience became more important than the expression—no matter how beautiful or systematic—of general ideas'.

In *P.M.L.A.* (Dec.) Alice Stayert Brandenburg opposes *The Dynamic Image in Metaphysical Poetry* to the 'static' kind in which, as commonly in Elizabethan poetry not of the metaphysical order, concepts of immediate visual attractiveness are evoked. Dynamic images, it is suggested, focus not 'on a resemblance of external qualities, of sense impressions, but on a resemblance between actions,' the intention in Donne particularly being to illustrate mental actions and also psychological relationships; so that it is frequently undesirable to judge the validity of such images by any mental pictures which they may call up.

Evelyn M. Simpson gives in *P.Q.* (April) a brief account of *A Donne Manuscript in St. Paul's Cathedral Library* containing four of the Sermons. There are some readings which differ from those in the printed editions or in the Lothian MS. and the title of one sermon (No. 3 in the *Fifty Sermons*) states the occasion on which

it was delivered ('Preached at St. Clements at Mr. Washington's Marriage').

The *Bulletin of Bibliography (1941)* contained *John Donne since 1900: a Bibliography of Periodical Articles* collected by William White.

A volume containing all the known poems of James Shirley[4] which was published in 1941 but did not arrive in time for notice last year seems to be the result of conscientious investigation and editing. This is the more useful in that some of the poems have not been reprinted during a century and more, and that a few appear in a collected edition for the first time. The full extent of the editor's individual labours is a little difficult to measure as he partly relies upon an unpublished work on Shirley's poems by R. G. Howarth, but there is no reason to doubt that all the material has been freshly and thoroughly considered. There is a biographical and critical introduction and a substantial gathering of explanatory and textual notes. It is unfortunate that the notes do not carry page-references to the text and that there have been some silent textual alterations, even though on points which the editor thinks immaterial. The appreciation, in which he is perhaps too ready to adopt a stereotyped view of seventeenth-century lyrical poetry, is also at times exceptionable in its incidental judgments, as where it is said of Herrick that 'none of his contemporaries can touch him in looking at nature unadorned'; but the picture is generally sound enough.

William Frost's brief study of Fulke Greville's *Caelica*[5] shows interest in the subject and suggests that the writer has gone some way towards an understanding of Greville's specific qualities. The treatment, however, is rather scrappy and although the work is not quite without a plan it is not always easy to understand the sequence of ideas. The impression is also given that Frost has not yet the knowledge of Elizabethan poetry and of the world-picture it implies which would enable him to make solid contributions to the criticism of Greville's poetry.

[4] *The Poems of James Shirley*, ed. by Ray Livingstone Armstrong. New York: King's Crown Press (1941) and O.U.P. pp. xxx + 108 (double-columned). 20*s*. net.

[5] *Fulke Greville's Caelica; An Evaluation*, by William Frost. Pleasantville, New York: privately printed. pp. v + 62. $1.00.

In *N. & Q.* (Dec. 19) William D. Templeman gives bibliographical facts concerning the appearance of *Some Commendatory Verses by George Wither*, thus correcting or supplementing the information provided in *D.N.B.* He also calls attention to the fact that two of these poems were represented in John Fry's *Bibliographical Memoranda* (1816).

The Constant Lovers, the heading of a lengthy article by B. H. Newdigate in *T.L.S.* (April 18 and 25), is also that of the poem, evidently by Thomas Randolph, with which the article is primarily concerned. This poem, a 'pastorale Eclogue', is printed here for the first time from a common-place book (Huntington Library, H.M. 904) forming part of the 'Tixall' group of MSS., and the constant lovers (Laura and Amintas) are identified as Lady Dorothy Stafford, younger daughter of Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, and Sir William Stafford, her second husband and Randolph's friend. There is in the same MS. a funeral eclogue on Lady Dorothy, who died in 1636. She herself is the author of two pieces in the collection, which Newdigate says contains also a number of poems by better-known writers; some of these, including one by Thomas Carew, have never been printed.

In *M.L.Q.* (June) Francis Lee Utley reprints and comments upon *Two Seventeenth Century Anglo-Saxon Poems* contributed in 1641 to *Irenodia Cantabrigiensis*.

The Strange Case of Olor Iscanus (1651), considered by Harold R. Walley in *R.E.S.* (Jan.) and further in a note by F. E. Hutchinson (ibid. July), is that of a volume of secular verse advertising itself as an unauthorized publication of early work which was apparently suppressed on religious grounds by the author, Henry Vaughan, in 1647, and yet containing secular verse belonging to the years 1648–51. After a close examination of the evidence Walley comes to a number of conclusions which seem generally sound, chiefly that 'in preparing the volume of 1651, the compiler carefully and deliberately selected for inclusion only such occasional poems as were compatible with the authorship of *Silex Scintillans*' (1650), that the rejected poems were later published in *Thalia Rediviva* (1678), and that although *Olor Iscanus* appeared without Vaughan's approbation it was certainly not without his knowledge.

Hutchinson raises some further points, including the circumstance that *Thalia Rediviva* itself appeared without Vaughan's name although five years before he had acknowledged its authorship to Aubrey, speaking of it as 'a peece now ready for the presse'. One explanation that suggests itself is that Vaughan was not always quite so averse to the publication of his secular verse, duly selected and edited, as his specific repudiations would suggest. None of that which we have is at all gravely exceptionable. Perhaps a little light might be thrown on these questions if we could know more precisely what lies behind the report of Henry Vaughan obtained by Aubrey, that he was 'proud and humorous', for there seems to be an element of caprice in these dealings with his publishers.

With special reference to the Latin verses 'Ad Posteros' prefixed to *Olor Iscanus* E. L. Marilla writes in *J.E.G.P.* (Oct.) on *Henry Vaughan and the Civil War*, arguing cogently that those verses imply no conscientious refusal to undertake military service. '*Partem/Me nullam in tantâ* strage *fuisse, scias* means rather that Vaughan had been no adherent of the ravaging and now victorious Parliamentarians, and it may include a reference to the King's execution. This interpretation of words to some extent made deliberately ambiguous out of regard for the poet's own safety is supported by some of his English writings which indicate that he had war experience and was a great admirer of the military virtues.

An article in *R.E.S.* (July) by the present writer, under heading *Henry Vaughan and 'Hermes Trismegistus'*, has for its object 'to point out certain loci in which the Hermetic influence is either manifest or probable and also to show that the Hermetic writings occasionally throw light upon the poet's meaning'.

J. Simmons prints in *M.L.N.* (March) *An Unpublished Letter from Abraham Cowley*, apparently to Sir Robert Long. This is dated 13 March 1650 at Paris and is now in Bodleian MS. Carte 130.

Milton's Supplicats (i.e. for the degrees of B.A. and M.A.) have now been brought to light and scrutinized by J. Milton French, who gives them in facsimile in *H.L.Q.* (April) and thinks it probable that the supplicat for the B.A. is in Milton's own hand. French

also reprints the account written by John Buck in 1665 of the proceedings which followed admission *ad respondendum quaestioni.*

Milton's Ideal Day: Its Development as a Pastoral Theme is the subject of an article in *P.M.L.A.* (June) by Sara Ruth Watson, who traces from its Greek and Roman pastoral origins the poetic tradition of the patterned idyllic life. The complete form of the sentiment, with its listing of delights in a temporal order, the account of seasonal activities of the day and the evening, the description of a special festivity, and the poet's final summary of his delight in this way of living, the pattern which Milton followed, is first found in the *Georgics* and Virgil was 'the greatest single classical influence upon Elizabethan pastoral poems'. Attention is then given to those English predecessors of Milton who expounded and developed the theme, Spenser, Drayton, Breton, Browne, Wither and the rest; and thus it is demonstrated that Milton's two days are derived from the tradition as a whole 'rather than from a few scattered lyrics which immediately preceded his work, as is generally stated'.

Two New Manuscript Versions of Milton's Hobson Poems, one in the Folger Shakespeare Library of the 'first' poem and the other in the Huntington Library of the 'second', are described in *M.L.N.* (March) by G. Blakemore Evans. Each MS. contains one reading which may be thought an improvement upon the accepted text and the second appears to corroborate the belief that there were two distinct Miltonic versions.

Edward S. Le Comte in *P.Q.* (July) throws *New Light on the 'Haemony' Passage in 'Comus'* by bringing together a considerable number of references to 'moly' and by suggesting the various affinities which the word 'haemony' may have had for Milton, including its possible connection with the thought of Christ's sacrifice. One of the most interesting points made here has to do with Eustathius, who is frequently cited by Milton and who in his *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* tells how moly sprang from the blood (αἷμα) of the giant Pikolous, a story which may well help to account for Milton's choice of the name 'haemony', although no doubt, as Keightley first observed, Milton had in mind Haemonia or Thessaly, the land of magic.

The Puritan Art of Love as expounded by the recognized seventeenth-century authorities is very thoroughly examined in *H.L.Q.* (Jan.) by William and Malleville Haller with some special reference to Milton, whose developed ideas on marriage, it is suggested, cannot properly be discussed without some knowledge of what he had earlier learned to think, 'what keys to the mysteries of love and passion the Puritan pulpit taught its adherents to look for in the word of God'. The most important function of marriage was the satisfaction of the mutual need for companionship and love but Puritan teachers generally refused to admit that in the absence of this satisfaction there was no true marriage and that therefore the formal link might be severed. Hence the trouble in which Milton to his surprise found himself when he advocated what seemed to him to be the logical consequence of the Puritan principle.

Z. S. Fink discusses *The Development of Milton's Political Thought* in *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.), showing how Milton accepted the tradition originating with Polybius which emphasized the value of the mixed state or the balanced co-operation of monarchial or magisterial, aristocratic, and democratic elements in a single government. Various theorists had in their own ways modified or developed this conception, and Milton interprets it in his own fashion, changing his views on certain points but remaining constant to the principle of the mixed state with a preponderating aristocracy, not of title but of the good and the wise. Parliament was for him the central authority, taking its sanction from the people's suffrage, and he came to think of the magisterial element as ideally consisting of a small Council of State created by and responsible to Parliament. In Milton's view Cromwell was a divinely appointed leader, necessary in a dangerous time of transition, but dictatorship was neither necessary nor desirable in more settled conditions. *The Ready and Easy Way* also shows Milton accepting the notion of a state in which the three elements could function perfectly and remain unchanged for ever. The scope of this substantial and illuminating study cannot be fully indicated here but it deserves attention from all students of Milton's political views, their nature and their evolution.

A note in *H.L.Q.* (July) by Elmer A. Beller on *Milton and 'Mercurius Politicus'* (see *Y.W.* xvii. 190) is designed to show that

Milton had no share in the writing of the editorials in that journal and that there is nothing in them for which Marchamont Nedham could not himself have been responsible.

Ralph A. Haug in *N. and Q.* (Oct. 10) suggests that the line *They also serve . . .* may be connected with 1 Samuel xxx. 24.

Clarissa O. Lewis contributes to *The Library* (March) *A Further Note on Milton's 'Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio'* (June), discussing variant readings.

Mainly to 'hinder hindrances' to the understanding of *Paradise Lost*, C. S. Lewis has printed the Ballard Matthews Lectures which he gave at Bangor in 1941[6] and in which he emphasizes the traditional elements in Milton's thought and poetry, one of the chief hindrances being that these elements have been too little regarded or not taken seriously enough by Milton's readers. Accordingly there is useful 'background' material in which the nature of epic poetry before Milton's time and the ideas and beliefs asserted or implied in *Paradise Lost* are described; and one corollary suggested is that too much can easily be made of Milton's deviations into heresy. This may be as true as an orthodox Christian who is also an admirer of Milton's work would like to think but it seems questionable whether justice is here done to the individual and rebellious strains in his character and writings. It also seems unlikely that those who for various reasons are less favourably impressed by the poem will think themselves sufficiently answered, although Lewis certainly contributes to the appreciation of Milton's art.

Lewis also does a considerable service by clarifying some of the issues which have to be faced by readers of *Paradise Lost*, but in his treatment they are sometimes made to look rather more simple than in fact they are. Thus he makes commendably plain the extent of Milton's adherence to that widely accepted notion of hierarchy by which men were to recognize and behave appropriately to their 'natural' superiors and inferiors. The implication, however, that this is not difficult to do hardly receives the buttressing it needs. That God is everyone's superior and that Charles II was not may readily be granted; but within such extremes there are many possibilities of errant judgment for those who have to decide between obedience and revolt. The theory of a wife's natural subservience

[6] *A Preface to 'Paradise Lost'*, by C. S. Lewis. O.U.P. pp. viii+139. 7*s.* 6*d.*

to her husband, although Milton believed in it and Lewis appears to be at one with him, is surely a questionable case in point.

It seems probable that Lewis's object of smoothing the way for readers of *Paradise Lost* will be in some degree attained, at least among those who can share his outlook; others, perhaps unduly alarmed by his confidence and suspicious of his logic, may feel that although he can help them they must seek elsewhere for an appropriately spacious, serene, and balanced view of Milton's achievement.

Other scholars continue their attempts to further understanding of Milton's thought by digging round its roots and observing its correspondences in earlier or contemporary literature; and Kester Svendsen in *E.L.H.* (Sept.) gives this kind of attention to *Cosmological Lore in Milton*, showing how passages in Milton's works (including the prose) can be illuminated by a study of such popular scientific encyclopædias as those of Caxton, Bartholomew, La Primaudaye, and John Swan. The wise comment is made that such works may be regarded 'not indeed as sources for Milton but as sources for us his modern readers' who wish to reconstruct the 'background'. The relationship is further and widely explored by the same scholar in *S. in Ph.* (April) under the heading *Milton and the Encyclopedias of Science*. Here again it is suggested that parallels between the scientific ideas of Milton and earlier writers represent rather common property than a particular indebtedness. It also appears that the encyclopedias can throw light upon the exact meaning of Milton's allusions and that much of his scientific lore belongs as much to the middle ages as to the Renaissance.

Allan H. Gilbert in *Mod. Phil.* (Aug.) considers *The Theological Basis of Satan's Rebellion and the Function of Abdiel in 'Paradise Lost'*. Milton's numerous references to the second psalm are noted and it is pointed out that he had much precedent for seeing in it a symbolizing of Christ as the anointed King triumphant over his enemies. Milton appears to depart from the general beliefs of his time in identifying the enemy power not with the wicked of this earth but with Satan in Heaven, but this transference was made easier by his reading of *Hebrews* i, with its exaltation of the Son above all the angels. Gilbert then discusses the function of Abdiel as facilitating the expression of Milton's views agreeably to the

poet's conception of an epic poem, in which doctrine is to be conveyed through the medium of narrative. 'Perhaps nowhere else does Milton employ action to give life to thought more artistically than in setting forth the words and deeds of Abdiel.'

D. J. Gordon contributes *Two Milton Notes* to *R.E.S.* (July), one on 'pretious bane' (*Paradise Lost*, I, 692) as a possible recollection of Boethius, and the other on 'the golden Chersoness' (*Paradise Regained* IV, 74) as similarly related to a stanza in the *Orlando Furioso*.

An article by Joseph Horrell in *R.E.S.* (Oct.) on *Milton, Limbo, and Suicide* takes its departure from Addison's observation that Milton's Limbo of Vanity, like the allegory of Sin and Death does 'not seem to have probability enough for an epic poem', since in any intrusions of allegory into epic 'the plain literal sense' ought itself to carry conviction. Horrell supports this criticism and shows that Milton's account has its own cosmological vagueness. He then, with Milton's reference to Empedocles and Cleombrotus (III. 469–73) as a stepping stone, proceeds to consider Adam's discussion of suicide in Book X. This is contrasted with the Limbo incident because Adam, having been instructed by Raphael, is in a position to deliver a Miltonic opinion without violation of epic propriety. Horrell points out by the way, and apparently for the first time, that Lactantius names Empedocles and Cleombrotus in an enumeration of famous suicides and in terms analogous to those employed by Milton. Fresh comment is also provided upon some similarities and differences between Milton and Dante, whose introduction of Lethe at the end of the *Purgatorio* is, it is argued, more logically determined than Milton's in *Paradise Lost*, II.

Writing in *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.) John S. Diekhoff seeks to show that *The Function of the Prologues in 'Paradise Lost'* is not merely narrative but rhetorical (marking the stages of the logical argument intended to justify the ways of God to men) and concerned with 'ethical proof' or the claim to moral authority.

Arthur Barker's article in *U.T.Q.* (July), *'And on his Crest sat Horror'*, has to do with 'eighteenth-century interpretations of Milton's sublimity and his Satan' and has for its object to examine

in these connections 'the emergence of the romantic attitude from the neo-classical'. In this examination prominence is accordingly given to conceptions of the Miltonic Satan which represent the growing lure of terror and anticipate later exhibitions of fascinated admiration and sympathy. 'When the principles which Milton erects against Satan (not only in theological disquisitions but in the description of paradise and the dramatic account of the Fall) have ceased to be felt as facts, there will be nothing to hinder the triumph of the devil's party.'

The Prudent Crane: 'Paradise Lost,' VII, 425–31, is discussed in *N. and Q.* (Aug. 1) by Kester Svendsen, whose knowledge of popular Renaissance encyclopedias of science (see above, p 161) enables him to suggest a new interpretation of ll. 429–30 ('With mutual wing Easing thir flight') and to explain the use of the word 'prudent' in this connection.

Since it was so considerable a part of Milton's intention, in his later poetry especially, to symbolize the events of his own time and since those events were often of a typical character, it would be strange if the conflicts and aspirations which he shadows forth could not seem to be re-enacted in subsequent history; if, for instance, the War in Heaven should appear to have no bearing upon the origins and significance of the present international struggle. Some of the analogies are obvious; but G. Wilson Knight[7] makes the most of all that he can see and he sees much in virtue of the freely-ranging intelligence and the quick eye for resemblances which his earlier studies have exhibited. Impressed by Milton's insistent preoccupation with royalty in all its forms, his gospel of liberty and truth, these culminating in Christ or England as 'Messiah-nation', he interprets *Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, Samson Agonistes*, and other writings of Milton as giving effect in various ways to the basic notion of righteousness impregnated with power. Thus he associates the description of the fallen angels driven by the Son down from the verge of Heaven, the victory chorus in *Samson*, and the passage about the destiny of England in *Areopagitica* as presenting 'substantially the same experience' and he brings them all into relationship with what is happening to-day.

[7] *Chariot of Wrath; The Message of John Milton to Democracy at War*, by G. Wilson Knight. Faber and Faber. pp. 194. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Moreover, apart from the main demonstration there are many incidental signs not only of ingenuity and resource in the tracing of parallels but of an essential rightness in perception. There may be some forcing of the arguments as Knight himself admits at one point where he says (p. 118), 'I am, confessedly, adding to or re-creating from Milton's lines with knowledge of his life-work and the next four centuries of our history as an interpretative medium'; there is also some reason to suppose that this work may have been a little hastily put together; but it offers at any rate a fresh and vital reading of Milton and any study which gives added actuality to Milton's inventions and at the same time helps us to appreciate the universal significance of our present hostilities deserves a generous reception.

The anachronistic title of an article in *M.L.Q.* (March) by William Riley Parker, *Milton on King James the Second*, is justified by the demonstration that the tract *Pro Populo Adversus Tyrannos* which appeared in 1689 is substantially derived from Milton's *Tenure of Kings*, with such alterations as were necessary and as Milton himself might have made to render the material pertinent to the Revolution of 1688.

Under heading *Milton and Edward Phillips* in *T.L.S.* (Feb. 28) the same scholar argues from several inclusions and omissions in *Theatrum Poetarum* that Warton was not justified in supposing Milton to have had any direct hand in the compilation.

Edward Smith Parsons contributes to *E.L.H.* (June) an article *Concerning 'The earliest Life of Milton'*, in which he seeks to refute the opinion of Allen R. Benham that the anonymous life first published in 1902 may be not, as supposed, a main source of Wood's account in *Fasti Oxonienses* but a derivation therefrom. Parsons' arguments that the anonymous life may still be the earliest one turn too much upon details of expression to be detailed here. In a pendent *Reply to Dr. Parsons* Benham shows that he is not convinced.

Criticisms Criticized: Spenser and Milton, an article in *J.E.G.P.* (Oct.) by E. E. Stoll, is referred to above (p. 144). So far as Milton is concerned the confusion of fact with imagination which Stoll finds in the work of certain present-day scholars is illustrated

chiefly by the theory (see *Y.W.* xvi. 250–1) that the sense of space and distance evoked in *Paradise Lost* is to be connected with some 'actual personal experience with the telescope'.

It remains to notice a reprint of the reactionary tract[8] written by 'G.S.' in 1660 in answer to Milton's *Readie and Easie Way*. This able though not highly distinguished work was soon rendered superfluous by the events of the Restoration and appears not to have found many readers; but it is of interest for its representation of opinions commonly held at the time and for the attitude of respect towards Milton's gifts which is combined with reprobation of his political and intellectual vagaries. An important feature of W. R. Parker's introduction is that for the first time a reasoned and convincing theory of authorship is put forward, in favour of George Starkey, physician and pamphleteer.

The following were not obtained for notice: Traherne's *Of Magnanimity and Charity*, ed. by J. R. Slater (New York: King's Crown Press. $1.00), and *Church History*, for the article by Roy W. Battenhouse on *The Grounds of Religious Toleration in the Thought of John Donne*.

[8] *The Dignity of Kingship Asserted, by G.S. From the Edition of 1660, with an Introduction* by William R. Parker. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. (for the Facsimile Text Society). pp. xxi + 248. 14*s.* 6*d.* net.

XI

THE RESTORATION

By BEATRICE WHITE

RESTORATION studies for the year under survey are not numerous. It was not possible to notice here last year a volume of great general interest, *The Wren MS. 'Court Orders'*,[1] a MS. which passed from the possession of James Elmes, author of 'The Memoirs of Sir Christopher Wren' (1823), to Sir John Soane, the architect and antiquary. The editors, Arthur T. Bolton and H. Duncan Hendry, have performed a notable task and have placed not only the historian but the student of language in their debt, for the pages of this book are scattered with occasional spellings which form a rich quarry for the philologist in search of new matter.

The main object of the volume is to elucidate Wren's activities as Surveyor-General of the Works, and an analysis is given of the works under his care year by year as shown by the 'Riding Charges' due to him. Moreover, further light is thrown on Wren's visit to France in 1665. The intrinsic historical value of the MS. is considerable and it provides as well a realistic picture of Wren's daily official round, shedding a clear light on his character and revealing his endless patience and resource. Here we see Wren dealing tactfully for many years with a mass of petty and often vexatious affairs, ranging from an order, after 'the late horrid conspiracy' of the Popish Plot, for placing padlocks on doors 'opening from Mr. Weld's house into the Spanish Ambassador's', and a petition from Arnold Thompson, labourer, of New Windsor, to build 'a little inoffensive Hutt or House which will be very comly' in Windsor Castle ditch, to such things as the removal of a heap of rubbish from the wall of St. James's, and the formidable matter of 'encroachments at the Mint'. Wren's plan for rebuilding the city after the great fire is reproduced and not the least interesting part of this important book is the table of Riding Charges compiled from the researches of Miss Norah Davenport in the Office of Works

[1] *The Wren MS. 'Court Orders' with a Supplement of Official Papers from the P.R.O., Welbeck Abbey, etc. . . . A Biographical Note on Sir Christopher Wren's visit to Paris 1665 and his death and funeral in 1723. Together with some account of Thomas White of Worcester, sculptor and architect, reputed pupil of Sir Christopher Wren.* O.U.P. for the Wren Society (1941). pp. v+204.

records. This is a guide to Wren's movements at certain dates and an indication of the works on which he was employed at those particular times. Incidentally, letters from Edward Browne to his father, Sir Thomas, quoted in connection with Wren's visit to Paris in 1665–6, give a lively account of travel in France in those days.

The chief contribution to Dryden studies for the year is an edition of *The Letters of Dryden with Letters Addressed to Him*, by Charles E. Ward.[2] This is a careful and most useful piece of work, the value of which is enhanced by the editor's preservation of the spelling and punctuation of his originals. His debt to Malone is generously acknowledged. The seventy-seven letters brought together here include fifteen from various correspondents to Dryden, most of them dating from Dryden's later years. All but one of the eleven letters not printed in previous editions have been published in the last fifty years. Only sixty-two of Dryden's letters have been preserved, so casual was the seventeenth century in its care for great men's correspondence, but, few as they are, they serve to give a fairly composite idea of the man. His letters to and from Tonson show Dryden's personal and business relations with his publisher; his letters to and from Walsh his pleasant, generous relations with younger literary men; his letters to and about his sons present him in human and tender, solicitous mood, and those to Mrs. Steward reveal the poet in the charm of a mellow old age. Most notable, perhaps, are the letters to Walsh, one of which incorporates Dryden's definite corrections of a particular poem. Walsh, himself a lively correspondent, has a pungent remark on Boileau's work: 'I confess it puts mee in mind of Kg Charles ye 2d Picture upon the sign Posts, where the painters thought if they made a damnd ugly face wth a black Periwigg they had done yr businesse.'

Chesterfield, urbane and gracious, has a place in the correspondence, there are interesting references to Congreve, and a letter to and from Pepys suggests a closer relationship between the diarist and the poet than has been formerly supposed. Allusions here and there to his own laziness come strangely from Dryden, whose capacity for work was enormous, and who could write in the fecundity of his later years to Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, about fresh literary projects, 'My thoughts at

[2] *The Letters of John Dryden with Letters Addressed to Him*, collected and ed. by Charles E. Ward. Duke Univ. Press. pp. xvii+196.

present are fixd on Homer: And by my translation of the first Iliad; I find him a Poet more according to my Genius than Virgil: and consequently hope I may do him more justice, in his fiery way of writeing; which, as it is liable to more faults, so it is capable of more beauties, than the exactness, & sobriety of Virgil'; and to Mrs. Steward, 'I am still drudging on: always a Poet, and never a good one.'

These letters may not have the intimate appeal of Cowper's or Lamb's, and, few as they are, they scarcely represent the robustness and teeming vigour of Dryden's genius. Read in conjunction with the Rochester-Savile correspondence, an edition of which appeared last year (see *Y.W.*, xxii, 166–7), they serve to correct the popular impression of the Restoration age.

Macdonald's Bibliography of Dryden, noticed in *Y.W.*, xx, 122, is the subject of an article by James M. Osborn (*Mod. Phil.*, Feb.). Notice is there drawn to gaps in Macdonald's section on Drydeniana and attention called to some of the limitations of his Index. Strictly bibliographical shortcomings are criticized, Osborn finding Macdonald's work successful as a reference book for students but disappointing as bibliography.

R. Jack Smith has a short note in *R.E.S.* (July) on *The date of 'Mac Flecknoe'* and G. Blakemore Evans contributes an interesting article to *T.L.S.* (March 21) on *The Harvard MS. of Dryden's 'State of Innocence'*. There are five MSS. of this work extant and one of them is in the Widener Library, Harvard University. This contains Dryden's corrections in his autograph. Certain readings, differing from the first quarto text, 1677, are claimed here to represent Dryden's original text. Dryden's earliest notice of *Paradise Lost* occurs in *Tyrannic Love*, 1669, and provides evidence that he was familiar with the epic more than four years before he began work on *The State of Innocence*.

In his *Matrimonial Law and the Materials of Restoration Comedy*[8] S. Alleman, writing not as a lawyer, but as a student of English drama, has performed yeoman service by making an exhaustive survey, large enough to warrant generalization, of 241 Restoration

[8] *Matrimonial Law and the Materials of Restoration Comedy*, by Gilbert Spencer Alleman. Wallingford: Pennsylvania. pp. vii+155.

plays. The material he has assembled in this detailed yet readable work applies equally to Elizabethan drama and to comedy down to 1754 when Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act revolutionized English Marriage Law. The author holds that 'Restoration dramatists, by producing numerous variations on the same theme picture more fully than the Elizabethans the life they reflect', and his book is an attempt to evaluate the accuracy of part of that picture, concentrating on those topics which occur repeatedly, betrothal, clandestine and irregular marriage, and separation and annulment. A study of the legal background shows, in the author's opinion, that Restoration comedy is nearer to actuality than has been generally conceded. In relation to this alleged realism the weight of tradition and the extent of adaptation have not perhaps been sufficiently considered. The dramatists' lack of familiarity with proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts is held to account for some confusions and inaccuracies in stage representations of mock and tricked marriages. Charts of Clandestine, Tricked and Mock Marriages in the Comedies are provided, presenting in convenient form with admirable conciseness the pertinent data concerning irregular marriage. A useful feature of these charts is the author's attempt to judge the validity of the irregular marriages. A sound Index adds to the value of a book which is a noteworthy essay in social background and a very useful contribution to Restoration studies.

The periodicals for 1942 pay rather scanter attention than usual to Restoration writers. E. Greening Lamborn (*N. and Q.*, June 13 and Dec. 19) writes on *The Ancestry of Samuel Pepys*, correcting some statements in Bryant's *Life of Pepys* on the evidence of a private chartulary in the archives of John Pepys (ob. 1589), compiled by his son, Talbot Pepys (1583–1666), Samuel's grandfather. Edith (ob. 1583), wife of John Pepys, was the granddaughter of John Talbot whose connection with the Bashall (Yorks.) Talbots, the senior line of the family of which the Earls of Shrewsbury were cadets, appears to be doubtful.

In the same periodical as has been noted in chap. ii, p. 23, Gertrude E. Noyes discusses *Edward Cocker and 'Cocker's English Dictionary'* (May 30). Cocker is also the subject of a short note by David Salmon (*N. & Q.*, June 27).

The poets have provoked less research than the dramatists. In a

short article on *Rochester and Dr. Bendo* (*T.L.S.*, June 13) an account is given by a correspondent, of Phillipps's MS. 17730 and of Thomas Alcock's description of Rochester's impersonation of the Italian mountebank, Alexander Bendo, on Tower Hill. V. de Sola Pinto, in a letter (June 27) concerning this article, suggests that Rochester got his medical jargon from his Scottish tutor, Sir Andrew Balfour, M.D.

The Development of a Stock Character: The Stage Irishman to 1800, by J. O. Bartley (*M.L.R.*, Oct.) reaches the conclusion that a study of the nationalized Irish characters in English drama shows the development of a conventional Irishman in three fairly definite stages, beginning more or less realistically, but becoming remote from realism.

Emmett L. Avery, in *The Premiére of 'The Mourning Bride'* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) contends that the first performance of this play, according to the theatrical custom in Congreve's day in regard to acting in Lent, was on Saturday, 20 February 1696–7.

Ernst G. Mathews in *Cokain's 'The Obstinate Lady' and 'The Araucana'* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) traces a borrowing of Cokain's from Zuñiga's epic of the struggle for Chile.

XII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By EDITH J. MORLEY

THE preoccupations of the war and the lamentable restrictions on the use of paper by publishers are reflected in the shortage of books dealing with the period considered in this Chapter. By far the most important of these is the long awaited publication of *Thraliana*,[1] which fulfils anticipations. The work of the editor is everything that could be desired while the material at last put at the reader's disposal is as interesting as it is often of primary importance. Mrs. Thrale's six quarto volumes, which formed her 'Repository', are reproduced in their entirety, and they are an index not only to the mind and character of the writer, but also the social life of her age and to the literary and intellectual intercourse which she enjoyed. The figure of Johnson, as was known, is outstanding in her pages, and to her we owe the intimate portrait which not even Boswell could supply. Mrs. Thrale 'kept a record of Johnson's conversation, and of stories about him, for eight years before she started to compile her Thraliana,' but Miss Balderston is able to prove that the volume of *Anecdotes* was 'based on the *Thraliana* and not on the earlier record'. Her account of the composition of the *Anecdotes* is the convincing result of exact scholarship. However, *Thraliana* contains much material about Johnson which was not utilized by the compiler of the *Anecdotes* published in 1786 and a great deal of this had not been printed until now.

Nor is Johnson the only man-of-letters to be met in the volumes which, thanks to the editor and to the Trustees of the Huntington Library, are at last made accessible to students. Here they may mix freely with many more of the 'lions' whom Mrs. Thrale loved to collect about her—e.g. Goldsmith 'certainly a Man extremely odd,' as witness the stories she tells of him; the Burneys, Burke, Boswell, Mrs. Siddons, Mrs. Montagu, and a host of minor notorieties. Mrs. Thrale's portraits of her contemporaries, even when mere

[1] *Thraliana; The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (later Mrs. Piozzi) 1776–1809*, ed. Katherine C. Balderston. O.U.P. Two vols. Vol. i, 1776–84. Vol. ii, 1784–1809. pp. xxxii+1,192. 42*s*.

thumbnail sketches, prove her powers of observation as well as her wit. Besides literary anecdotes, a number of verses, her own and other peoples', are scattered through the volumes: as indicated by Nichol Smith and E. L. McAdam in their recent edition, these include more than twenty of Johnson's poems, for which there is no manuscript or other authority. Mrs. Thrale's own effusions are chiefly of interest as showing the various poetical fashions of her day, for example in her clever imitation of Goldsmith's *Retaliation* or her recognition of Scott of whom she tells how 'Twice he my tender heart has won, With Teviot Dale and Marmion'. She also preserves the lines of many minor versifiers which are historically, if not otherwise, of interest.

Apart from what is specifically literary, *Thraliana* is a record of 'all the little Anecdotes which might come to my knowledge, all the observations I might make or hear . . . in fine ev'rything which struck me at the time. . . . I must endeavour to fill it with Nonsense new and old.' This account of her intentions fairly describes the contents of the volumes which are disjointed, ill-arranged, and make no claim to artistic merit. The formlessness is often irritating: the book is to be dipped into rather than read consecutively and it must be frankly admitted that even so, much of it is dull. Yet its merits are bound up with its defects since they depend upon the freshness of the writer's observation, deductions and feelings. Had she stopped to shape and polish and prune, there would be less of the vivacity which is her peculiar charm. And of that her readers are conscious even when they suffer from her lack of method. Just as in real life she by turns attracted and antagonized her contemporaries, so it is with the acquaintances made among posterity, who discover in her pages a personality still glowing with vitality and emotion, over-ready to love or to hate at first sight, but, nevertheless, possessed of shrewd understanding, a pretty wit and powers of discrimination.

Part commonplace book, part collection of anecdotes combined with fragments of autobiography and a diary of daily happenings, *Thraliana* is the best revelation we have of its author and her many friends and acquaintances in very varied walks of life. Nor when we complain of her frequent verbosity and repetitions, should we fail to remark that Mrs. Thrale can also be both restrained and concise when occasion demands. Of this her final entry is an outstanding example: 'Everything most dreaded has ensued—all is

over; and my second Husband's Death is the last Thing recorded in my first husband's Present! Cruel Death!'

Miss Balderston faithfully reproduces the voluminous text which is adequately but not excessively annotated. She contributes a concise and judicious Introduction and her Index, which runs to ninety-two pages, serves 'the dual purpose of a textual index and a skeleton biographical dictionary'.

The first volume of *The Critical Works of John Dennis*[2] was not received for notice which accounts for the tardiness of this reference to the publication. Hooker's edition is of outstanding importance since it is the first attempt to reprint all the literary criticism of Dennis, even that which occurs incidentally in works mainly concerned with other subjects. The present volume consists of *The Usefulness of the Stage* (1698), *The Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry* (1701), *The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry* (1704), together with various shorter Essays and Prefaces. The explanatory notes which run to over 100 pages, deal, among other matters, with the writer's 'attitude to all the main problems in criticism of which he treats' and its relations to the position taken by other French and English critics of the period. The volume also includes some pages of textual notes. This bare account of the contents should suffice to show that Hooker's work is indispensable for reference by students of the history of criticism and literary taste.

Marjorie Nicolson does good service by her facsimile reprint of *A Voyage to Cacklogallinia*[3] by 'Captain Samuel Brunt' who has been identified at one time or another with both Defoe and Swift, but apparently without justification. The present editor claims that the book lives 'not because of anything remarkable in the style or anything original in its author's point of view, but because of its satiric reflection of the background of its age. It is republished both because of its historical value and because of its peculiarly contemporary appeal to-day. . . . Its irony is concerned with stock exchanges and feverish speculation.'

[2] *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, ed. Edward Niles Hooker. *Vol. I 1692–1711*. Johns Hopkins Press and O.U.P. 1939. pp. xii + 538. 33*s.* 6*d.* net.

[3] *A Voyage to Cacklogallinia, with a Description of the Religion, Policy, Customs and Manners of that Country by Captain Samuel Brunt.* Reproduced from the original edition, 1727, by Marjorie Nicolson. Facsimile Text Society. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. 1940. pp. xv + 167. 14*s.* 6*d.*

The tale reflects the economic conditions of the period of the South Sea Bubble, a period of 'Projects' and of an orgy of speculation. 'Brunt's' scheme to extract gold from the mountains of the moon is 'no more fanciful than several of the proposals seriously received by Englishmen' of the day and it is of these, and especially of the Bubble, that 'Brunt' is making fun. As the editor points out, 'the little tale' also 'has its place in the history of science', especially in its application to aviation. Finally the Voyage to the moon is a tale of adventure which remains readable and exciting even nowadays.

Perhaps because the editorial matter is rather ponderous and assertive, perhaps because the Admiral is no more, *Admiral's Widow*[4] is not as attractive as its predecessor, *Admiral's Wife* (see *Y.W.*, xxi, 190). Mrs. Boscawen survived her husband until 1805, and remained one of the best-known and most popular society ladies of her day, closely connected with great events and notable people, and distinguished by her intelligence and by her conversational powers as well as by her charm and virtue. But her correspondence in the present volume does not justify her reputation to be 'La Sevigné d'Angleterre', and Hannah More's comparison of Mrs. Boscawen with the Frenchwoman seems to derive from friendship rather than from critical insight. No one could read the letters without feeling affection for their writer, but somehow they do not fully support the claims made for her by her admirers, past and present.

Nor does the correspondence gain by the attempted historical commentary which often strikes the reader as being prejudiced and unreliable, e.g. in the account given of the events which led up to the American war of Independence. The reader would also be more in the mood to enjoy the letters if his attention were not constantly diverted by obvious comparisons between present-day conditions and those prevailing during the Napoleonic wars. Mrs. Boscawen can be trusted to make her own effect on those who are privileged to enjoy her acquaintance without unnecessary intervention by the editor.

[4] *Admiral's Widow, being the Life and Letters of the Hon. Mrs. Edward Boscawen from 1761–1805*, ed. by Cecil Aspinall-Oglander. Hogarth Press. pp. 206. 12*s.* 6*d.*

A. D. McKillop's *Background of Thomson's 'Seasons'*[5] is a sane and painstaking attempt to trace the poet's sources and to relate his *Seasons* to the philosophic and scientific background of the day. As such it is a wholesome corrective, if such be still needed, to the old-fashioned text-book classification of Thomson as a 'precursor of the Romantic Revival', an innovator in natural description, born out of due time in the age of Pope. In fact this is the contrary of the truth and McKillop begins his study by a quotation from the earliest-known review of *Winter* which conclusively proves that contemporary readers found therein 'a pleasure that they seem to recognize as familiar; at least they do not think of the poem as obviously novel in form or content'.

McKillop tracks down Thomson's sources for his ideas on philosophy, science, and history; he seeks in travel-books the poet's knowledge of 'distant climes', and shows how *The Seasons* frequently does little more than turn into blank verse the passages which have interested and, at his best, inspired the writer. Thomson's ideas about nature as the revelation of cosmic design and therefore worthy of the closest observation, are part and parcel of contemporary physico-theology with its 'glorification of the works of God in creation'. Though Thomson 'was more interested in looking at a thunderstorm than in explaining, say, that Providence sent it to clear the air' and therefore does not invariably work 'with a strictly physico-theological purpose', it is yet true that that purpose is not forgotten even at moments when he is most deeply stirred by what he observes. He is still the man of science even when most genuinely poet: it is equally the fact that at times poetry is sacrificed to what he holds to be scientific truth, as e.g. when he descends to such lines as:

> Here, awful Newton, the dissolving Clouds
> Form, fronting on the Sun, thy showery Prism;
> And to the sage-instructed Eye unfold
> The various Twine of Light, by thee disclos'd
> From the white mingling Maze.
>
> *Spring*, ll. 208–12

McKillop has faithfully tracked many of Thomson's authorities and his quotations from these are convincing when compared with

[5] *The Background of Thomson's 'Seasons'*, by Alan Dugald McKillop. Univ. of Minnesota Press and O.U.P. pp. viii + 192. 15*s.* 6*d.*

the parallel passages from *The Seasons*. As his book was leaving the press, the discovery of a catalogue of Thomson's library substantiated many of his deductions. But these are all the more valuable that they were made without its help and solely as the result of McKillop's investigations into what the poet was likely to have read and utilized. McKillop's conjectures are based on a firm foundation of scholarship and critical competence. They form a valuable contribution to the study of eighteenth-century poetry and its objectives.

Ruthven Todd's edition of *Gilchrist's Life of Blake*[6] is far more than a mere reprint. It is rather a sound critical reissue of that standard work, with corrected quotations from the poems and with notes by the editor on the text in which Gilchrist's information is brought up to date and, when necessary, his errors of fact indicated. The volume also contains 'A Bibliographical List' and an index.

In *The Later Career of Tobias Smollett*,[7] Louis L. Martz examines the work of Smollett's non-creative period, when he was engaged on numerous compilations, in order to trace its influence on his later novels and its close connection with the main intellectual trend of the eighteenth century, namely 'the movement toward accumulation and synthesis of facts'. Martz shows reason for his belief that the period 'deserves to be distinguished as an "Age of Synthesis" ' and for his claim that Smollett played an important part in its typical achievement. Smollett's historical compilations and his share in the editing and revision of such works as the *Universal History* and *A Compendium of Voyages* influenced his own habits of thought, and methods of expression. In his later novels he abandoned the picaresque fashion: 'instead of concentrating upon the adventures of his hero . . . Smollett seems interested in giving a set picture of contemporary conditions.' The distinctive content of his later novels consists not of adventure but of topical, historical material. This change of interest is accompanied by a corresponding change in style 'from elaboration to simplicity, from expansiveness to succinctness, from turgidity to precision'.

[6] *Gilchrist's Life of William Blake*, ed. Ruthven Todd. Everyman. Dent. pp. xii+420. 3*s*.

[7] *The Later Career of Tobias Smollett*, by Louis L. Martz. Yale Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xiv+214. 20*s*. net.

In his detailed working out of this thesis, Martz devotes the first part of his book to an examination of the evidence for Smollett's editorship of *A Compendium of Voyages* and a study of its sources and style. The second part, 'Smollett's Later Creative Period', deals severally with his *Travels through France and Italy*, *The History and Adventures of an Atom*, *The Present State of All Nations* and with *Humphry Clinker*. The chapters which show the relations between the two last-named, and analyse Smollett's adaptation of topographical, social and political material to the purposes of fiction are final and convincing proofs of the truth of the author's theory. Martz has advanced our knowledge of Smollett's achievement and place in the history of English fiction by his painstaking and scholarly investigation.

Hazen's *Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press*[8] was originally planned as a catalogue of the collection of Mr. W. S. Lewis at Farmington, U.S.A., but the book ultimately materialized as a bibliography of the Press which records and describes all the books and fugitive pieces there printed and identifies numerous variants. 'An integral part of the bibliography is the record of the many unacknowledged reprints by Walpole's printer, Thomas Kirgate', and it contains also a description of ten nineteenth-century forgeries and 'a complete census of known copies of the rare fugitive pieces'. An unusual feature of the bibliography is the inclusion of the prices fetched by the books, which, as Mr. Lewis states in his Preface, is of great interest to collectors and to booksellers. The facsimiles of title-pages are of outstanding merit and though Hazen says that the bibliography is in many respects imperfect and that numerous puzzles remain unsolved, the impression left on the mind of the reader who is not a specialist will certainly not be that of incompletion. On the contrary, the work appears to be as final in its achievement as is possible and its method of bibliographical description commendably easy to grasp. (See also below, pp. 226–7.)

The five papers on *The Hymns of Wesley and Watts*[9] were mainly

[8] *A Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press, with a Record of the Prices at which Copies Have been Sold*, by A. T. Hazen. *Together with a Bibliography and Census of the Detached Pieces*, by A. T. Hazen and J. P. Kirby. Yale Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. 300. 66*s*. 6*d*.

[9] *The Hymns of Wesley and Watts; Five Informal Papers*, by Bernard L. Manning. Epworth Press. p. 144. 6*s*.

read to the Cambridge University Methodist Society and to the University Congregational Society on Sunday evenings by their author Bernard Manning, a University lecturer and Fellow of Jesus College. As we should expect therefore, they are distinguished by religious feeling and by scholarship rather than by literary criticism. Manning attempts no estimate of the poetic achievement of his authors whom he considers from the point of view of their success as hymnologists. He inquires into the substance of their faith, the aspects of Christianity they depict and whether their verses are adapted for singing. He also pays attention to the metres and literary devices used and to the historical background. But generally speaking, the essays are primarily adapted rather to their original audiences than to the student of literature.

In the first volume of *Religious Trends in English Poetry*[10] (see *Y.W.*, xx, 144–5), Hoxie Fairchild concluded that 'the romanticism of the 1780–1830 period is simply Protestant Christianity in a more or less delightfully phosphorescent state of decay'. In the second volume, which covers the years 1740–80, he abides by this opinion which, however, he now states rather differently when he says that 'The religious ideas and feelings expressed in the most characteristic works of the so-called romantic poets represent a further development of the disintegration of seventeenth-century Protestantism into the eighteenth-century religion of sentiment.' He sees no cause to retract his belief that: 'Reading the poems of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Shelley, a Christian of Reformation times would certainly feel in their work Protestantism had melted down almost, though not quite beyond recognition.'

His subject is 'the history of religious thought in poetry' and his method of discovering its trends remains the same, namely the examination of the answers given by endless poets and versifiers to the query, 'What do you say about religion?' His bibliography of 'Primary Sources' covers five pages of names and of anonymous writings, and, judged by the quotations given, many of these have been resurrected from well-deserved oblivion. But there is no doubt that Fairchild has legitimate grounds for the opinions he advances even when the conclusions at which he arrives will not find general

[10] *Religious Trends in English Poetry; Vol. ii, 1740–80. Religious Sentimentalism in the Age of Johnson*, by Hoxie Neale Fairchild. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xii+406. 33*s.* 6*d.* net.

acceptance; indeed, it must be felt that what he himself calls 'sifting of the dustbins' has been more thorough than necessary for his purpose, and perhaps at the cost of comparative neglect of more important poets, who are genuinely religious, Cowper, Smart and Young for example, but who obtain relatively little attention as compared with mere scribblers. This is not to imply that Fairchild fails to discriminate between their respective merits but it is a fair criticism on the outcome of his method, thorough and painstaking as this undoubtedly is. However he amply justifies his claim to have 'set forth not only [his] conclusions but the whole process from which they have arisen', and the second volume of his work equals the first as an important contribution to the understanding of eighteenth-century thought.

Defoe's Sources for 'Robert Drury's Journal'[11] by J. R. Moore may be regarded as an addendum to that author's *Defoe in the Pillory* (see *Y.W.*, xx, 134–5). In the preface, Moore corrects seven details in his earlier work. In the body of his essay he shows that *Robert Drury's Journal*, though a work of fiction, is a realistic account of Madagascar based on printed and oral sources, which are carefully examined and described. Moore also deals exhaustively with the accompanying map and with the English-Malagasy vocabulary appended to the *Journal*. All this information is utilized in the final estimate of Defoe's artistic method and achievement. 'The story is, like so much of Defoe's best writing, fictitious—and yet substantially true to life.' As in his previous studies, Moore shows convincingly that Defoe is able to adapt reality to his narrative purpose and by the use of his creative imagination to transmute facts without detracting from their actuality.

In *The Clubs of the Georgian Rakes*,[12] Louis C. Jones supplements and rounds off the work of Beresford Chancellor (*Lives of the Rakes*), Robert Allen (*The Clubs of Augustan London*, *Y.W.*, 1933), and Ronald Fuller (*Hell-Fire Francis*, *Y.W.*, 1939). His study is a genuine contribution to knowledge of the social life and developments of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and casts

[11] *Defoe's Sources for 'Robert Drury's Journal'*, by John Robert Moore. Indiana Univ. Publications. Humanities Series No. 9. pp. 88. 75 *cents*.

[12] *The Clubs of the Georgian Rakes*, by Louis C. Jones. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xii + 260. 18*s*. 6*d*.

light on many dark places. The subject is not attractive but it cannot be ignored by serious students, who are indebted to him for a detailed and scholarly account of the growth and decline of upper-class libertinism in the period. Most readers will find his treatment illuminating and adequate: but a full bibliography is provided for those who wish to pursue it further for themselves.

Vauxhall Gardens[13] by J. G. Southworth is a detailed and painstaking attempt to reconstruct the life of that popular place of entertainment. It gives a full account of such matters as the history and proprietorship as well as of the Gardens themselves. It includes chapters on the 'Entertainments' there produced, on the performers who took part and on the manners and customs of the frequenters. There are ten full-page reproductions of contemporary illustrations further to illuminate the subject and the book also contains a brief bibliography and an adequate index. It is, in short, a scholarly compilation which gives a great amount of information without being unduly solemn about its importance; yet the reader is left with the longing that it might have been treated by such a master as Austin Dobson who could have supplied the requisite lightness of touch which somehow eludes the author, in spite of his efforts to attain it.

The *Burns Chronicle*[14] contains two letters from the poet, one hitherto unpublished and the other printed for the first time since is appeared in the *Literary Magnet* of 1824–7. It also concludes the *Correspondence of John Syme and Alexander Cunningham* by an instalment of sixteen extracts.

The present writer contributes a paper on the poet *John Cunningham, 1729–73* to the *R.S.L. Essays by Divers Hands*, vol. xix, and aims by comment and quotation at reinstating this 'modest minor poet' in 'the niche he rightfully deserves to occupy in the temple of the English muse'.

Another minor eighteenth poet, William Crowe, is somewhat similarly dealt with by C. M. Maclean in *Lewesdon Hill and its Poet*

[13] *Vauxhall Gardens; A Chapter in the Social History of England*, by James Granville Southworth. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. 1941. pp. xii+200. 18*s.* 6*d.* net.

[14] *Burns Chronicle and Club Directory* xvii. Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation. pp. viii+118. 3*s.*

in *Essays and Studies*, vol. xxvii. Crowe, who was Public Orator in the University of Oxford and for a time Rector of Stoke Abbot in Dorset, published his poem on the neighbouring Lewesdon Hill in 1788. It won praise from Wordsworth, owing largely to its diction at once scholarly and realistic: 'especially attractive is the way in which the texture of the poem is renewed and refreshed by the judicious use of provincial and even dialectical words'.

In *Comparative Literature Studies* II, viii, Leone Vivante examines *The Concept of a Creative Principle in the Poems of Collins and Gray* and concludes that it is by virtue of the 'essential radically ontological character of the truths' by which he is inspired that Gray's poetry attains its strength.

D.U.I. (March) contains a paper by W. L. Renwick on *Akenside and Others.*

E.L.H. (March) prints J. R. Moore's Goldwin Smith Lecture at Cornell (13 Nov. 1941) on *Defoe, Stevenson and the Pirates*, a comparison and contrast between the two narrative writers. In the same periodical, Francis E. Litz, (June), examines *The Sources of Charles Gildon's 'Complete Art of Poetry'*, showing its 'scissors-and-paste nature' and the amount of borrowing without acknowledgment from numerous creditors. John K. Reeves (Sept.) in *The Mother of Fatherless Fanny* discusses the authorship of that novel which he attributes to Clara Reeve on the 'testimony of the title-page, the preface, and the narrative itself'.

J.E.G.P. (April, 1941), contains a study of The *Geography of Gulliver's Travels* by J. R. Moore in which he pays special attention to the maps by which it is illustrated. His conclusion is that Swift had little interest in cartography and that the geography of *Gulliver's Travels* is incredible.

M.L.N. contains the following notes and articles which refer to the writers dealt with in this Chapter. In (Feb.) *Goldsmith and the Pickle-Shop* by Howard J. Bell; (May), *Foote and a Friend of Boswell's: A Note on the Nabob*, in which W. K. Wimsatt finds the prototype of Sir Matthew Mite in Nabob Gray; *Matthew Prior's Funeral* (21 Sept. 1721) described by H. Bunker Wright; *Gray and*

Christopher Smart by R. B. Botting; and *A New Poem by Mrs. Centlivre* by Joseph J. Rubin. (Nov.) *Les Dangers du Cliché Littéraire: le Dr. Johnson et Jean Jaques Rousseau* by Albert Schinz, amusingly finds a parallel between the two 'frères siamois'. (Dec.) *Two Unpublished Poems by Mark Akenside* are printed by Ralph W. Williams; *Addison's 'mixt wit'* is discussed by R. L. Morris; *The Text of Edward Young's Letters to Samuel Richardson* is examined by Henry Pettit, and there are notes by R. B. Heilman on *Fielding and 'the first Gothic Revival'*, by H. W. Starr on *Gray's Opinion of Parnell* and on *An Echo of 'L'Allegro' in Gray's 'Bard'*.

In *M.L.R.* (April) R. L. Brett discusses *The Third Earl of Shaftesbury as a Literary Critic* and his influence on subsequent critical theory. James R. Sutherland (July) has an article on *'Polly' among the Pirates*; Robert D. Mayo (Oct.) writes on *The Gothic Short Story in the Magazines* and shows that this type of sensational fiction was common in periodical literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

In *Mod. Phil.* Rae Blanchard (Feb.) writes on *Richard Steele's West Indian Plantation*, the property which came to him through his marriage. E. C. Mossner (May) contributes an article on *Hume as Literary Patron: A Suppressed Review of Robert Henry's 'History of Great Britain, 1773'*. This review was among Hume's latest original compositions. Coleman O. Parsons (Aug.) examines *Textual Variations in a Manuscript of 'She Stoops to Conquer'*, and Louis A. Landa (Nov.) has a paper on *'A Modest Proposal' and Populousness*.

N. and Q. contains (March 28 and April 11) *Emendations in Johnson's Letters*, by R. W. Chapman; (April 4) *Joseph Warton to William Hayley*, a holograph letter of 19 March 1784, by Ernest A. Sadler; (May 23 and June 20) *Proposals for a new London Theatre in 1737*, by Emmett L. Avery and J. Paul de Castro respectively; (Sept. 12) *Mr. Cambridge Serenades the Berry Sisters*, by Richard D. Allick, and *Confusion of -t and -n*, by R. W. Chapman (on two Johnson readings).

P.M.L.A. (March) has an essay by Leah Dennis on *Thomas*

Percy: Antiquarian vs. Man of Taste in which it is her main object to show 'that Percy developed a technique of his own in handling people and getting them to do him favours, and that this technique is partly responsible for a century of misunderstanding him'. His compromise between antiquarian and man of taste 'brought him both fame and shame'. In the same issue Arthur Stuart Pitt writes on *The Sources, Significance, and Date of Franklin's 'An Arabian Tale'*. T. W. Copeland (June) contributes an article on *Edmund Burke and the Book Reviews in Dodsley's Annual Register*, and Winifred Lynskey discusses *Plucre and Derham, New Sources of Goldsmith*. James R. Foster (Dec.) has a paper on *Smollett's Pamphleteering Foe Shebbeare* in which he concludes that Shebbeare, the original of Ferret in *Sir Launcelot Greaves*, is 'an original whose character is more notable than his writings'.

Stud. Neoph, vol xv, No. 3 contains an article by Emile Pons which arrived too late for inclusion in the *Ekwall Miscellany*. It is entitled *Fielding, Swift et Cervantes (de 'Don Quixote in England' à 'Joseph Andrews')*, and constitutes an enlightening investigation of the relative influence on Fielding's early work of Cervantes and Swift respectively. Pons devotes considerable attention to the study of Parson Adams and concludes that

> 'L'âme de Don Quichotte est donc passée en lui, adoucie, allégée, mais indélébilement don quichottesque—sans qu'il cesse toutefois de garder sa riche nature d'Anglais racé. . . . Par là s'est accomplie enfin cette transfusion spirituelle poursuivie inconsciemment, mais avec acharnement, par Fielding durant tant d'années—cet unique miracle du roman moderne.'

But the whole essay, and not merely its final sentences, is worth attention as a valuable supplement to Digeon's work on Fielding.

In *S. in Ph.*, July, Rae Blanchard publishes *Steeliana: an eighteenth-century account-book*; M. L. Laistner writes on *Richard Bentley: 1742–1942*, and Alice Parker on *Tobias Smollett and the Law*. Morley J. Mays (Oct.), has an essay on *Johnson and Blair on Addison's Prose Style* in which he discusses *inter alia* the significance of the term 'middle style' as used by both critics in reference to Addison, and shows that it implies the half-way style between the *sublime* and the *simple* which 'participates in the familiarity of the simple style but stops short of coarseness; it shares the elegance of the sublime style, but does not adopt its ostentation'.

In the same issue Robert Warnock describes *Boswell on the Grand Tour* with special reference to his sojourn in Italy in 1765. The material is derived from the '158 sadly mutilated pages' of preliminary notes for Boswell's journal of that year, not now known to be in existence. The notes survived among the treasures of Malahide Castle.

In *R.E.S.* (Jan.), Howard P. Vincent, in an essay on *Christopher George Colman, 'Lunatick'* unravels the history of Colman's later years. James R. Sutherland (April), writes on *The Progress of Error: Mrs. Centlivre and the Biographers*, illustrating the inaccuracies that have been introduced into accounts of her life. A. R. Humphreys, in the same issue, examines *Fielding's Irony: its Methods and Effects* and shows that 'it is the irony of integration rather than disintegration' and 'illuminates the whole temper' of Fielding's mind. E. L. McAdam, Jr., also prints some *New Essays by Dr. Johnson*, a series of three, which originally appeared in *The Weekly Correspondent*, Dec. 1760. He further suggests Johnson's authorship of the address to the public for the *Public Ledger* of the same year.

R. W. Chapman (July) has a note on *Johnson's Letters to Boswell.* Norman Ault (Dec.) contributes a paper entitled *New Light on Pope* in which he deals with the poet's *Version of the First Psalm* and ensuing events. In the same issue are notes by Rae Blanchard on *Additions to The Correspondence of Richard Steele*; by Philip Babcock Gove on *Gildon's 'Fortunate Shipwreck' as Background for 'Gulliver's Travels'*; and by John E. Wells on *Thomson's Agamemnon and Edward and Eleonora—First Printings.*

T.L.S. contains the following: Jan. 17, *Engravers called Blake*, by Geoffrey Keynes; Jan. 24, *Blake's Jerusalem*, by Charles Marriott; *Blake's Copper-Plates*, by Geoffrey Keynes; March 14, *Horace Walpole and William Robertson*, by W. Forbes Gray; April 25, Reply from Catherine Carswell; May 28, *The Songs in 'The Critic'*, by Alfred Lowenberg; April 4, *The Demon Barber* by Montague Summers; April 11, *Delpini, The Critic and the Barber* by M. Willson Disher. (See also for further correspondence till May 16.) April 11, *John Gilpin* by Joan Wake; June 20, *James Thomson's Library* (see also July 4, Addenda by E. H. W. Meyerstein; *corrigendum* by S. C. Roberts, July 11 *Reply*); Sept. 12,

William Blake's Catalogue: a New Discovery, by Geoffrey Keynes and Ruthven Todd; Sept. 26, *The Text of Johnson's Letters*, by R. W. Chapman; Oct. 10, *Ambrose Philips' English Background*, by Gerald P. Mander.

Turnbull Library Record, No. 3, Jan. 1941 contains an account by Ian A. Gordon of *A Shenstone Discovery*, i.e. a MS. formerly owned by Percy. In No. 4 of the same *Record*, July–Dec. 1941, the same writer describes *An Unrecorded Copy of Chatterton* which contains evidence in support of the authenticity of the Rowley Poems.

P. L. Carver's paper in the *Univ. of Toronto Quarterly* XII, i, on *Burke and the Totalitarian System* deserves a much larger audience than it is likely to find among the subscribers to a learned periodical. It presents an illuminating contrast between the principles of Bolingbroke and of Burke, and applies them to present-day conditions. For 'What we are witnessing in Europe to-day is the doctrine of the Patriot King carried out in practice to its extreme limit,' while Burke consistently and continuously opposed that doctrine and foresaw its implications.

XIII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

I

By DOROTHY MARGARET STUART

FOR the second year running it is necessary to observe that no outstanding biography has been published of any writer of the period here under survey, nor has there been any important work of literary criticism in book-form. Happily there is as yet no sign of waning interest in the English Romantics; and their successors, the Early Victorians, seem to be winning more praise—and incurring less derision—than at any time since the eighteen-nineties.

Of the books intended mainly for students, one of the best was *English Life in the Nineteenth Century*[1] by G. A. Sambrook. By drawing largely on the English classics the editor has given literary as well as historical value to his selections, the great majority of which are concerned with the social background of the first half of that eventful century.

William Gaunt's *Pre-Raphaelite Tragedy*[2] aroused interest—and some controversy. Though the book sets out avowedly to tell the story of the writers as well as the painters 'whose activities formed a major episode of the Victorian Age', emphasis is everywhere upon the painters. Rossetti and Morris are hardly considered as poets at all, and there is no attempt at any critical assessment of their literary output, while Christina Rossetti, the Jael who, in Swinburne's words, led the Pre-Raphaelite host to victory, makes only a few fugitive appearances. Wherein did the 'tragedy' of the Pre-Raphaelites lie? In the fact that 'their dream became strangely confused with reality and so perished'—a malady most incident to dreams. None the less, this is a study deserving the attention of all lovers of that school, whether in its pictorial or its poetical aspect. They must not let themselves be put off by 'banner' headlines such as 'The Whims of a Caliph', 'Hypochondria in a Castle', and 'The

[1] *English Life in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by G. A. Sambrook. Macmillan's Scholar's Library. pp. xiii+269. 2*s*. 6*d*.

[2] *The Pre-Raphaelite Tragedy*, by William Gaunt. Cape. pp. 256. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Devil in Manresa Road', for this is not that unsatisfying thing, a hybrid between fact and fiction. There are a few minor inaccuracies, such as the statement that James Collinson, for nearly two years Christina Rossetti's accepted suitor, had proposed to her and been refused.

Writing in *T.L.S.* (May 16) on *Rossetti's Tragedy* Helen Madox Rossetti Angeli challenged some of the comments made by a reviewer on Gaunt's portrait of her uncle, Dante Gabriel, and denied that he was either a parasite or a sponger: on May 23 she appeared again as his champion, repudiating the charge that he had 'preyed upon' Lizzie Siddal, and either exploited or crushed her native genius. A week later Sir John Henniker Heaton wrote to say that the attack on Rossetti as 'a sponge and a cadger' filled him with 'scorn and amazement'. On June 6 Gordon Bottomley quoted Edward Burne-Jones's *Memorials*, II, 117, in defence of the poet: and on June 13 William Gaunt added his own comments, suggesting that it would be 'as mistaken to look on Rossetti as a parasite and a Mr. Skimpole as it would be to represent him without failings'.

Two articles on Jane Austen caused considerable correspondence. The first by F. D. Leavis appeared in *Scrutiny* (Jan.), under the title '*Lady Susan' into 'Mansfield Park'*, treating the subject rather in the manner of Wilson Knight and suggesting—among other things—that there is 'a collapse of control at times in *Mansfield Park*', that Miss Austen 'took sides' against Mary Crawford, and that 'Fanny, like Edmund, has no substance'. *Memorabilia* (*N. and Q.*, March 21) contained a spirited rejoinder tabulating and querying eight of the principal propositions. On April 18 M. H. Dodds, without having read the Leavis article, answered these eight queries with admirable precision and made interesting comments by the way.

Leonard Woolf wrote on *The Economic Determination of Jane Austen* (*New Statesman*, July 18) and again in *Memorabilia* (Aug. 15) she found a champion. Woolf is taken to task for saying that her social standards 'are almost entirely those of money and snobbery', and for confounding her own views with those ascribed (often with satirical intent) to some of her characters—e.g. Emma's remarks on 'the yeomanry', here commended as 'a piece of the greatest and subtlest satire'.

Jane Austen Quotes was the heading of a letter from R. W.

Chapman (*T.L.S.*, Aug. 8) giving the source of her remark that 'like her dear Dr. Johnson she dealt more in notions than in facts'. It was quoted from a letter to Boswell, 4 July 1774.

Shakespeare's 'Henry IV' and the Waverley Novels by R. K. Gordon (*M.L.R.*, July) attributes a degree of indebtedness on Scott's part to *Henry IV, I and II* which may strike some readers as excessive; but no student of the Waverley Novels can fail to be aware that the mind of the author was dyed in grain with Shakespearean images, idioms, and turns of phrase. Gordon makes out a good case for regarding the two parts of *Henry IV* as one of the main vehicles of this influence—naturally so, since they anticipate by more than two centuries Scott's characteristic practice of balancing the serious and high-falutin' against the humorous and uncouth.

Two interesting papers by Coleman O. Parsons, *Scott's Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft: outside Contributors*, appeared in *N. and Q.* (March 21 and 28). These contained new or unfamiliar material drawn from the Scott Letter-Books by permission of the late Sir Hugh Walpole. Sir Walter's 'one little tome' on Witchcraft 'brought him an enormous fan-mail' and a number of corrigenda. *Journalistic Anecdotage about Scott* by the same authority (*N. and Q.*, Dec. 5) included some interesting though slightly inconclusive anecdotes 'suggestive of Scott's curiosity about the invisible world of spirits, a subject which did not particularly excite Lockhart'.

Alan L. Strout continued (*N. and Q.*, Jan. 31, March 14, April 11, April 18) his valuable series of *Letters to and About James Hogg* begun in the closing weeks of 1941 (see *Y.W.*, xxii, 197). There was a 'follow-through' (May 16) from James C. Corson of the University Library, Edinburgh, commenting on John McCrone's letter to Hogg, dated 23 June 1834, and suggesting that McCrone was referring not to Hogg's domestic *Manners of Sir Walter Scott* but to a projected life of Scott from his own hand. Strout replied on September 26.

In *T.L.S.* (Oct. 17 and 31) Strout had two articles on *Lockhart as a Gossip*, neither of which belied the promise of the title. Both were based on the eleven thousand letters of the Lockhart-Croker correspondence in the William L. Clements Library of the Univer-

sity of Michigan, and—as might be expected—they are rich in interesting glimpses of the Abbotsford circle, including Lockhart himself. Of especial interest is J. G. L.'s letter to Croker, 13 November 1843, in which he avowedly says 'more than he ever before did to anybody' of his 'worldly and personal conditions and views'. This occurs in the earlier article; the latter is largely concerned with Lockhart's contemplated second marriage, about which so little has hitherto been definitely known. The lady of his choice was Letitia Mildmay, younger daughter of Sir Henry St. John Mildmay, Bart. She seems to have been a charming girl—Sydney Smith was particularly fond of her—and that she should have died only a few days after Lockhart had proposed and been refused adds yet another dark-coloured cube to the tragic mosaic of her wooer's life.

The 'Recreations' of Christopher North formed the subject of two articles by Strout (*N. and Q.*, July 6 and Aug. 1) likely to be most useful to students of the *Blackwood* circle. They show that the *Recreations* are not a collection of reprinted articles from *Maga* but rather 'a prose anthology'—the 'purple patches' which in 1842 Christopher North 'thought worth preserving from his contributions to periodical literature'.

James V. Logan's article (*Sewanee Review* Oct.–Dec.) *England's Peril and Wordsworth*, provides a timely survey of his poetry between 1801 and 1816 with special reference to events on the Continent and the rise and fall of Napoleon. Much of the ground covered is already familiar to English students. Of fresher interest on this side of the Atlantic is *Jeffrey and Wordsworth: the Shape of Persecution* by Robert Daniel (*Sewanee Review*, April–June), who sets out to confute in turn five widely-held ideas concerning Jeffrey's attitude to the poet. Jeffrey, says Daniel, is emerging from the eclipse that began to obscure his fame soon after his death in 1850; his disparagement of Wordsworth's poetry is more congenial to modern taste than it was to the scandalized Victorians. His hostility had probably nothing to do with political differences; nor was he a narrow neo-classicist hostile to the Romantic movement *per se*; his habit, noted by Southey, of 'speaking of books worse than he thought of them' suggests to Daniel that his 'contumelious reviews masked a genuine admiration'. The *Edinburgh Review*

'carried slashing articles because such articles would sell it' and scope was given to Jeffrey's 'tendency to disingenuous asperity'. Coleridge, Crabb Robinson, Sydney Smith and Walter Scott are all called as witnesses, and Jeffrey's motives for persecuting Wordsworth are analysed and expounded.

Though in *Wordsworth and his Critics* (*Q.Q.*, Summer) Augustus Ralli has little to say about the critics he has some excellent things to say about Wordsworth: for example, 'it was the passage of awe into fear that defeated Wordsworth in later life'. It is, Ralli points out, 'ill to jest, as some have done, at the orthodox views of his old age and compare them with his revolutionary fervour in youth': the cause, he holds, was 'the insistent pressure of life upon the material habitation of the soul', not, as one might have conjectured, the insistent pressure of experience upon the soul itself. The earlier, and not the later, Wordsworth was, according to this theory, 'the real man'. Whether one agrees with all its propositions or not, this is a stimulating article, packed with parallels that are hardly ever stretched too far and with allusions that are almost always to the point.

Ernest de Selincourt (*T.L.S.*, March 9) gave reasons for believing that the *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality* was finished 'at least by September 1804'. John Edwin Wells corrected (*T.L.S.*, Jan. 17) 'persistent current assumptions' on the subject of an assumed cancel leaf—G.1. in *Lyrical Ballads*, 1798.

Dorothy Wordsworth was the theme of two essays in one week; *A Poet's Eyes and Ears* by Stephen Gwynn in *Time and Tide*, and *The Innocent Heart* by Edward Sackville-West in *The New Statesman*, both in issues dated May 16.

E.L.H. (March) contained an article by Joseph W. Beach on *Coleridge's Borrowings from the German*. Coleridge, says the writer, 'could not bear to admit to himself the least of his debts' to other thinkers, and this reluctance seems to have been particularly strong with reference to German sources, then known to only a small group of English scholars. He was even capable of attributing to Plato or Bacon ideas actually derived from Kant or Schelling. Of his own disclaimers Beach remarks that they showed 'a curious

mixture of cunning, false humility, self-congratulation and general confusion of mind'; but he is acquitted of conscious dishonesty on the grounds that 'his mind worked automatically in the manufacture of excuses'. The extent of his indebtedness to German sources is well illustrated with parallel passages (German text occasionally inaccurate) and credit is justly given to Sara Coleridge for her 'honesty and candour' when annotating the *Biographia Literaria*, in which the most flagrant of her father's 'borrowings' are to be found.

The Demonic Finale of 'Christabel' was the subject of a note in *M.L.R.* (July) by Joseph Horrell, who suggested that the false Lady Geraldine is supposed to vanish *with* the tolling of the bell, not *before* it, and cited evidence of Coleridge's interest in the folklore of bells.

In *M.L.N.* (Feb.) N. B. Allen had *A Note on Coleridge's 'Khubla Khan'*, combating the usually accepted view that the poem (written according to S. T. C. himself 'during an opium dream') is 'a fragment', and advancing the theory that the last part, beginning 'A damsel with a dulcimer', is a comment on his *loss* of the vision. If this be so, *Khubla Khan* should be regarded as 'a complete lyric, made up of a fragment of a vision and a comment on the loss of the rest of that vision'; and the figure with 'flashing eye and floating hair' identified as a self-portrait by the poet. The 'person from Porlock' it is hinted, may 'deserve thanks for what he did'.

The Case History of Coleridge's Monody on the Death of Chatterton is traced by I. A. Gordon in *R.E.S.* (Jan.). It is shown how the evolution of the poem was almost coeval with Coleridge's literary life, beginning in his Christ's Hospital days and ending only with a sixth and final revision in 1834. Gordon considers that modern editions, by printing this last version and relegating all earlier variants to the footnotes, 'give a completely false conception of the organic development of the poem', which evolved 'from form to form'—from irregular Pindaric to Romantic Ode, and from Ode to 'Johnsonian couplets', when Coleridge in his old age returned 'to the eighteenth century of his youth'.

In *'Zapolya' and Merope* (*N. and Q.*, Sept. 12), A. E. D. noted analogies between Coleridge's *Zapolya* and the story of Merope as

told by Maffei, Voltaire, and Alfieri. From *The Unpublished Letters of Coleridge* (ed. E. L. Griggs) he cites three letters, one to Sotheby one to Murray, and one to Byron throwing light upon the genesis of the 'tragic romance' or melo-drama.

E. L. Griggs divides his volume of Hartley Coleridge's poems into three parts: those published by Hartley himself in 1833; those published by Derwent in 1851; and finally some sixty pages of very unequal but often rather engaging verse grouped together as 'Unpublished and Uncollected'. These add to our understanding of Hartley and therefore to our sympathy with him, but most readers will feel that the best that he had to give was given by his own act when he was, in his own words, 'a young old man'. Collectors of anthologies for children might do worse than note the delightful 'Lolly-pop' lines in No. XXXVII of the 'New Poems'.

In *The Social Philosophy of Shelley* (*Sewanee Review*, April-June) Kenneth N. Cameron challenges the 'ineffectual angel' conception and deplores that in anthologies most of the examples from Shelley are entirely unrepresentative of the major channels of his philosophy. Here we see at work the modern tendency to anchor the poet grimly to his pamphlets, controversial writings, and the political and philosophical aspects of his longer poems. Even in the *Ode to the West Wind* the 'wingèd seeds' are to be interpreted as the 'dominant forces of democratic progress', and the 'wild spirit moving everywhere as 'the mighty tide of historical evolution gathering to sweep away the old order of aristocratic despotism'

Shelley's 'Own Symposium' the 'Triumph of Life' by William Cherubini (*S. in Ph.*, July) is an intriguing study of the genesis of this poem and of the five hundred odd lines composing the fragment which was all that had been written when Shelley died. Since W. M. Rossetti made the suggestion in his *Memoirs of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, no one, it seems, has ever hinted that the *Triumph of Life* is in reality the 'symposium' referred to by Shelley in his letter of 21 October 1822—Cherubini says in the text 'to Peacock' and in the footnote, 'to J. Gisborne'. The story, we are told, constitutes a typical Shelleyan failure in its lack of 'logical motivation'

[8] *New Poems by Hartley Coleridge, including a Selection from his Published Poetry*, ed. by Earl Leslie Griggs. O.U.P. pp. xv+135. 10*s.* 6*d.*

upon the primary level of sheer action'; and 'the bony structure is mostly beneath'—which, after all, is where one would expect a bony structure to be. The system evolved, with its corollaries—belief in God, immortality and so forth, is, 'very far along (*sic*) from bare eighteenth century theism': and the *Triumph of Life* is at the same time Shelley's 'declaration of independence from the problems of the world and his first attempt to deal with the newly-important problem of achieving communication with God.'

Frederick L. Jones's *Shelley and Spenser* (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.) is something in the nature of a 'follow-through' from the twofold article by Carlos Baker and D. L. Clark on *The Literary Sources of Shelley's 'Witch of Atlas'* (see *Y.W.*, xxii, 203). Jones makes the interesting point that though Shelley was studying Spenser passionately when writing *The Revolt of Islam* this study had no effect upon that poem with the possible exceptions of *Faerie Queene* II, vi, 5, and II, vi, 10, and the boat in which Laon and Cythna journey down the river. Other Spenserian echoes are noted, in *Prometheus Unbound* and the *Sensitive Plant*, but his borrowings from Spenser were quite unlike his borrowings from Milton. From the former 'he takes ideas mainly; words, phrases, images and tone he seldom appropriates'. Milton 'more than any other English poet was Shelley's master'.

Shelley v. Southey: New Light on an Old Quarrel by K. N. Cameron (*P.M.L.A.*, June) may well be useful to some future biographer of one or other of these poets. The friendly attitude of Shelley at his first meeting with Southey at Keswick in 1811 is shown, in spite of the younger man's misgivings as to the elder's 'reactionary' views; and this friendliness persisted up to March 1816 when Shelley sent Southey a copy of *Alastor*, with a charming and cordial letter. Eight months later Crabb Robinson recorded an encounter with Shelley at Godwin's when the young rebel abused the Lake poet in typical 'red' strain. In the event Shelley developed an *idée fixe* that every attack on him in the *Quarterly* emanated from Southey, and an acrimonious correspondence blazed up between them in 1820. The origin of his dislike and distrust of Southey is traced convincingly to an article *On the Rise and Progress of Popular Disaffection* contributed to the *Quarterly* in April 1817, by the then tame and 'Toryfied' Laureate. This was

inspired by three recent political pamphlets of which one was Shelley's *Proposal for Putting Reform to the Vote throughout the Kingdom*, written under the pseudonym of 'The Hermit of Marlow' but known to a number of people to be his. Passages cited and points tabulated certainly lend colour to the theory that Southey was consciously and rather cruelly attacking the Hermit: and his denials (in 1820) that he had 'ever alluded to Shelley either as a man or as an author' do not carry conviction. Identifying Southey with the *Quarterly* reviewer so savagely severe upon Keats, Shelley, in the Preface to *Adonais*, concentrated upon that review to the exclusion of the far more violent one in *Blackwood*; and when we recollect the terms of that Preface it is with some surprise that we find Cameron remarking that 'in the death of Keats . . . Shelley found his opportunity to make an attack of the nature he desired as veiled and as indirect as that which Southey had made on him.' The identity of the 'miserable man', the 'nameless worm', must have been guessed at by a fair number of readers and correctly divined by more than a few: the veil, if any, was neither dense nor dark. Southey, of course, disclaimed responsibility for the supposedly lethal review; but Shelley persuaded Byron that if he did not write he almost certainly inspired it; and by so persuading him gave him yet another stick with which to belabour the luckless Laureate.

A quatrain signed 'Robert Southey, 1842' and recently sold by auction in Boston was cited by Olybrius (*N. and Q.*, July 18).

K. N. Cameron in *M.L.N.* (Dec.), discusses *Shelley and the 'Conciones ad Populum'*, and points out a parallel between the conclusion of *Swellfoot the Tyrant* and the closing paragraph of Coleridge's 'Letter from Liberty to her Dear Friend Famine' in *Conciones ad Populum* 'especially interesting in that it indicates hitherto unnoted interest by Shelley in Coleridge's early (Radical) political prose'.

The Education of Keats and Shelley: a Note with Some Queries by P. F. (*N. and Q.*, July 18) followed up a remark of Raymond Mortimer's, in the *New Statesman* of June 20, that 'in comparing the *Ode to a Nightingale* with the *Ode to the West Wind* it might be useful to contrast Keats's education with Shelley's'. To explain the fact that Shelley's was 'a more tormented unhappiness', P. F. says

that, starting with their biographies, Freud might have been contented to go no further back than their schooldays for the explanation; but if he had started from the poems he would probably have gone back to their pre-natal histories'.

Keats attracted comparatively little attention during the period under survey. Minnie E. Wells had an article in *M.L.N.* (June), '*The Eve of St. Agnes*' *and the* '*Legend of Britomartis*' pointing out parallels between Keats's poem and the *Faerie Queene*, Book III. Amy Lowell had perceived only those with Book I.

M. Buxton Forman wrote (*T.L.S.*, June 17) concerning a MS. fragment of *Isabella and the Pot of Basil*, the hitherto unknown eighth fragment of those dismembered and distributed by Joseph Severn and noting certain variants in punctuation, etc., in stanzas XXIX and XXX.

Lord Byron as Rinaldo is the title of an article by David V. Erdman (*P.M.L.A.*, March), who here reverts to that aspect of Byron's activities—the political—with which he had already dealt in *Lord Byron and the Genteel Reformers* (see *Y.W.*, xxii, 202). We are reminded that Lady Oxford hung a picture of Rinaldo and Armida in Byron's room; but 'Jane was not Armida'. Eywood, though 'a pleasant bower' was not 'a place of soporific enchantment'. There follows an interesting survey of Byron's brief political career, with an analysis of his attendances at the House of Lords: indeed, the whole essay shows him as a politician rather than as a man of letters, and a politician *manqué* at that: and there is more about Lady Oxford—or 'Jane' as Erdman prefers to call her—in the character of Armida than about her admirer in that of Rinaldo. She is acquitted, however, of using 'Circe narcotics', though she did endeavour to renew his 'senatorial ambition' in the cause of Radicalism and Reform.

Harold S. L. Wiener showed in *A Correction in Byron Scholarship* (*M.L.N.*, June) that E. H. Coleridge, when editing and annotating the *Letters and Journals*, erred in attributing to Byron the review of Sir William Gell's *Geography and Antiquities of Maca* and *Itinerary of Greece* which appeared in the *Monthly Review*, August 1811.

Geoffrey Tillotson noted in *Flecker and Byron* (*N. and Q.*, Nov. 21) certain unquestionable affinities between *Tenebris Interlucentem*

and *The Prisoner of Chillon.* In the same issue A. L. Strout questioned the source of three quotations in the *Letter* which Lockhart (under the pseudonym of 'John Bull') addressed *to the Right Honourable Lord Byron* in 1821.

A welcome accession to Nelson's Teaching of English Series was Richard Wilson's well-edited *Selected Essays* of Hazlitt,[4] with notes that are genuinely helpful.

In *M.L.N.* for June Ralph Wardle had an illuminating study of the Hazlitt-Maguire quarrel, under the title *Outwitting Hazlitt.* He shows that Maguire deliberately ascribed to John Taylor (the Editor of the *London Magazine*) Hazlitt's suppressed and very malignant review of *Peveril of the Peak* and—with equal deliberation—fathered upon Barry Cornwall Hazlitt's *Edinburgh Review* article on the *Posthumous Poems* of Shelley. The object of these 'ruses'—as Wardle calls them—was to enable *Blackwood* to attack 'Table-Talk Billy' without mentioning his name, Hazlitt having threatened to sue Cadell 'for damages sustained from repeated slanders and false imputations' upon him in '*Maga*'.

Wardle was again in the field (*R.E.S.*, Oct.) with an article, *Timothy Tickler's Irish Blood,* pointing out that of the fourteen *Letters* appearing between July 1823 and December 1824, Maginn wrote seven himself and collaborated in three more. Obviously, though Lockhart may have created Tickler and launched him on his career, Maginn was equally influential in shaping that career and ultimately in bringing it to a close. Unpublished letters from the Blackwood archives are given in Wardle's article.

Maginn was the subject of a centenary article, *Bright, Broken Maginn* in *T.L.S.* (Aug. 22): and a week later Malcolm Elwin wrote pointing out that the author of this article had omitted to mention any of Maginn's works, and quoting Saintsbury's comment in his introduction to *A Story without a Tail* that he was 'neglected more than any other modern writer'. Elwin considers that a representative collection of the stories contributed to *Blackwood, Fraser,* and the annuals would constitute a minor classic.

[4] *William Hazlitt; Selected Essays,* by Richard Wilson. Nelson. pp. 225. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Tennyson received rather more attention than has been usual of late years. Under the title, *A Great National Poet, T.L.S.* had (Oct. 3) a long and appreciative article, stressing his 'mystic imperialism' and his 'satanic fury', and taking a more favourable view of his dramas than that generally held at the present time. In *M.L.N.* (Feb.) J. D. Yohannan considered *Tennyson and Persian Poetry*, and made the interesting point that 'of the major English poets of the nineteenth century who had an acquaintance with Persian poetry only Tennyson knew how to read Persian'. The influence of his friendship with Fitzgerald upon his mind and cut is traced, and his early reading of translations from the Persian, his predilection for Persian imagery (e.g. *The Princess*, ll. 103–4) and the course of his Persian studies are all set forth with numerous examples from his own works and from those of the Persian poets whom he loved. *Come into the Garden, Maud* is stated to be 'full of recollections of Persian poetry', and there are certainly many affinities between its imagery and that of the song by Hafiz here quoted in Walter Leaf's translation.

T. H. Vail Motter (*M.L.N.*, March) inquired, *When did Tennyson meet Hallam?* and cited an unpublished letter from Hallam himself to W. E. Gladstone in support of the view that the meeting was recorded by Tennyson in *In Memoriam*, section xxii and xlvi, the date being April 1829, not, as stated by Churton Collins and Lionel, Lord Tennyson, the autumn of 1828.

In *P.M.L.A.* (June) Motter wrote on *Hallam's Suppressed Allusion to Tennyson* in three lines of the sixth of Hallam's *Meditative Fragments*, written in July 1829, first published in their entirety in 1830, and excised by Hallam senior from the 1834 volume of *Remains*. A new interpretation is given of a very obscure passage which cannot have alluded to Emily Tennyson, whom Arthur Hallam did not meet until five months after it was written; and his father's delicacy and tactfulness are shown to have been superfluous. Motter's edition of *The Writings of Arthur Hallam*, published by the M.L.A. of America and O.U.P. has not been available for further notice.

D. Caclamanos in a letter on *Tennyson's Ideal Man* (*T.L.S.*, Oct. 17) gave a translation into modern Greek of the six lines in *Guinevere* beginning 'To reverence the King' as summing up for Greek readers the ideals of the British race and the moral order it obeys.

In *P.M.L.A.* (March) there was an article by Fred A. Dudley on *Matthew Arnold and Science*. In education, it is here affirmed, his hostility to the intrusion of natural science was by no means unmitigated. He regarded it as 'a training in perception', especially for minds of narrow range. In religion he sought, and believed he had found, 'an experimentally verifiable position'; science, he thought, could aid him in revitalizing Christianity. Had the natural sciences 'always strongly moved his curiosity', as he himself declared (*Discourses in America*) that they had? His notebooks suggest that, except for some dabblings in botany, he seldom read any scientist later than Bacon. Empedocles and Lucretius interested him more as men than as natural philosophers. He was and remained 'a classicist at heart'.

Hamilton Fyfe in the *Hibbert Journal* (Jan.) wrote on *Matthew Arnold and the Fall of France*, a disaster which he is said to have predicted with some precision.

Sibylla's Name is the heading of a double note by E. A. Greening Lamborn (*N. and Q.*, Jan 24), giving the surname (Curr) of the 'Sibylla' who figures in the line in *Thyrsis*,

> From the sign is gone Sibylla's name,

and putting forward yet another candidate for the post of the Signal Elm, this time an oak in a hedge bordering a field on Chilswell Farm.

Richard Hussey started (*N. and Q.*, April 18) a correspondence, *Arnold on Shakespeare*, centred mainly upon the last line of the well-known sonnet. The discussion was continued by William Jaggard and W. H. J. (May 16), Hussey (June 20), A. E. D. and Henry Pettit (July 18), finally (Oct. 24) Joseph Morris added yet another explanation of the phrase 'victorious brow', one which, he claimed, 'brings the two sonnets (*Shakespeare* and *To a Friend*) into harmony, so that they throw light on one another'.

T. C. C. drew attention, in *Matthew Arnold: Uncollected Lines* (*N. and Q.*, Aug. 29) to some lines in Arnold's *Cornhill* article on *St. Paul and Protestantism* (Nov. 1869) of which he acknowledged the authorship in a letter to his mother. They were not included in the 1890 edition of his poetical works, but will be found, says T. C. C., in the new Oxford edition of Arnold's poems then 'going through the press'.

Arnold's bitter comment upon 'the saturnalia of ignoble personal passions' among the literary people of his own time inspired A. E. D. to prepare a *Who's Who in English Literature, 1848–62* (*N. and Q.*, Oct. 10) and to demand, 'where among these are the backbiters, the sycophants, the falsifiers of weights and measures to be expected . . . at the very period?' There was a full and interesting rejoinder from M. H. Dodds (Nov. 21).

Maurice J. Craig, in *A Note on Charlotte Brontë* (*Dublin Magazine*, May), suggested that it was 'mere perversity on her part to represent herself as English and Yorkshire', and that 'her nationality got its revenge at the latter end', after she had visited Ireland as the wife of an Irish clergyman and found her new relations congenial, being herself half-Irish, half-Cornish, and so, presumably, all Celt.

The Complete Poems of Emily Jane Brontë, edited from the original manuscripts by C. W. Hatfield, Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. was not available for further notice.

John W. Dodds's *Critical Portrait of Thackeray* (see *Y.W.*, xxii, 209) evoked a long article, *Titmarsh's Spectacles*, in *T.L.S.* (Aug. 29). This dealt with the supposed conflict between the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic (Cornish) elements in the novelist's mentality. The second leader on the same date embroiders upon the same theme, with special reference to M. Abel Chevalley's view (cited in the main article) that both in Dickens and Thackeray one finds '*une conception de la vie plutôt germanique que britannique*'. 'Whether,' concludes the writer, 'we like or dislike the spirit of the Victorian novelists or the rules according to which they played the game, there seems to be no need to add these to the list of German responsibilities. Thackeray, in short, like Mr. Crummles, was *not* a Prussian.' On September 26, reverting to *Titmarsh's Spectacles*, J. S. Coltart demanded whether there were any authority for Thackeray's Cornish blood other than Carlyle's remark about the 'half-monstrous Cornish giant'. On November 21, Robert F. Metzdorf wrote that though 'in Thackeray's early years the Germanic influence was stronger, in his later days he was "more affected by the French".'

C. L. Cline in *Thackeray and the 'Morning Chronicle'* (*T.L.S.*, Dec. 19) gave additional evidence for Thackeray's authorship of

the *Morning Chronicle* review of Disraeli's *Coningsby*, May 13 1844, stressing the piquancy of its condemnation of Dizzy's portraits from life, notably 'Lord Monmouth' (the Marquis of Hertford) whom he himself was to depict three years later as 'Lord Steyne'. The piquancy, however, would have been sharper if the condemnation had been written before instead of after the 'Steyne' portrait was painted.

Ernest Boll contributed to *S. in Ph.* (Jan.) *The Author of 'Elizabeth Brownrigge': a Review of Thackeray's Techniques*, and advanced strong arguments in favour of ascribing this satire to Thackeray. It is said to have been one of the weapons used by him to belabour Bulwer Lytton—'my friend Bulling'.

A note in *P.M.L.A.* (June), *Thackeray and N. P. Willis*, traces the course of Thackeray's relations with the American, who is here identified with John Paul Jefferson Jones in *Vanity Fair*, chap. xv.

Disraeli's assertion that *Contarini Fleming* was 'almost still-born' and 'never paid its expenses' was discussed by C. L. Cline in *The Failure of Disraeli's 'Contarini Fleming'* (*N. and Q.*, Aug. 1). He gives figures from John Murray's accounts (at Hughenden Manor) showing that the total profits of the book—shared between Murray, Moxon and the author—were £56. 'The real tragedy', says Cline, 'lay not in the financial failure of the book, important as that was to one so debt-ridden, but in the blighted hopes of a promising young novelist who thereupon determined to give up literature for politics.' 'Ignoto' asked (*N. and Q.*, Aug. 15) for a key to Disraeli's novels and received replies (Sept. 12) from St. Vincent Troubridge and Ellyn M. Gwatkin—the latter incorrect in several particulars; e.g. 'Sir Aldegonde'—Dr. Sutherland, instead of 'St. Aldegonde'—the Duke of Sutherland. On October 24 the Editor intervened, giving a much more exhaustive and accurate key, amply-documented. In *Disraeli's Quotations* (*N. and Q.*, Nov. 7) D. Q. cited a passage from Leslie Stephen's *Hours in a Library* (Second Series) on Disraeli's skill in 'the art of annexation'.

Received too late for notice in *Y.W.* xxii is *A Handy Dickens*, edited, with an excellent introduction, by Arthur Machen.[5]

In *Browning's Ethical Poetry* (*B.J.R.L.*, Dec.) we have an elabora-

[5] *A Handy Dickens*, ed. by Arthur Machen. Constable (1941). pp. vii+258 8*s.* 6*d.*

tion of a lecture delivered at the Library by H. B. Charlton in the previous October. 'One cannot pretend', he says, 'to know Browning's poetry without grappling with its ethical content: for all its content is directly or non-directly ethical,' being that he was 'an impassioned and deliberate moralist'. How far, then, are his answers to 'the ethical question' dependent on an acceptance by his modern readers 'of his version of metaphysical and theological truth?' His complete artistic self was expressed in *Men and Women*; first faint signs of decline appear in *Dramatis Personæ*; after *The Ring and the Book* 'the poetic prerogative, faded before the demands of a more formally philosophic purpose'. Charlton considers that in *Le Saisiaz* Browning was 'led to complete agnosticism, though not, of course, to religious unbelief'—a somewhat puzzling proposition. 'Our surest mentor' is the Pope in *The Ring and the Book*, in whom we are invited to recognize 'the authentic expositor of Browning's religious belief'. The three poems which would 'probably be first chosen' as his most exclusively ethical, i.e. *The Grammarian's Funeral*, *Rabbi Ben Ezra* and *The Statue and the Bust*, 'may each appear to propound a point or points of view not at once compatible with major articles of Browning's usual creed'. These discrepancies are carefully analysed, and the danger of identifying a poet with his creatures is emphatically underlined: but it is slightly surprising to find the 'little Renaissance' of the thirteenth century so completely disregarded as it is in the statement that 'when the buried MSS. of Greece were gradually exhumed in the fifteenth century they were hieroglyphs in an unknown tongue'. *Rabbi Ben Ezra* is described as a retort to 'the trend of Oriental philosophy and ethic' as shown in Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyám*: and Browning's 'conception of the noble life' is seen in Caponsacchi's

Let him rush straight and how shall he go wrong?

Maurice B. Cramer, writing on *Browning's Literary Reputation at Oxford: 1855–9* (*P.M.L.A.*, March), traces the influence of D. G. Rossetti in kindling devotion to Browning's poetry (especially *Men and Women*) among certain Oxford undergraduates and indicates the significance of this influence and its results in the story of Browning's gradual advance to fame. There are interesting notes upon the enthusiasm of Morris, Pater, Nichol, Swinburne and the 'Old Mortality' group at the University; and it is suggested that

we should revise our notions about the state of Browning's literary reputation in England in the years before the publication of *Dramatis Personæ*.

Elizabeth Barrett and Browning's 'Flight of the Duchess' by Fred Manning Smith (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.) is of interest to lovers and students of both poets. Surprisingly little attention has been paid by Browning's biographers to the similarity between *The Flight of the Duchess* (published in 1849) and the flight of the Brownings contemplated in their letters during that year. According to Browning himself the poem had been conceived two years before he met Miss Barrett, and the account of its genesis is justly described as 'somewhat confused'—perhaps to deflect attention from analogies. Manning Smith concludes that no matter when the first two hundred lines may have been written—'the lines given to poor Hood in his emergency at a day's notice'—the rest of the poem *was* written in 1845. There are undeniable points of resemblance between Elizabeth and the Duchess, Browning and the Huntsman, Edward Moulton Barrett and the Duke: and, through we have no poem in which the two poets collaborated 'it seems to me', says this critic, 'that Browning's *Flight of the Duchess* owes so much to Miss Barrett, her life and character, her interest in the poem and curiosity as to its conclusion, her letters and criticisms, that it comes close to being 'a poem by the Brownings'.'

Ten months later (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.) Manning Smith reverts to this theme in *More Light on Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Browning's 'Flight of the Duchess'*. He had overlooked the article (*Q.R.*, July 1937) by Edward Snyder and Frederic Palmer, Jr., *New Light on the Brownings*, and now makes good this omission, putting it on record that the authors reach the same conclusions as himself, and that 'it is certain that the one article is strengthened and supplemented by the other'.

The Central Episode of Browning's 'By the Fireside' is dealt with by Jean Stirling Lindsay (*S. in Ph.*, July) in an article which should be read in conjunction with both those by Manning Smith, as it has the same object in view; viz. to consider poems by Robert Browning in relation to the actual events of his courtship and to determine how far he pursued that courtship 'by indirect means'. It is pointed out that there has been confusion and division of

opinion as to the 'central episode', here interpreted as referring to 'an experience that followed rather than preceded the marriage, when, under the influence of the Italian scene, the last reserves of spirit broke down and they entered into a strengthened and perfect union'. The scene, however, with its picturesque gorge, may have been derived from one of Murray's hand-books, not personal observation.

The Brownings are bracketed again in a letter from Martha Hale Shackford (*T.L.S.*, March 21) on *The Authorship of 'Æsehylus' Soliloquy*', the fragment beginning 'I am an old and solitary man', ascribed to Browning by Sir Frederick Kenyon (*New Poems by Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, 1915) but here conjecturally identified as the 'monodrama' in the form of a monologue by Æsehylus which Miss Barrett said (in a letter to Browning) that she 'had in her head' in 1845.

M. H. Dodds had a query (*N. and Q.*, Feb. 21) concerning the authenticity or otherwise of the quotation from a *Diary by the Bishop's Secretary, 1600* at the head of Browning's poem, *Holy Cross Day*; T. Percy Armstrong replied (March 28) as regards the enforced attendance of Roman Jews at a Christian sermon, and A. E. D. on the same date cited Berdoe's statement (*Browning Cyclopædia*, 1891) that the *Diary* is fictitious. R. M. H. gave extracts (April 11) from Sir Edwin Sandys, *Europae Speculum*, 1599, concerning this Roman custom of compulsory Jewish attendance and occasional consequent conversion to Christianity.

Not by Elizabeth Barrett Browning is the heading of a note (*P.M.L.A.*, June) by Amelia B. Harlan, questioning the authenticity of the lines *To Robert Lytton* published as Mrs. Browning's in Sir Frederick Kenyon's edition of *New Poems*, 1914. She affirms that the writing is not that of E. B. B., but of Robert Lytton himself, and that the person apostrophized as 'our leader and King of us all' was Browning.

The Romantics and their circle loomed large in several 'omnibus' articles during the year 1942. Among the most interesting of these was *Romantic Apologiæ for Hamlet's Treatment of Ophelia* by Arthur Palmer Hudson (*E.L.H.*, March). He declares that 'the salient qualities of the criticism of Coleridge, Lamb and Hazlitt are nowhere more highly and brilliantly exemplified than in their

comments upon Hamlet's treatment of Ophelia'. Illustrative extracts from *Christabel* certainly seem to indicate that in the morning scene in the great hall of Sir Leoline's Castle Coleridge was consciously applying critical principles previously formulated by him in marginal notes to *Hamlet*, III, i, 103 ff. Lamb, when discussing the fitness of Shakespeare's tragedies for stage representation, cites, in support of his view that they are best savoured in the study, that very scene; and a passage is quoted which is alleged to 'establish a presumption at least of Lamb's familiarity with, if not his borrowing from, either *Christabel*, or the Shakespeare Lectures, or both'. Hazlitt's comments on the Hamlet-Ophelia interview, and also upon certain parts of *Lear* and *Othello*, are introduced in order to show the double influence of Coleridge and Schlegel upon his mind; and excerpts are given from Augustan critics, Hanmer, Dr. Johnson, Steevens, and others, to underline 'the gains of Shakespearean criticism, in subtlety, in richness of human illustration, in breadth of philosophic view and in beauty of poetic phrasing, from the Romantics'.

The Gothic Short Stories in the Magazines by Robert D. Mayo (*M.L.R.*, Oct.) discusses the theory—advanced by Edith Birkhead in *The Tale of Terror* (1921)—that it was probably the success of the Chap-book that encouraged the editors of early nineteenth-century periodicals to enliven their pages with sensational fiction, and shows, with abundance of amusing examples, that 'for twenty-five years before *Blackwood's* was established in 1817 editors had been enlivening their pages in that precise manner', and that 'by 1810 the Gothic short story as a well-defined and familiar species of fiction'.

In *M.L.N.* (June) Majl Ewing, dealing with *The Authorship of Some Nineteenth Century Plays* was able, by dint of much fortunate industry, to name the authors of fifteen plays 'listed' by Allardyce Nicoll (*A History of Early Nineteenth Century Drama*) as being 'by Unknown Authors'. The centenary of Chambers' *Cyclopædia of English Literature* was the subject of two articles, *A Pantheon of English Writers* in *T.L.S.* (Dec. 12 and 19), giving interesting, sometimes startling and often amusing critical judgments from the first edition.

In *A Godwin Pamphlet* (*T.L.S.*, July 23) Francis Norman noted 'probably the only surviving copy of an unrecorded pamphlet by William Godwin' consisting of a reprint of two letters signed 'Verax', containing a strong plea for non-interference in the internal affairs of France. These had appeared originally in the *Morning Chronicle* on 23 May 1813—during the Hundred Days.

Thomas Campbell figured in a Note by Charles Duffy (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) on *The Wolf's Long Howl*, this phrase having been used by Campbell in *The Pleasures of Hope* (1799) and again in *Theodoric* (1824). Duffy traces it to *The Sentimental Sailor: or St. Preux to Eloisa*, by 'A Young Gentleman of Edinburgh', published in that city in 1772 and reviewed in the *Scots Magazine*, xxxv, with a quotation incorporating the whole line,

> The wolf's long howl in dismal discord joined.

Two centenaries were noted in 'leading articles' in *T.L.S.*, that of Allan Cunningham's death (Oct. 31), and that of the death of Charles Lamb's 'ingenuous Hone', author, editor, publisher and Radical Reformer (Nov. 7).

In *Landor's Critique of 'The Cenci'* (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.) Karl G. Pfeiffer made what he called 'an attempt to edit' an unpublished letter written by Landor to Leigh Hunt (1850) in the Huntington Library. This letter contained a criticism of *The Cenci* by Landor and an early version of a poem addressed by him to Shelley. This poem was published in a revised form in *Last Fruit* three years later. It there bears the title *To the Nightingale*. Landor wrote three other poems to Shelley, and his change of attitude towards him is carefully traced by Pfeiffer, who attributes it to Southey's influence.

The same number of *S. in Ph.* provided a *Note on a Probable Source of Landor's 'Metellus and Marius'*, by Doris E. Peterson. Cervantes' *Numantia* is said by her to have provided some of the powerful strokes in this dialogue, hitherto generally supposed have been 'the work of Landor's creative and inventive genius'. It is here suggested that the English poet may have seen performances of the play when he was in Spain. The Spaniards revived it during the siege of Saragossa.

C. Collier Abbot, writing in *D.U.J.* (June), gave a lively account of the parents of Thomas Lovell Beddoes.

Under the heading, *Crabb Robinson and his Circle*, C. W. Brodribb contributed some letters from Lucy Aikin to *N. and Q.* (June 27), but the source was not given, nor was it stated whether the letters were hitherto unpublished.

On January 3 Derek Hudson recorded three addenda to his life of Praed, *A Poet in Parliament.*

J. J. Rubin's article, *Carlyle on Contemporary Style* (*M.L.N.*, May), was a sequel to one on the *Literary Relations of Whitman and Carlyle* (*S. in Ph.* July 1939), and showed that among the press notices which Whitman utilized in an endeavour to encourage the sales of *Leaves of Grass* was an unacknowledged excerpt from the introductory paragraph of *Corn Law Rhymes.*

P. H. Elander dealt with *Thomas Carlyle's 'religiöse Krise' und deren Darstellung im selbst biographischen roman* (*Stud. Neoph.*, vol. xv, 1942–3). This crisis or turning-point, set forth in 'The Everlasting No' (*Sartor Resartus*, chap. vii) is dated by Froude June 1821, when Carlyle was twenty-six years of age. Werner Leopold, following Alexander Carlyle, questioned that date and wished to substitute 1822. Elander adduces fresh arguments in support of Leopold's suggestion, but admits that the problem is a complicated one, and wrestles with it at great length and with frequent quotations from all the available authorities. He reaches the conclusion that *two* spiritual crises may be detected in Carlyle's life between 1821 and 1826, and that it was the earlier of these that he put on record in the Leith Walk (Rue St. Thomas de l'Enfer) passage. The influence of various personalities—Irving, Margaret Gordon, Jane Welsh—upon his self-torturing character, and the pressure of loneliness, dyspepsia, and thwarted ambition are elaborately 'plotted' and unusual prominence is given to the *Wotton Reinfred* fragment.

Charles H. Foster drew attention in *Hawthorne's Literary Theory* (*P.M.L.A.*, March) to the strange neglect of Hawthorne as an artist and a thinker, 'particularly regrettable when one remembers that he was the most complete artist of the New England renaissance'. His literary theory is said to have rested mainly on

his belief that 'allegory was the highest use of the imagination'; his use of symbolism to portray character; and his demand for literary patterns 'acceptable both to the senses and to the spirit'.

Novels in Newspapers: Some Unpublished Letters of Captain Mayne Reid by Graham Pollard (*R.E.S.*, Jan.) threw new light on the rise of syndication by means of unpublished letters from that novelist.

T.L.S. (July 25) devoted a leading article to the subject of *A Rugbeian Aftermath* and thus elicited a letter from Eric B. Hicks (Aug. 1) on the problem as to what was Tom Brown's age when he left Rugby and what was the duration of his 'Schooldays' there?

In *T.L.S.* (May 16) H. P. Garwood writing on *Mr. Beeton and 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'*, pointed out that Samuel Beeton, a publisher in a small way, paid a personal visit to America in order to hand to Mrs. Beecher Stowe a cheque for £500 in recognition of the success he had scored with *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on July 4. Mayson M. Beeton quoted a letter from Harriet Beecher Stowe on English and American book-piracy. *A Crusader in a Crinoline* by Forrest Wilson[6] gave a full-length portrait of Mrs. Beecher Stowe as a novelist, a propagandist, and an individual.

[6] *A Crusader in Crinoline*, by Forrest Wilson. Hutchinson. pp. 185. 18*s*.

XIV

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

II

By H. V. ROUTH

THE history of Whitman's influence and reputation is one of the most significant in our period. His mind was both stimulated and disturbed by the promptings of the 'under-nature'; he was conscious of what Whitehead calls 'the vague intimacies of organic existence'; he freed himself from the prejudices of class and nationality; he professed to lose himself in the stream of life; he discovered one way by which prose could be turned into free verse. In fact he offered much that the ante-Victorian and post-Victorian generations needed. At the same time one cannot help feeling that he promised more than he performs. So he is an almost ideal subject through which to open the discussion of contemporary literature, especially as his attitude is examined by a critic[1] who looks straight at the psychological development of his author.

Whitman meant to be much more than the poet of American democracy. He aspired to be the poet of humanity—to live in and for the brotherhood of man. Like any other artist, he had to express his message in a myth or symbol, and being also an egoist, this projection was to be himself. 'Now I stand here in the Universe, a personality perfect and sound.' The leading thoughts of his age were to pass through the mirage of his soul, not forgetting modern science, rationalism, and the faith which transcends rationalism. Unfortunately his education was not equal to his enthusiasm. He had, indeed, acquired some ticture of German philosophy, through Emerson, but he had not acquired culture. He was at heart a child of nature, whereas we cannot return to 'the natural Eden of instinctive innocence'. Being complex moderns, we must win to a second sight through the 'purgation of suffering', and the example of the greatest poets and philosophers. So Whitman lacked both the artistry and self-effacement to master the objective world. Though bent on merging himself in his impersonation of

[1] *Walt Whitman; Poet of Democracy*, by Hugh I'Anson Faussett. Cape. pp. 320. 12*s*. 6*d*.

the human spirit, he could not also merge his sense of his own importance. His egoism was always intruding. Having broken with the Past, he had broken with its tradition of inspired humility, and he paid the penalty. Though able to sensitize the tide of feeling which sometimes welled up in his soul and united him with the universe, he could not externalize himself in all he saw and heard; his self-abandonment was not really creative; he transformed objects into images, not visions. He could not contemplate, nor transfigure impressions by the light of a purer, disinterested perception, nor could he illuminate sensuous things with spiritual intuitions. Besides, since modern man is so often divided against himself, this dualism is reflected in his sexual life and he sometimes longs for the physical unconcern of the animal. Whitman often reflects this longing and tries to justify it; hence obscenity instead of insight.

And the upshot? *Leaves of Grass* is incomplete as an expression of man's inward life, or of a new culture in the making; as a vast repository of man's outer life, it is superb.

It should be noted that Fausset's book also throws light on the evolution of *free verse*, Whitman kept a notebook, and after several intervening blank pages, his entries slip into lines of varying length, which arrange themselves into rhythms according to his varying moods and emotions. In other words prose is (or can become) verse freed from a metric system; or, as Mallarmée asserted, there is no prose, only the alphabet and then poetry.

Fausset has certainly chosen a subject which gave him elbow-room. The same cannot be said of Edmund Blunden,[2] for though Hardy appeared a generation later than Whitman, and often scandalized his Victorian public, he was less adventurously in sympathy with the twentieth century. Besides, so many books have already appeared on the last great Victorian novelist, of which the most recent, C. J. Weber's *Hardy of Wesses* (see *Y.W.*, xxii, 211) was published just before Blunden's volume was ready for the press. So for the most part this monograph is interesting because it records conversations, anecdotes, contemporary criticisms and excerpts from the *Journals* (of which Blunden is not the first to make full use) and all these render Hardy's life and labours more real, even if they add little to our appreciation. For instance, take

[2] *Thomas Hardy*, by Edmund Blunden. (*English Men of Letters*) Macmillan pp. ix+286. 7*s.* 6*d.*

this remarkable quotation from Hardy's article on *The Profitable Reading of Fiction* published in *New York Forum* (March 1888):

> 'One fact is certain: in fiction there can be no intrinsically new thing at this stage of the world's history. New methods and plans may arise and come into fashion, as we see them do; but the general theme can neither be changed nor (what is less obvious) can the relative importance of its various particulars be greatly interfered with. The higher passions must ever rank above the inferior—intellectual tendencies above animal, the moral above intellectual—whatever the treatment, realistic or ideal.'

Students of Somerset Maugham, D. H. Lawrence, Joyce and Virginia Woolf may well open their eyes.

Blunden's study is also valuable because he does not take Hardy for granted. He notes that the 'philosophy' underlying the *Dynasts* was more beholding to Spencer and Mill than to Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann. Like Weber he comments on Hardy's occasional 'inartistic knottiness'. He admits that much of the Wessex Novels is bound to become 'faded pages' (especially *A Pair of Blue Eyes* and most of the short stories) simply because their author tried so hard to be 'popular' and therefore ephemeral. He protests that his plots are not so artificial as is supposed, but that the novelist never quite caught the sense of mysterious inevitableness, the 'rhythmic union of that dramatic immensity of creative restlessness', which he was always trying to suggest. His human types miss in their talk and outlook, 'the eternal presence' he could divine in inanimate nature. On the other hand his best characters (e.g. Tess, Oak, Diggory Venn, and Giles Winterborne) are 'portraits of human worth and integrity' which are not likely to lose their hold on human thought and aspiration. As a poet his faults are not those of mediocrity but of an indefatigable experimenter in material too stubborn to yield to his idea.

While Hardy was inspiring and provoking much criticism, by no means unconnected with religion, a religionist was privately circulating verse which was to attract no less attention, or at least, exercise no less influence a generation later—Gerard Manley Hopkins. Much good work has already been done on this pathetic and rather enigmatic poet, especially by C. C. Abbott, G. F. Lahey, and Herbert Read, and now John Pick[3] has ventured on a new and interesting line of interpretation.

[3] *Gerard Manley Hopkins; Priest and Poet*, by John Pick. O.U.P. pp. x+169. 8*s*. 6*d*. net.

It will be remembered that Hopkins went up to Oxford in 1863 and fell under the influence of Arnold, Pater and even Wilde. Most of his subsequent admirers have assumed that he never erased these impressions; his aestheticism continued (in Philip Henderson's words) to be 'dangerously pagan'; hence a conflict in his soul, which clouded his inspiration and may have broken his heart. Pick's object is to prove that on the contrary he not only assimilated but also sanctified this 'paganism'. Hopkins became a Jesuit and was therefore trained in the Rule of St. Ignatius. This Rule inculcates first the consideration of sin in all its multitudinous vileness, and secondly the purifying and remodelling of one's own life on the examples of the New Testament, through meditation and imitation, and culminates in the yearning to identify oneself with Christ—the loving desire to become *alter Christus*. Thus, though he may have laid poetry aside in the earlier stages of his regeneration, he learnt afterwards that all outward and sensuous experience could be pursued and enjoyed with a more spiritual fullness, in so much as it rendered us more at one with our Creator. Beauty, charm and pattern strengthened the consciousness of the divine presence and impulse in and around us. We could reach through things of the sense to hidden beauties, to their design, the inner kernel of their being, the inner form expressed by the outer form, the 'selfhood' of a thing working itself out and expressing itself in its own peculiar perfection; what Hopkins called 'instress' and 'inscape', borrowing from the terminology of Dun Scotus. Asceticism does not inhibit the poet, but frees him from inordinate attachment. It is as discipline and purification of the senses which emerge not suppressed but controlled. Everything can be enjoyed *sacramentally* and not therefore with less realism.

Thus was achieved the complete integration of poet, priest, and preacher. Pick traces the stages, beginning with *Wreck of the Deutschland* (1875); then the period 1877–8 full of joy because beauty was now invoked in praise of its Creator; then 1879–81 when the poems emphasize not nature but the waywardness of man; then 1882–3 inspired by the confessor's experience; and the last phase at Dublin 1884–9 when the poet sinks beneath the burden of his ill health and melancholy.

The apologist does not wholely satisfy us as to the causes of Hopkins's decline in power and confidence, nor does he face the problems connected with his technique, theory of versification, and

(it must be added) baffling obscurity. He seems content that genius should claim and assume its own peculiar licence. On the other hand he has accomplished the interpretation of difficult poetry through the temperament and convictions of the poet.

It seems a far cry from the ascetic poet to so genial a man of the world and letters as Sir Henry Newbolt,[4] whose intended autobiography was left incomplete by his decline and untimely death and would in any case have been somewhat overburdened by dinner invitations and house parties. Such is the first impression. On a second reading one catches a sense of spiritual nostalgia, as if social success, literary prominence, and public services were not enough. There is a touch of wistfulness in his regionalism. He loves a corner of England not only because it is his home, but because it is a tradition, a part of ancient England, alive with the dead. He had been a close friend of Henry James who devoted half a lifetime to his unfinished novel, *The Sense of the Past*. He cultivated McTaggart, the Cambridge philosopher, who held that time, space and matter are illusions, that all real existence is spiritual, and that our personal lives are of the substance of the Eternal. For Newbolt, with his sense of history and religion of patriotism, reality signified union of human nature through the centuries, 'a power of passing back from the life of to-day to the scenes and actions of a past generation'. The Time Traveller reaches the door of the old house, feels that he is stepping into some chapter of some other story and finds himself expected. Thus Newbolt, the author of patriotic ballads and popularizer of cheap English classics, was much in sympathy with the fantasies and speculations of the present day, for instance J. B. Priestley's *We have been there Before*, P. D. Ouspensky's *A New Model of the Universe*, J. W. Dunne's *An Experiment in Time*. The reader of *The Later Life and Letters* will be reminded how our author tried to symbolize this idea during the first decade of the twentieth century in the now forgotten novels *The Old Country* (1906) and *The New June* (1909).

It might also be noted that in a letter written in 1911 he defined poetry as 'the expression of emotion in terms of beauty'.

Speaking broadly and loosely, one might almost say that Yeats

[4] *The Later Life and Letters of Sir Henry Newbolt*, ed. by his Wife, Margery Newbolt. Faber and Faber. pp. x+426. 21*s*.

began where Newbolt left off and then directed his long life—largely spent in public—towards realizing the actual world in which he lived, and especially himself. This quality of progress and rebirth has been attracting much attention in recent years, especially since his death in 1939. So it is not surprising that we have at least two surveys to consider in this volume.

Narayana Menon's[5] book, follows the usual lines; that is to say, the stages of his journey from symbolism, which was to be an escape from life, to self-knowledge through experience of life. The critic quotes more wisely and fully than most, letting his author speak wherever possible. He notes that symbolic names were intended to help the poet more than his readers, and that precision of imagery begins to appear in *The Green Helmet*, and it is the predominant feature of *Responsibilities*. His view of Yeats's scholasticism is distinctly interesting. He claims that the poet propounded his esoteric philosophy in *A Vision* because he needed a system of thought that would leave his imagination free—'chiefly how so to suspend the will that the mind became automatic, a possible vehicle for spiritual things'. In fact the philosophy of vision is at the back of much of Yeats's later work, and is particularly convincing in the self-possession and clear-sightedness of *The Tower* and *The Winding Stair*.

As befits an academic critic, he is a trifle sceptical of Yeats's gestures and intuitions. Why does he not admit outright that if a poet is obscure, the less poet he?

Hone's[6] voluminous biography emphasizes his subject's dual personality: how he lived two lives, immersed in action, and in meditation, as if in quest of something essential to this life but outside and beyond action; an extrovert and introvert. Thus on the one hand he was always a propagandist, an organizer, the champion of lost causes, a theatrical manager, an agitator, almost a conspirator; on the other hand a spiritualist, a magician, a mystic, a visionary. Ever since he was initiated into The Society of the Golden Dawn (an order of Christian Cabbalists), between 1887 and 1889, he learnt how to let his reveries drift, following the suggestion of the

[5] *The Development of William Butler Yeats*, by V. K. Narayana Menon. With a Preface by Sir Herbert J. C. Grierson. Oliver and Boyd. pp. xiv+93. 8*s*. 6*d*.

[6] *W. B. Yeats 1865–1939*, by J. Hone. Macmillan. pp. ix+504. 25*s*.

symbol, and found thereby that he was able to summon images from a deeper source than memory, thus rendering his verses more sensuous and vivid. 'The mystical life', he declared 'is the centre of all that I do and all that I think, and all that I write.' L'Isle-Adam's *Axël* became his inspiration in the theory of dramatic art, in which symbols replace characters and events are allegories. He considered Maeterlinck to be second-rate because his work 'lacked that ceaseless reverie that we call wisdom'; and he placed Blake high above Goethe, Wordsworth and Browning because his symbols are images transcending space and time, in a sense *living souls*. His father honoured him as a poet in that he 'had convictions of the kind that could best be expressed in verse, that is, convictions that were *desires*, and such as could never be imprisoned in opinions.'

Yeats's later cult of the 'self' and 'anti-self' and his gradual transition to the poetry which was 'hard and dry', is familiar to all students of this erratic, many-sided Irishman, and Hone fully realizes the significance of the change; in fact he claims that *The Player Queen* is his best work; but he insists that to the last he was a dreamer, though he eventually taught himself how to materialize his dreams. His career was a pilgrimage towards purity and concentration of expression, sifting his thoughts in order to simplify his visions. 'As a young man he garnished a paucity of ideas with a great deal of mysticism. As an old man, hard, bright and clear in intellect, he had no need to garnish, nor for circumlocution.'

It is clear that the student of twentieth-century literature, must always keep the late nineteenth in mind, so he will welcome S. C. Roberts's *At the Heart of the 'Nineties* in *Essays and Studies*, vol. xxvii. He chooses 1894, and shows how much was produced during that year, including an interesting glimpse at the forgotten novel *A Yellow Aster* by 'Iota', a reasoned judgement on Anthony Hope's *The Prisoner of Zenda* ('an unpretentious but genuine work of art'), and a somewhat comforting reassurance on the sanity of *The Yellow Book*. One cannot too often be reminded of his conclusion: 'A survey of the 'nineties should certainly reveal the Beardsley period, the aesthetic movement, the rise of realistic fiction, and the revolt against Victorian convention; but it should also reveal a varied picture of gaiety, humour, satire and romance'.

Few students of modern literature would deny that the Russian novel has exercised an enormous influence on the development of the English novel, and even when direct contact cannot be traced, illustrates in unmistakeable outline the tendencies which control our imaginative writers; otherwise there would be no excuse for mentioning Lavrin's[7] handbook. As it is, the treatise is full of implied comments. We learn that Leskov (1831–95) invented one style of narration which Conrad made fashionable in English, that is, the *skaz*, 'a stylized spoken tale, anecdote or series of anecdotes . . . told in such a way that the accent and inflection of the narrator himself are perfectly preserved.' One might be dealing with almost any of the prominent English inter-war novelists, when told that Dostoievsky added to the psychological novel 'the entire region of the subconscious'; that he was not interested in static or even settled life; that he obliterated the line between normal and abnormal.

One of the features of our own time is the passing of the bourgeois novel, founded on faith in a static middle-class society, and the rise of talented proletarians who want to change our whole attitude towards government and morality. So it is instructive to learn that in 1890 Russia had 40,000 industrial enterprises, and out of this nation of work-people Gorky (1868–1936) arose, the first authentic voice heralding Chesterton's 'The Silent Men' and Kipling's 'The Sons of Martha', to efface the feeling of social inferiority. One remembers H. G. Wells and D. H. Lawrence. The Soviet Revolution concentrated on mechanization and thereby provoked a reaction, and return to the main current of Russian tradition. For instance Zamyatin produced *We* (1922) which anticipates Huxley's *Brave New World*. Others (for instance Gorky in his old age) have resumed the study of the individual and the community as two complementary growths, each helping the other's adjustment. One thinks of Somerset Maugham's latest phase, for instance *A Christmas Holiday*, modelled on Voltaire's *Nouvelles* and de Maupassant's *Contes*, and Howard Spring's lively exposures, more beholden to Thackeray than to Proust, Dostoevsky, or James Joyce. Altogether, the history of the Russian Novel is a helpful introduction to some tendencies in English literature.

[7] *An Introduction to the Russian Novel*, by Janko Lavrin. Methuen. pp. vii+216. 7*s*. 6*d*.

By FREDERICK S. BOAS

The biographical study, *Hardy of Wessex* by Carl J. Weber, was noticed in *Y.W.*, xxii, 210. Weber is head of the Department of English in Colby College, Waterville, Maine, U.S.A., which specializes in the collection of everything published by, or relating to, Thomas Hardy. Weber has now compiled, and the Colby College Library has published, a Centenary Bibliography of Hardiana entitled *The First Hundred Years of Thomas Hardy: 1840–1940*. An account of this volume in *T.L.S.* (Aug. 18) indicates that it does not list Hardy's own writings but contains many more than 3,000 entries relating to them or himself personally in any language. Not only the smallest relevant items in the periodical press are included but illustrations and musical settings.

In *Hardy and Jowett* (*T.L.S.*, Oct. 3) R. L. Purdy gives details in support of the view that the letter which put an end to Jude's hopes of becoming a student at Oxford was based on a letter received by Hardy from Benjamin Jowett. The passage as originally written and published in *Harper's Magazine* in 1893 describes the letter as coming from 'the Provost of Sepulchre College'. Jowett was still alive and it was two years after his death, when the novel appeared in book form in November 1895 that Hardy first designated Jude's academic correspondent by the revealing title of 'Master of Biblioll'. It is an irony, which Purdy does not note, that of all men Jowett should thus figure in the role of the narrow-minded academician.

J. O. Bailey indicates *Sources for Poe's 'Arthur Gordon Pym', 'Hans Pfoal', and other pieces* in *P.M.L.A.* (June). In 1818 Captain J. C. Symmes circulated a theory that the earth is hollow and open at the poles. This theory was in 1820 used as the basis of a romance *Symzonia* by Captain Adam Seaborn, possibly, as Bailey hints, a pseudonym for Symmes himself. Among the sources used by Poe for *Arthur Gordon Pym* Bailey adds *Symzonia* to those already known. He quotes a number of parallels between it and Poe's story. He also finds in *Symzonia* the origin of one important detail about an anti-gravitational metal in *Hans Pfaal*. The chief source however, as Bailey again shows by quotations, is George Tucker's *A Voyage to the Moon* not, as has been thought, a review of this romance in the *American Quarterly Review*. In a second edition

of *Hans Pfaal* Poe made use of some notes that he had made, which were derived from Rees's *Cyclopædia*. Some further points concerning *Hans Pfaal* and one or two other pieces by Poe conclude the article.

In *Poe's Tale 'The Lighthouse'* (*N. & Q.*, April 25), T. O. Mabbott prints consecutively for the first time the whole of the untitled and unfinished fragment on four MS. leaves which was probably the last story written by Poe. The first leaf had become separated and was printed inaccurately at a sale in 1919; the three others were printed by Woodberry in an appendix to his *Life of Poe* (1919) with the title *The Lighthouse*. Mabbott holds that Poe was at work on the story at the time of his sudden death, and he outlines a plausible reconstruction of the way in which it was to have been completed.

In *Additions to 'A List of Poe's Tales'* (*N. & Q.*, Sept. 12) Mabbott amplifies and corrects in certain particulars the list by J. C. Wyllie included in *Humanistic Studies in honour of J. C. Metcalf* (1941). Mabbott further (*N. & Q.*, Nov. 21) gives detailed particulars of the three 1846 *English Publications of Poe's 'Valdemar Case'*, which first appeared in the *American Review*, Dec. 1845.

In *Poe, Critic of Voltaire* (*M.L.N.*, April) P. G. Adams quotes two passages in which Poe accuses Voltaire in his play *Mort de César* of creating confusion about the unity of place. Quoting from memory Poe puts the words 'Courons au Capitole' into the lips of Caesar or of the populace though they are really spoken by Carsius. As Voltaire lays the scene of the play, 'à Rome, au Capitole' Poe comments sarcastically, 'poor fellows, they are in the Capitol all the time . . . the author has never once let them out of it'. Adams points out that Voltaire knew that 'Capitole' had a double meaning, the Capitoline Hill, which was the general setting of the play, and the chief building in it, the Temple of Jupiter. Poe's charge therefore falls to the ground.

In *'Poe' and Intemperance* (*N. & Q.*, July 18) T. O. Mabbot prints the four paragraphs of part of a speech or article on Intemperance ascribed to Poe in a lesson-book. It has hitherto been thought that this extract first appeared in *Sterling's Southern Fifth Reader* (1866), but recently it has been pointed out that it is included in *The Southern First Class Book*, selected by M. M. Mason (1839). After weighing the arguments on either side in the light of this discovery Mabbott classifies the extract as one to be 'doubtfully rejected from the canon of Poe's works'.

In *The Univ. of Texas Studies in English* Alice L. Cooke traces *The Popular Conception of Edgar Allan Poe from 1850 to 1890*. She deals first with the estimates of Poe as a man, beginning with the very unfavourable presentation of him by R. W. Griswold in the Memoir prefixed to the 1850 edition of *The Literati*. Still more damaging attacks were made by George Gilfillan in *The Critic* (1851) and by a temperance propagandist in *The National Magazine*, Oct. 1852. A fairer portrait was drawn by J. U. Davidson of South Carolina in *Russell's Magazine* (1857) but in England an article in *The Edinburgh Review* gave wider currency to Griswold's slanders. In France, on the other hand, Poe found a champion in 'Baudelaire'. Miss Cooke then describes the later biographical estimates from Sarah Whitman's laudatory *Poe and his Critics* to G. E. Woodberry's judicial *Life*.

In the decade following his death Poe's reputation rested chiefly on his prose fiction. His poetry was slower in winning recognition but in the 'seventies at least half a dozen editions of them were published. At the same time his reputation as a critic grew, as it was realized that he had introduced a new and more scientific method. 'In the end,' as Miss Cooke sums it up, 'the truth about Poe came to light because, whatever his enemies could say of his life, his writings were without moral blemish, and their pure and refined tone led to the finding of a proper perspective.'

In the same publication J. C. Mathews gives a detailed analysis of *Emerson's Knowledge of Dante*, dealing with ninety references in Emerson's writings which throw light on this. He had read the *Inferno* and parts of the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso* either in Italian or in translation. He also knew the *Vita Nuova* in Italian and wrote a rough prose English translation of it. Though his conception of Dante's genius was in some respects limited his knowledge of his works was in advance of that of most Americans of his day.

Mabbott and R. G. Silver give information about *Walt Whitman and the 'Brooklyn Freeman'* (*N. and Q.*, Sept. 26). The paper edited by Whitman in support of Van Buren and the 'Free Soil' Democrats appeared on 9 September 1848, and was planned first as a weekly. But when the first number, of which only one copy survives, had been published, the plant was burnt out on 10 Sep-

tember. It was revived in November and lasted till 11 September 1849, appearing daily from April 25.

Robert D. Mayo in *Sir Willoughby's Pattern* (*N. & Q.*, Dec. 19), traces the source of Meredith's *The Egoist* in the legend of the Willow Pattern plate. Koong-see, the daughter of a mandarin, rebelled against marrying the wealthy Ta-jin whom her father had chosen for her, and chose as her lover the mandarin's secretary with whom she escaped over the blue-willow bridge pursued by Ta-jin. In the novel he figures revealingly as Sir Willoughby Patterne the Egoist; Vernon Whitford is the secretary, and Clara Middleton is the rebellious maiden. The description of her 'as a dainty rogue in porcelain' not only characterizes her but identifies her with the mandarin's daughter.

Though the Willow Pattern plates alone were sufficient to give Meredith the suggestion for his novel, Mayo notes that two stage versions of the story were produced before 1879. Talfourd's extravaganza *The Mandarin's Daughter; or The Willow Pattern Plate* was acted at the Strand Theatre on 26 December 1851. F. C. Burnard's *A Tale of Old China* was performed in St. George's Hall between 19 April and 5 July 1875.

In *'The Egoist' and The Willow Pattern* (*E.L.H.*, March) Mayo deals with the allusions in further detail.

L. Whitbread in *Kipling and Runes* (*N. & Q.*, August 1) draws attention to the knowledge of Runes seen in the drawing he made to illustrate his story, *How the First Letter was Written*. The drawing is of a tusk, on each side of which Kipling has put a row of runic letters and beneath it a line of very small names. Whitbread gives a transliteration of these and shows how Kipling, while using for the most part genuine runes, has invented some new symbols. He discusses the source of Kipling's acquaintance with this out-of-the-way subject and gives other instances of his interest in Anglo-Saxon matters.

In *N. & Q.*, Oct. 24 Whitbread gives an interesting account of *Rudyard Kipling's Father*, John Lockwood Kipling, who spent most of his career from 1865 to 1893, as a teacher of art in India. He had also literary gifts chiefly shown in his work, *Beast and Man in India*. Rudyard always professed a special debt to his father,

who influenced his writing, and who illustrated *The Jungle Books* and *Kim*. Some further details were added by Whitbread, Dec. 19.

The verbal scrutiny of Trollope's novels still occupies a remarkable amount of attention. Allan Wade in *The Text of Trollope* (*T.L.S.*, Jan. 10) calls attention to various discrepancies in Framley *Parsonage* and suggests revision of some readings in *Rachel Ray* and *Miss Mackenzie*. Another revision, in *Is He Popingay?*' is proposed by R. W. Chapman in *A Correction in Trollope* (*T.L.S.*, March 7). Chapman in two 1941 articles in *R.E.S.* (see *Y.W.*, xxii, 224) had conjecturally emended a number of passages in *Phineas Redux*. A number of his suggested readings were queried by Gavin Bone. In *The text of Trollope's 'Phineas Redux'* (*R.E.S.*, Jan.) C. B. Tucker continues the discussion, stating that he now owns the MSS. of *Phineas Finn* and *Phineas Redux*. An examination of the latter shows that of Chapman's proposed emendations about thirty are supported by the MS., while for some thirty others it gives no justification, although the suggested reading is generally preferable to that of the received text. In the same number of *R.E.S.* Chapman replying to Gavin Bone enunciates the general principles on which he has based his textual criticism of Trollope. 'The critic must come to his task saturated in Trollope's idiom.' He must bear in mind that, though Trollope was not a conscious literary artist, he has put on record that he studied lucidity and the cadence of his sentences. H. F. Summers adds a further note in *R.E.S.* (April).

In *A New Trollope Item* (*T.L.S.*, July 25) Michael Sadleir called attention to 'The Third Report of the Postmaster-General on the Post Office' (1857) which contained in an Appendix, pp. 56–62, a *History of the Post Office in Ireland*, signed by Anthony Trollope. See also letters from Charles Clay (Aug. 8) and Sadleir (Aug. 29).

In *Miss Braddon* (*T.L.S.*, Aug. 29) Montague Summers gives details of the publication of some of her earlier writings. In 1854, while at Beverley she wrote, as commissioned, a poem on Garibaldi which with other poems was published in 1861. A Beverley printer, G. R. Empson, who had noticed her contributions to the local *Recorder* offered her ten pounds for a serial story. After appearing in weekly parts this was published by W. M. Clark of Warwick

Lane as *Three Times Dead* in 1854. This was reissued with some changes by Ward & Lock in 1861 under the title of *The Trail of the Serpent*. Another novel after appearing serially in *The London Journal* as *The Outcasts* was published in abridged form as *Henry Dunbar, the Story of an Outcast* in 1864. An anonymous three-volume novel, *Put to the Test* (1865) is also from her pen.

The text of Stevenson has begun to undergo a similar scrutiny to that of Trollope. Two anonymous contributors to *N. & Q.* (April 4, Aug. 15, Nov. 21) V.R. and E.D. supply an elaborate series of notes and comments on *The Wrong Box* (1889) by Stevenson and Lloyd Osborne. They contain helpful informative and linguistic material. On another joint work of Stevenson and Osborne, *The Wrecker* (1892) Senex asks a number of linguistic questions (*N. & Q.*, Feb. 28), the last of which is answered by M. H. Dodds (May 2).

Of a different type is the problem raised by J. R. Moore in his article on *Stevenson's 'Catriona'* (*N. and Q.*, July 18). Recognizing that Stevenson was addicted particularly in his last years, to weaving his own memories into his fiction Moore finds the original of Catriona is a beautiful young Highland girl whom the novelist has known in Edinburgh and wished to marry. She was called Kate Drummond of which the heroine's name Catriona Drummond (Katrine) is a variant.

In *Flecker and Byron* (*N. & Q.*, Nov. 23) Geoffrey Tillotson draws attention to features of Flecker's poem *Tenebris Interlucentern* which have been suggested by *The Prisoner of Chillon*. When Flecker turned his poem from its original pentameters totetrameters it 'seems to have reverted instinctively to its source'.

T. P. Haber discusses *The Influence of the Ballads in Housman's Poetry* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.) Housman himself stated that the chief sources of his poetry were Shakespeare's songs, the Scottish Border Ballads and Heine. Of his 178 published poems seventy-four per cent are in the quatrain pattern. Haber gives a number of instances of words or spellings familiar in the ballads which are to be found in Housman's verse. His native pessimism found in the Border Ballads 'an abundance of congenial themes and situations'. Among the ballads whose subject and temper may have influenced Hous-

man, Haber indicates 'The Unquiet Grave', 'Clerk Saunders', 'Proud Lady Margaret', 'Barbara Allan', 'The Twa Brothers' and 'Mary Hamilton'. By quotations from them compared with passages in *The Shropshire Lad* and other of his poems Haber suggests 'how deeply the English ballads—their tale of the pathos of the human struggle; their swift, sure narrative; their display of passions laid bare—entered into the poet's soul.'

In *A. E. Housman's Borrowings* (*T.L.S.*, April 18), G. B. A. Fletcher collects a number of reminiscences in Housman's poetry. They include three from the Bible, *Ezekiel* xxiv, 12; *Isaiah*, lv, i and *Revelation* xiv, 19–20 or xix, 15. There are two echoes of phrases in Browning's 'In a Gondola' and Rossetti's 'The Staff and Scrip', and a more doubtful one of a stanza in Keat's 'Isabella'.

E. A. Gladding in a Note on *Housman's 'More Poems, VII' and Dehmel's 'Trost'* (*M.L.N.*, March 1941) drew attention to a parallel between

> Stars, I have seen them fall,
> But when they drop and die
> No star is lost at all
> From all that star-sown sky.

and lines in Richard Dehmel's poem *Trost*, though dates forbid any mutual influence. C. B. Beall in *Housman, Dehmel and Dante* (*M.L.A.*, March) suggests that both may have had a common source in *Paradiso* XV, 13–18.

Marjorie Northend in *R.E.S.* (Oct.) has a suggestive article on *Henry Arthur Jones and the Development of the Modern English Drama*. She notes the revolutionary change between the drama of the 1860's 'represented by brittle adaptations from the French and lurid melodramas by the Irish' to that of the 1900's 'represented by the solemn problem plays of John Galsworthy, the subtle problem plays of Granville-Barker, the provocative problem plays of Bernard Shaw, and the competent problem plays of many other writers'. The change during this half century was primarily due to the influence of Ibsen, but in addition to the untiring efforts of H. A. Jones to raise dramatic taste and 'bring reality, seriousness and truth back to the English drama'. Even in the 1860's these factors had begun to make their re-entry with the plays of Tom Robertson, each with a definite social thesis behind it. He pointed

the way which Jones was quick to follow with a fiery crusading zeal which expressed itself not only in plays but in propagandist books and pamphlets. In Miss Northend's words, 'To fulfil his own particular function Jones required the qualities of showman as well as artist. This meant that the intrinsic value of his work was not so important to him as its power to attract attention: he must prostitute his art in order to exalt it'.

Miss Northend illustrates this thesis by discussing in turn Jones's chief plays from *The Silver King* (1882) onwards where melodrama was elevated by psychological insight and some power of literary expression. *The Middeman* (1889) was a stepping-stone to Galsworthy *Strife* and *The Physician* (1897) to Shaw's *The Doctor's Dilemma*. After discussing other of his dramas, including *The Dancing Girl* and *Judah*, Miss Northend sums up Jones's chief claim to consideration 'in his seriousness, his perseverance, and his shouldering aside, in a somewhat lumbering, heavy manner, of the old traditions, clearing a pathway for the great drama to come. He introduced a new technique, a new outlook, and widened the range of drama from the limitations of love, hate and sudden death, to include religion, politics, moral hypocrisy, social shortcomings and marriage problems.'

XV

BIBLIOGRAPHICA

By STRICKLAND GIBSON

THE beautifully printed and illustrated Pforzheimer Catalogue,[1] although dated 1940, seems not to have been published until two years later. Mr. Carl Pforzheimer says, 'The general policy in forming our library was not to seek completeness of each author but rather to secure the important books in English literature and, when available, rarities and unique copies.' The full importance of this fine library can at present only be conjectured. The Introduction contains a reproduction of a copy of the 42-line Bible (1450–5), and in the field of English literature after 1700 reference is made to autograph MSS. of William Cowper's translation of Homer, Scott's *Quentin Durward* and Dickens's *Haunted Man*; George Eliot's notebook for *Daniel Deronda*; and to a very extensive collection relating to Shelley and his circle. The Catalogue now published, which has 1700 as a date limit, is especially rich in Chapman, Gascoigne, Interludes, Jonson, Marston, and Spenser, and reprints of these sections have been struck off in twenty-five copies each. Among the unique books or editions may be mentioned Breton's *Wits Priuate Wealth* (1611), *The fourth boke of Virgill translated by Henrye late Earle of Surrey* (1554?), Jonson's *Time vindicated to himselfe, and to his Honors* [1623], and Ronsard's *Discours of the present troobles in Fraunce Tr. by Thomas Ieney*. Jonson's *Time vindicated* is reproduced in full. Mr. Pforzheimer also possesses the only known perfect copy of *Axiochus. A most excellent Dialogue by Plato. Tr. by Edw. Spenser* (1592). Sheet D, preserved only in this copy, contains the speech of the Earl of Oxford's page. The speech is supposed to have been made in 1581 and written by some member of the Earl's household. John Lyly and Anthony Munday are therefore both possible, but 'the unusual ease of rhythm of the Speech, together with its marked euphuism, inclines the verdict to John Lyly'. The four leaves in question are reproduced.

The entries under *Interludes* are Tho. Ingelend's *Disobedient child* [1575], *Jacob and Esau* (1568), *King Darius* (1565), *Lusty*

[1] *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library. English Literature 1475–1700.* New York. Privately printed. MCMXL. 3 vols. pp. xli + 1305 + pl. lx. £30.

Juventus (c.1565), *New Custome* [1573]; a manuscript of *Respublica* attributed to Nicholas Udall (1553), *Thersytes* [1560?], *Triall of Treasure* (1567), George Wapull's *Tyde taryeth* (1576), and *Youth* (c.1557). Other notable books are John Day's *Ile of Guls* (1606) with the imprint in the first state; Dekker's *The Double PP* (1606) with a hitherto unknown dedication to Sir Henry Cock, and Lodge's *Rosalynde* (1590) with sig. R unique in this copy. Under the heading 'The Gosynhill flyting' is a group of four satires on women—*The Scole house of women*, 1560 (attributed to Edward Gosynhill), *The prayse of all women* by Gosynhill, *The Defence of women* by Edward More (1560–), and Robert Vaughan's or Robert Burdet's *Dyalogue defensyve for women* (1542). A long and interesting note is attached to the heading.

Among other rarities may be noted a copy of Milton's '*Comus*' (1637) with nine MS. corrections which may be in the handwriting of Milton; all the principal editions of the *Mirror for Magistrates*; the four Shakespeare Folios; a copy of the 1634 quarto of *King Richard the Second* uncut with the original stitching; several early editions of Skelton; and a copy of *Willobie his Avisa* (1594) a work which contains the first direct reference to Shakespeare in contemporary literature. In addition to the printed books a number of autograph letters are included in the Catalogue, the most interesting being those of John Evelyn to Samuel Pepys.

At the end of the Introduction Mr. Pforzheimer says that there is nothing final about the statements made in the Catalogue, 'bibliographical data are, and always will be, in a state of flux. What is true to-day may be disproved to-morrow, and so the last word is never said.' To this one may add that there is also nothing final about collecting nor would collectors have it so. Two unique books, Robert Joyner's *Itis, or Three severall Boxes of sporting Familiars* (1598) and *A Pil to purge Melancholie* (1599), together with a copy of the first edition of Bacon's *Essayes* (1597), which appear in an Appendix of recent Acquisitions, prove that the Pforzheimer Library is still in a state of vigorous growth.

The Folger Shakespeare Memorial Library Progress Report[2] contains an impressive list of accessions including the original MSS. of the three earliest English moralities; several Elizabethan

[2] *The Folger Shakespeare Memorial Library; A Report on Progress 1931–41* by Joseph Quincy Adams. pp. 61.

plays; Ralph Crane's transcript of Middleton's *Game at Chess*; a collection of Donne letters chiefly concerning his marriage to Anne More; and a large collection of papers, etc., from Loseley Hall relating to the Office of the Revels and the two Blackfriars Theatres. Among association copies are two from the Library of Edmund Spenser, a Chaucer annotated by Ben Jonson, and a copy of Lambarde's *'Αρχαιονομία* (1568) with a possible autograph of Shakespeare on the title page. The Report also announces the incorporation in the Folger Library of over 9,000 titles (1475–1640) brought together by Sir Leicester Harmsworth and the remarkable Coleorton Hall collection of early plays.

The writer of the Preface to A. T. Hazen's *Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press*[3] assesses its value. 'This book', he says, 'makes wastepaper of virtually everything written about the Strawberry Hill Press since Walpole's and Kirgate's day.' As already mentioned in chapter xii, p. 177, it is an elaborate piece of work based on the collection of Mr. W. S. Lewis of Farmington, and lavishly illustrated with facsimiles for the most part the same size as the originals. One unusual feature is the addition of the prices at which products of the Press have been sold, justification being found in the interest taken in prices either as a matter of curiosity or as a chapter of the social and economic history of book-collecting. The most interesting part of the bibliography concerns Thomas Kirgate, who printed for Horace Walpole for thirty years, and was considered by his employer as the only honest printer he ever had. Hazen, however, proves that Kirgate reprinted many items and sold them as genuine original impressions. Although these unauthorized reprints are termed forgeries Hazen admits that all Kirgate's work can be called by a moderate extension of the term, 'genuine' Strawberry Hill printing. To disentangle true from false Hazen pays special attention to paper, watermarks, and type, all of which help to reveal whether the items in question were distributed by Kirgate or whether their pedigree contains a legitimate line of descent from Walpole. Presumably all the reprints (otherwise called replicas or forgeries) may have been produced in 1797 after Walpole's death, but before Kirgate left Strawberry Hill.

There are also other forgeries which confront the bibliographer,

[3] *A Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press . . . by A. T. Hazen.* See above p. 177.

Ten detached pieces including *The Press speaks* are believed by Hazen to have been printed after Kirgate's death in 1810 probably between 1818 and 1840. Strawberry Hill Press collectors have in this bibliography an invaluable book of reference, but they may be reminded of Walpole's own generalization 'my editions sell for their curiosity, and not for any merit in them'.

Union Catalogs in the United States[4] which gives a nationwide survey of all aspects of union cataloguing, may at first sight be considered purely as a work for librarians but it has an importance for all those concerned with intellectual co-operation. The union catalogue has been highly developed in America and is defined as being a list, usually unpublished and on cards, limited or unlimited in scope, of the catalogued resources of two or more libraries. Apparently the only development in this country centres in nine regional library systems operating with the National Central Library, but no attempt has yet been made to incorporate these several regional catalogues with a general one.

In 1941 the union catalogue of the Library of Congress contained over eleven million cards, the yearly growth being about 400,000 entries. The impressive enumeration of all the book catalogues and lists incorporated in it up to September 1941 includes such works as Miss Bartlett's *Census of Shakespeare's plays in quarto* and *Mr. William Shakespeare, original and early editions*, Jaggard's *Shakespeare Bibliography*, and Cross's *History of Henry Fielding*. So many rarities of English literature are now in the United States that it is a very great assistance to scholarship that their location in public or institutional libraries may be readily obtained by inquiry. A further development of the Library of Congress union catalogue is the incorporation of certain foreign library catalogues such as those of the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), and the German State Libraries. The need is also expressed for a comprehensive union catalogue of European libraries so that the world's literature may be made generally available to American scholars.

The following articles appeared in *The Library*.[5] W. W. Greg in

[4] *Union Catalogs in the United States*, ed. by Robert B. Downs. American Library Association, Chicago. pp. xxii+410. 25*s*.

[5] *The Library* (*Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*) New Series vol. xxii, No. 4; xxiii, Nos. 1, 2/3. O.U.P.

Some notes on Crane's manuscript of 'The Witch' (March) examines the accuracy of Reed's edition of Middleton's play which is preserved only in a transcript made by Ralph Crane presumably from a playhouse MS. He finds some normalization, punctuation only remotely followed, contractions irregularly treated, and the spelling moderately accurate. Crane's fondness for hyphens was excessive and promiscuous: he used them not only to form compound epithets, but placed them between adjectives which normally would be separated with a comma. Crane also had a liking for the Jonsonian elision by which when it was either graphically or phonetically awkward to drop the vowel it was retained with an apostrophe added to indicate that metrically it was not to count. Greg wonders whether Crane had been transcribing some play of Jonson's immediately before he made his copy of *The Witch*. In a Table of variants references are given to the texts of Dyce, who printed from Reed; and of Bullen, who followed Dyce.

In *Thomson's 'Spring': early editions true and false* (March) J. E. Wells continues his laborious pursuit of Spring and the Seasons generally. Literary students will be grateful for his differentiations especially as he finds that few of Thomson's editors and critics have had much first hand acquaintance with the poet's own printings. The materials presented by Wells are based on the examination of copies in his own possession—at least two of every known printing—of each of the separate issues of single poems, and of each of the collected *Seasons*, up to and including the quartos of 1762.

Gwynne B. Evans in *Comedies, Tragi-comedies, with other Poems by Mr. William Cartwright, 1651: A bibliographical study* (June) discusses at length the four preliminary quires with their confusing signatures of single, double, triple, and quadruple stars. Miss Evans settles the arrangement of the quires where (may we add?) 'now sing the ordered stars'. In a Postscript to the *Comedies* Humphrey Moseley, the publisher, states that the work has no index. A single copy of the index, however, exists in the Bodleian Library and traces of it are not infrequently found in the form of stubs (sig. x). Miss Evans believes that the index was cancelled because Moseley had omitted certain poems in a cancel of three leaves inserted after T8. It was not to save space, as Moseley

asserted, but to save paper and the trouble of setting up and printing off a new and corrected one.

The main conclusions of Neil R. Ker in his article on *The Migration of Manuscripts from the English Medieval Libraries* (June) have been noted above (Chap. v, p. 85). But attention may here be drawn to his observations on the fate of the smaller collections catalogued by Bernard in his *Catalogi libb. MSS. Angliae et Hiberniae* (1697). He takes as an example the MSS. said by Bernard to be in the possession of Sir Henry Langley of Shropshire. These passed to Lord Somers and are now found in the Bodleian, the British Museum, and other collections. It appears, however, that John Langley of Amies, was the actual collector, and that he obtained some of the MSS. from Lichfield Cathedral. In Ker's opinion there was in the fifteenth century a select chained library at Christ Church, Canterbury, nearly all of which is catalogued in a list of books for repair drawn up by William Ingram in 1508: of this library a considerable portion has survived.

George H. Bushnell (June) gives an interesting account of Patrick Bower, bookseller and bookbinder to the University of St. Andrews from 1747 to 1814. A theft from his shop in 1762 is responsible for a list of text-books in general use at that time by the students. A curious feature of Bower's bindings is the use of old leather book-covers cut down and used as *doublures*. Bushnell suggests that this was done to strengthen the bindings; another explanation might be that it was an embellishment.

A. E. Housman, an annotated check-list (*additions and corrections*) by William White (June) supplements the check-list by John Carter and John Sparrow, and records mainly American editions, appearances in American periodicals, and material which had appeared since the check-list was printed.

In *A Political Cancel in 'The Coblers Prophesie'* (1594) Irene Mann (Dec.) notes the difficulties with which the compositor was faced when he had to reprint one sheet (sig. F). His procedure with formes and skeletons is fully explained and Miss Mann concludes that the compositor of sheet F was different from the man who set up the remainder of the play.

On p. 132 of the same number of *The Library* there is a valuable

contribution by the printer to what one is tempted to call 'formal' bibliography. Here he apologizes for an error due to a zealous compositor making an alteration to the forme while it was receiving the final correction. It is a most instructive example very lucidly explained, and introduces a realistic note into what is too often thought to be a mere antiquarian investigation.

Charlton Hinman in *A Proof-sheet in the First Folio of Shakespeare* (Dec.) describes his discovery of a second First Folio proof-sheet in the Folger Shakespeare Library, bearing corrections on p. 333 (*Othello*, sig. vv3^{r}). Some copies of the Folio exhibit a curious variant in the first line of p. 333 where 'And hell gnaw his bones' is repeated from column 2 of the preceding page, the correct reading being 'I have heard too much: and your words and'. In the proof 'hell gnaw his bones' is deleted, and 'your words &' added in the margin. Hinman draws the conclusion that p. 333 as originally set up did not contain the repetition, but was the result of some accident that took place at the time of imposition. A diagram gives the probable order in which the six formes of sig. vv went to the press.

A very useful survey of activities in the field of bibliography in the last few years is given by F. C. Francis in *Recent Bibliographical Work* (Dec.). Work still in progress includes the revision and expansion of the Bibliographical Society's Dictionaries of Printers, Wing's Catalogue of English books 1641–1700, and a rearrangement of the *Short Title Catalogue* as a chronological list by F. S. Ferguson. Reference is also made to a plan put forward by Margaret Hands for cataloguing books printed before 1700 in the Cathedral Libraries. It is satisfactory to know that this work has just been begun (March 1944). In recording work on newspapers Francis has inadvertently omitted Milford and Sutherland's *Catalogue of English newspapers and periodicals in the Bodleian Library, 1622–1800* which contains a full collation of the well-known collection of Nichol's Newspapers. The Burney collection of newspapers in the British Museum is being catalogued by Hanson. A plea by Francis for the regular publication of a list of studies in progress should be kept in mind.

The Bibliographical Society of America prints in their *Papers* (2nd quarter, 1942) an article by R. C. Bald on *Early copyright*

litigation and its bibliographical interest. Bald reminds us that it is essential to the preparation of accurate texts of a number of important eighteenth-century works that piracies should be identified and eliminated, and adds that no other source of information helps to do this so much as the lawsuits to which some of them give rise. In *Papers* (3rd quarter) is an article by Edwin Wolf 2nd on *Press corrections in sixteenth and seventeenth-century quartos.*

Under present conditions it is again not possible to give an account of accessions to the British Museum Library and National Library of Scotland during 1942.

The Bodleian Library acquired during the year some MSS. of literary interest. The earliest contained two anonymous poems, one beginning 'Into Hierusalem our Saviour rides' (c. 1600), the other 'Brave Mars and mighty Pallas'. The latter commemorates an entertainment given at the Inns of Court and has allusions to Hemminge, Burbage, Field, and Condell. It is probable that the verses were written when gentlemen of the Inns of Court performed before Charles I on the occasion of his creation as Prince of Wales in 1616. Another MS. of slighter later date is a student's copy of anonymous Oxford sermons, perhaps by Thomas Anyan, President of Corpus Christi College (1614–29), and a famous preacher. Through the Friends of the Bodleian the Library acquired the original agreement between Alexander Pope and Bernard Lintot for the publication of Pope's translation of the Iliad of Homer, dated 23 March 1713, signed and sealed by Pope, witnessed by Geo. Chudleigh and John Gay, and endorsed with Pope's receipts for successive payments as they became due. The document is on a large sheet of vellum, and a specimen of the paper to be used in the publication is still attached to it.

Epistolary accessions were transcripts of Chesterfield's letters in the Rijksarchief and the Royal Library, the Hague; and correspondence (1784–1810) and papers of John Randolph, Bishop of London. The Friends of the Bodleian also presented two autograph MSS. of Thomas Crabbe, one containing sixty-four lines of a poem in the style of *Tales of the Hall*, the other being a fair copy of *The Library*, bound with a copy of the first printed edition (1781). The great-granddaughter of Thomas Love Peacock, Mrs. K. Hall Thorpe and her two sisters Miss E. B. Clarke and Miss

E. G. Clarke presented a valuable collection of papers and letters relating to the life and works of Peacock. The most important papers are the MS. notes on Peacock's life jotted down in 1873 and 1874 by his cousin, Harriet Love, for the benefit of his granddaughter, Edith Nicolls (Mrs. Clarke), who was then preparing the Biographical Notice of her grandfather which she contributed to the Bentley edition of his *Works* in 1875. E. Blunden gave a collection of letters to Thornton Leigh Hunt from prominent contemporaries (1853–71), and Mrs. W. Heelis gave two unpublished poems by Rudyard Kipling 'Amours de voyage' and 'Murder in the compound' sent by Kipling to Mrs. Georgiana May when he was about eighteen. There are also letters from Mrs. May (1890–5), with some interesting recollections of Kipling.[6]

The most important English MS. sold at auction during the year was the Bacon-Frank copy of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* apparently written for Henry V. This fetched the large sum of £2,250. Some poetical pieces of the seventeenth century at the same sale fetched £31. At the Colville sale four Cambridge University plays (c. 1620) were sold for £72. No printed books of outstanding value came up at auction. The following are among the most important: Chaucer's *Works* (1542), £56; More's *Works* (1557), £74; Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes* (Plantin, 1586), £41; Nashe's *Have with you to Saffron Walden* (1596), £40; Montaigne's *Essaies* Tr. by Florio (1603), £57; Coryate's *Crudities* (1611), £39; Ralegh's *History of the World* (1614), £23; Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), £68; Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1622), £27; Butler's *Hudibras* (1663–78), £14 10*s.*; Wycherley's *Miscellany poems* (large paper, 1704), £32; Collins's *Odes* (1747), £18; Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749), £41; Paltock's *Adventures of Peter Wilkins* (1751), £14; Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (York, 1760), 1st ed., two first vols., £30: 9 vols., £54; Addison's *Works* (Baskerville, 1761), £19 10*s.*; Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (1791), £22 10*s.*; Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* (1807), £45; Lamb's *Essays of Elia* (1823–33), £30; *The Germ*, bound by Cobden-Sanderson (1850), £80; and the following in sets of first editions bound in half or full morocco—Jane Austen (16 vols.), £36; Charlotte Brontë, with autograph letter (12 vols.), £58; Dickens (136 vols.), £94; Thackeray (131 vols.), £60; Trollope (141 vols.), £205; and Hardy (51 vols.), £72.

[6] *Bodleian Library Record* II, pp. 42, 58, 67, 69, 86, 88: *Friends of the Bodleian 17th Annual Report*, p. 3: *Bodleian Annual Report* 1941–2, 1942–3.

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